



**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER**

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

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**The unheard winning bold economic agenda**

*Findings from Roosevelt Institute's Election night survey*

November 2016

CAMPAIGNS

CORPORATIONS

ADVOCACY

WORLDWIDE

# Methodology

## National phone survey of 1,300 2016 voters.

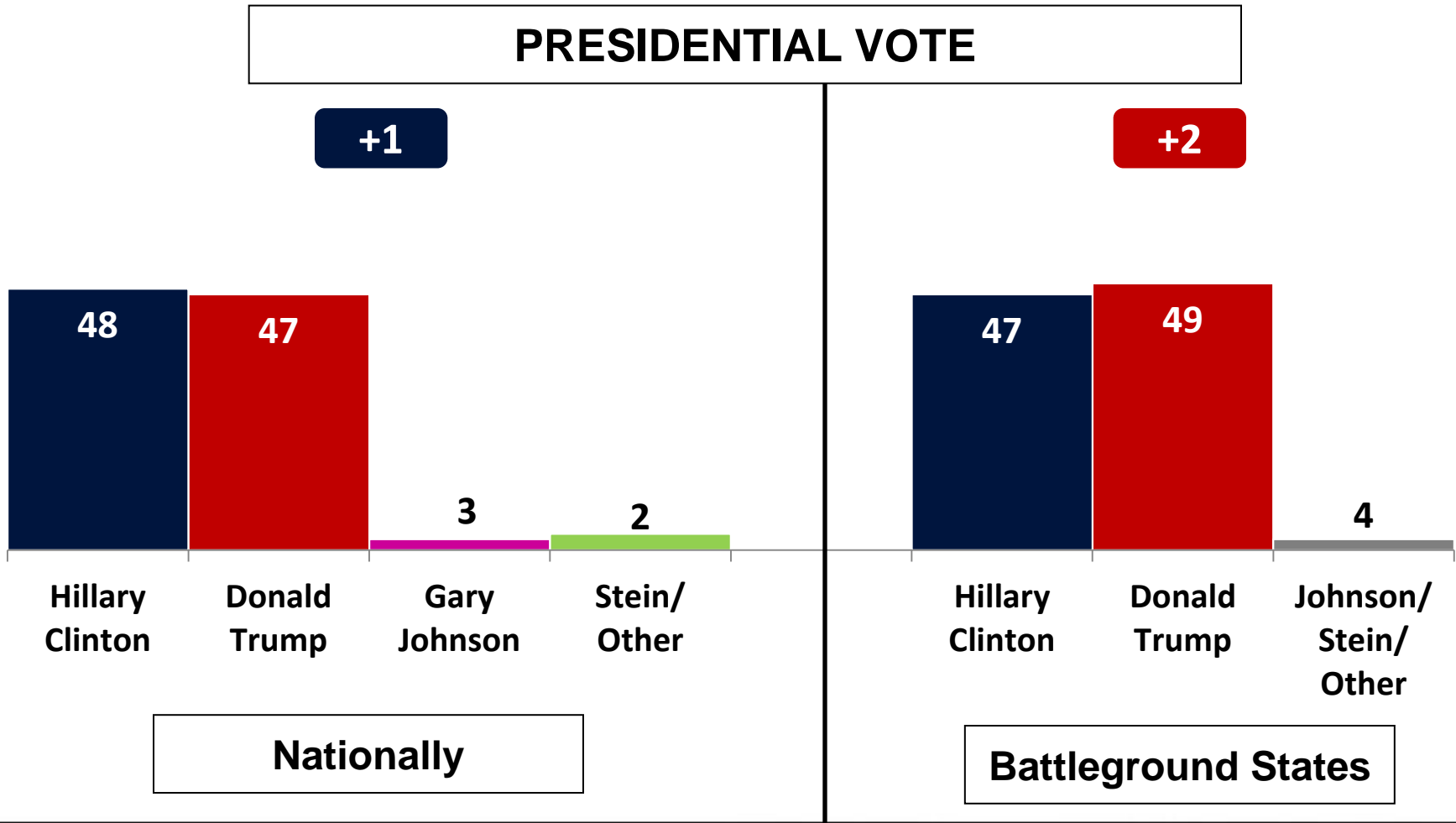
This survey took place Monday, November 7 – Wednesday November 9, 2016 among 1,300 voters or (on Monday only) those with a high stated intention of voting in 2016. In addition to a 900 voter base sample, oversamples of 200 Rising American Electorate voters (unmarried women, minorities and millennials) and 200 battleground state voters (AZ, FL, OH, IA, NC, NV, NH, PA, VA, WI) were included. Data shown in this deck is among all 2016 voters unless otherwise noted.

Margin of error for the full sample is +/-3.27 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level.

Of the 1,300 respondents, 65 percent were interviewed via cell phone in order to accurately sample the American electorate.

# Clinton wins popular vote nationally, trails in battleground states-

Thinking about the presidential election, did you vote for -- Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, Libertarian Gary Johnson, or Green Party Candidate Jill Stein?



# White working class now almost as Republican as minorities are Democratic

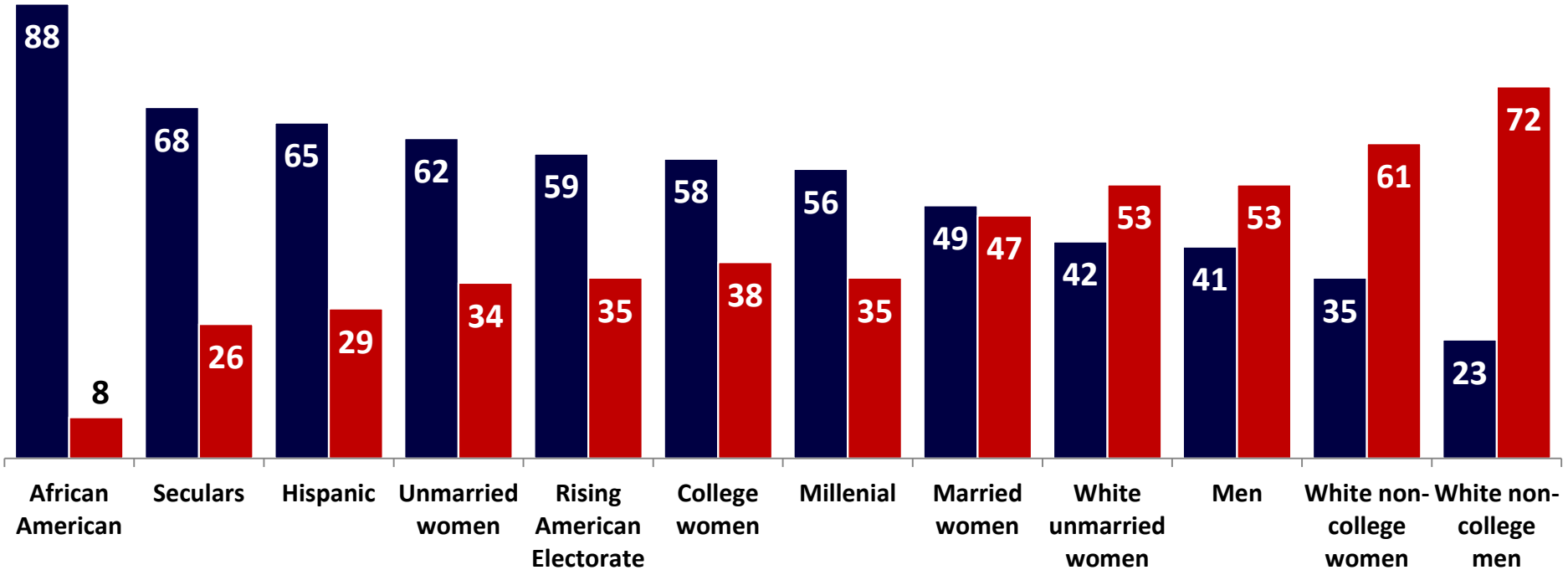
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## PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

■ Hillary Clinton

■ Donald Trump

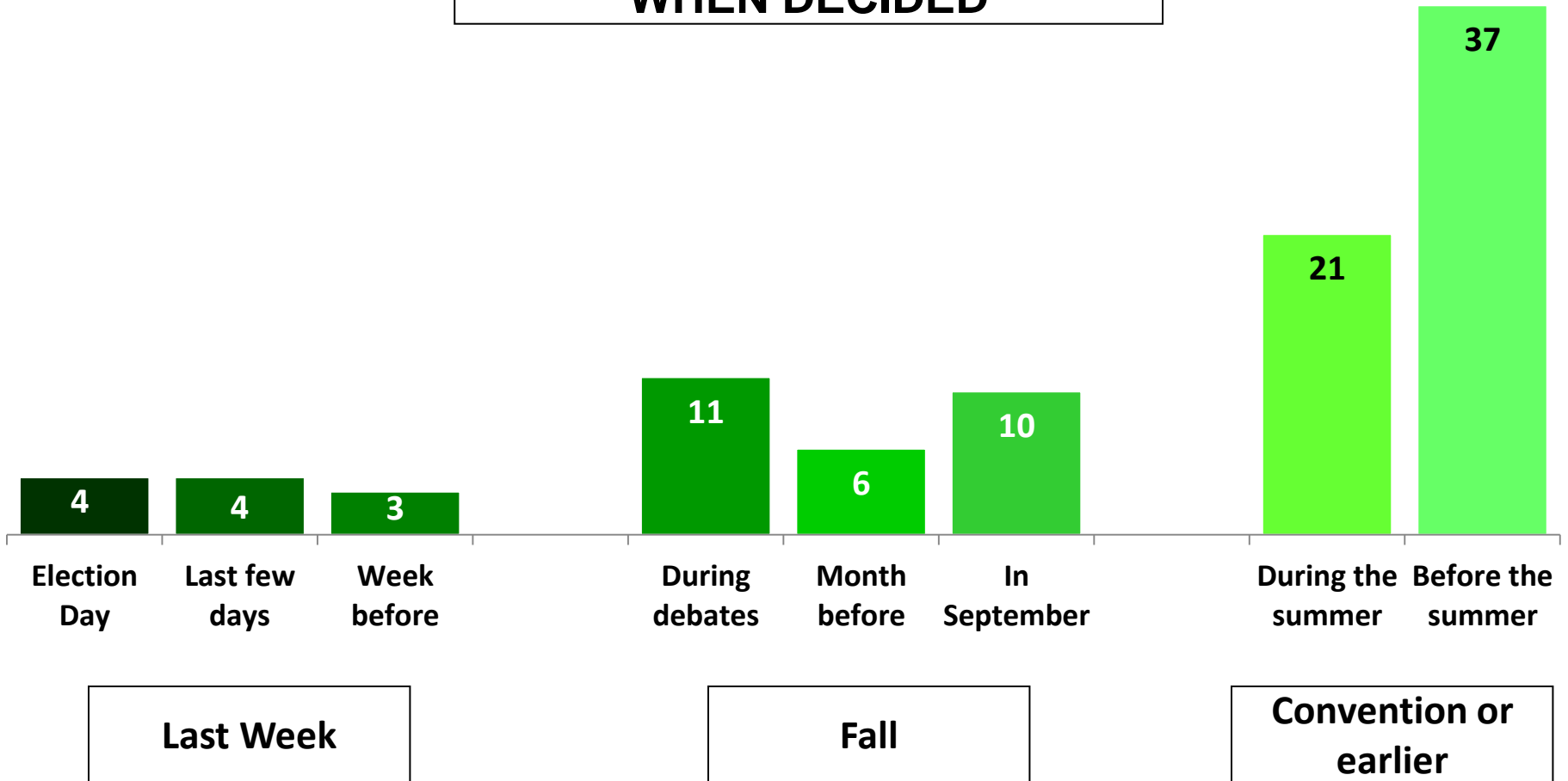
+80 +42 +36 +28 +24 +20 +21 +2 Donald Trump +11 +12 +26 +49



# Over 10 percent decided in the final week of the campaign

When did you finally decide to vote for (INSERT CANDIDATE CHOSEN ): on Election Day, in the last few days before the election, the week before the election, during the debates, a month before the election, sometime in September, during the summer or before that?

