



DEMOCRACY CORPS
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GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER

STRATEGY + RESEARCH

Public anger about corporate power dominant factor in views on trade & TPP

July 2016

CAMPAIGNS

CORPORATIONS

ADVOCACY

WORLDWIDE

Methodology

National survey of 900 likely 2016 voters.

This survey took place June 23 - 28. Respondents who voted in the 2012 election, 2014 election, or registered since the 2014 election were selected from the national voter file. Likely voters were determined based on 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 = +/-3.27 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error will be higher among subgroups.

Sixty-six percent of respondents were reached by cell phone, in order to account for ever-changing demographics and accurately sample the full electorate in each state.

Regression analysis.

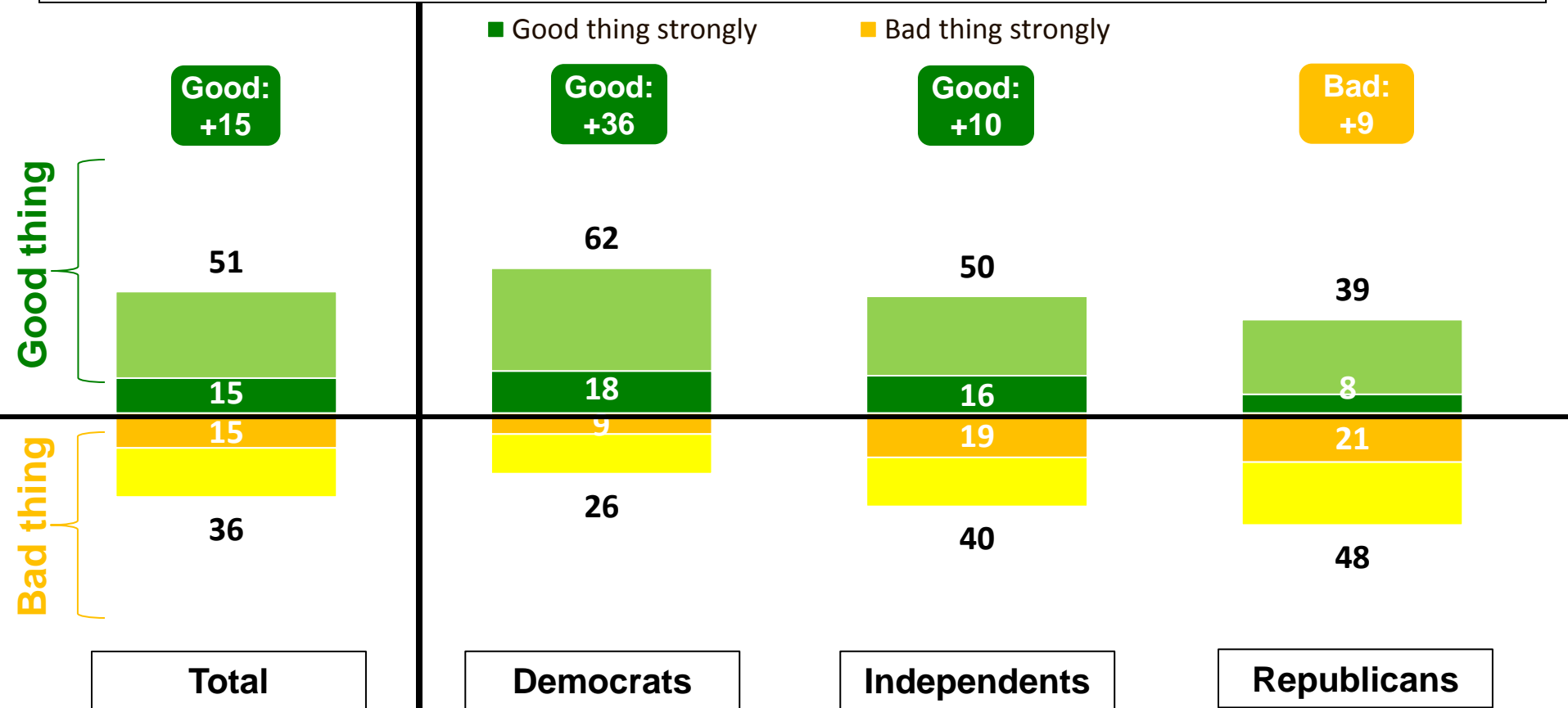
A series of fractional logistic regressions were conducted to obtain the marginal effects of the explanatory variable (TPP statements and arguments) on outcome variables (re-asks on the value of past trade deals, re-ask on support for TPP, and support for a Member of Congress voting for TPP), representing the change in outcome probabilities estimated for the explanatory variable, all else held equal. No causation is implied by these results.

STARTING POINT

Americans say without intensity, past deals are good, with Democrats more favorable than GOP

In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the United States and other countries have been a good thing or bad thing for the United States?

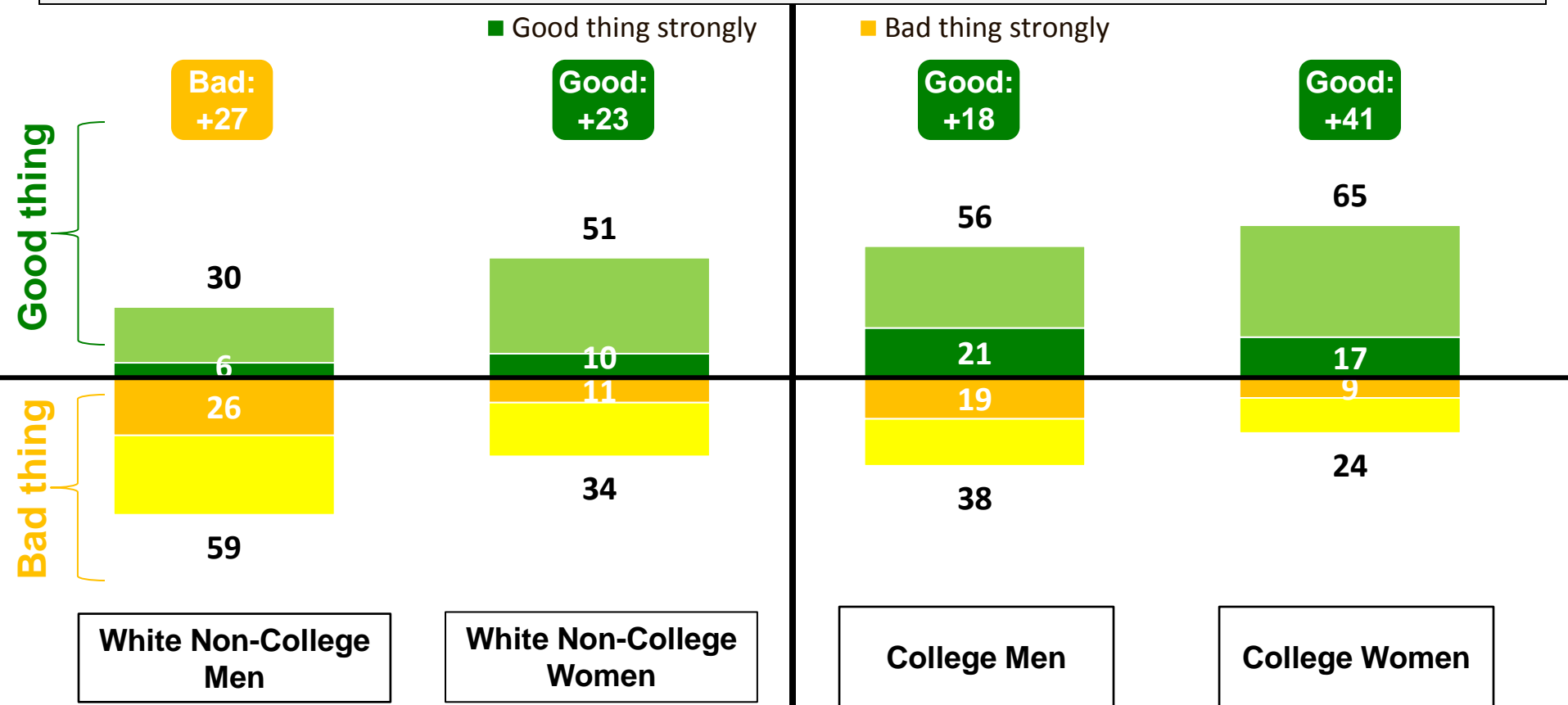
Have past trade agreements been a good thing or bad thing for the US?



White working class men oppose, college women in favor

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Have past trade agreements been a good thing or bad thing for the US?

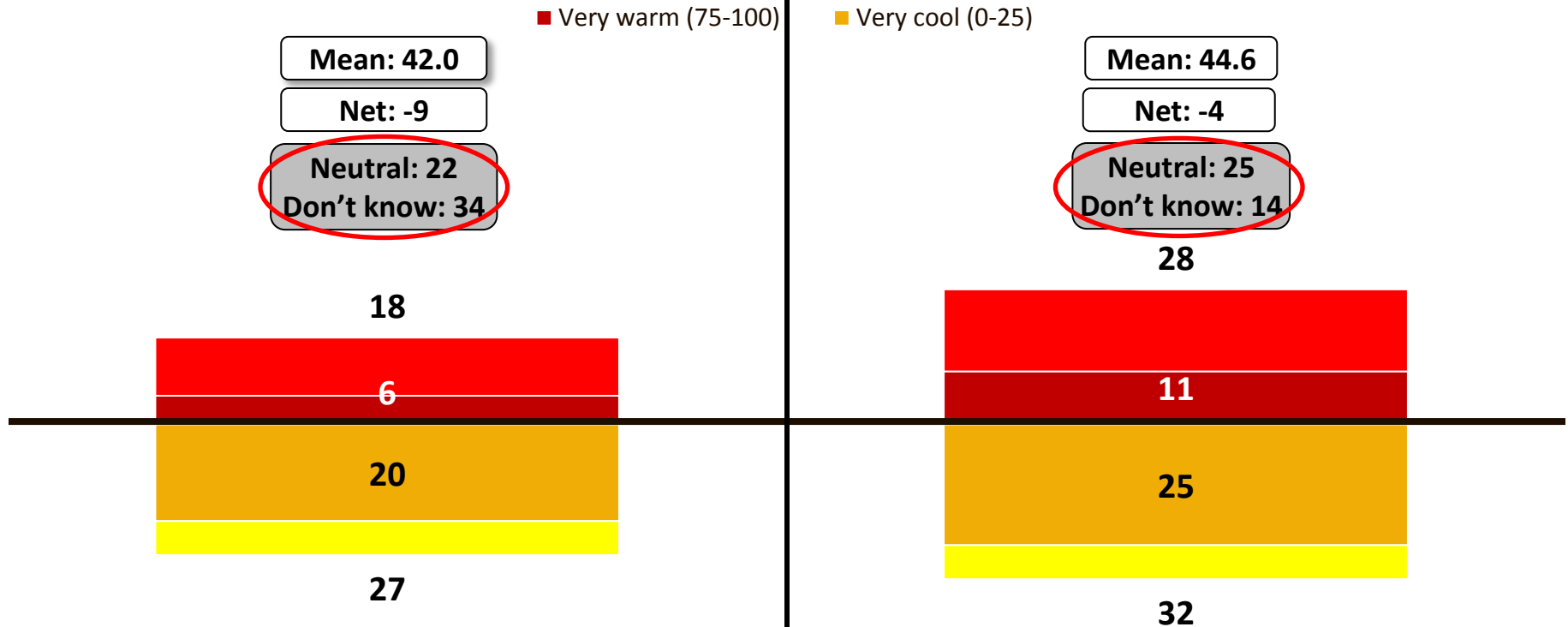


Slight negative starting point on trade, but TPP views still unformed

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.