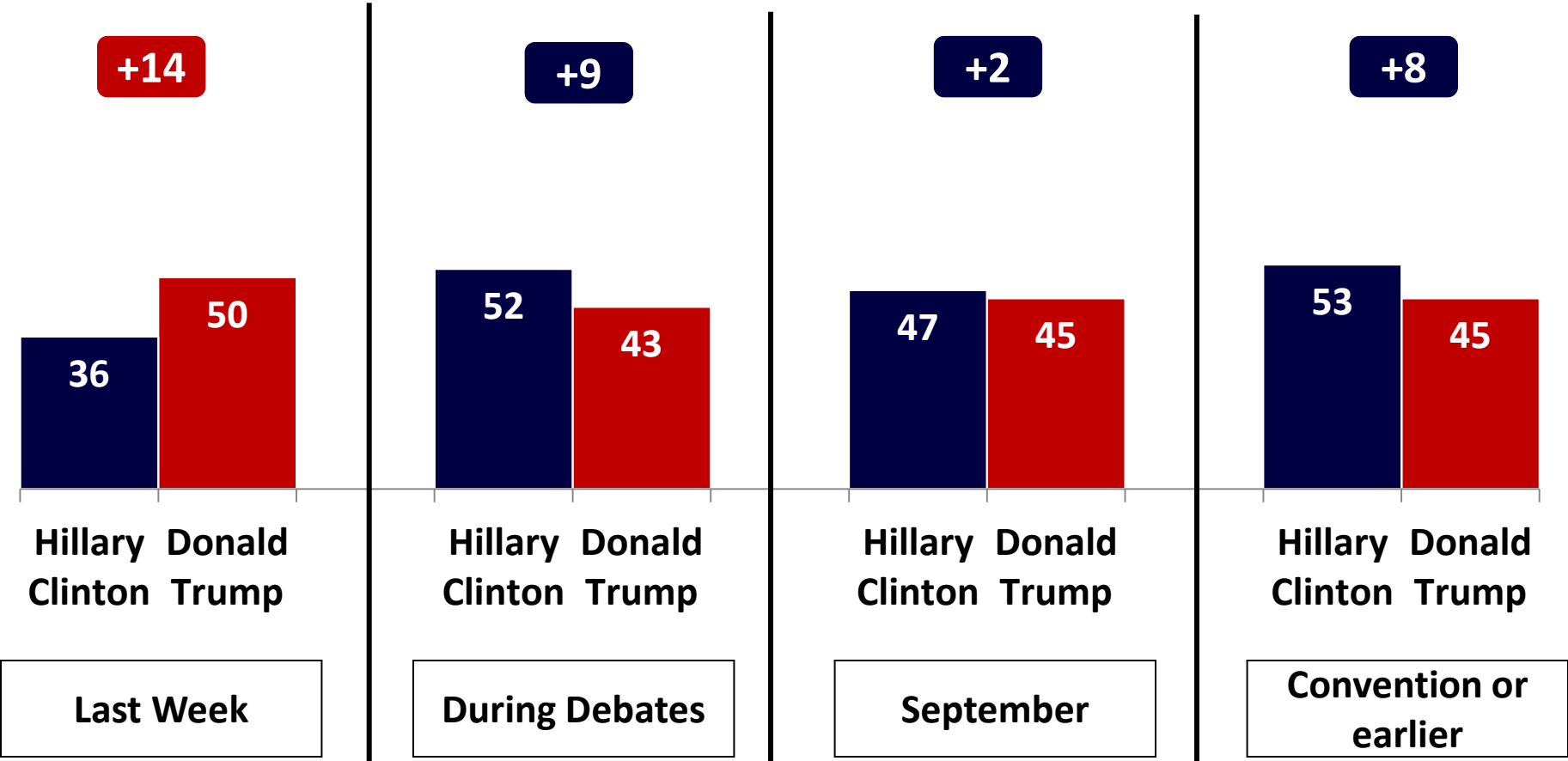
## WHEN DECIDED



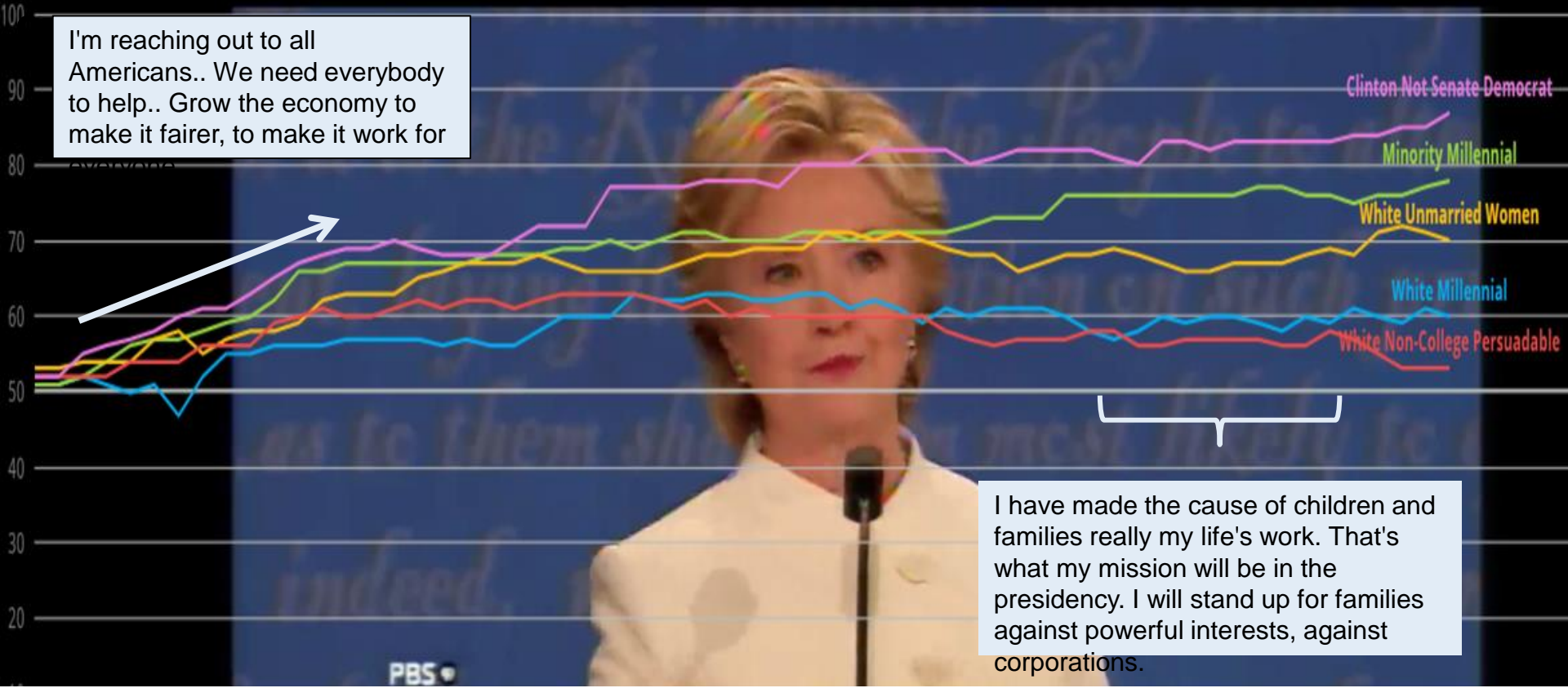
# Close broke for Trump heavily

When did you finally decide to vote for (INSERT CANDIDATE CHOSEN IN PRS16VT1/F): on Election Day, in the last few days before the election, the week before the election, during the debates, a month before the election, sometime in September, during the summer or before that?

## PRESIDENTIAL VOTE



# Hillary Clinton close debates with her mission: "I will stand up for families against special interests against"



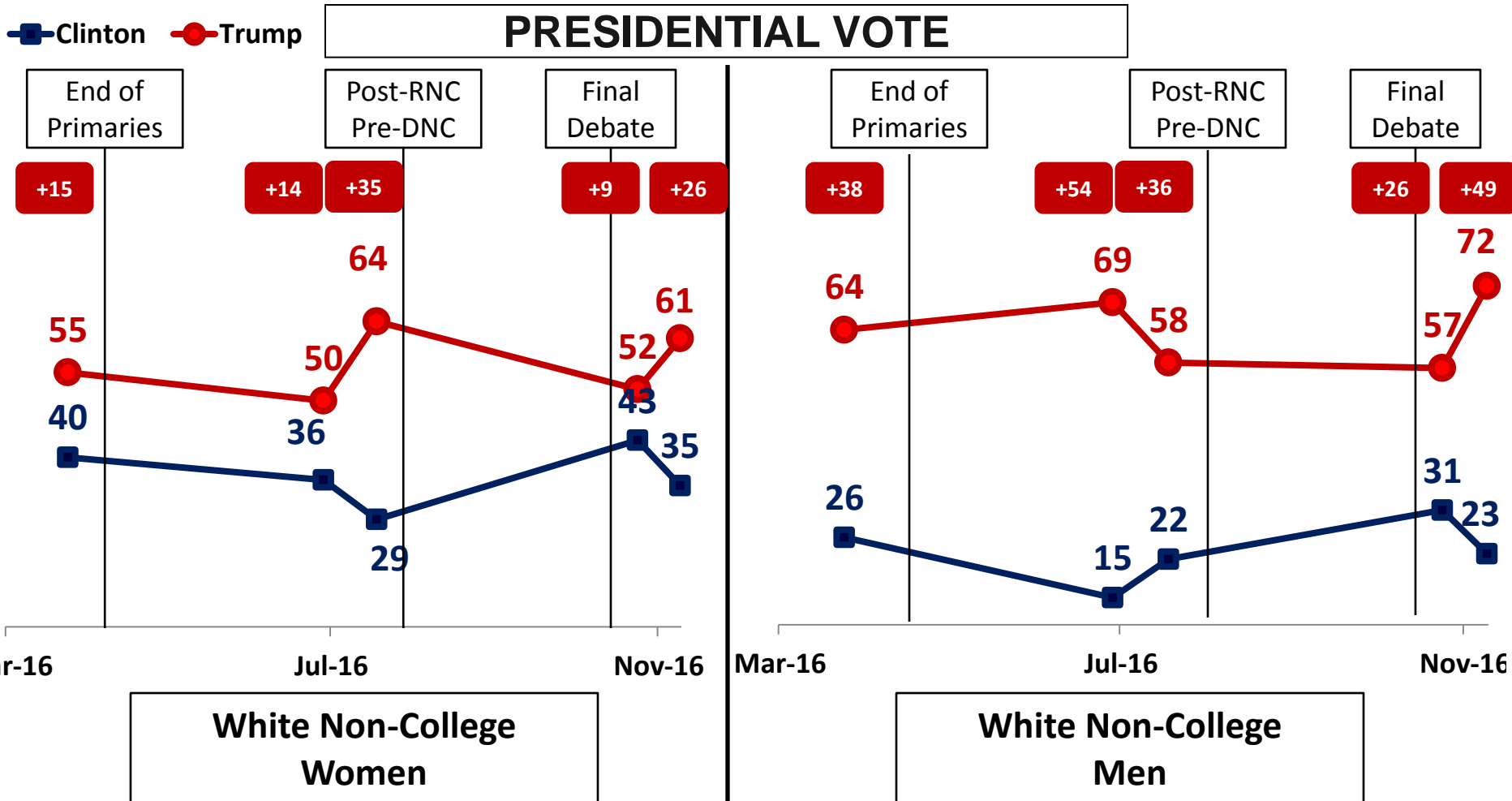
I'm reaching out to all Americans.. We need everybody to help.. Grow the economy to make it fairer, to make it work for

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

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

# White working class men Trump base, but the women broke late

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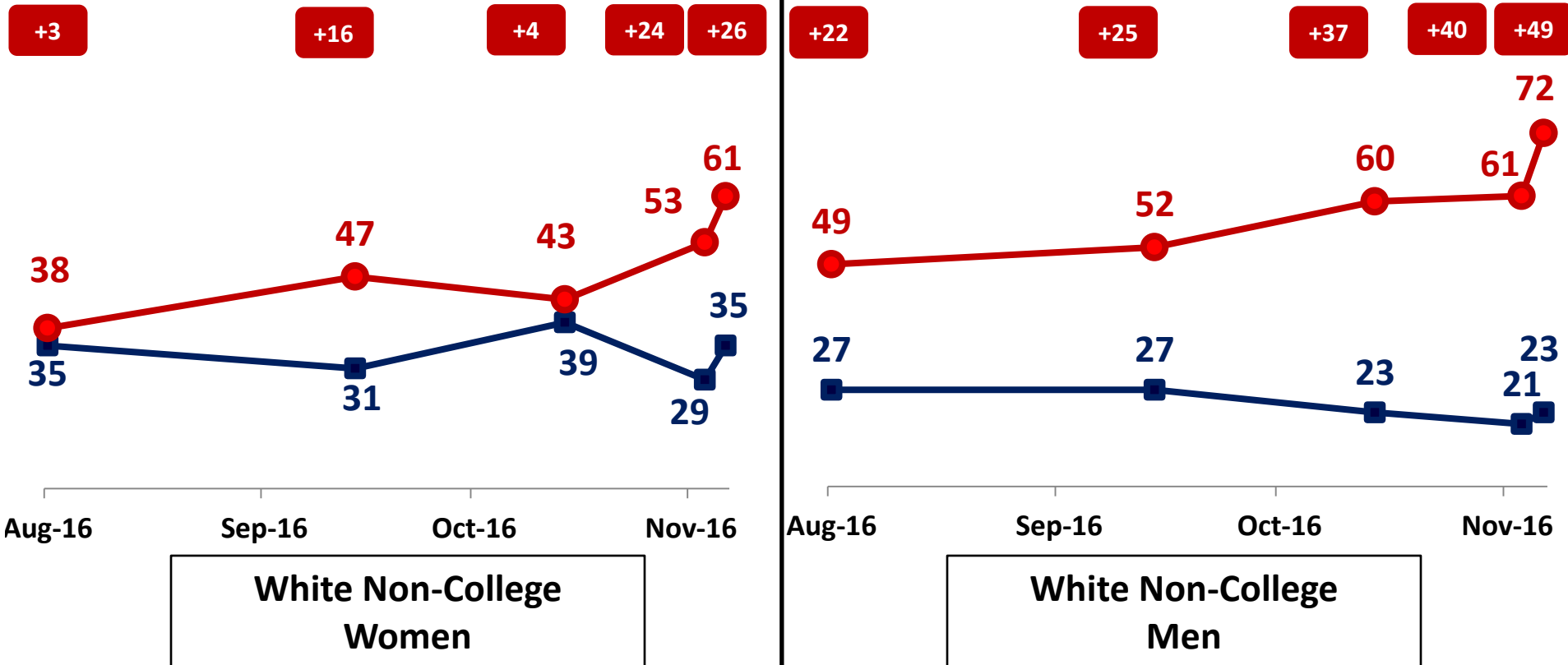


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## PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

■ Clinton ● Trump



NBC/WSJ polls from August, September, October and pre-Election in November. 4-way vote presented except for in September.

# THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT

# Clinton closed on unity and opportunity, not economic change



## CLINTON CLOSING MESSAGE

*I think we can all agree it's been a long campaign but tomorrow you get to pick our next president. So here are a few things that I hope you'll think about. First it's not just my name and my opponent's name on the ballot. It's the kind of country we want for our children and grandchildren. Is America dark and divisive. Or hopeful and inclusive? Our core values are being tested in this election. But everywhere I go people are refusing to be defined by fear and division. Look we all know we have come through some hard economic times and we have seen some pretty big changes. But I believe in our people. I love this country and I'm convinced that our best days are still ahead of us if we reach for them together. I want to be a president for all Americans not just those who support me in this election for everyone because we all have role to play in building a stronger fairer America. The second thing we want you to know is this I will work my heart as president to make life better for you and your family. We won't always get it right but you can count on this I never quit and I never will. I'll get up every day determined to make America safe and strong and make our economy work for every not just those at the top. And finally working for children and families has been the cause of my life but it's never been more important than it is right but it's never been more important that it is right now. This has to be or mission to give our kids and every American the chance to live up to their god given potential. So tonight I am asking for your vote and tomorrow let's make history together.*

# Obama's closing message: build on the progress with experience



## OBAMA CLOSING MESSAGE

*We've seen America turn recession into recovery. Our businesses create 15.5 million new jobs. Putting more people back to work than all the other advanced economies combined. A resurgent auto industry has led the fastest manufacturing growth since another Clinton was President. Incomes are rising. Poverty is falling. Twenty million more Americans have health insurance. Those are just the facts. And with just one more day to go, we now have the chance to elect a 45th President who will build on our progress. Who will finish the job. Who already has the respect of leaders around the world and the people they serve. Who is smart and who is steady and who is tested. Someone who comes to this office as well-prepared as anyone who has ever run -- The next President of the United States, Hillary Clinton. And that's how I know she will work her heart out for you – for everybody still in need of a good job or a raise; for every child who needs a sturdier ladder out of poverty; for every student who needs relief from student debt; every immigrant who wants to contribute to this country they love; for every American who has not yet felt the progress of these past eight years. She will work. And she will deliver. She won't just tweet.*

# Voters dissatisfied with economy's progress and fairness

Please tell me which one you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right.

■ Much more

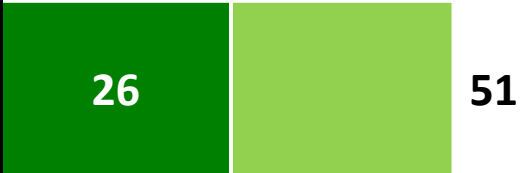
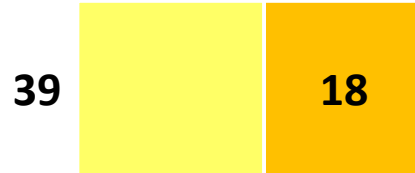
■ Somewhat more

■ Much more

■ Somewhat more

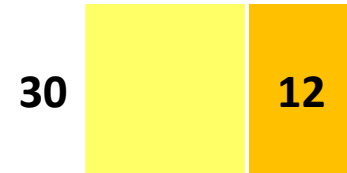
**The economy is starting to get to full employment and a lot of people are finding jobs that pay more.**

**Jobs still don't pay enough to live on and it is a struggle to save anything.**



**We can make our economy work for everyone by building on our progress with incremental changes.**

**We need a bold and comprehensive agenda to rewrite the rules of our economy so it works for everyone and not just the wealthy.**



# Majority of unmarried women can't deal with a \$500 bill

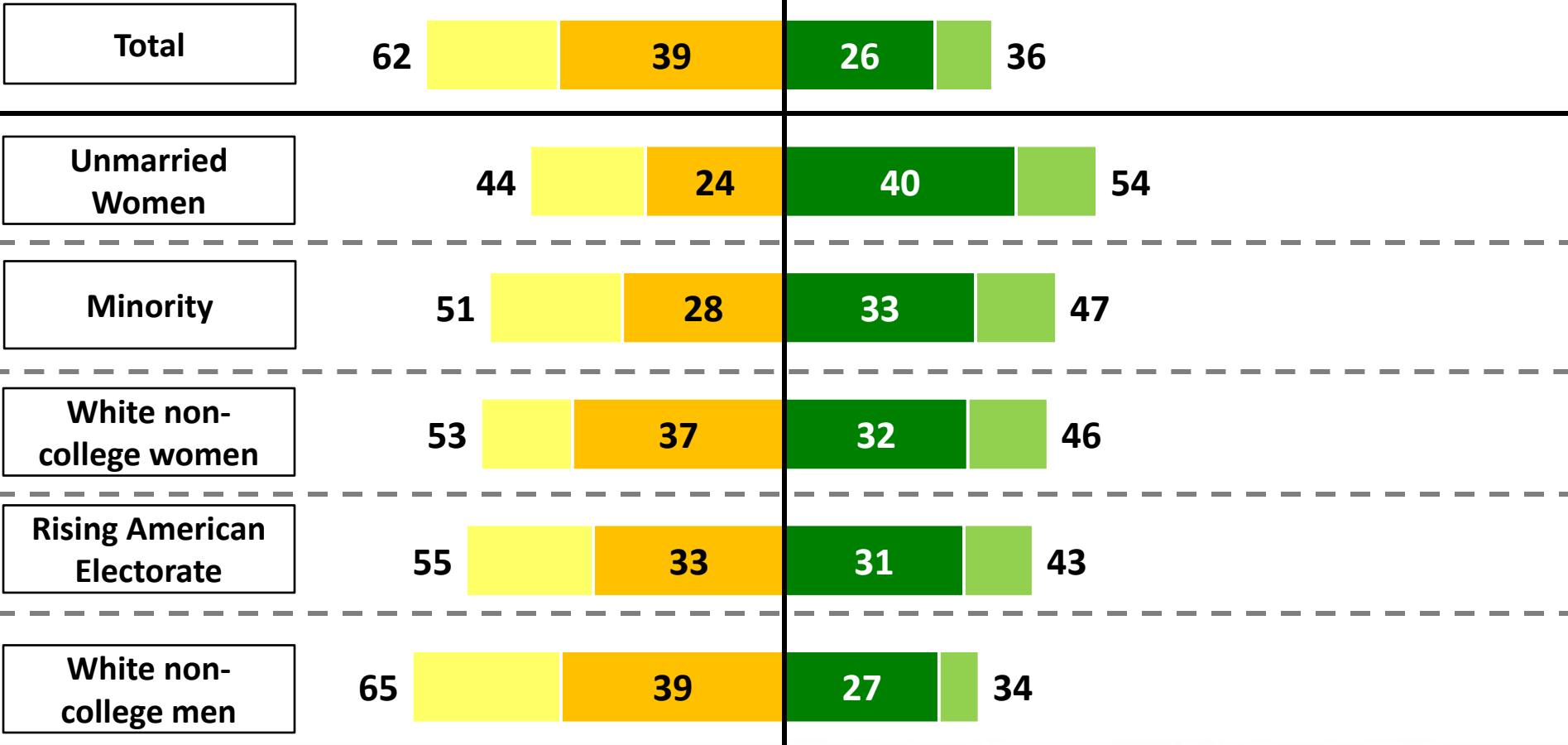
Please tell me which one you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right.

**I would be able to handle a sudden unexpected \$500 expense.**

■ Much more    ■ Somewhat more

**I would not be able to handle a sudden unexpected \$500 expense.**

■ Much more    ■ Somewhat more



# RAE & working class say people in power aren't listening

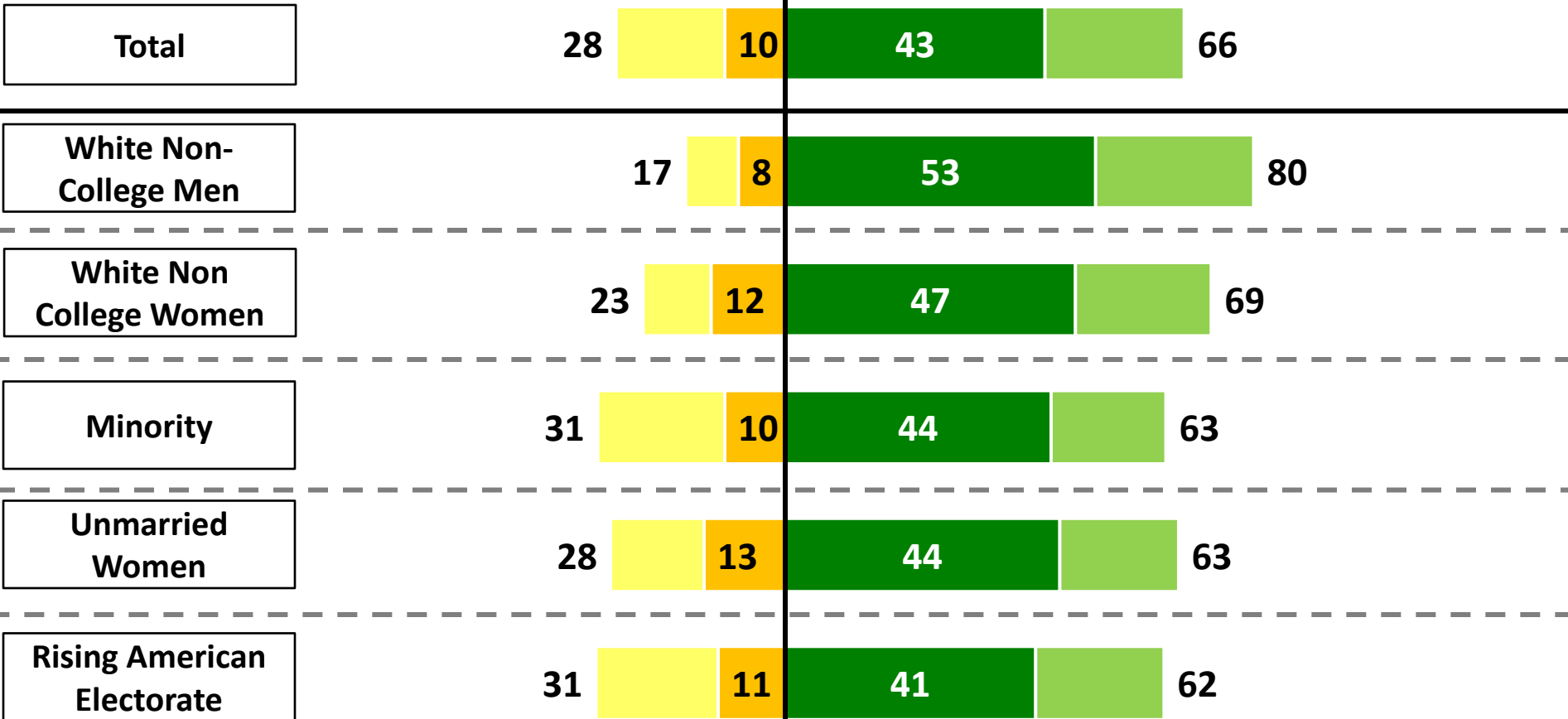
Please tell me which one you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right.

The things I care about get the attention of people in power.

■ Things I care about strongly ■ Somewhat more

People in power haven't paid much attention to what I worry about.

■ Haven't paid attention strongly ■ Somewhat more



# A lot RAE, including unmarried women, thought Trump expressed legitimate frustration

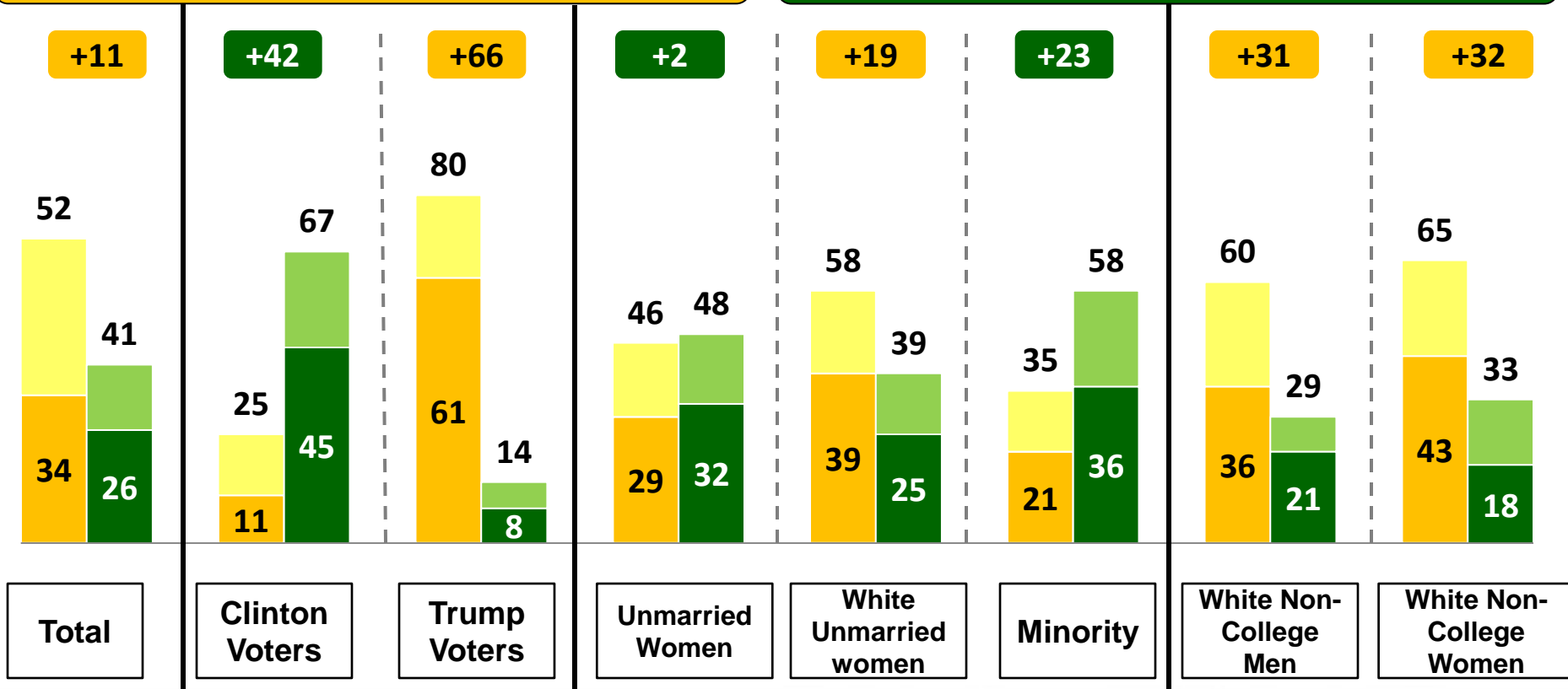
Now I am going to read some pairs of short statements some people have made about our nation. After I read each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view even if neither statement is exactly right.

■ Spoke for working class strongly

■ Appealed to resentments strongly

Trump spoke for a lot of working class Americans who were rightly frustrated.

Donald Trump appealed to racial resentments more than working class problems.