The Trans-Pacific Partnership, known as TPP, the proposed new trade agreement between the United States and 11 other Pacific and Latin American countries [, *such as Vietnam, Australian, Mexico and Japan*]

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

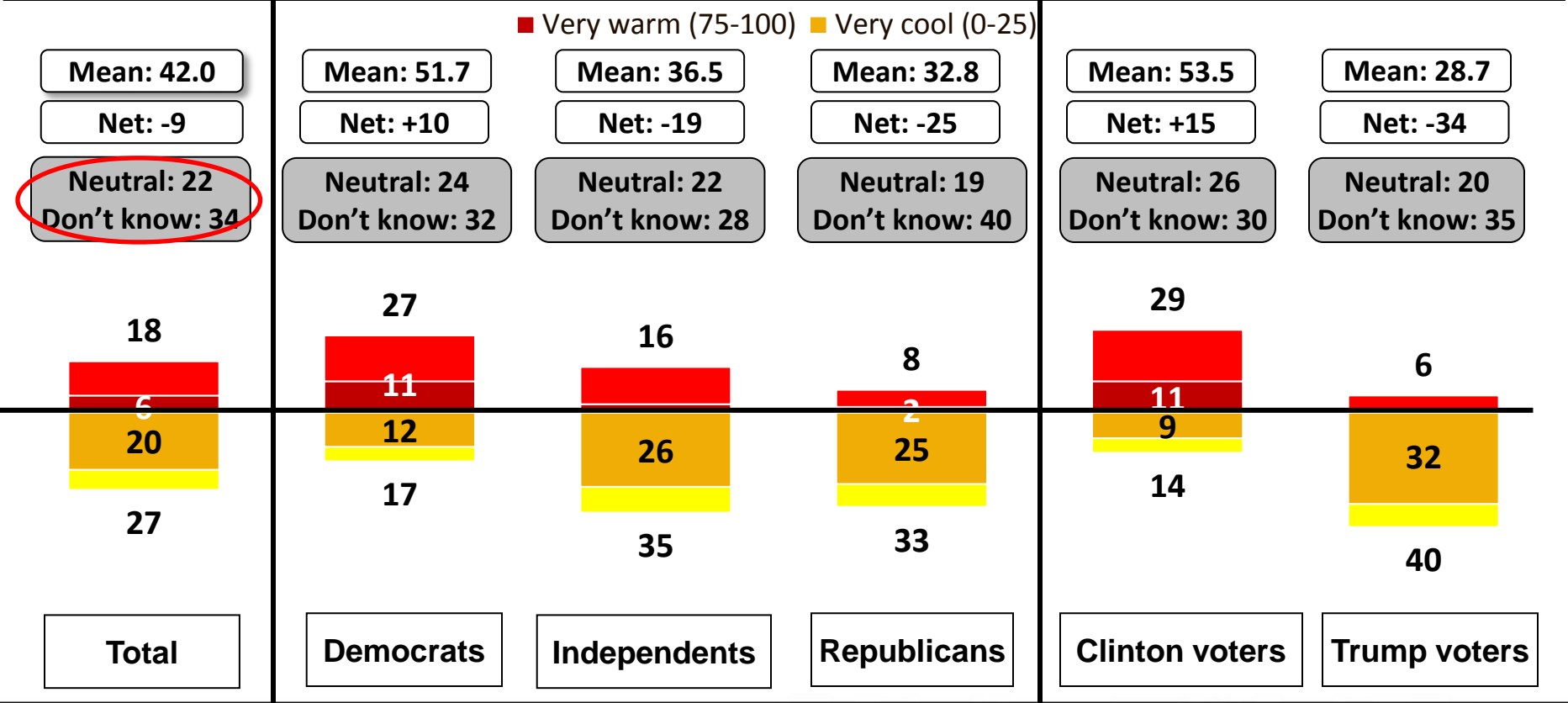


Democrats warmest, but TPP mostly unknown/neutral

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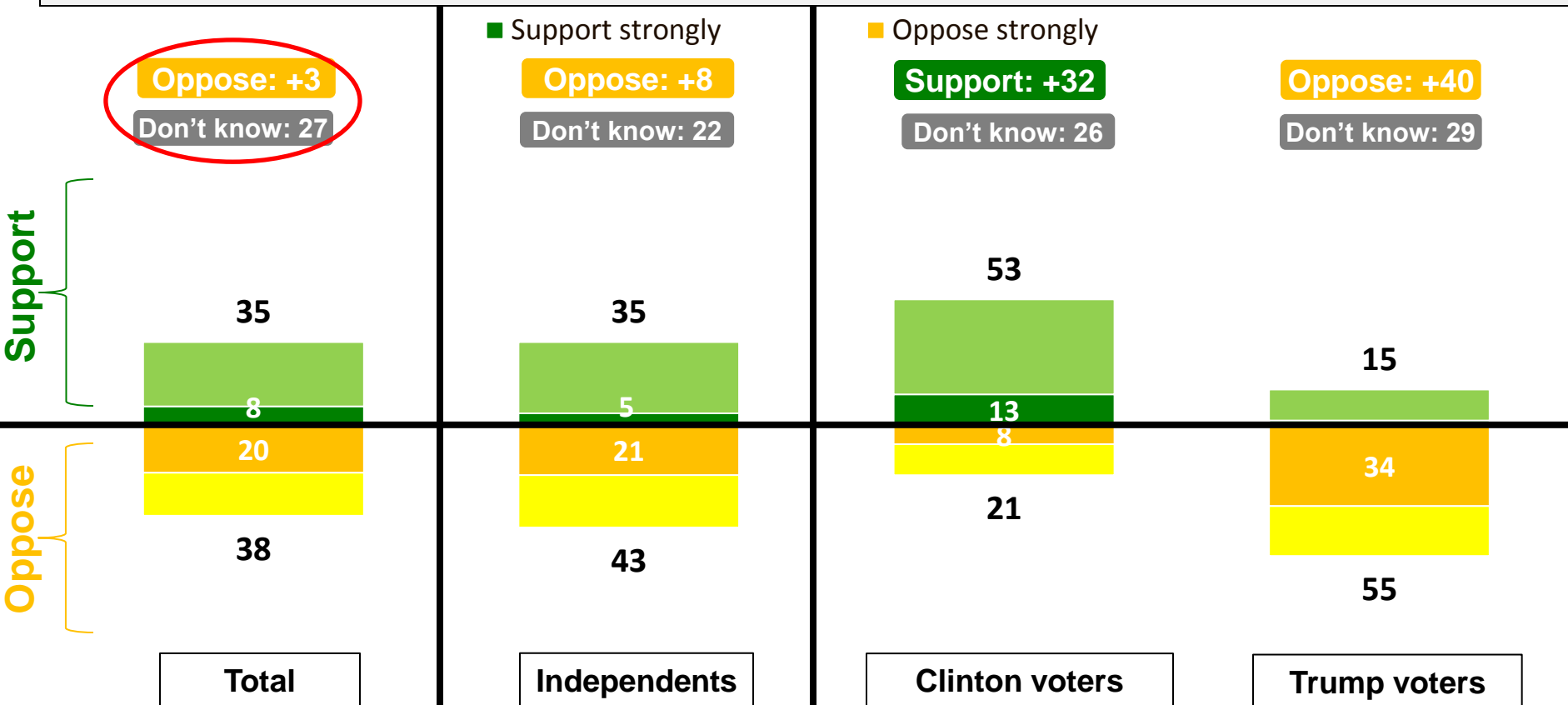
■ Very warm (75-100) ■ Very cool (0-25)



Many still undecided on TPP and opinions lack intensity

As you may know, the United States is currently considering a new trade agreement with 11 other countries in Asia and Latin America called the Trans-Pacific Partnership or TPP. From what you know, do you support or oppose the Trans-Pacific Partnership?

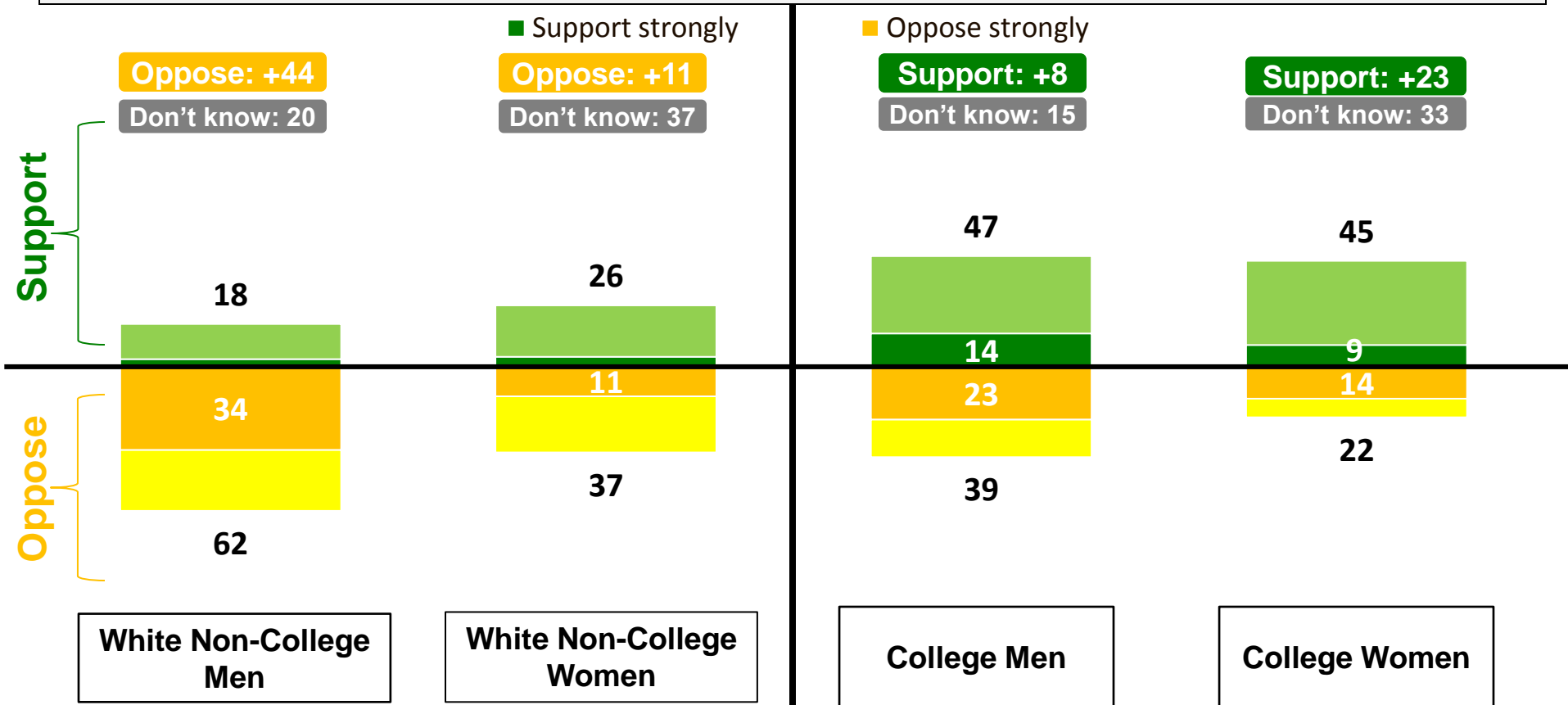
Do you support or oppose the Trans-Pacific Partnership?



White working class men ready to oppose TPP

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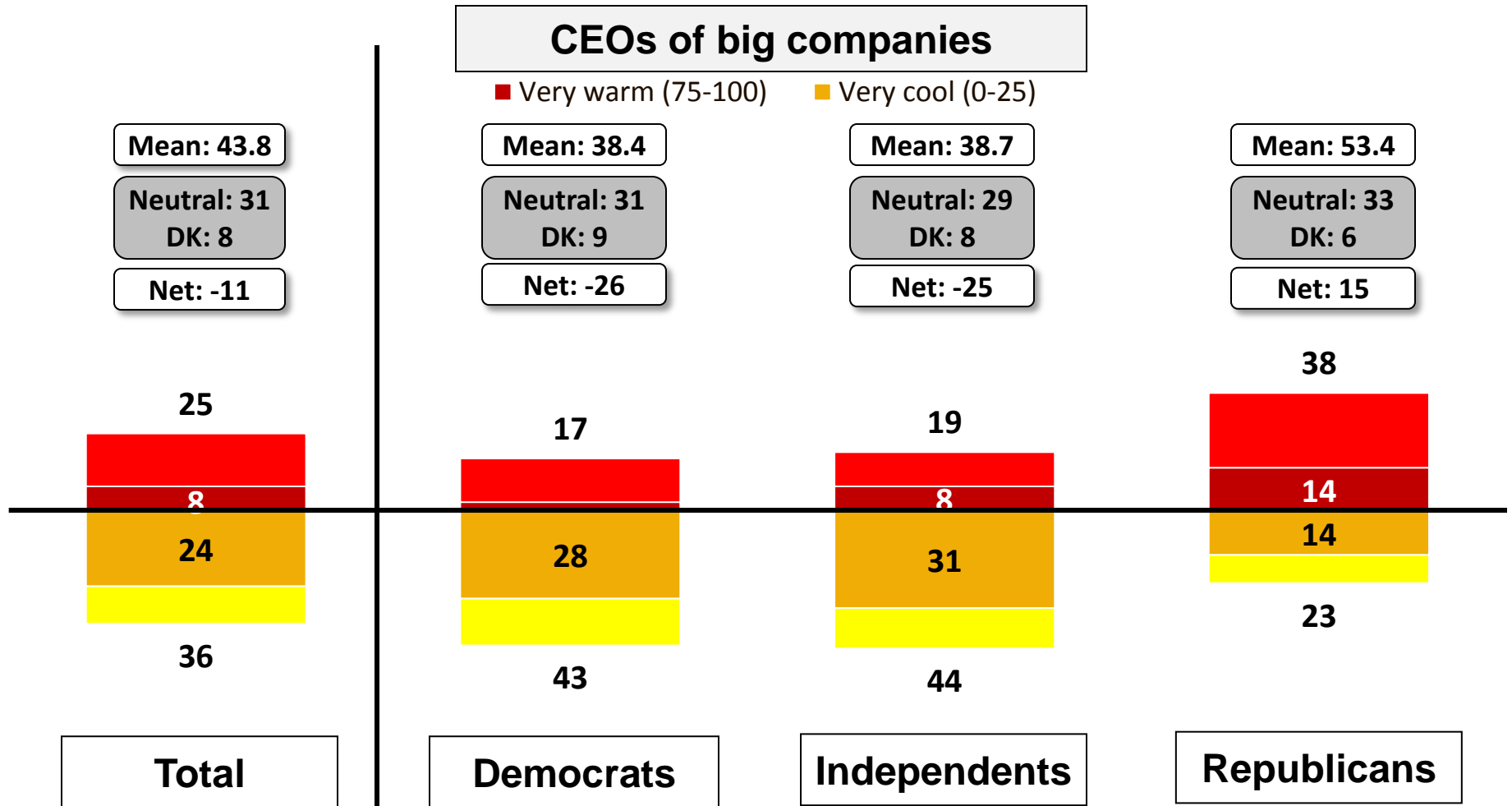
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TRADE DEBATE

Anti-corporate mood animating electorate with intensity, unlike trade

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Opposition statements about TPP are very powerful

Now, I'm going to read you what some economists, consumer groups and political leaders who OPPOSE the agreement are saying about it. Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or not at all convincing reason to OPPOSE the TPP?