# Growing opposition for new TPP trade deal over campaign

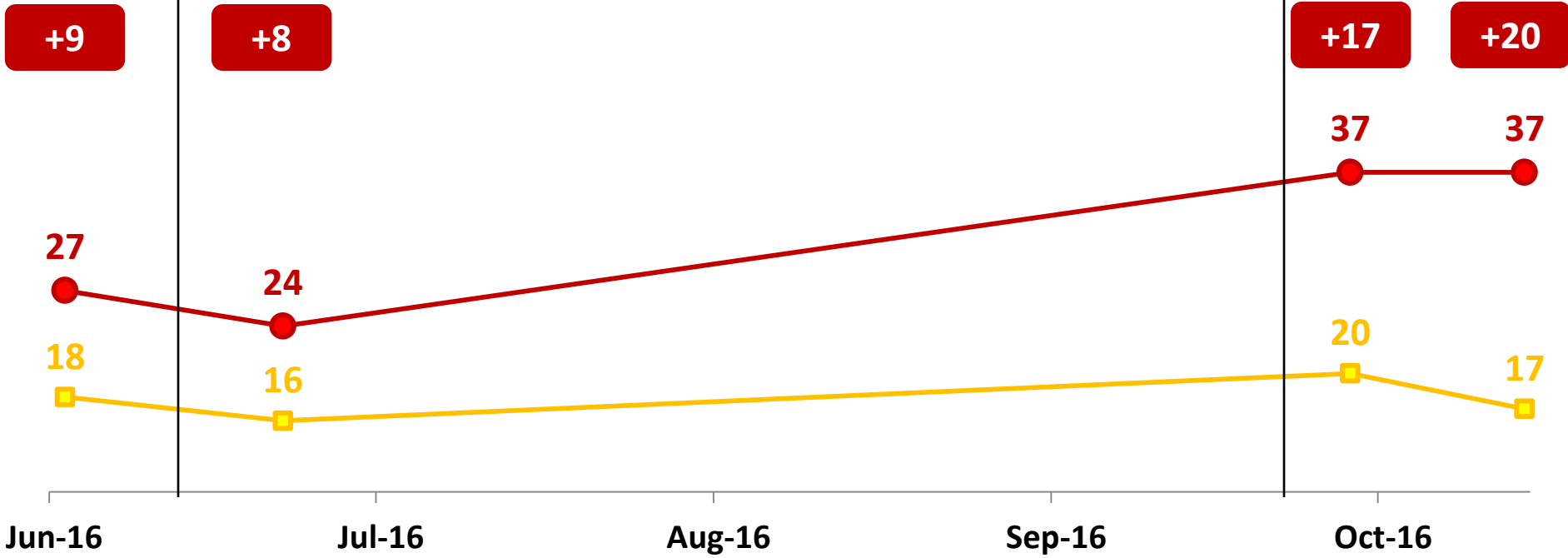
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

## Trans-Pacific Partnership

■ Favorable      ● Unfavorable

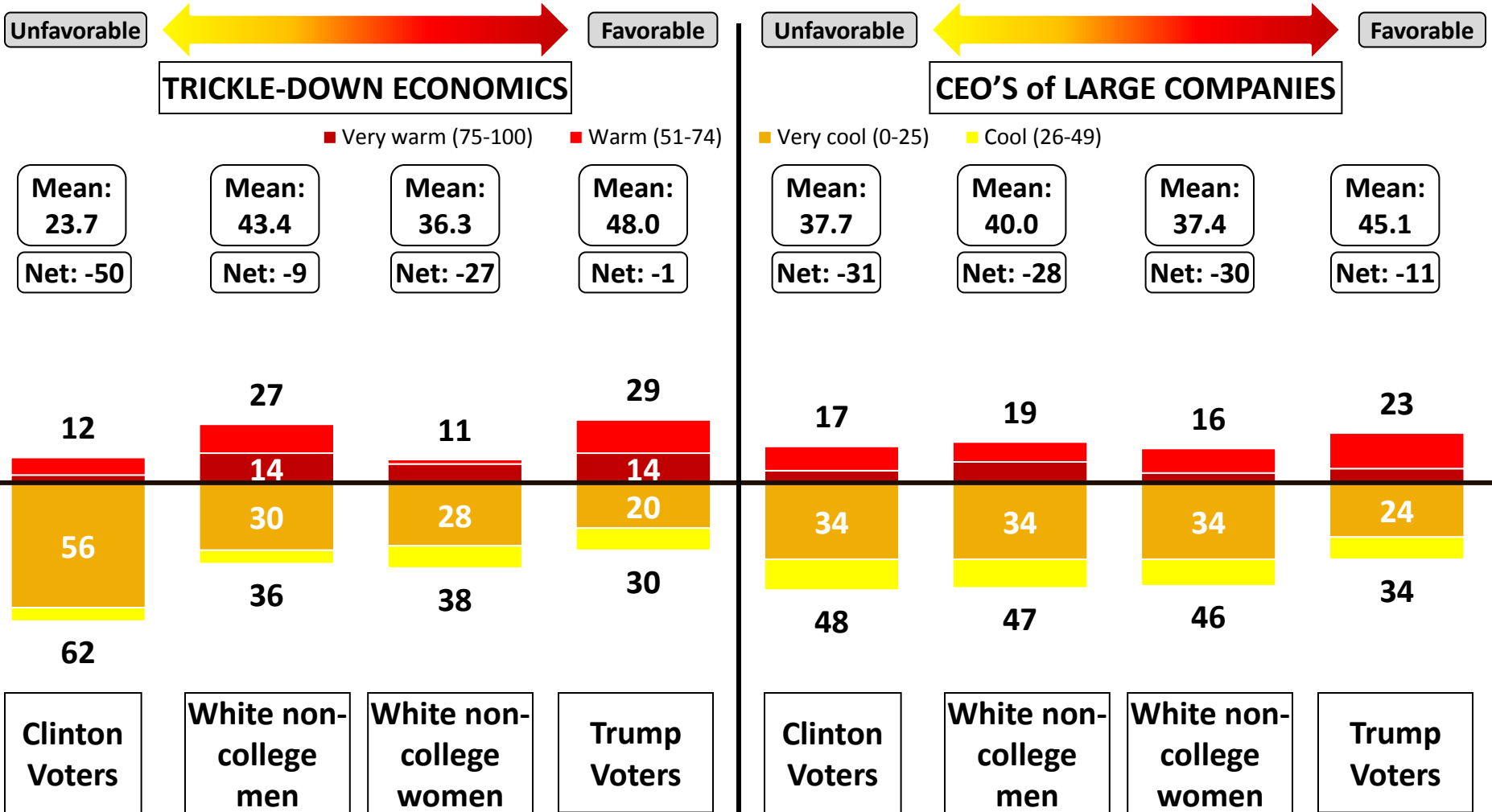
Post-RNC  
Pre-DNC

Final Debate



# White working class behind Trump is done with CEO 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.



# REASONS FOR VOTING

# Trump's vote was largely for him, not against Clinton, in end

Which one of the following statements comes closer to your point of view, even if neither is exactly right.

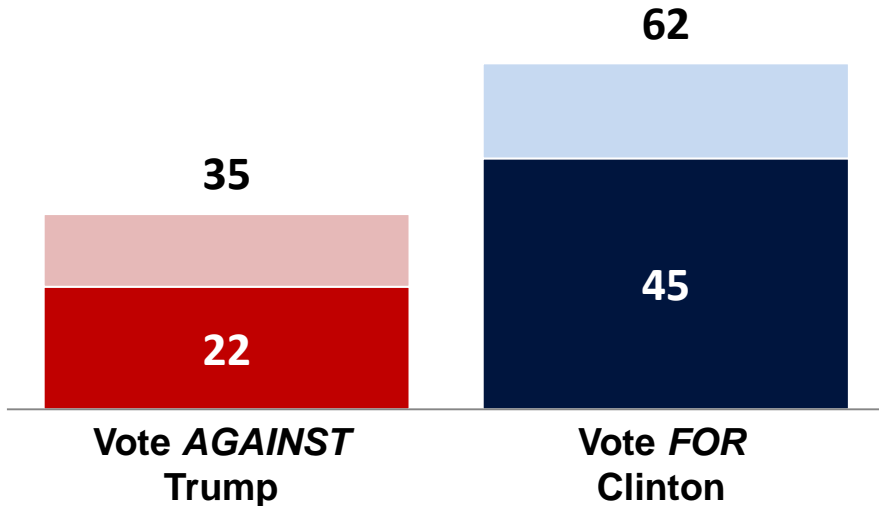
## CLINTON VOTERS

My vote is mostly a vote **AGAINST** Donald Trump

My vote is mostly a vote **FOR** Hillary Clinton

**+27**

■ Against Trump much more  
■ For Clinton much more



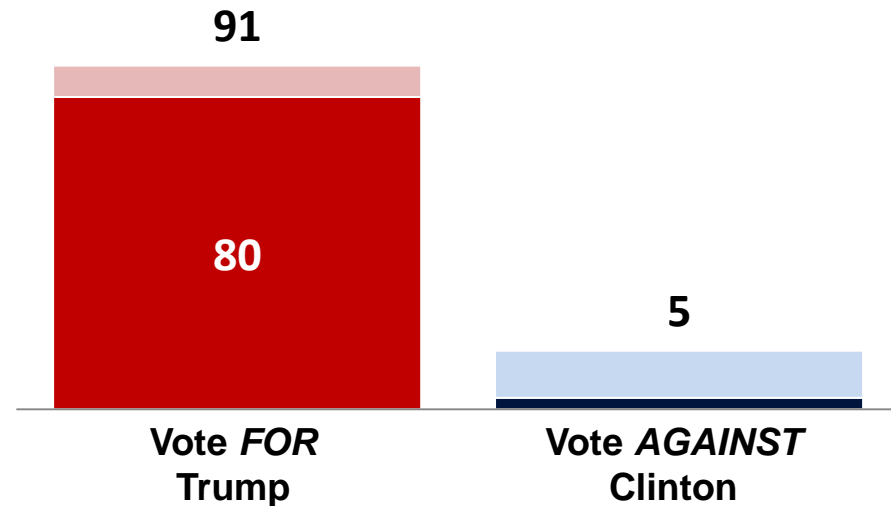
## TRUMP VOTERS

My vote is mostly a vote **FOR** Donald Trump

My vote is mostly a vote **AGAINST** Hillary Clinton

**+86**

■ Against Clinton much more  
■ For Trump much more

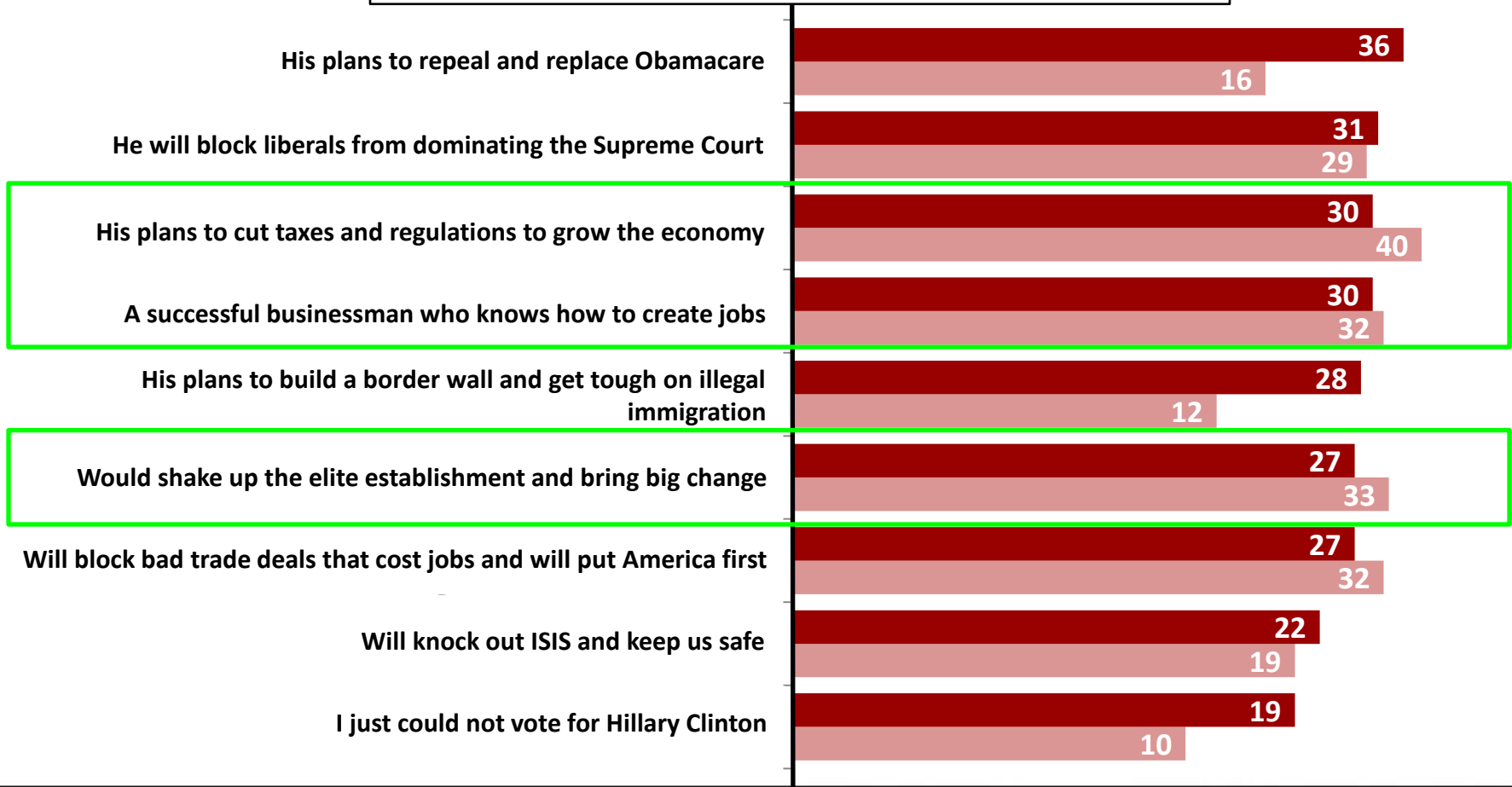


# Economy big part of Trump vote, shaking up elites for those who considered

(IF TRUMP) Now let me read you a list of reasons to support Donald Trump. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for Donald Trump? (IF CONSIDERED TRUMP) why you considered voting for Donald Trump?

## ARGUMENTS FOR TRUMP

■ Trump Voter  
■ Considered Trump

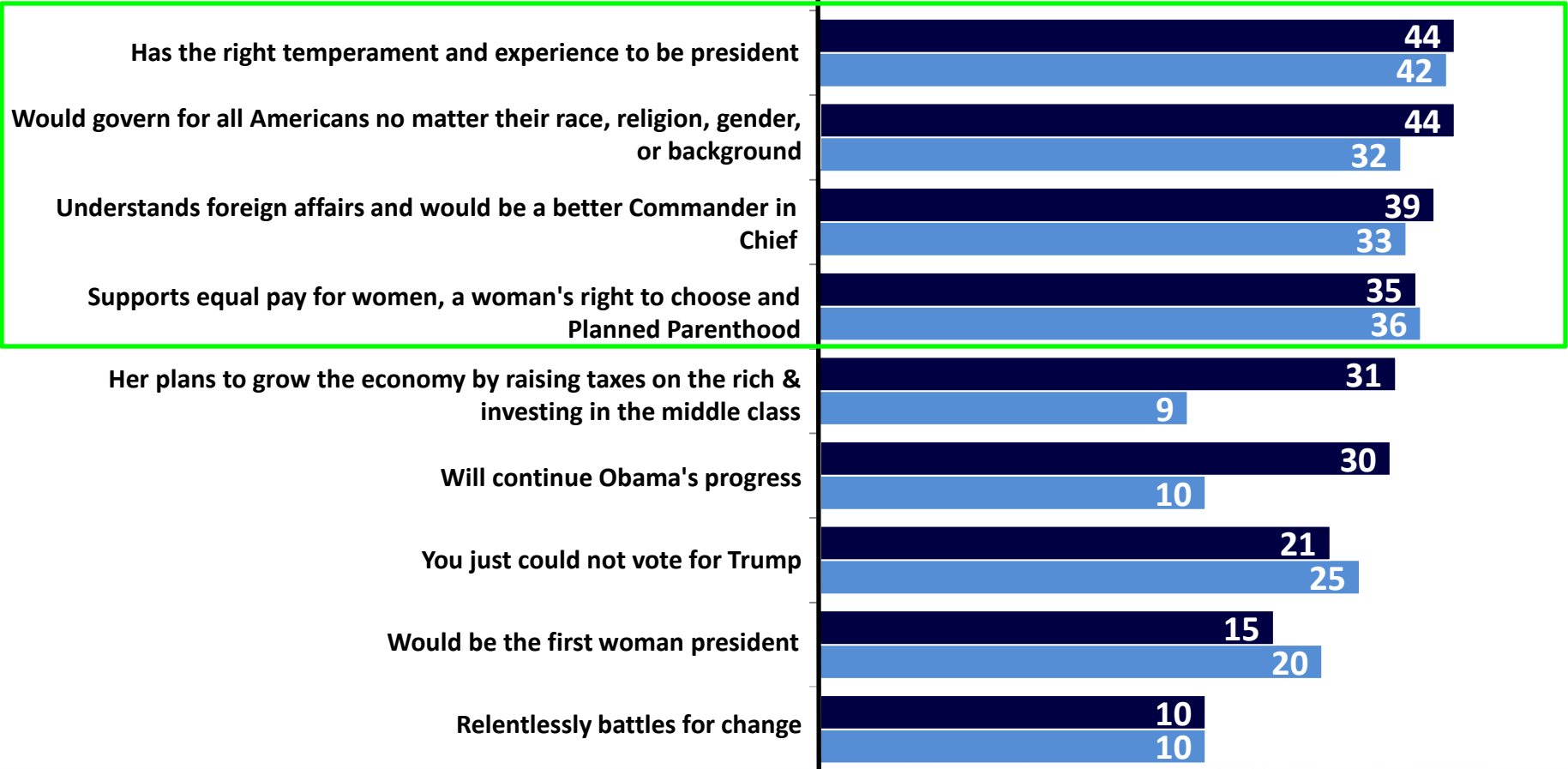


# Clinton vote rooted in experience & temperament to be commander in chief & governing for all backgrounds, but not economic plans

(IF CLINTON) Now let me read you a list of reasons to support Hillary Clinton. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for Hillary Clinton? (IF CONSIDERED CLINTON) considered voting for Hillary Clinton?