TPP OPPOSITION STATEMENTS

ANTI-CORPORATE + ISDS FOCUS

The TPP covers 40 percent of the global economy, yet it was **negotiated in secret with hundreds of corporate advisors** while the public was locked out. The key provision in **TPP grants new rights to thousands of foreign corporations to sue the U.S. government before a panel of 3 corporate lawyers**. These lawyers can award the corporations **unlimited sums to be paid by America's taxpayers**, including for the loss of **expected future profits**. These foreign corporations need only convince the lawyers that a U.S. law or safety regulation violates their TPP rights. Their **decisions are not subject to appeal** and the **amount awarded has no limit**. This agreement is not good for American taxpayers. It means **higher drug prices**. It makes it easier to **send jobs overseas**, means **fewer jobs and lower wages**, and a government that doesn't work for us.

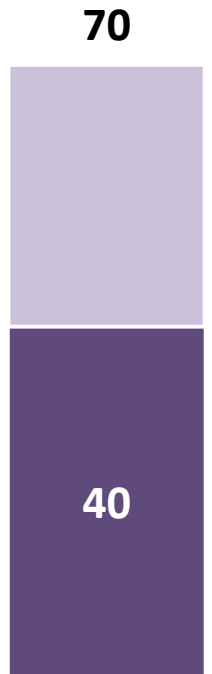
Very convincing



ANTI-CORPORATE + ISDS + JOBS/WAGES + SAFETY

The TPP covers 40 percent of the global economy, yet it was **negotiated in secret with hundreds of corporate advisors** while the public was locked out. It grants **new rights to foreign corporations to sue the U.S. government before a panel of 3 corporate lawyers**. Modeled after past trade agreements that have already cost us millions of American jobs, it would make it even **easier for corporations to ship jobs overseas**. It would **lower wages** by pitting Americans against workers making 65 cents an hour in countries like Vietnam. The TPP will also **require us to import food that does not meet U.S. safety standards**, limit policies to combat **climate change**, and **raise drug prices**. This TPP trade agreement is not good for American taxpayers and workers. It means that government will not work for working families and the middle class.

Very convincing



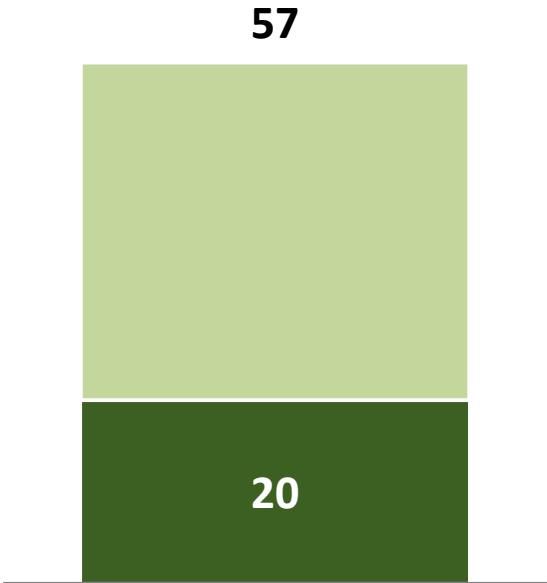
Pro-TPP statement much less convincing

Now, I'm going to read you what President Obama, some Republican leaders and major American businesses who SUPPORT the agreement are saying about it. Is that a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or not at all convincing reason to SUPPORT the TPP?

PRO-TPP STATEMENT

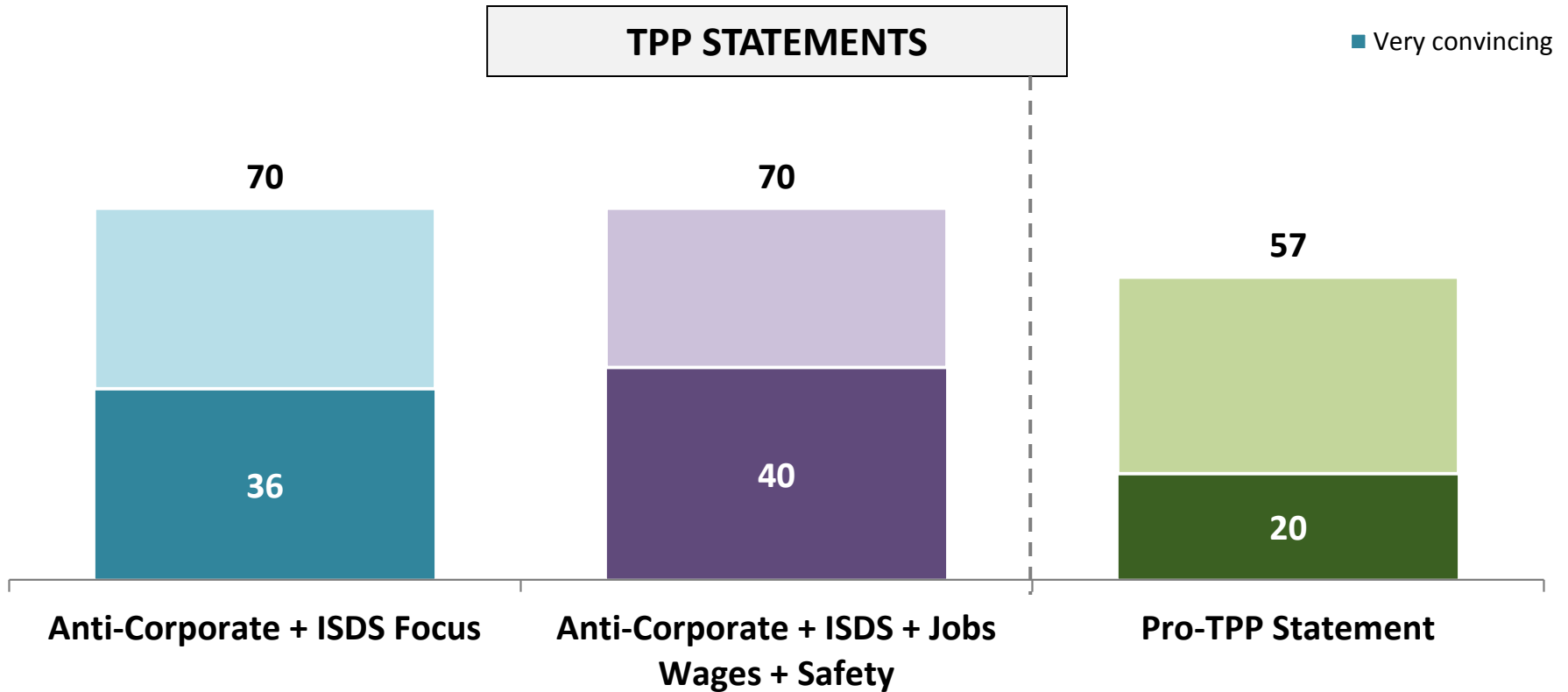
The TPP is a new trade agreement that brings together 12 countries representing 40 percent of the global economy. It would strengthen America's economy by removing barriers to selling our goods overseas, including eliminating more than 18,000 taxes other countries put on products made in America. It levels the playing field and improves people's lives in partner countries by setting the highest enforceable labor and environmental standards. It strengthens the intellectual property protections our innovators need to take risks and create. Once the TPP is in place, American businesses will export more and that means supporting more higher-paying jobs here. As we speak, China is negotiating a trade deal that would carve up these fast-growing markets at our expense, putting American jobs and businesses at risk. But TPP will ensure America writes the rules for the global economy in the 21st century, not China.

■ Very convincing



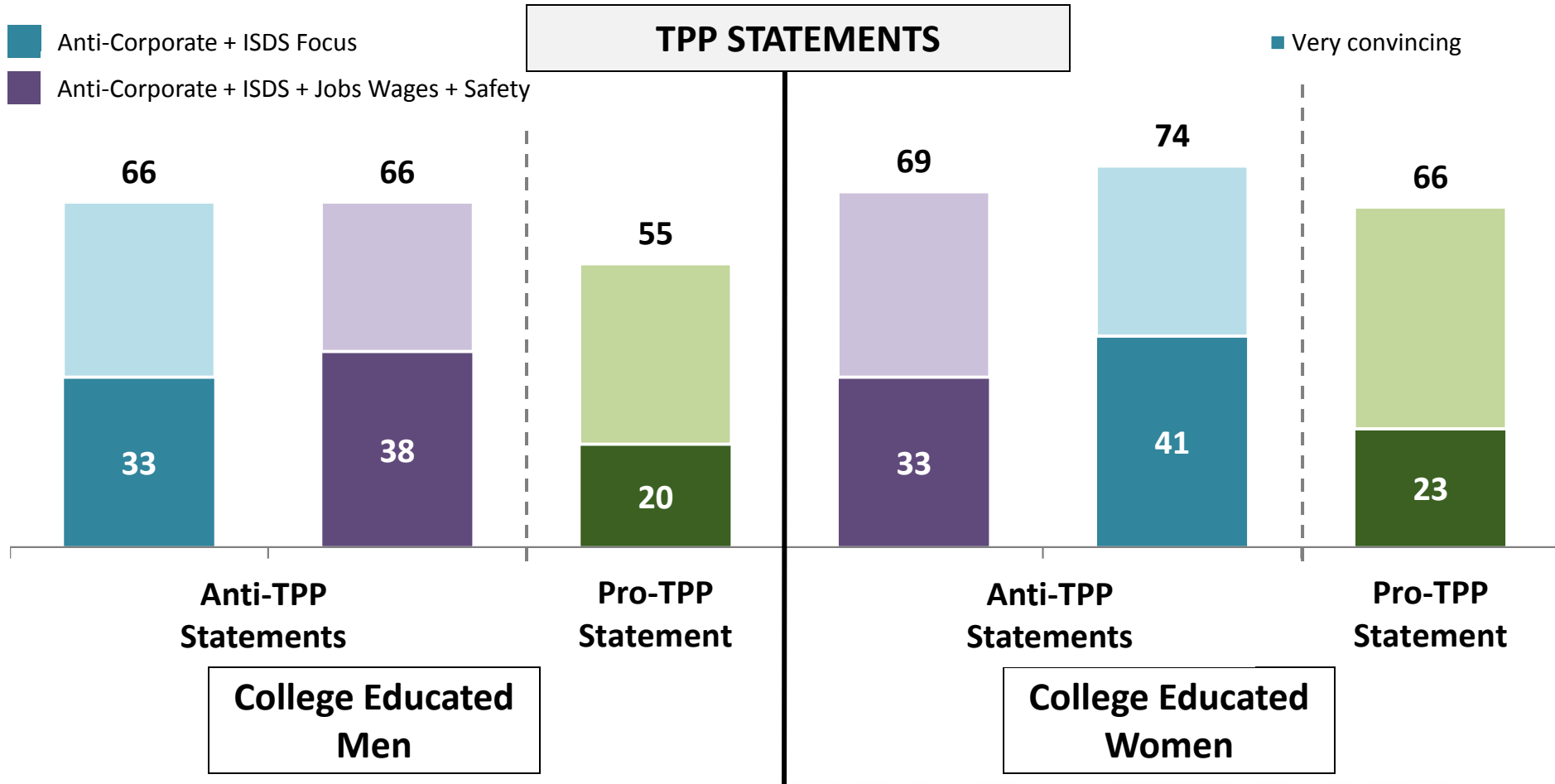
Both opposition statements dominate pro-TPP proposition and shifts opinions

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The college educated are listening to the TPP opposition

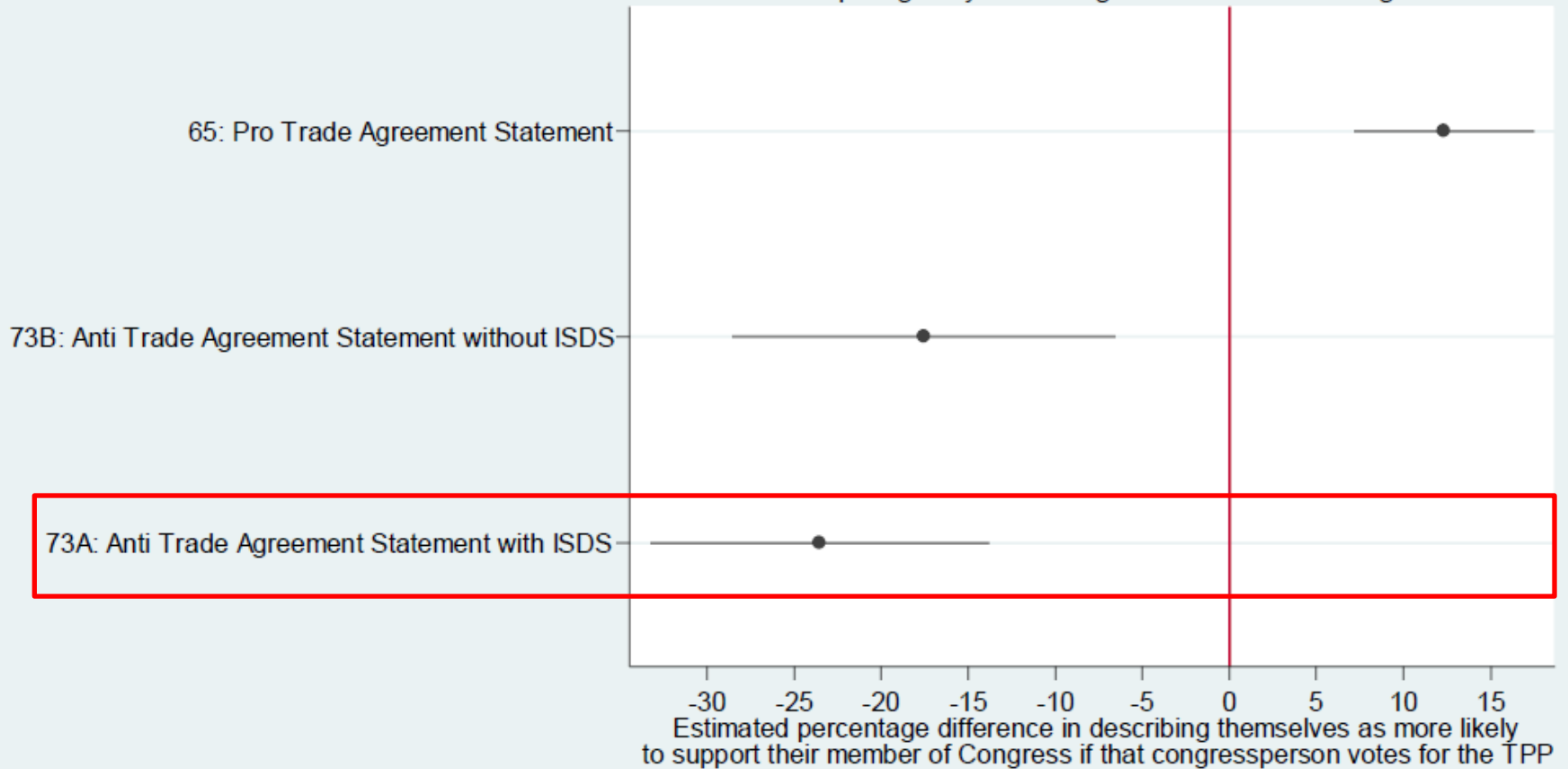
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ISDS-anti-TPP statement has biggest impact on punishing member of Congress

TPP Statements on Support for Pro-TPP Congressperson

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



Cutting taxes to create export jobs, human rights top pro-TPP list

Now I'm going to read you some things SUPPORTERS of the new trade agreement are saying. Please tell me whether it is a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or not at all convincing reason to SUPPORT the TPP.

ARGUMENTS FOR TPP

CUTS TAXES/CREATE EXPORT JOBS: TPP eliminates 18,000 taxes other countries put on American-made goods so we can export more. The more American businesses sell abroad, the more high-paying American jobs we can maintain and create here at home.

HUMAN RIGHTS: TPP has the strongest labor and environmental standards of any trade agreement ever negotiated, including bans on forced labor and requiring countries to allow independent unions, protecting some of the most vulnerable populations in the world

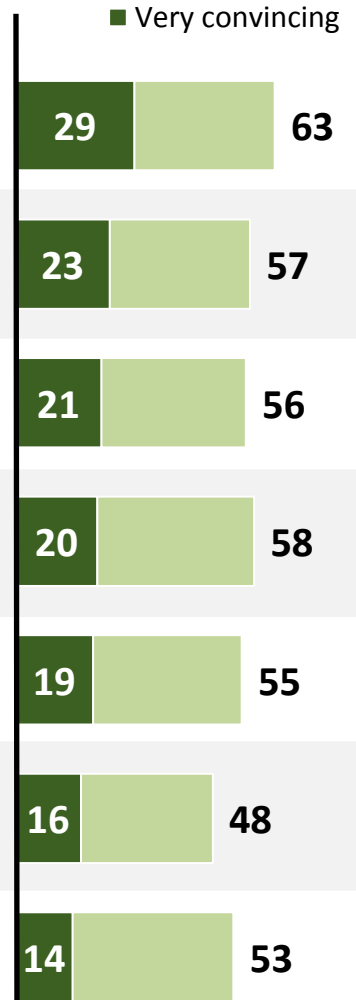
CHINA: China is negotiating its own trade agreement with Asian nations that excludes the U.S. TPP will ensure American businesses have better access to fast-growing Asian markets and solidify our leadership in the Pacific so America, not China, writes the rules of the global economy in the 21st century.

SMALL BIZ: By cutting taxes other countries charge on American goods and eliminating paperwork, the TPP will make it easier for small businesses to export and do business overseas so every American business can benefit from the global economy.

PRO-ISDS: TPP will ensure American businesses, including small businesses, are treated fairly when operating overseas by guaranteeing the basic principles of U.S. law are respected and providing a neutral venue to solve disputes with governments in countries that have weak legal systems

LEVEL FIELD: TPP strengthens the rule of law in the Asia-Pacific region and ensures other countries play by America's rules because when American workers and businesses compete on a level playing field, nobody in the world can beat us.

UNLIKE NAFTA: Trade deals haven't always lived up to the hype. The TPP updates our existing trade agreements and allows us to correct the problems on past trade agreements like NAFTA to bring them more in line with our goals and values.



Six top anti-TPP arguments beat top pro-TPP argument

Now I'm going to read you what some *OPPONENTS* are saying about the new trade agreement, TPP. Please tell me whether it raises very serious doubts, somewhat serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about TPP?

ARGUMENTS AGAINST TPP

FOOD SAFETY: The U.S. currently rejects a significant portion of food imports from TPP countries like Vietnam and Malaysia as unsafe, but TPP would require us to accept food imports that do not meet U.S. safety standards.

ISDS LAWYERS: TPP will allow foreign corporations to sue the U.S. government in private tribunals/ corporate courts run by three corporate lawyers who rotate between judging these cases and representing corporations, which is a conflict of interest, and there is no outside appeal

ISDS FUTURE PROFITS: Under TPP, the American taxpayers could be forced to pay foreign corporations compensation for any American law or safety rule. They can sue for their current losses but also future expected profits, and there is no limit to the amount they can win from U.S. taxpayers.

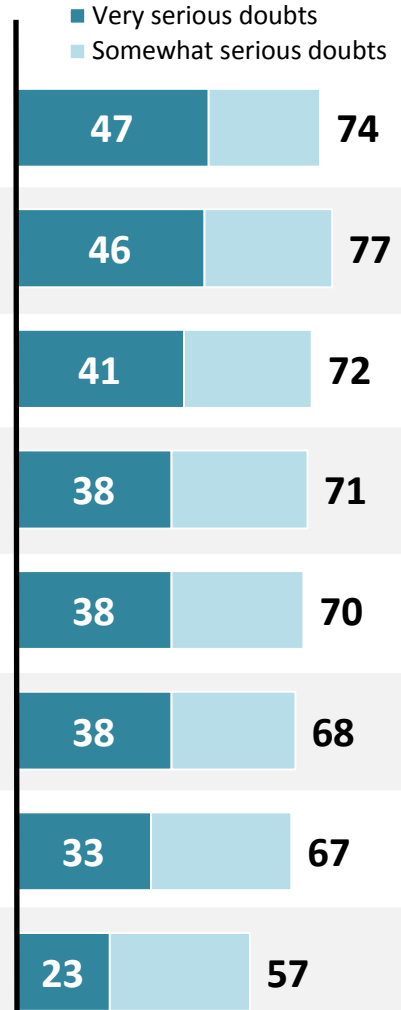
LOWER WAGES/FEWER JOBS: TPP will pit American workers against workers in Vietnam making less than 65 cents an hour. Economists who have looked at this deal say it will lower wages for 90 percent of Americans and gives corporations more incentives to move American jobs overseas

ISDS CORPORATE RIGHTS: TPP gives foreign corporations that come to the U.S. even more rights and privileges than the American people and our businesses, and elevates foreign corporations to the status of the U.S. government by allowing them to sue our country in special tribunals/corporate courts.

SECRET CORPORATE NEGOTIATIONS: The terms of the new TPP trade agreement were negotiated in secret with over 500 corporate advisors, but the people, the press, and even the U.S. Congress were shut out so it favors corporations, not working families.

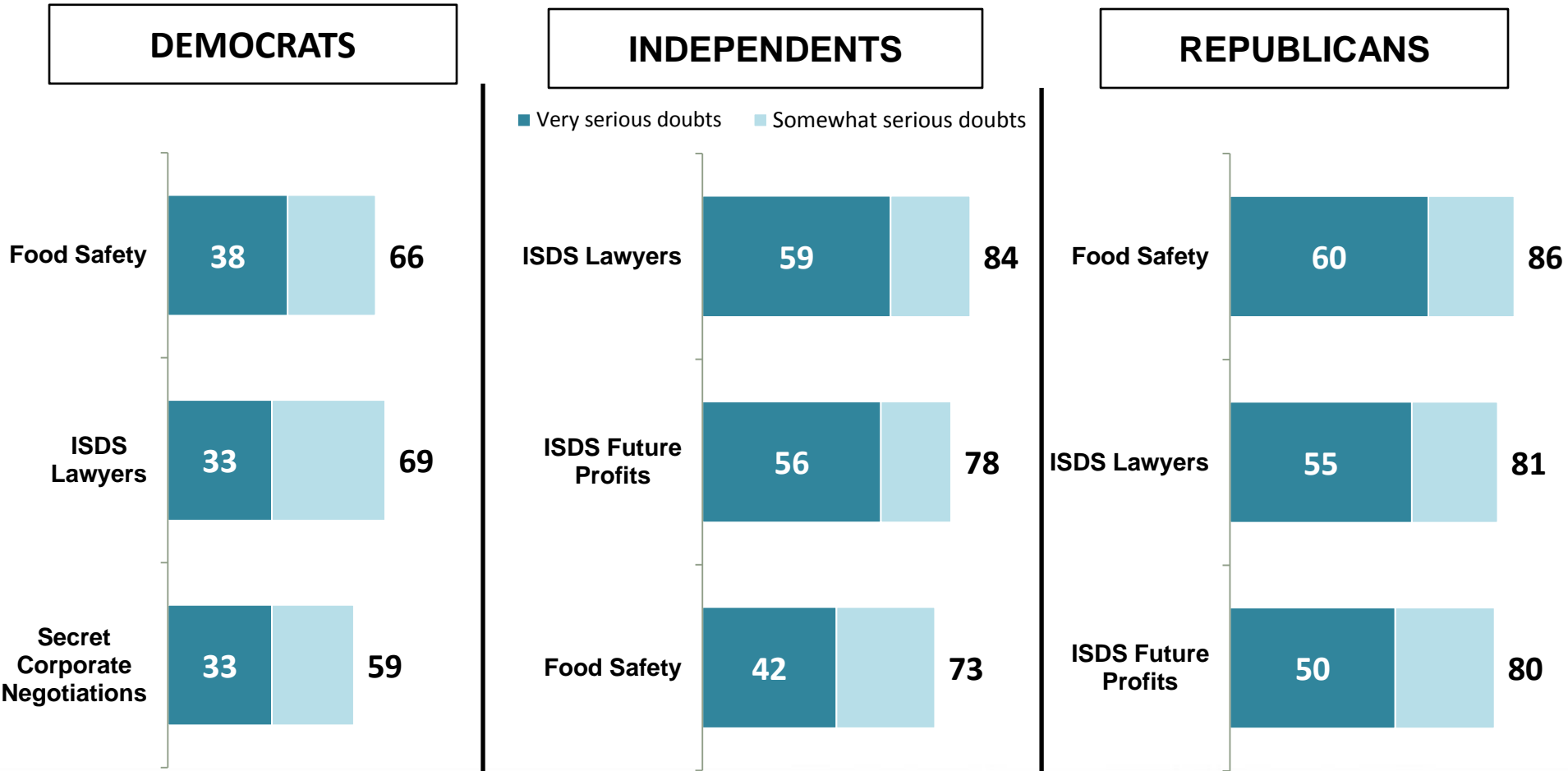
BIPARTISAN DISAPPROVAL: For the first time, the presidential nominees of both parties, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, oppose this new trade agreement because it does nothing to stop currency manipulation, will hurt U.S. wages and jobs, and means higher drug prices

BAD FOR CLIMATE: All of the countries in the world are working to combat climate change, but TPP would forbid many of the policies we need to stop the climate crisis.