## ARGUMENTS FOR CLINTON

■ Clinton voter  
■ Considered Clinton

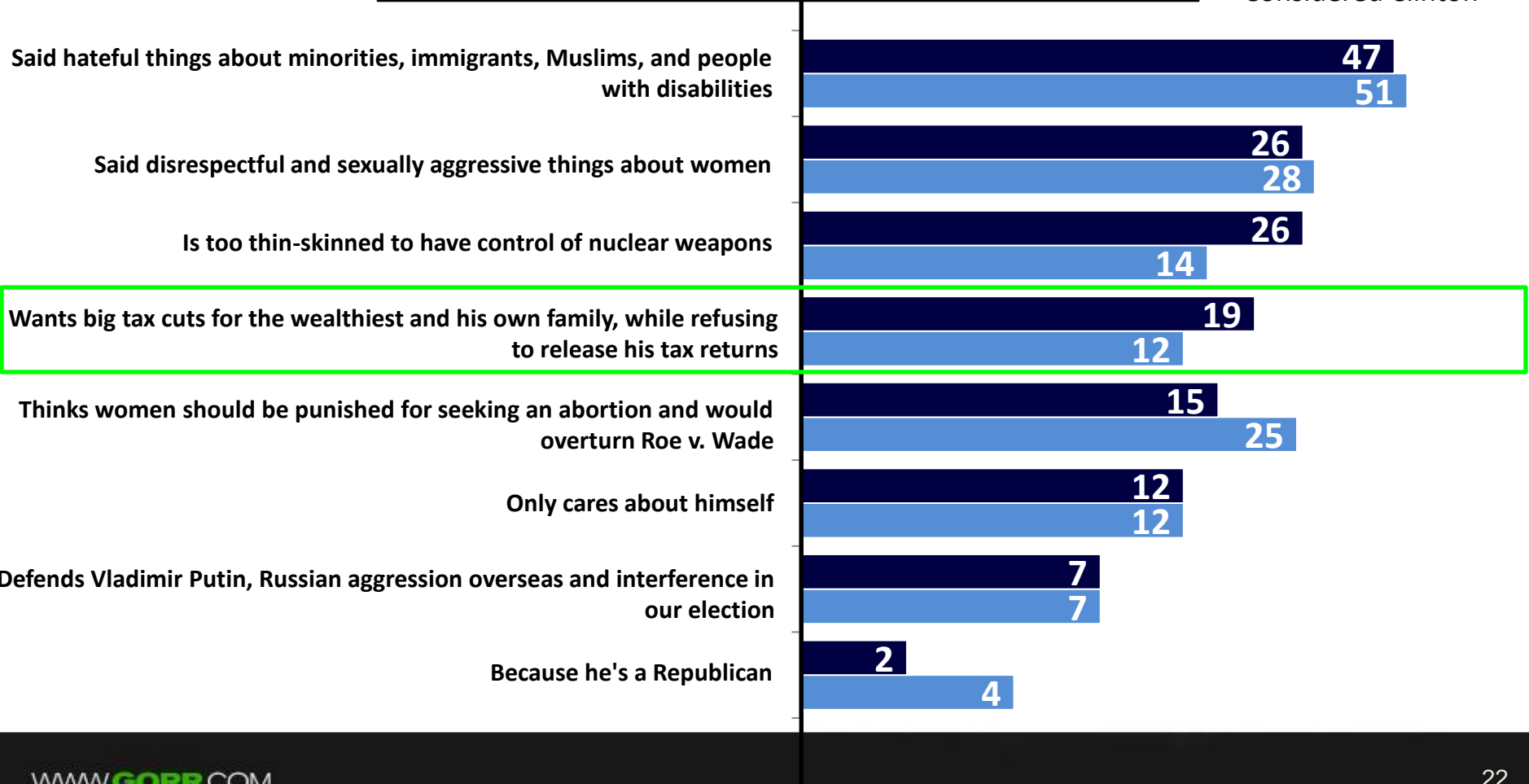


# Clinton prosecuted on treatment of minorities & trust with nukes, but not his tax cuts & tax returns

*(SKIP IF TRUMP AND DIDN'T CONSIDER CLINTON) Let me read you a list of doubts about Donald Trump. Regardless of your vote, which TWO describe the most important reasons NOT to vote for Donald Trump?*

## DOUBTS ABOUT TRUMP

■ Clinton Voter  
■ Considered Clinton

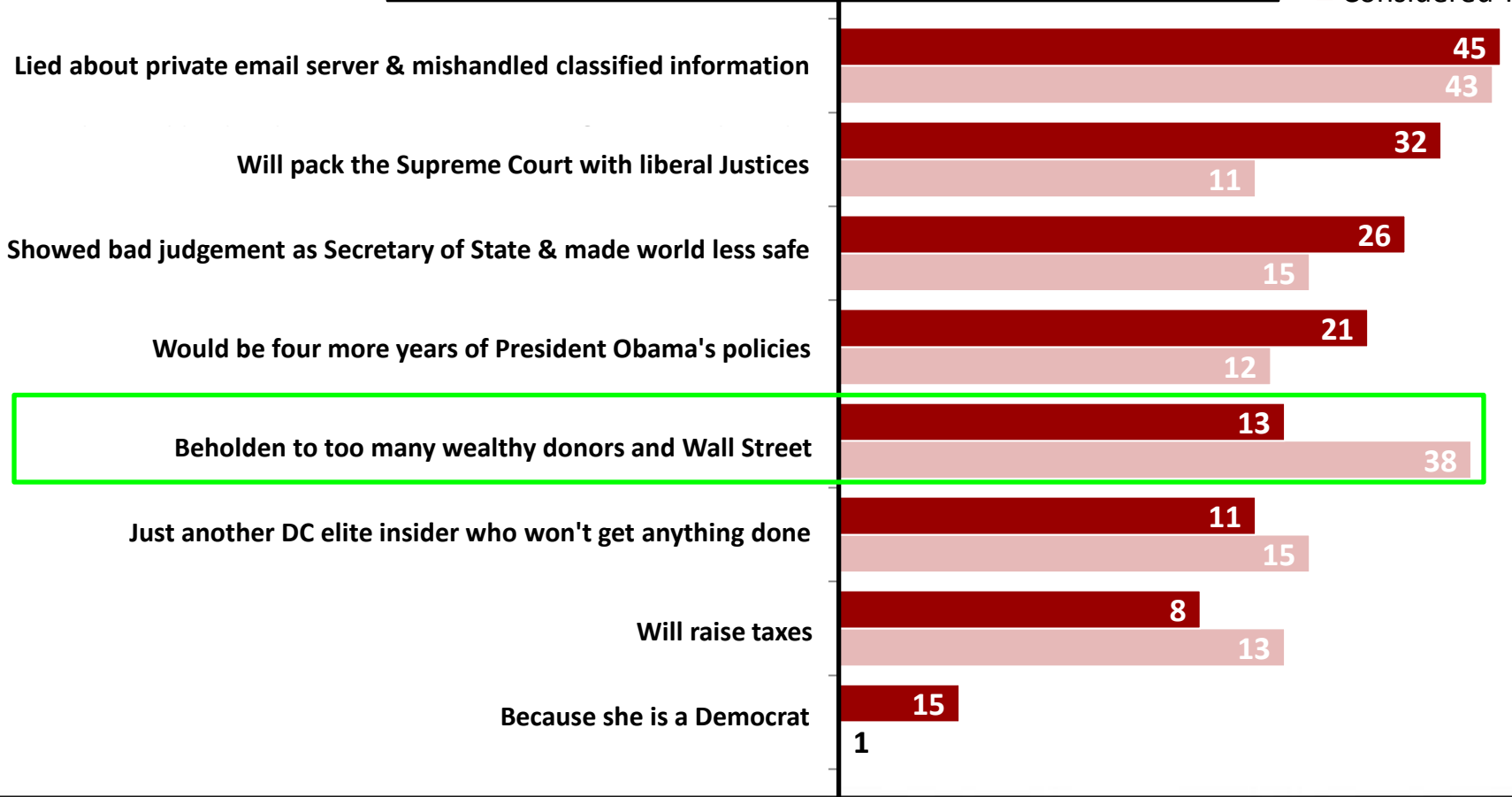


# Emails dominate doubt about HRC, her wealthy donors opened them to Trump

(SKIP IF CLINTON IN PRS16VT1/F AND DIDN'T CONSIDER TRUMP IN CHNCDT) Let me read you a list of doubts about Hillary Clinton. Regardless of your vote, which TWO describe the most important reasons NOT to vote for Hillary Clinton?

## DOUBTS ABOUT CLINTON

■ Trump Voter  
■ Considered Trump





# GOP trusted on economy and safety, Democrats on uniting country

Now, I am going to read you a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think (ROTATE) the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with each issue.

■ Much more    ■ Somewhat more

■ Much more    ■ Somewhat more

Uniting the country



Reviving the middle class



Bringing the right kind of change



The economy



Keeping America safe



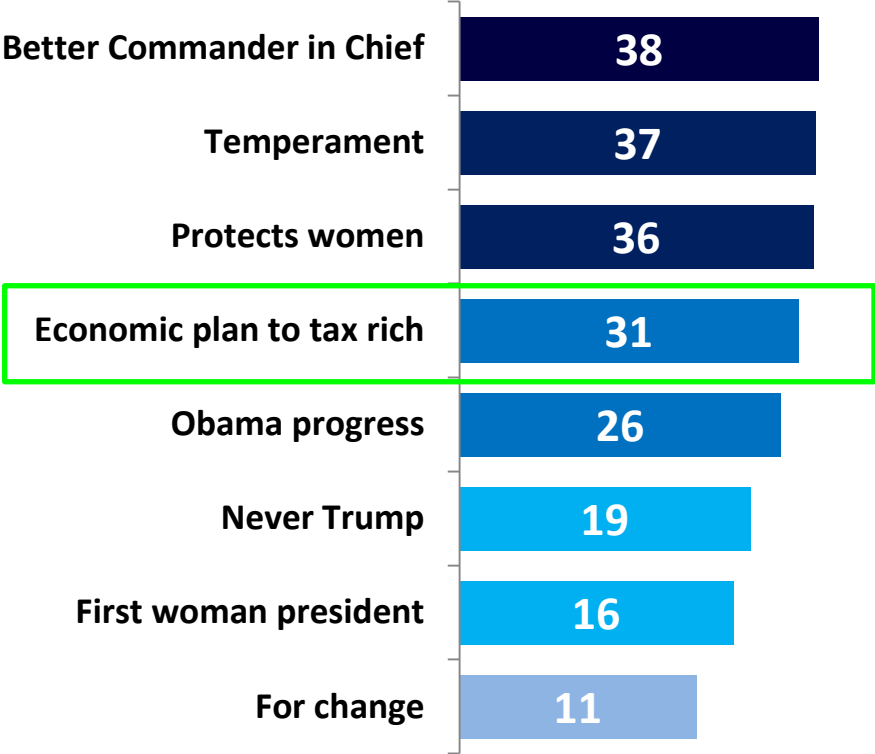
# Clinton never prosecuted the economic attack in battleground

(IF CLINTON, CONSIDERED) Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted /considered voting for Hillary Clinton?

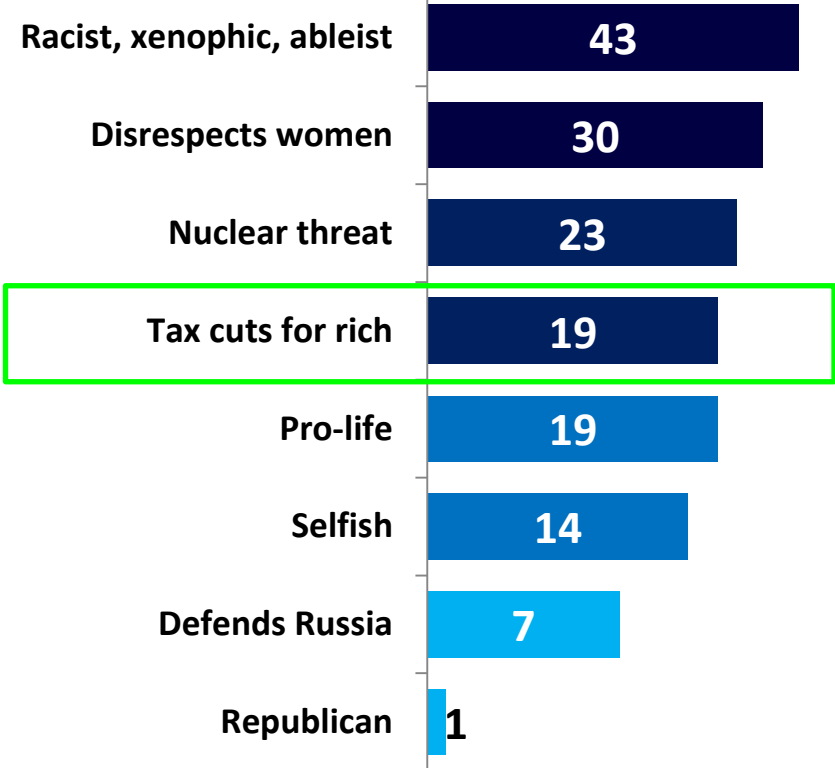
(SKIP IF TRUMP DIDN'T CONSIDER CLINTON) Regardless of your vote, which TWO describe the most important reasons NOT to vote for Donald Trump?