ISDS lawyers (awarding for *future* profits lost) and food safety concerns strongest across party lines

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Democrats not initially opposed to TPP share ISDS lawyers, food concerns

Democrats NOT Opposed to TPP

ARGUMENTS AGAINST TPP

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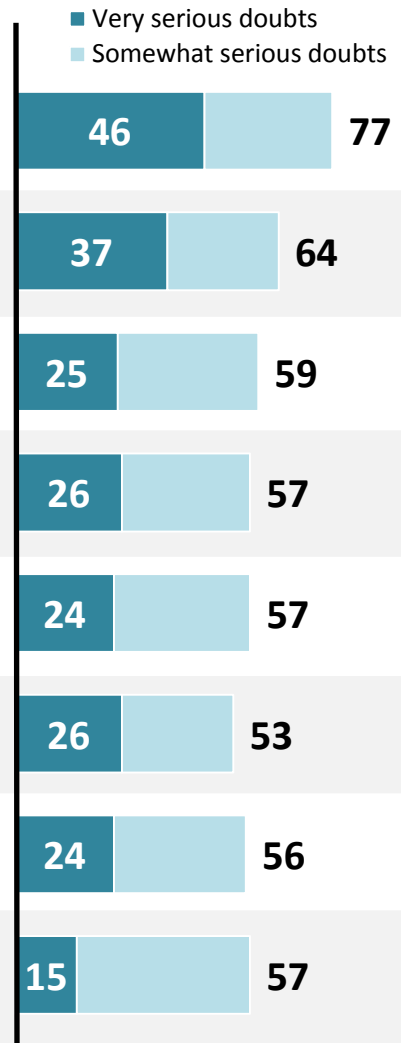
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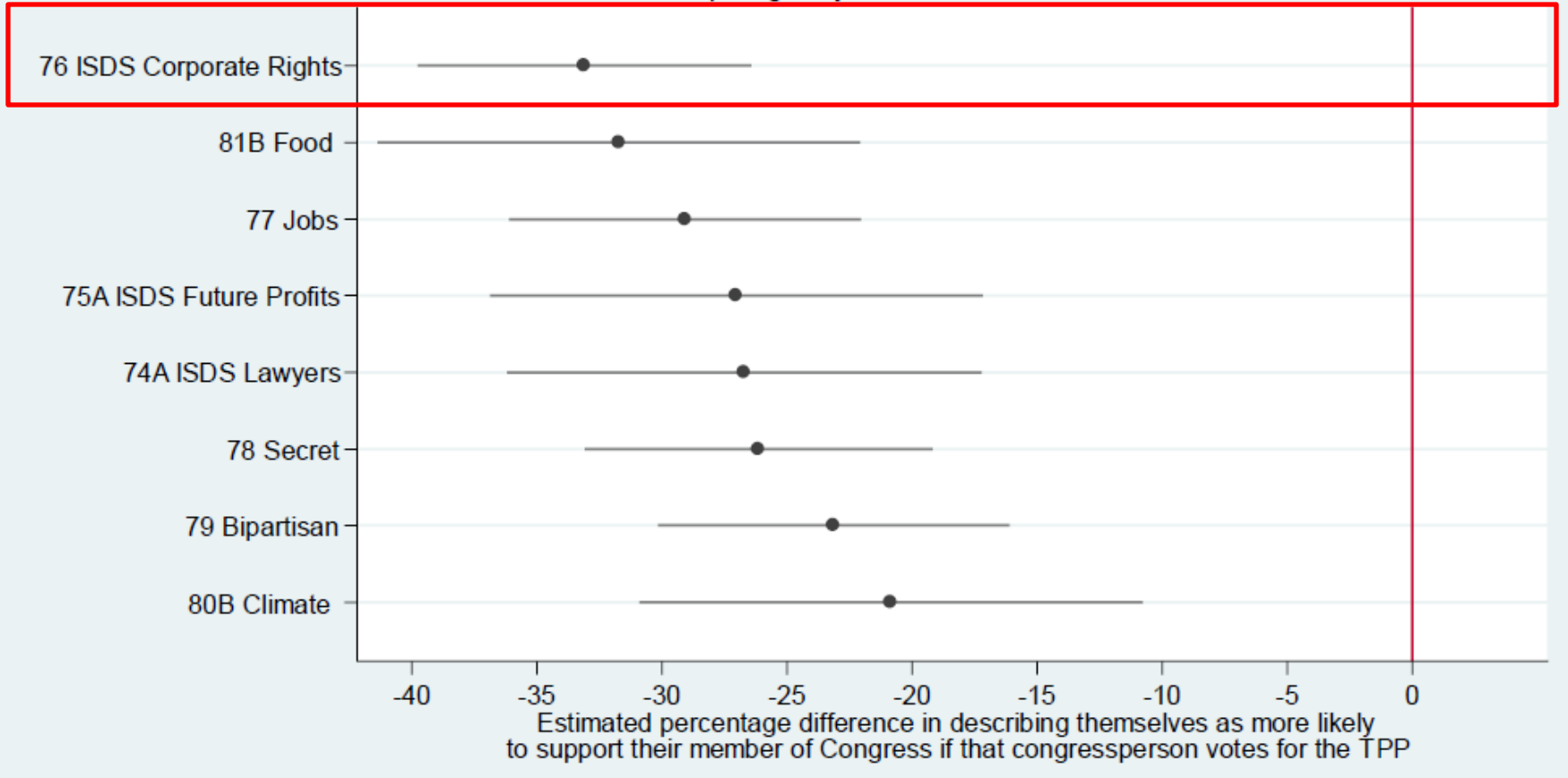
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TPP critique focused on ISDS corporate rights produces greatest willingness to punish Congressperson supporting TPP

Anti TPP Arguments on Support for Pro-TPP Congressperson

Marginal effects estimates based on responsiveness to each negative trade argument comparing 'Very serious doubts' to 'No real doubts'

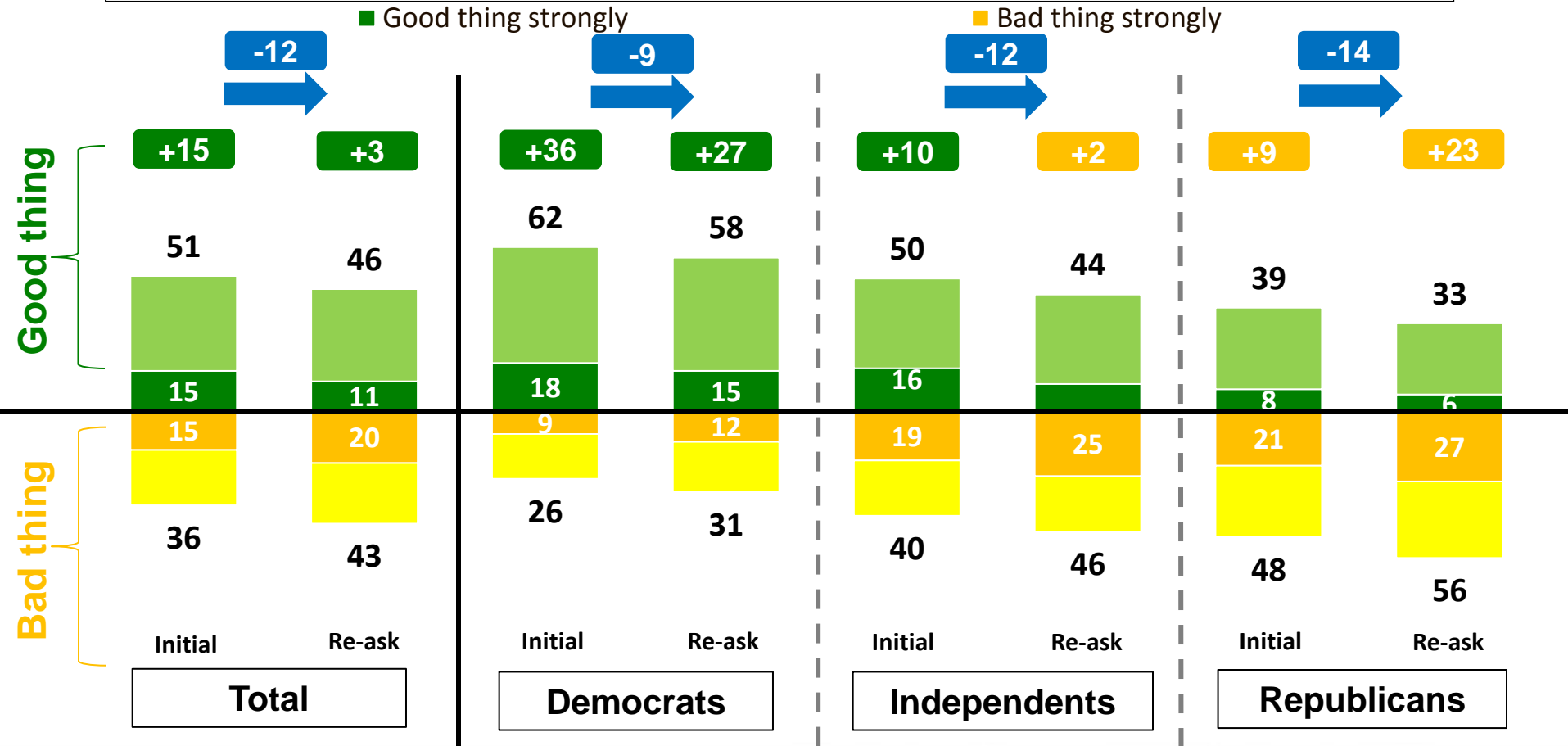


TRADE DEBATE IMPACT

All partisan segments shift against past trade agreements

And in general, do you think that free trade agreements between the United States and other countries have been a good thing or bad thing for the United States?

Have past trade agreements been a good thing or bad thing for the US?

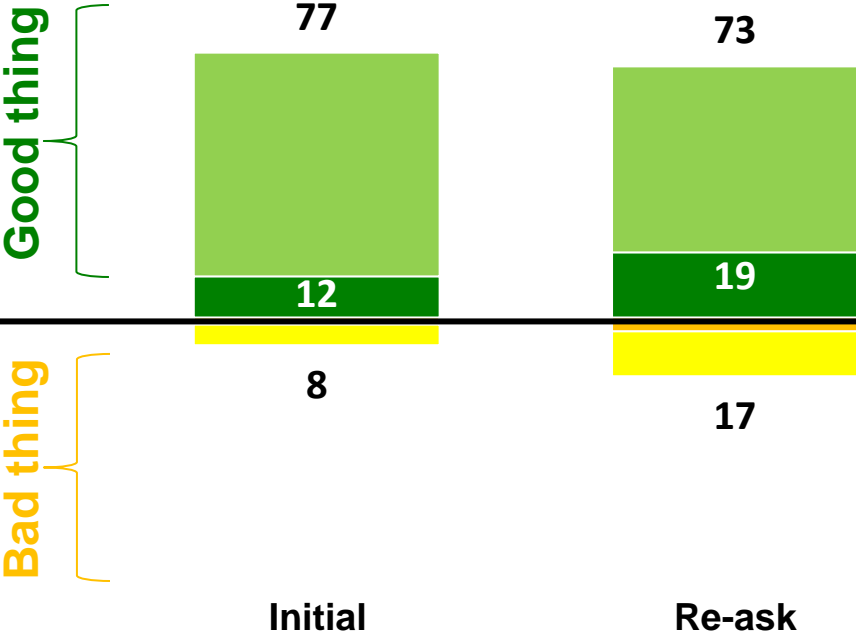


Democrats not initially oppose to TPP shift to opposition

DEMOCRATS NOT OPPOSED TO TPP

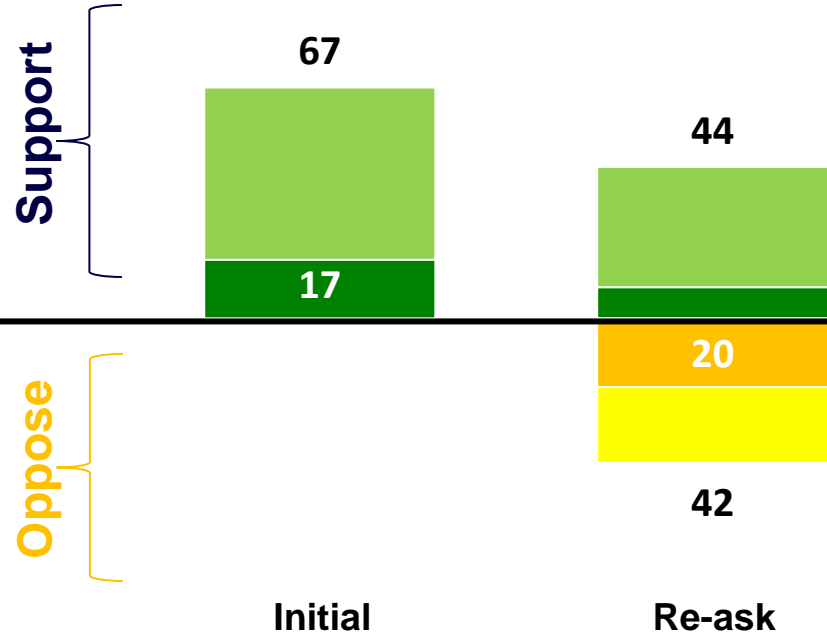
Have past trade agreements been a good thing or bad thing for the US?

■ Good thing strongly ■ Bad thing strongly



Do you support or oppose the Trans-Pacific Partnership?