## BATTLEGROUND STATES

### Arguments for Clinton



### Doubts about Trump



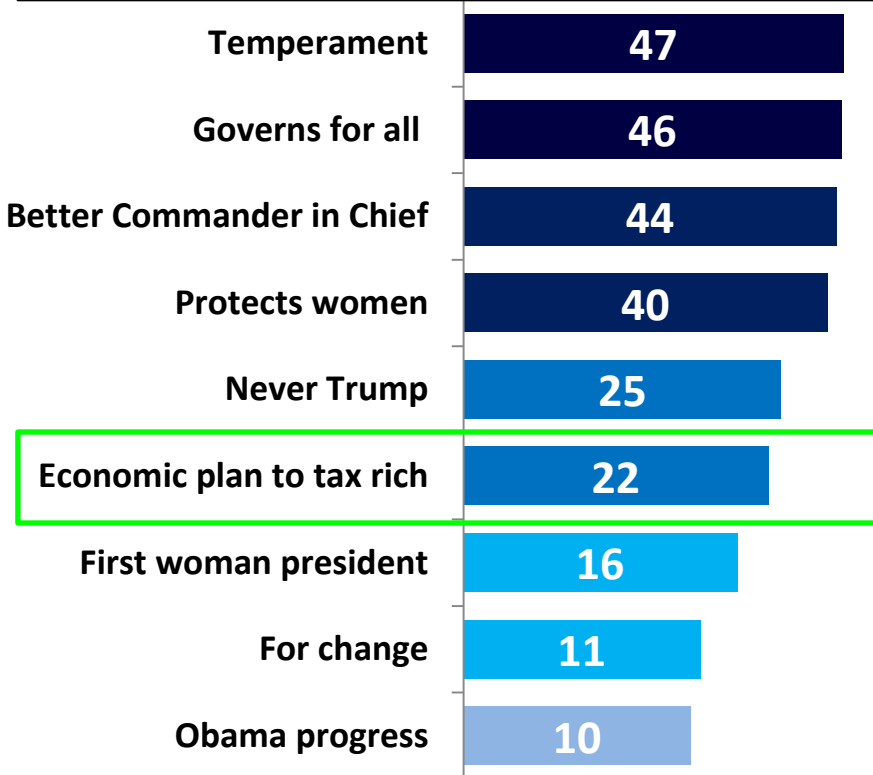
# White working class women heard attacks on Trump as leader and governing for all, but not economic plans or change

(CLINTON, CONSIDERED) Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted /considered voting for Hillary Clinton?

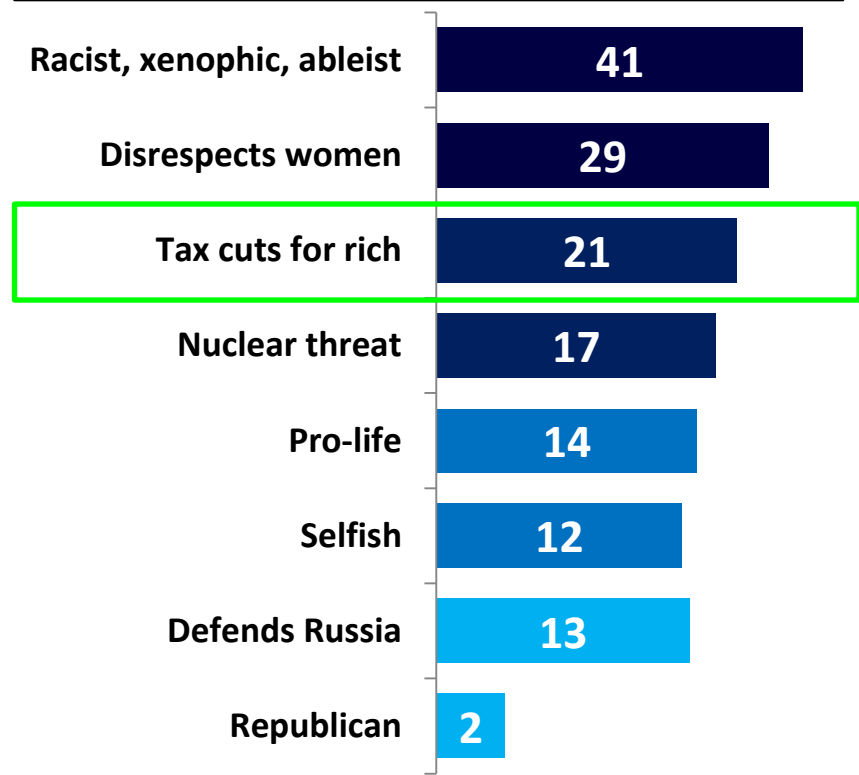
(SKIP IF TRUMP DIDN'T CONSIDER CLINTON) Which TWO describe the most important reasons NOT to vote for Donald Trump?

## WHITE NON-COLLEGE WOMEN

### Arguments for Clinton



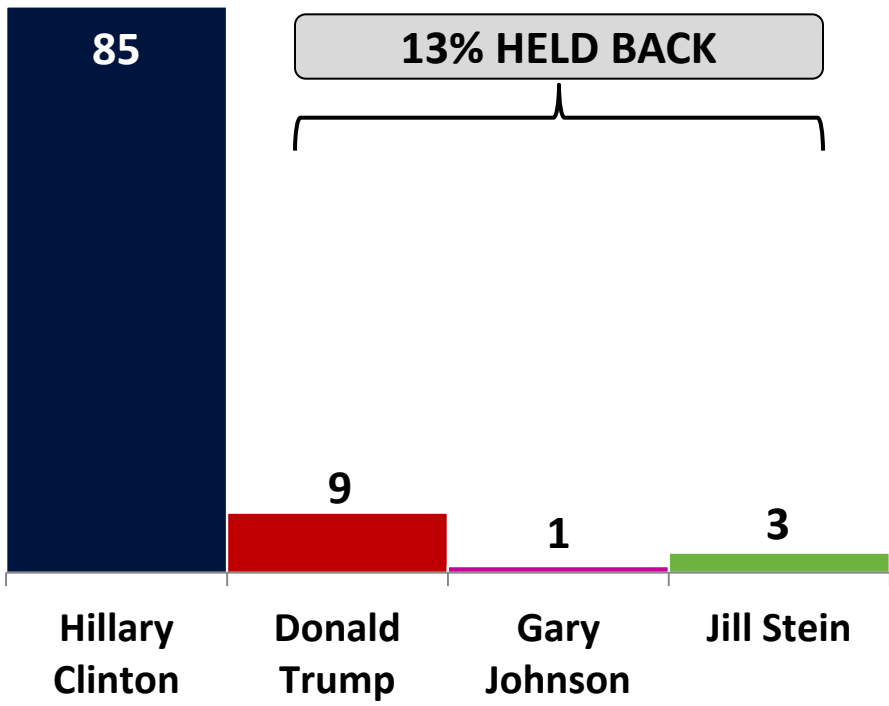
### Doubts about Trump



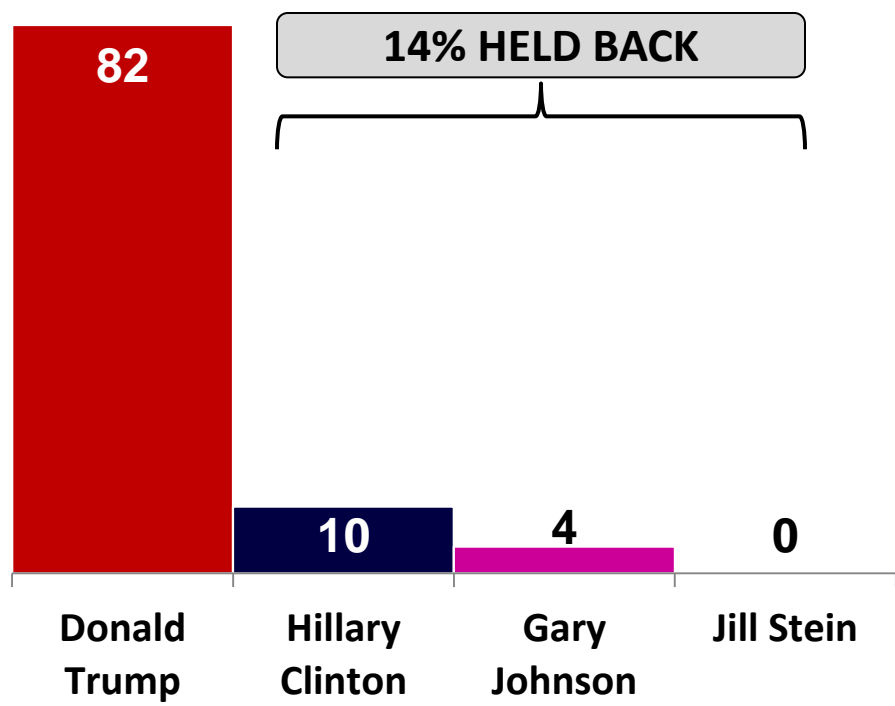
# Both parties incompletely united

Thinking about the presidential election, did you vote for -- (ROTATE CLINTON/TRUMP) Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, (ROTATE JOHNSON/STEIN) Libertarian Gary Johnson, or Green Party Candidate Jill Stein?

## PRESIDENTIAL VOTE



Sanders Primary Voters



Non-Trump Primary Voters

# THE ECONOMIC DEBATE & AGENDA GOING FORWARD

## CLINTON ECONOMIC AGENDA

**TAX RICH TO INVEST IN MIDDLE:** I want to build an economy that works for everyone, not more trickle down economics for those at the top. The wealthiest need to pay their fair share in taxes and the middle class needs relief. I want to raise taxes on the wealthy and corporations who have seen all the income gains in recent years so we can make investments to help the middle class.

**FINANCIAL REFORM:** We need to pass tough new rules that make our financial system work for families and small businesses. That means down-sizing "Too Big to Fail" banks, regulating shadow banking and risky financial activities that caused our financial crisis, and increasing enforcement of Wall Street crimes.

**CORPORATE TAXES:** Corporations need to make a greater contribution to our country. The tax code rewards corporations for outsourcing jobs, and their profits overseas, instead of investing here in the United States, and we need to empower companies willing to take the high road. So we are going to crack down on the worst corporate abuses, close loopholes, and place an exit tax on corporations who try to outsource jobs or avoid their fair share of taxes.

**RAISE INCOMES:** Creating enough good-paying jobs with rising incomes is the defining challenge of our time. We must raise the minimum wage, defend overtime pay and protect workers' rights. Provide tax credits to companies that share profits with their workers, end tax breaks for corporations outsourcing jobs, and invest in infrastructure to create millions of good paying jobs.

**INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT:** In my first 100 days, we will work with both parties to pass the biggest investment in new, good-paying jobs since World War II. We can put Americans to work rebuilding out crumbling bridges and roads and investing in clean energy and technology to power a new century of economic growth.

**COLLEGE:** America will only have a middle class if we make college debt-free so more young people can afford their education, and we should be helping generations of Americans refinance their debt from college to a lower rate . We must lift this heavy burden of debt.

**WOMEN ECON AGENDA:** It's time our policies reflect how families live and work in the 21st century so women can get and keep better paying jobs. Let's ensure equal pay for women, guarantee 12 weeks of paid family leave, expand the child tax credit and make quality affordable childcare a reality.

**SPECIAL INTERESTS:** Our democracy should work for everyone, not just the wealthy and well-connected. I will appoint Supreme Court Justices who will protect the right to vote, require outside groups to disclose their political spending so we get dark unaccountable money out of politics, and empower small donors.

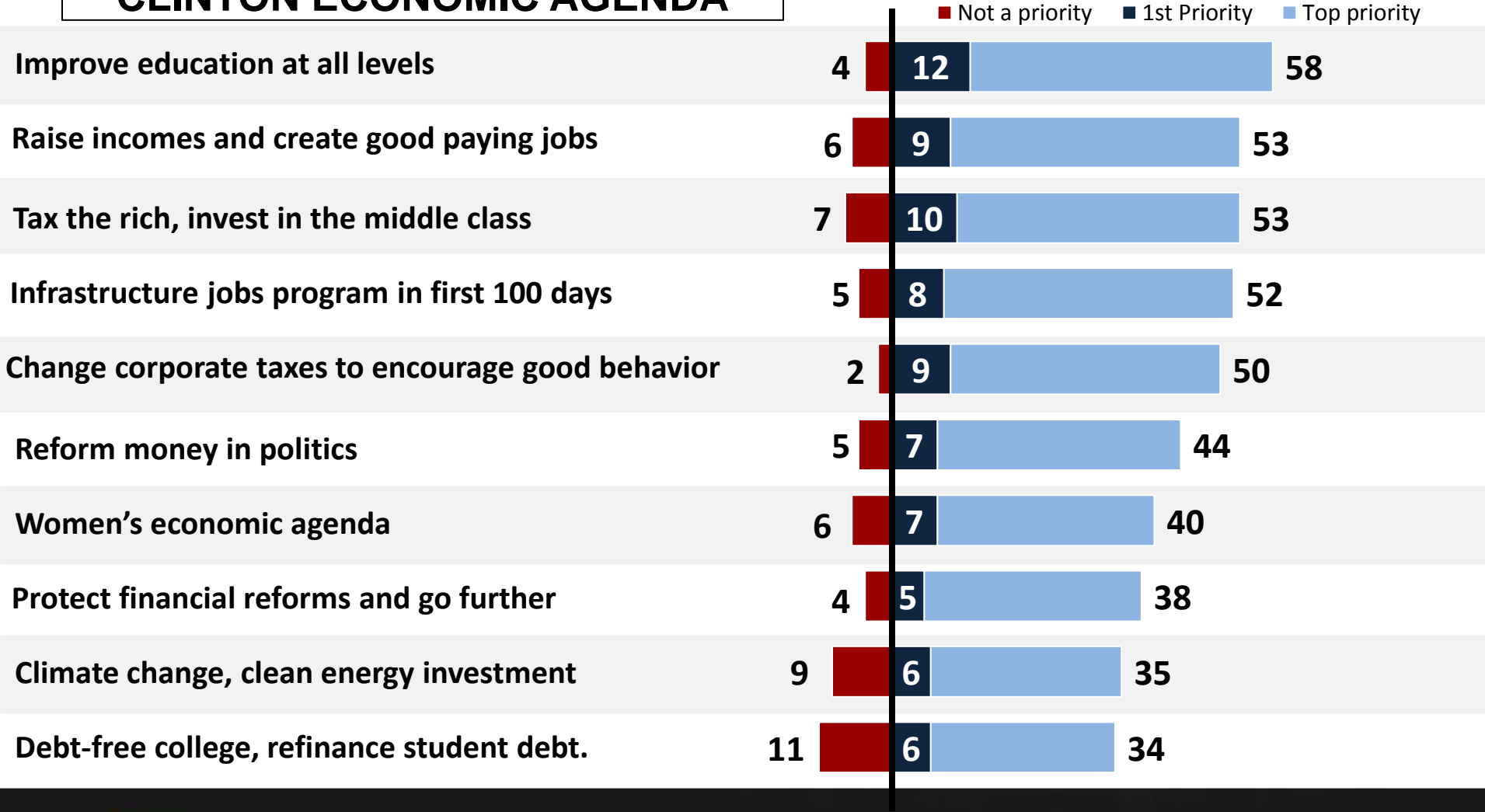
**EDUCATION:** Every child deserves a high-quality education, regardless of their zip code. We must expand access to early childhood education, empower our teachers and invest in our schools at all levels. That means modernizing our schools, updating our curriculums for the 21st century and expanding broadband internet access.