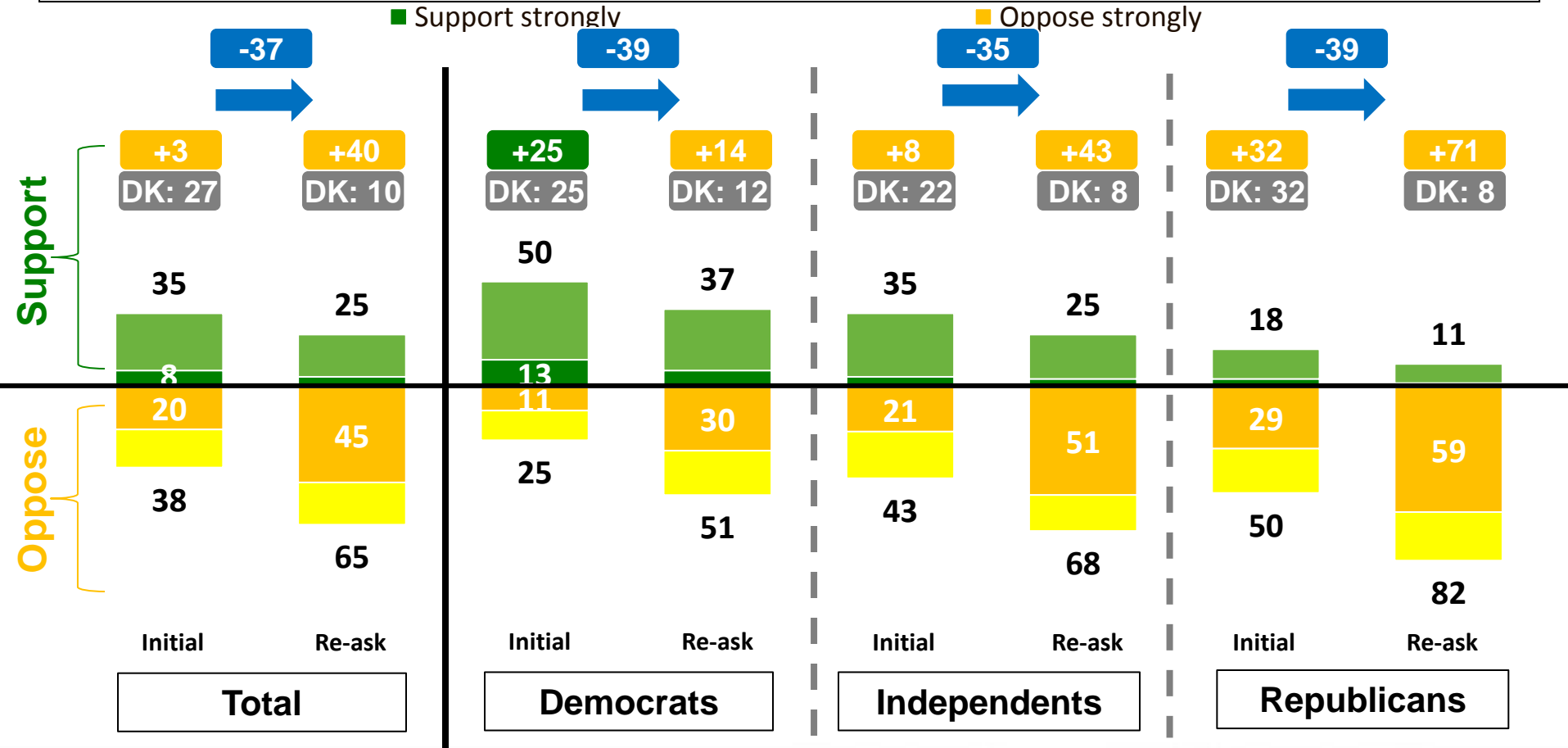
■ Support strongly ■ Oppose strongly



Exposure to pro & con arguments moves country, Democrats against TPP

Now let me ask you again, from what you know, do you support or oppose the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the proposed new trade agreement between the United States and 11 other countries in Asia and Latin America, also known as TPP?

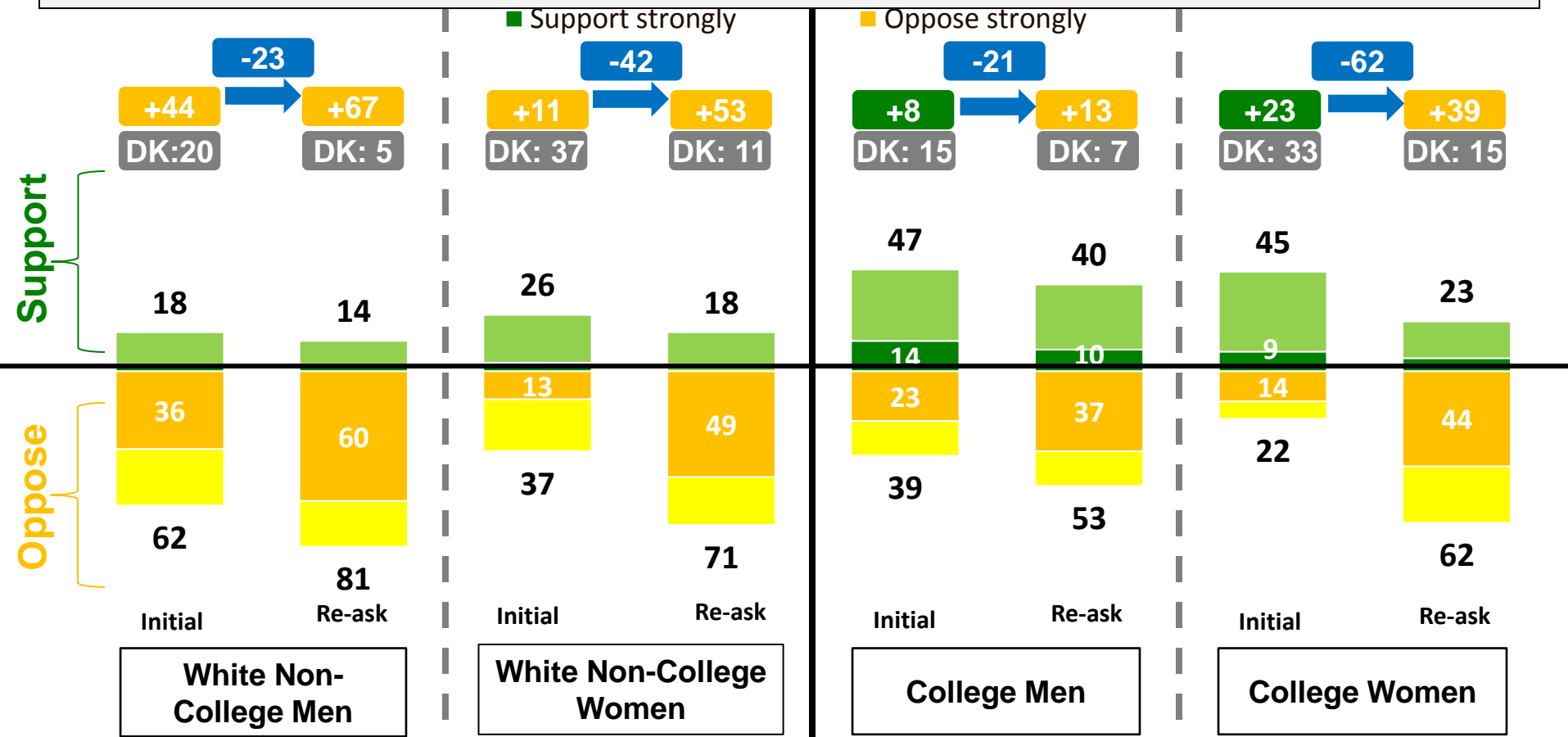
Do you support or oppose the Trans-Pacific Partnership?



College educated now oppose TPP & working class opposition deepens

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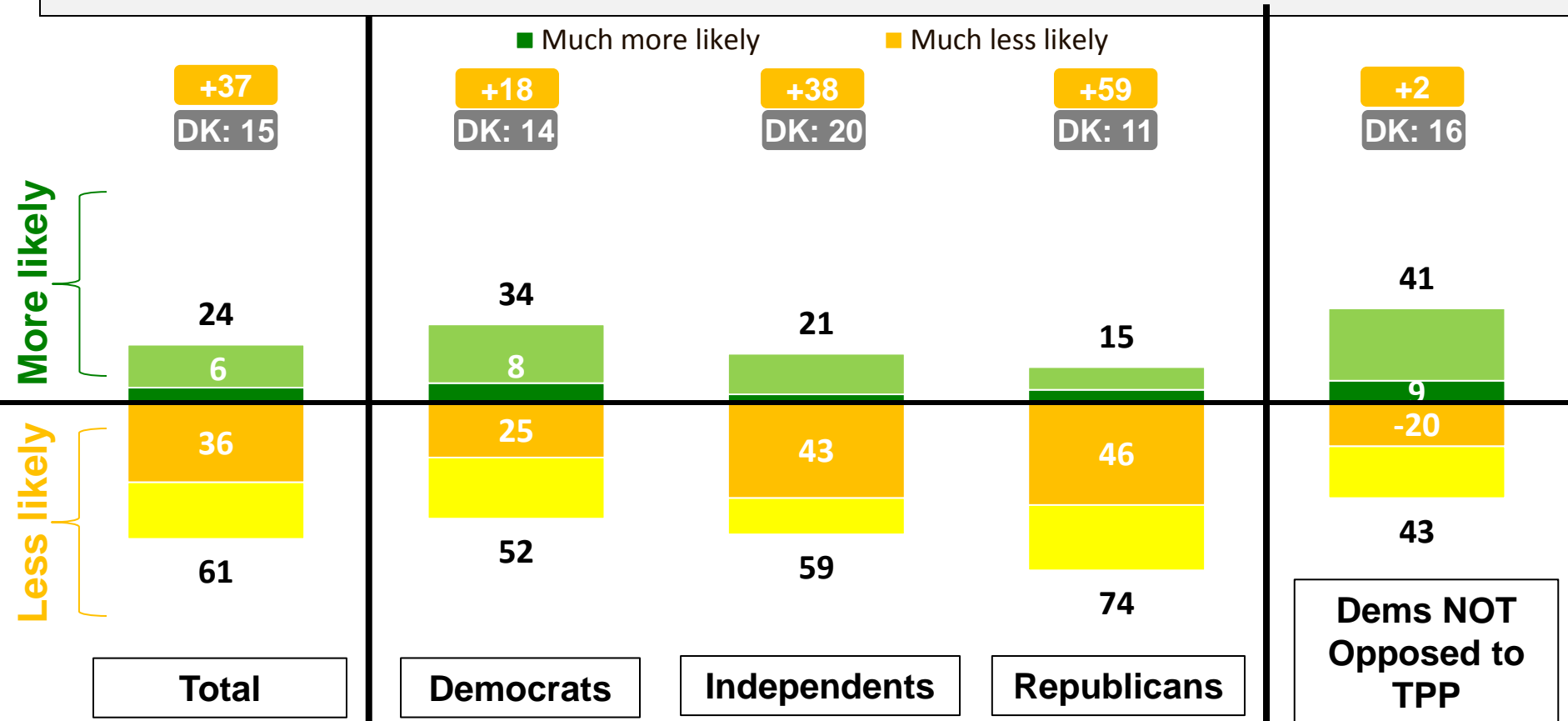
Do you support or oppose the Trans-Pacific Partnership?



Post exposure to pro & con arguments, voters ready to punish votes for TPP

Imagine that your Member of Congress were to vote to pass the Trans-Pacific Partnership when Congress considers it after the election. Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for that Member of Congress?

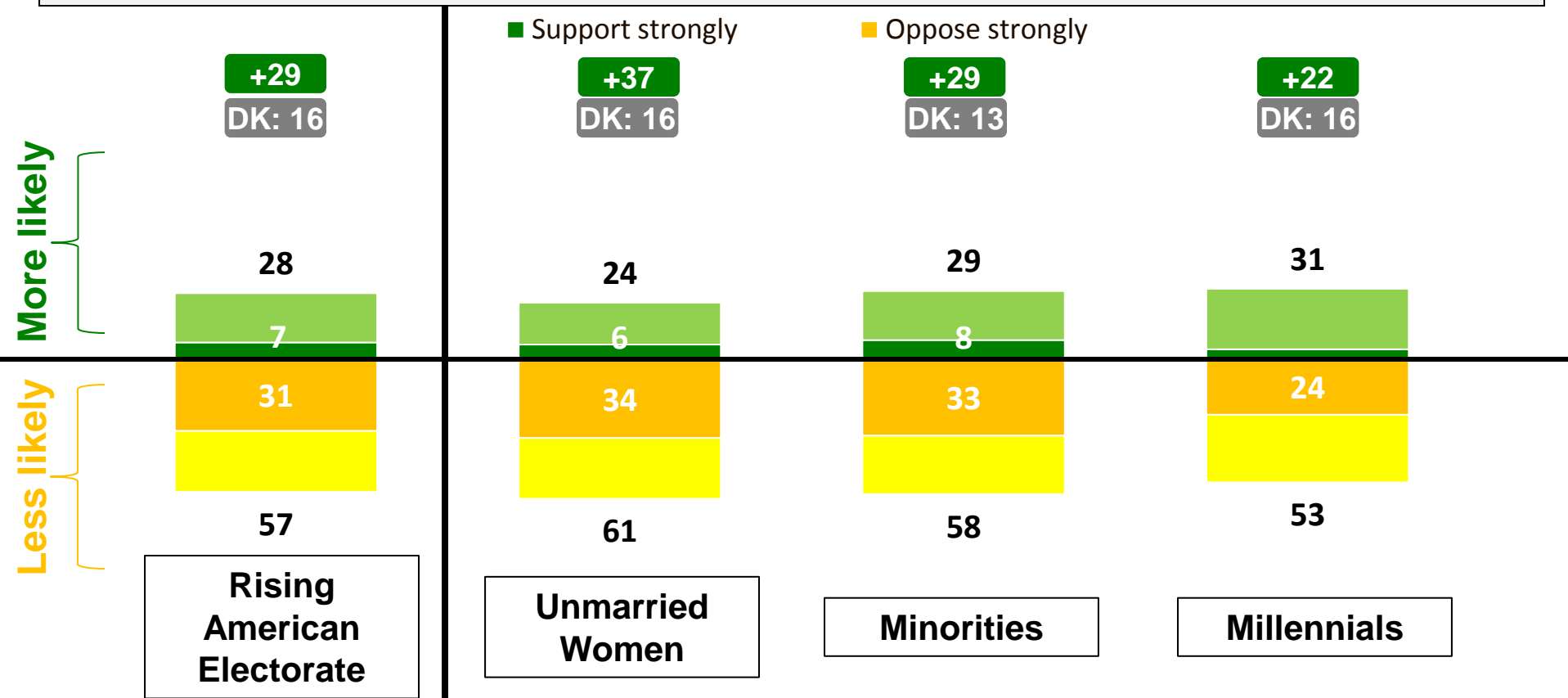
More or less likely to vote for a Member of Congress voting for TPP



One-third of Rising American Electorate ready to punish too

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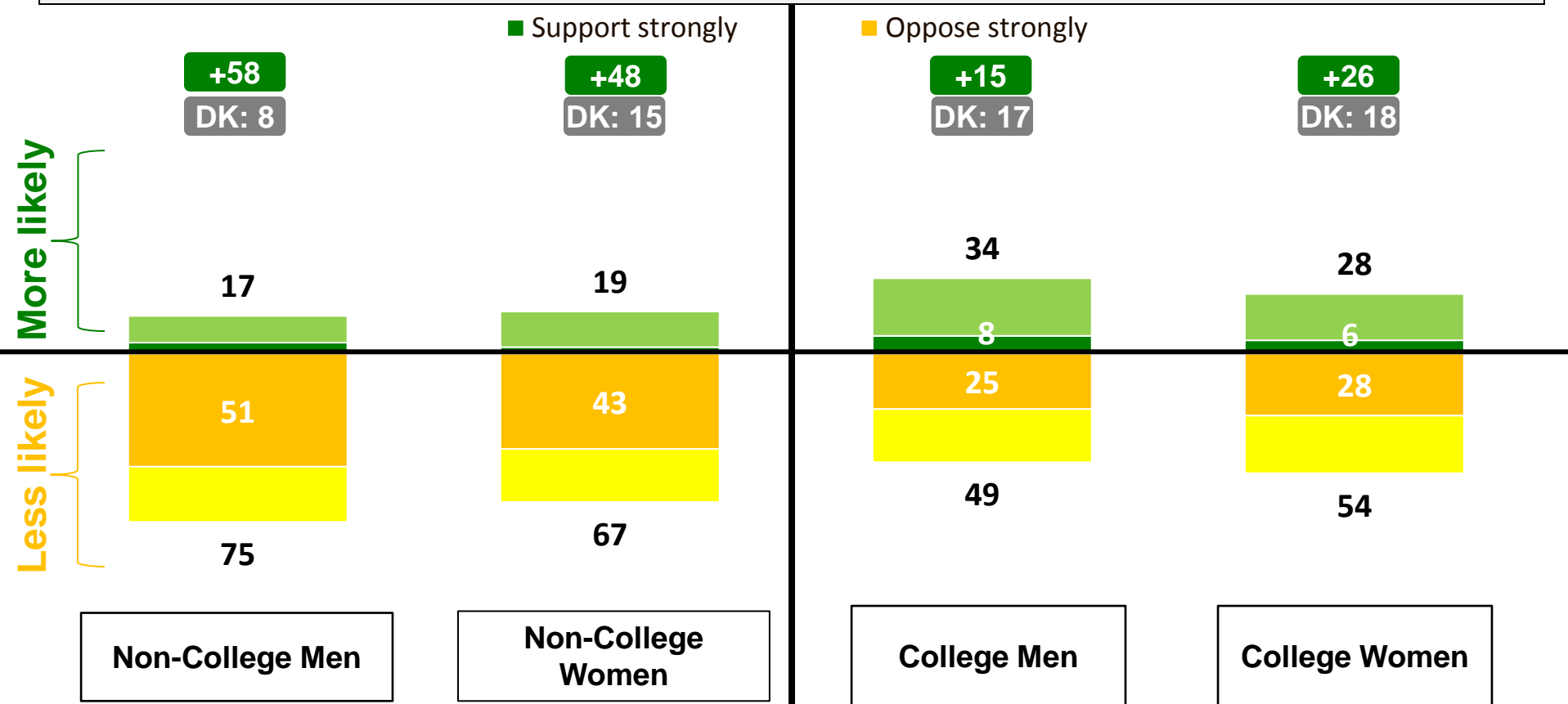
More or less likely to vote for a Member of Congress voting for TPP



Half of working class, quarter of college educated ready to punish

Imagine that your Member of Congress were to vote to pass the Trans-Pacific Partnership when Congress considers it after the election. Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for that Member of Congress?

More or less likely to vote for a Member of Congress voting for TPP



LAME DUCK MESSAGING

Middle class message addresses TPP & President Obama

As you may know, President Obama is expected to submit the TPP agreement for a vote in Congress after the election and before the newly elected President and Members of Congress are sworn into office. Now I'm going to read you some things that some Members of Congress are saying about the proposed new trade agreement.

LAME DUCK MESSAGES

■ Much more positive
 ■ Somewhat more positive

MIDDLE CLASS: I am opposed to taking up the agreement. Both presidential candidates, my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, and the country's leading economists agree that TPP would be bad for the middle class. I know President Obama has the right intentions, but we need to put TPP aside and focus on other ways to help the middle class.



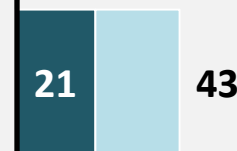
ECONOMY: I have to oppose the agreement. The leading presidential candidates and the best economists all agree that TPP will lead to lower wages for hard-working Americans and more American jobs moving overseas. This is too important to the American economy to get wrong.



LEGACY: I am opposed to taking up the agreement, and I'm thinking about President Obama. He doesn't get the credit he deserves for saving the economy despite unprecedented opposition, but TPP will undermine all of this progress and tarnish his legacy. I cannot in good conscious support this trade agreement unless major changes are made to protect the middle class



CORPORATIONS: I have to oppose the agreement. If TPP passes, it would give corporations new powers to attack our laws, raid our treasury and offshore more jobs. Congress cannot be allowed to pass the TPP after the election when retiring politicians and those who lose re-election are thinking more about their new corporate lobbying jobs than the people who they used to represent



No greater intensity for legacy message among Democrats

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LAME DUCK MESSAGES

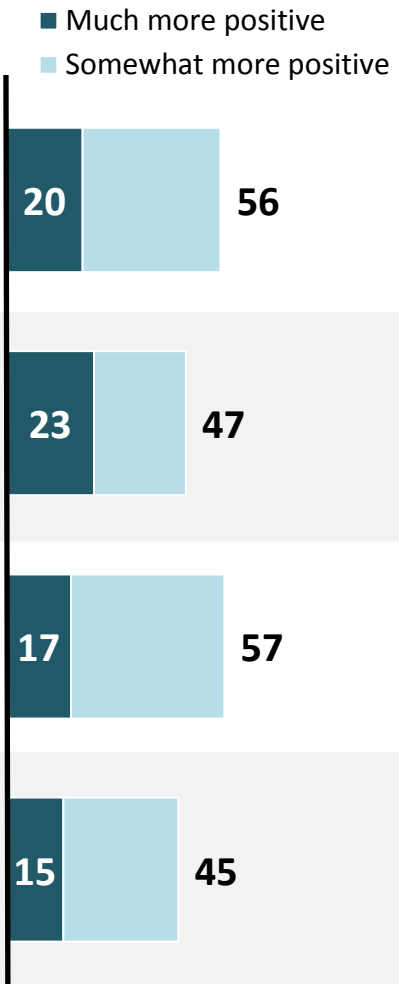
Democrats NOT Opposed to TPP

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ISDS

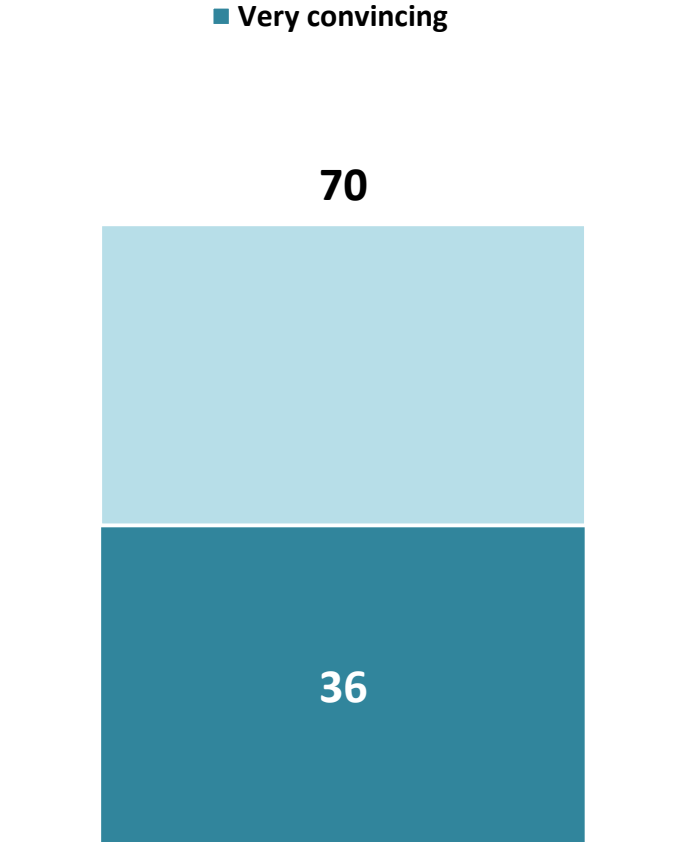
ISDS-focused opposition statement as powerful as jobs focused message

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TPP OPPOSITION STATEMENT

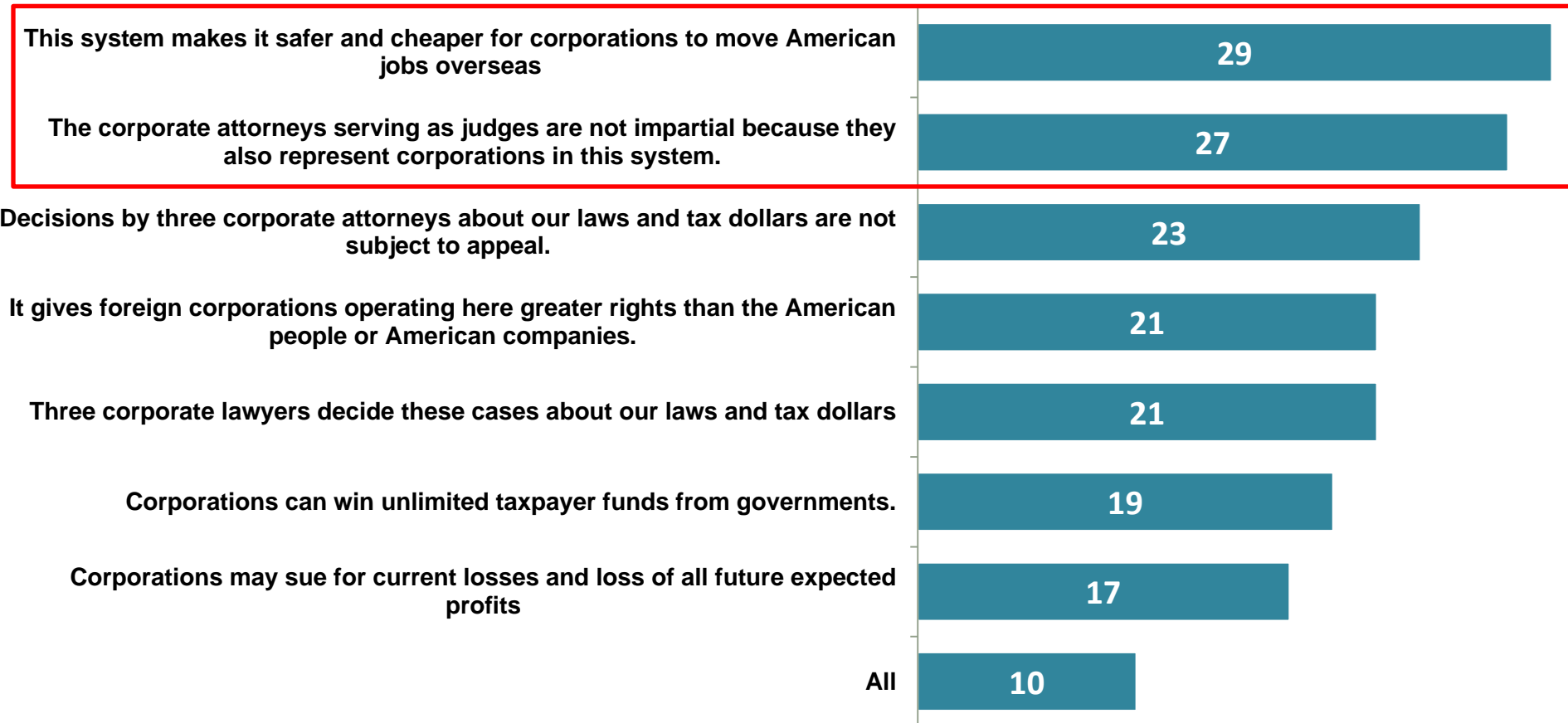
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Voters concerned ISDS facilitates offshoring of jobs and cases judged by private sector lawyers also representing corporations

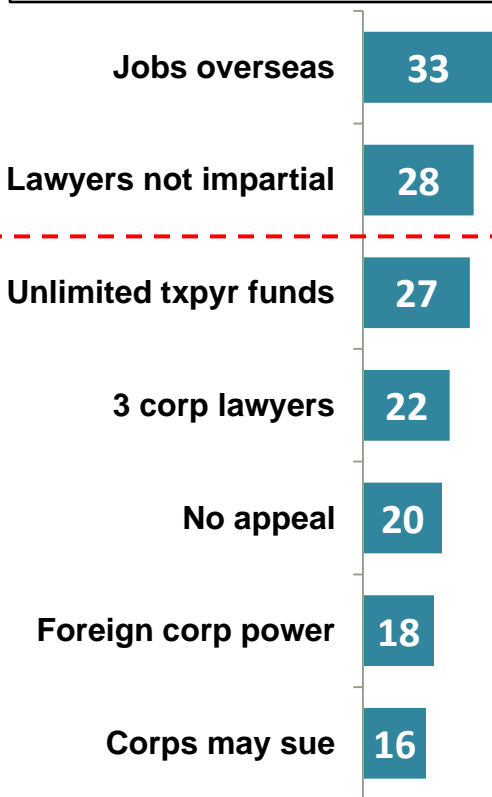
As you may know, the proposed new trade agreement, TPP, includes a system called Investor-State Dispute Settlement, or ISDS. I am going to read you a list of its elements and please tell me which TWO things are the most concerning to you.