**CLIMATE:** We can tackle the urgent threat of climate change by becoming the world's clean energy superpower, creating millions of good-paying jobs in the process. I want to invest in renewable energy, install half a billion solar panels by the end of my first term, and generate enough clean energy to power every home by 2020.

# Majorities say these things belong at top of list of priorities

And where does this go on the list of priorities for the next President and Congress – the first priority, near the top of the list, the middle of the list, the bottom of the list, or no priority at all?

## CLINTON ECONOMIC AGENDA



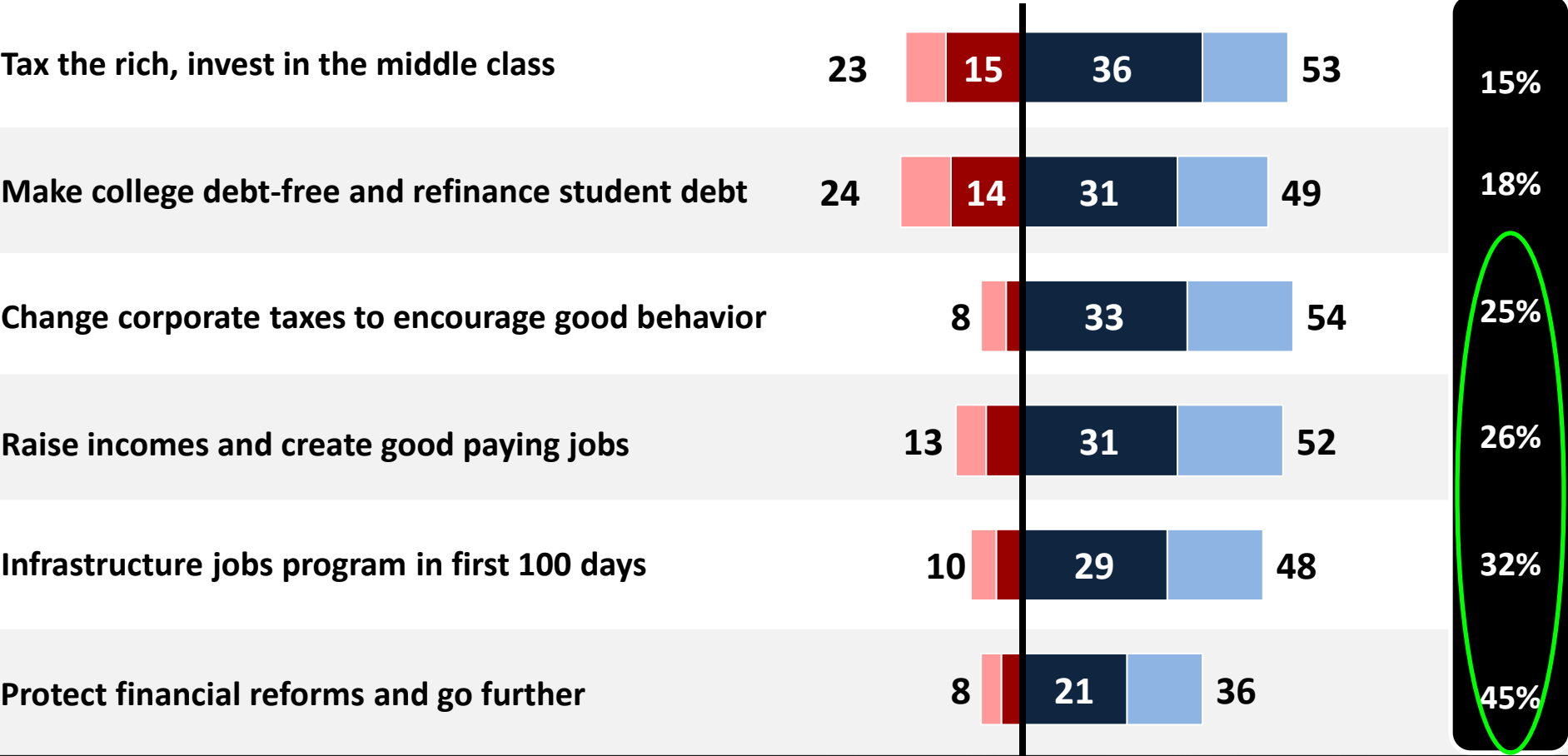
# But many did not hear them during the campaign

Let me read you some things the presidential candidates were saying during their campaign. Did you hear any of the presidential candidates say this during the campaign, yes or no? Did that statement make you more or less likely to support them?

## CLINTON ECONOMIC AGENDA

■ Much less likely to support  
 ■ Much more likely to support

Did NOT Hear





## ROOSEVELT POLICIES

**REFORM CORPORATE GOVERNANCE:** It's time for corporations and CEOs to prioritize long term investments in workers and their companies over short-term gains and speculation. Let's end the practice of tying CEO pay to stock prices so corporations make decisions that encourage long-term growth over short-term personal gain. And let's limit the right of executives to use profits to buy back stock, which only benefits wealthy shareholders.

**FOSTER BETTER MARKETS:** Large corporations have too much power which means less competition, higher prices, lower quality services, lower wages and less innovation. We need regulators who enforce antitrust law and address corporate abuses, lets revise merger guidelines to ensure competition and protect consumers and families, and create a new antitrust law so corporate mergers work for all Americans and consumers.

**LARGE SCALE PUBLIC INVESTMENT:** It's time to make transformational public investments in our nation's infrastructure to fuel economic growth, put Americans to work, and meet the challenges of a 21st century economy. Let's not stop with updating our roads and bridges. Investing in high-speed rail, universal broadband, and a carbon-reducing power grid will level the economic playing field while growing our economy in the long term.

**INVEST IN UNDER-SERVED COMMUNITIES:** Every community needs investments in infrastructure to fuel growth and shared prosperity, but we should prioritize and target investments in communities that need it the most. Targeted investments in communities of color and rural communities that have historically been excluded can help create jobs and the vibrant communities that every American deserves.

**REFORM TRADE:** I will not support TPP or any trade deal that prioritizes corporate interests over American families. I will appoint a commission to reform our trade policies to serve the common good and will ramp up enforcement of trade rules by appointing a new chief trade prosecutor and tripling the number of enforcement officers.

# President-elect can get huge support if proposed RTR's most impactful policies

Now, let me read you some statements that the president elect might say now. Does that statement make you feel much more positive, somewhat more positive, a little more positive or not at all positive about the president elect?

## ROOSEVELT POLICIES

■ Much more positive  
■ Somewhat more positive

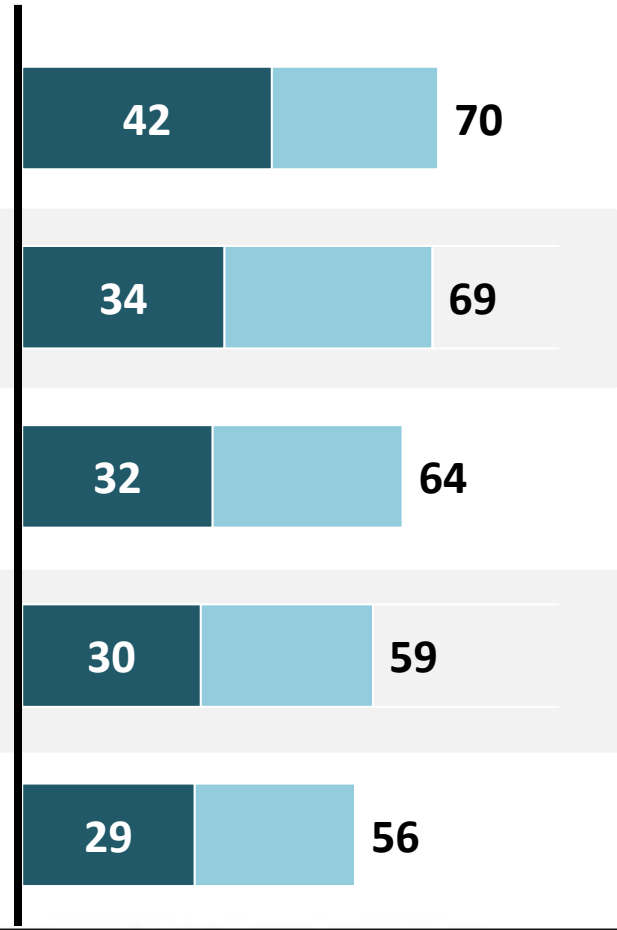
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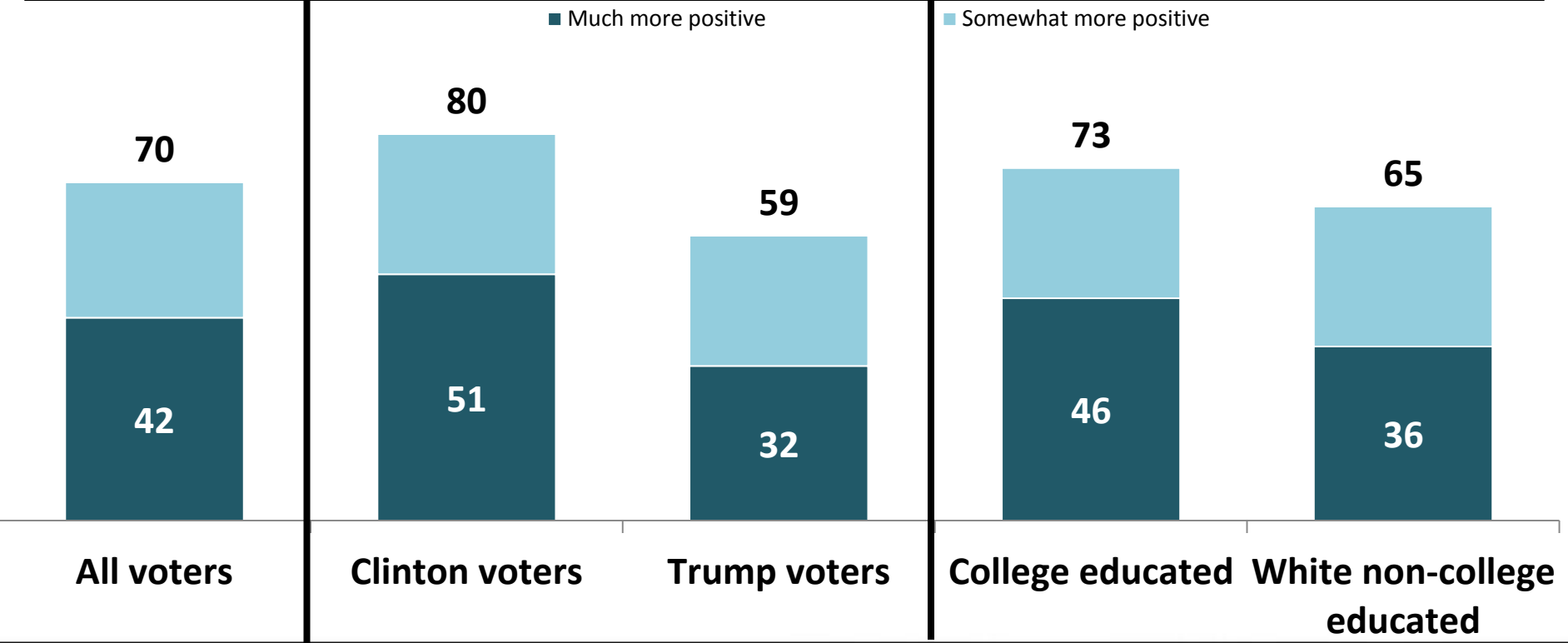
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# Large-scale public investment in infrastructure and more is most supported policy for a next President across divides

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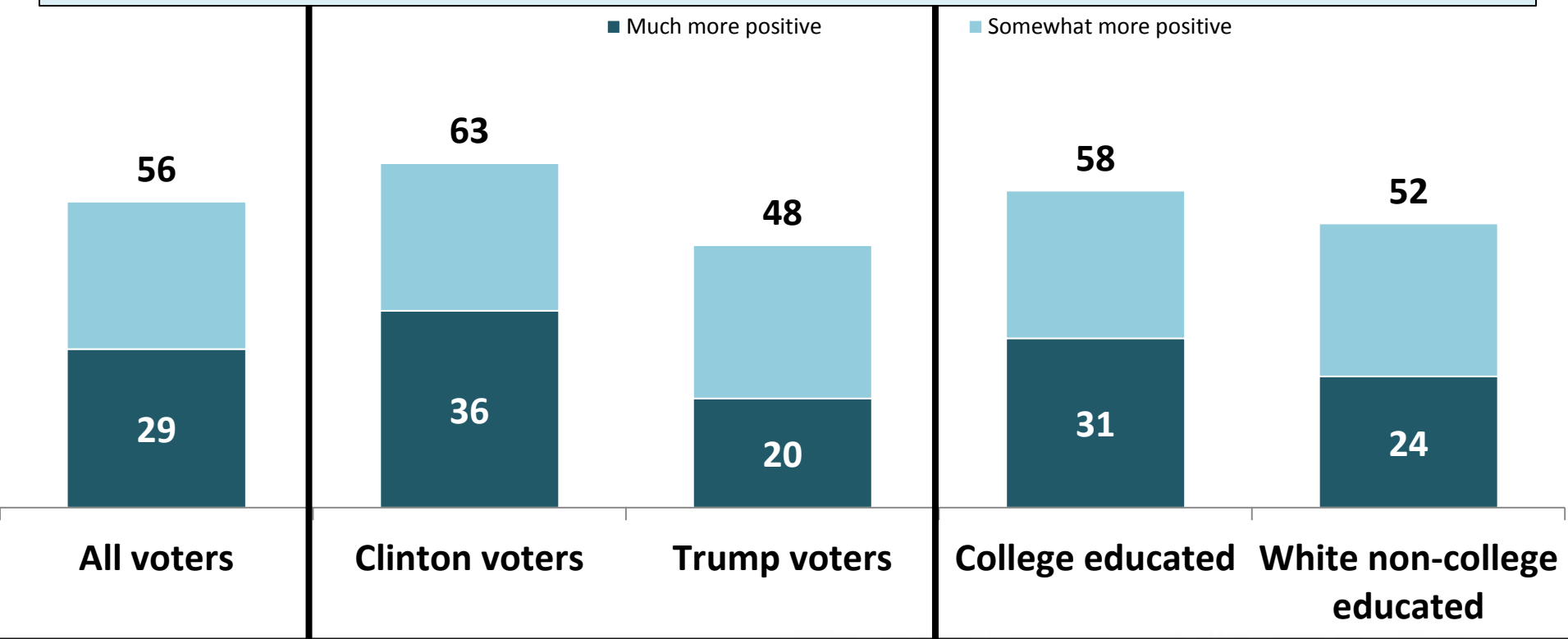
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# Majorities across divides support next president taking on corporate governance

Now, let me read you some statements that the president elect might say now. Does that statement make you feel much more positive, somewhat more positive, a little more positive or not at all positive about the president elect?

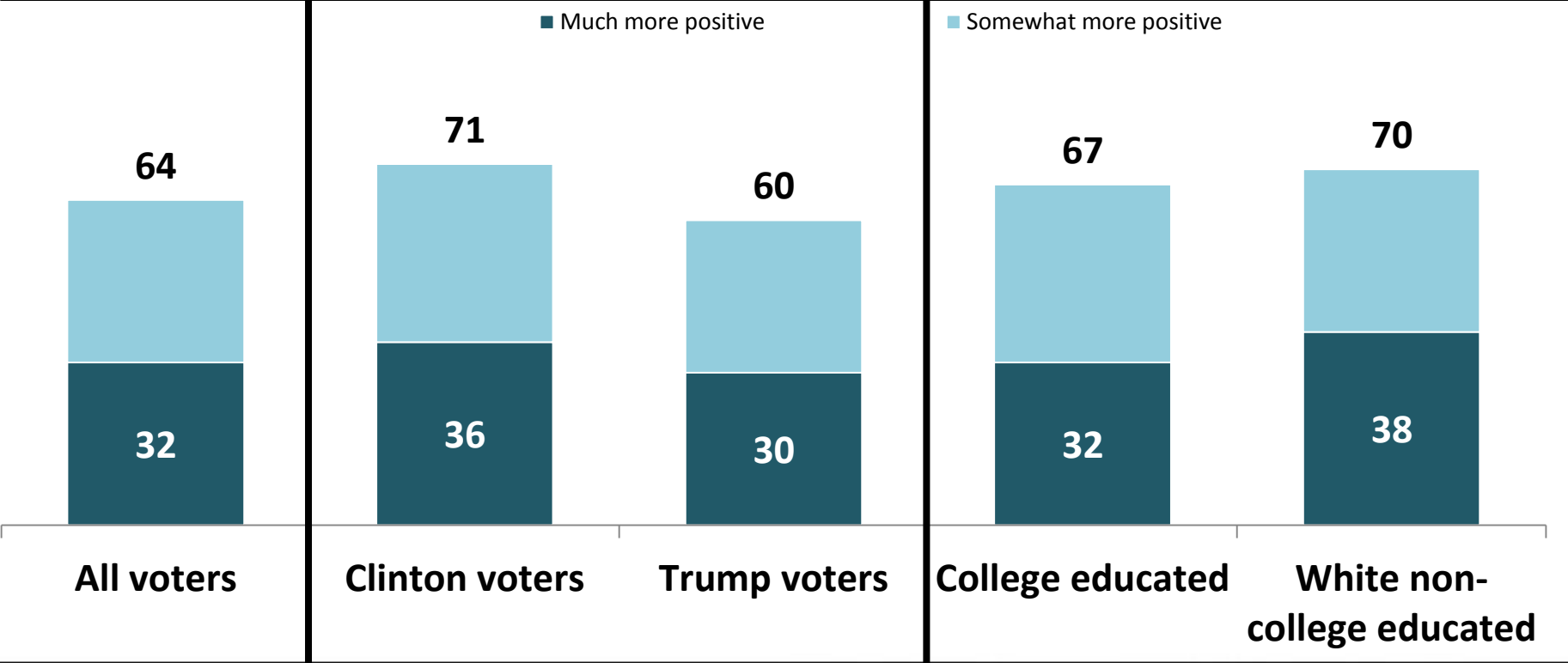
**REFORM CORPORATE GOVERNANCE:** It's time for corporations and CEOs to prioritize long term investments in workers and their companies over short-term gains and speculation. Let's end the practice of tying CEO pay to stock prices so corporations make decisions that encourage long-term growth over short-term personal gain. And let's limit the right of executives to use profits to buy back stock, which only benefits wealthy shareholders.



# Incredible support across divides for President-elect pushing reforms to create more competitive markets

Now, let me read you some statements that the president elect might say now. Does that statement make you feel much more positive, somewhat more positive, a little more positive or not at all positive about the president elect?

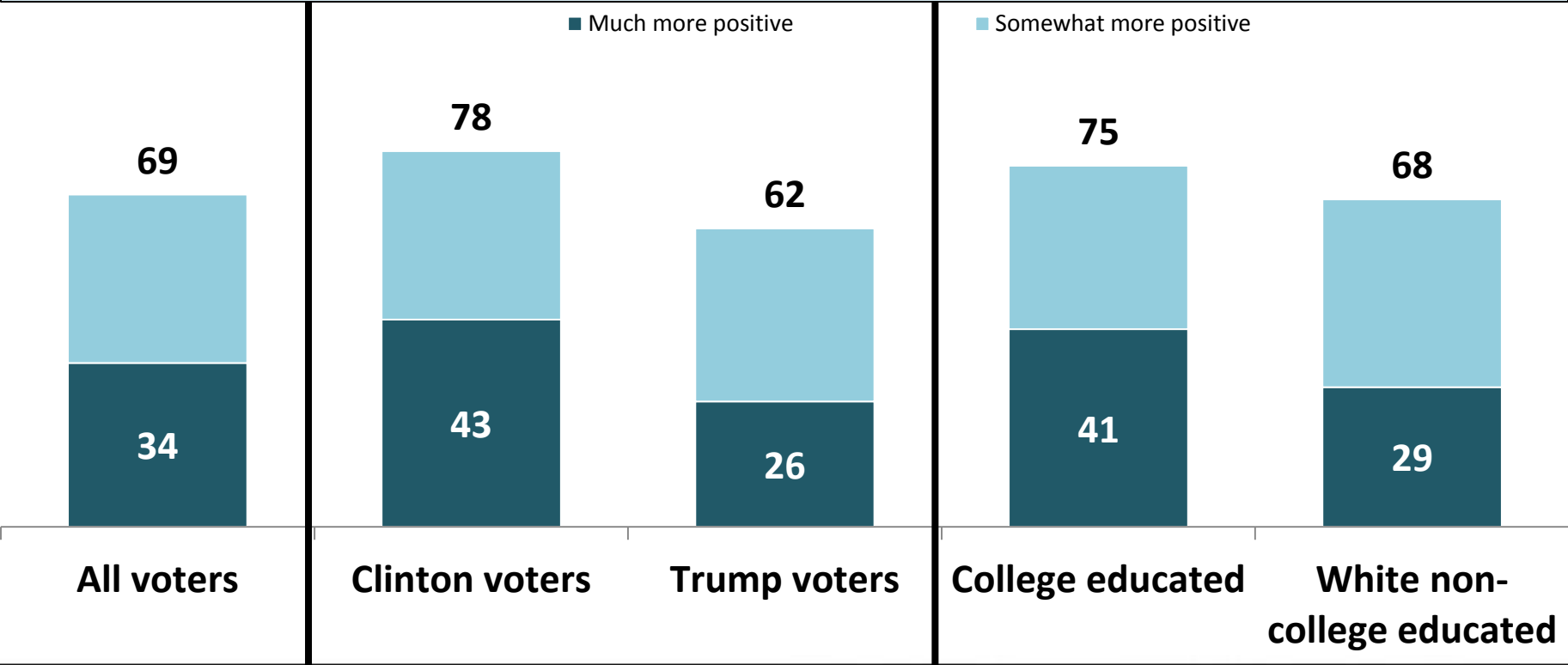
**CREATE BETTER MARKETS:** Large corporations have too much power which means less competition, higher prices, lower quality services, lower wages and less innovation. We need regulators who enforce antitrust law and address corporate abuses, lets revise merger guidelines to ensure competition and protect consumers and families, and create a new antitrust law so corporate mergers work for all Americans and consumers.



# Strong support for investing in under-served communities

Now, let me read you some statements that the president elect might say now. Does that statement make you feel much more positive, somewhat more positive, a little more positive or not at all positive about the president elect?

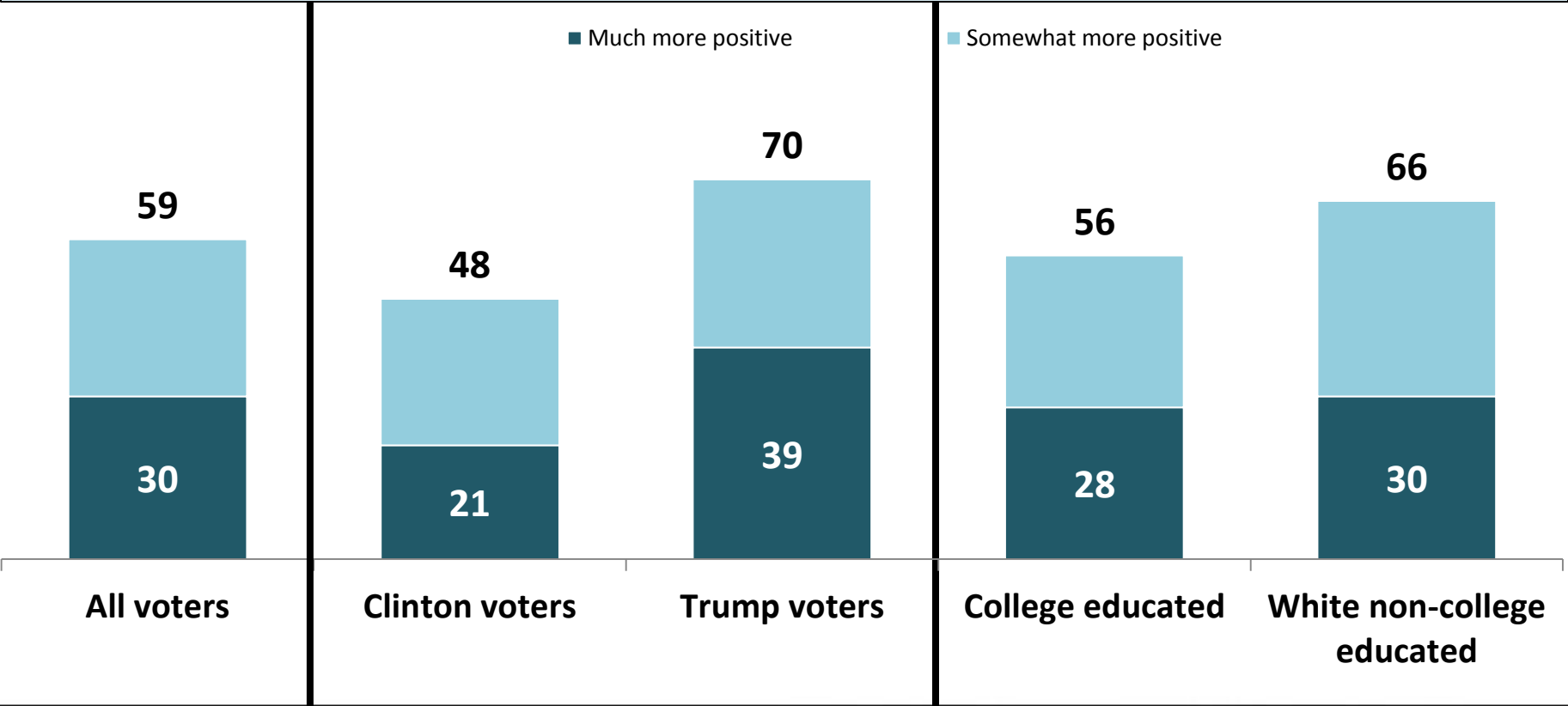
**INVEST IN UNDER-SERVED COMMUNITIES:** Every community needs investments in infrastructure to fuel growth and shared prosperity, but we should prioritize and target investments in communities that need it the most. Targeted investments in communities of color and rural communities that have historically been excluded can help create jobs and the vibrant communities that every American deserves.



# Strong support for limiting corporate influence & new trade prosecutor

Now, let me read you some statements that the president elect might say now. Does that statement make you feel much more positive, somewhat more positive, a little more positive or not at all positive about the president elect?

**TRADE:** I will not support TPP or any trade deal that prioritizes corporate interests over American families. I will appoint a commission to reform our trade policies to serve the common good and will ramp up enforcement of trade rules by appointing a new chief trade prosecutor and tripling the number of enforcement officers.



# Voters want bold changes, starting with appointments

Please tell me which one you agree with more, even if neither is exactly right.

■ Much more

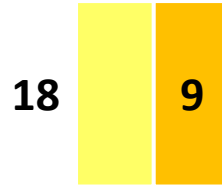
■ Somewhat more

■ Much more

■ Somewhat more

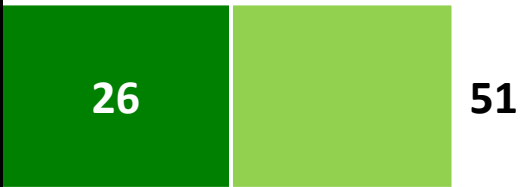
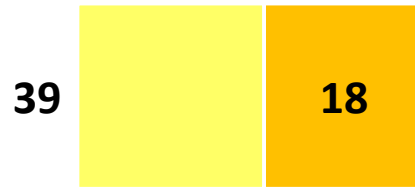
Presidential appointments do not have much of an impact on how the rules are applied and the economy works.

The type of people the next President appoints to key positions can have a major impact on how the rules are applied and the economy works.



It is more important that the next President's economic team have experience working at financial institutions they will regulate.

It is more important that the next President's economic team does not have ties to Wall Street and the financial institutions they will regulate.





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