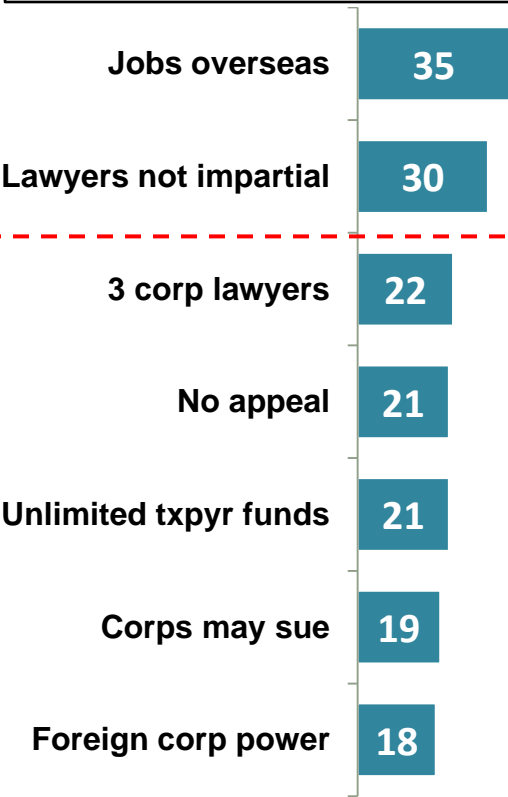
Jobs moving overseas & private sector lawyers as judges most dubious features of ISDS for those least critical of past pacts/TPP

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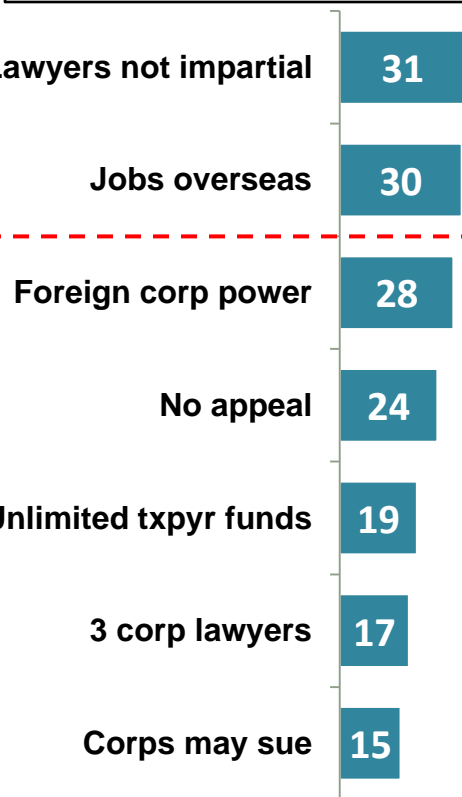
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Democrats Past Trade Deals Good

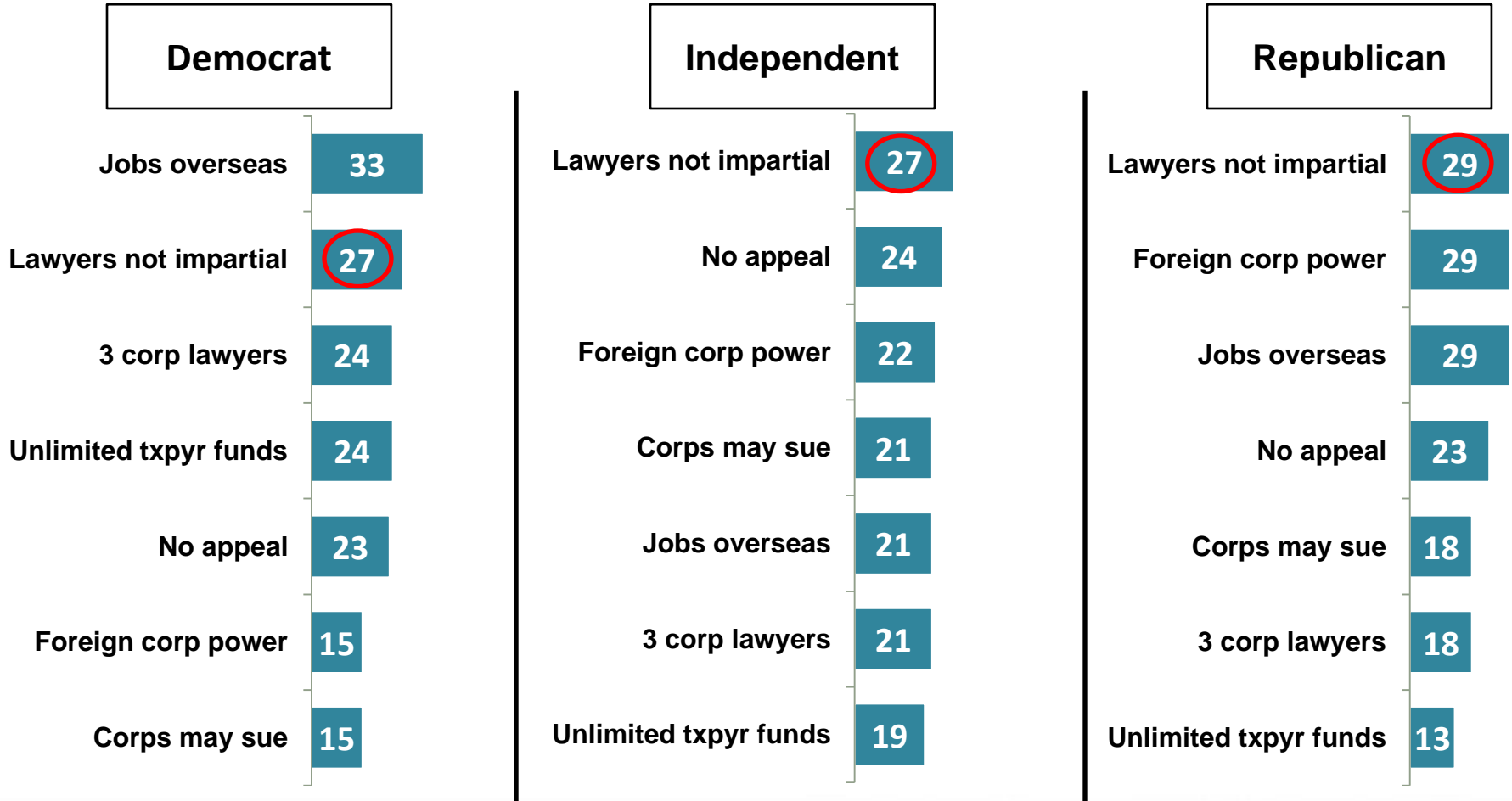


Shift To Oppose TPP



Lawyers acting as judges not being impartial a top concern across party lines

As you may know, the proposed new trade agreement, TPP, includes a system called Investor-State Dispute Settlement, or ISDS. I am going to read you a list of its elements and please tell me which TWO things are the most concerning to you.



Open ended response to ISDS centers on this not being for the ordinary working taxpayer

After hearing this list, how would you describe this part of the agreement? Use your own words and use your imagination.

| | Total |
|--|--------------|
| Bad for working Americans | 30 |
| Does not benefit the people/taxpayers | 18 |
| Jobs shipped overseas | 12 |
| Benefits corporations | 17 |
| Crony capitalism | 7 |
| Benefits corporations | 7 |
| Too much corporate control of government | 3 |
| Three lawyer process | 13 |
| No appeals/Loss of sovereignty | 6 |
| Unfair, not impartial | 4 |
| Only three lawyers | 3 |
| Other negative | 20 |
| Positive | 5 |
| Other/DK/Refused | 23 |

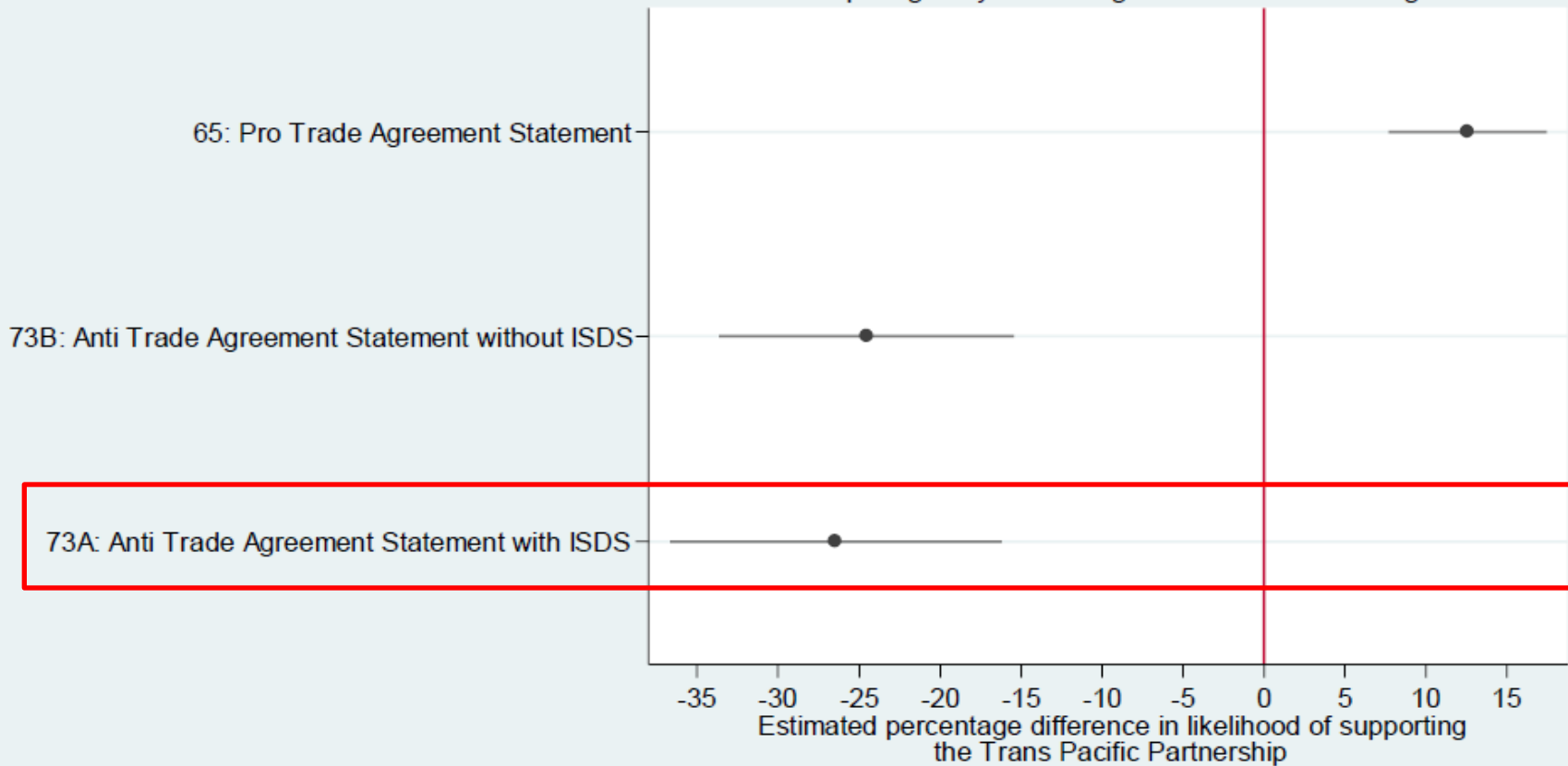
After hearing this list, how would you describe this part of the agreement? Use your own words and use your imagination.



Shift to TPP opposition driven by critique focused on ISDS

TPP Statements on Final TPP Support

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



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