



ROOSEVELT
INSTITUTE

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy

October 5, 2015

CAMPAIGNS | CORPORATIONS | ADVOCACY | WORLDWIDE

Methodology

National survey of 900 2016 likely voters from September 12-16, 2015.

Respondents who voted in the 2012 election or registered since 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 is +/-3.27 percentage points at 95% confidence. Margin of error will be higher among subgroups.

For the first time, 60 percent of respondents were reached by cell phone, in order to account for ever-changing demographics and accurately sample the full American electorate.

Focus groups were conducted on July 20, 2015 in Atlanta, Georgia.

They were among African American women and white college educated men.

Focus groups were conducted on July 22, 2015 in Denver, Colorado.

They were among white college educated women and Hispanic men.

Focus groups were conducted on July 23, 2015 in Cleveland, Ohio

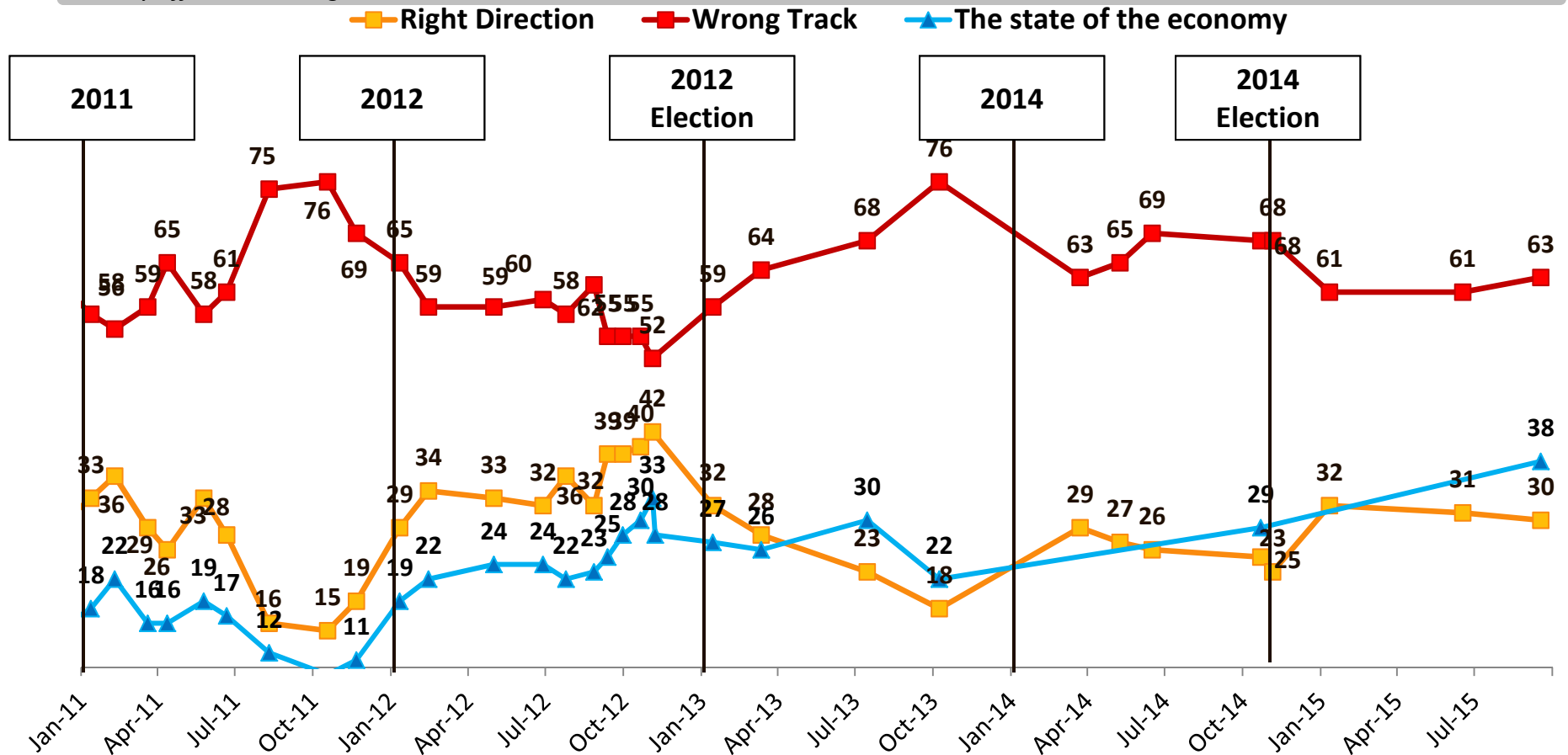
They were among white non-college educated women and white non-college men.

Starting point: the country's dark mood

Assessment of macro economy up, but mood about country unchanged

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.

Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?



From Democracy Corps surveys conducted in the past 4 years. Data represents MEAN ratings.

Negative economic mood and outlook begins with corrupt politics

Citizens United said [corporations] have all the rights that a person does and that was a huge pivotal moment. ...The Supreme Court made this decision so I don't see anything really changing with the amount of cash being thrown at...
(College man, Atlanta)

If you have a big corporation or you're in a big corporation you have money. Money talks. You know? And you could influence people with your wallet. You know? Make a large donation to the president or at a dinner, at a state dinner. If you have money those things will get you in with people and how your opinions will help influence theirs. But, if you don't have money how is someone going to take you seriously? If you're bagging groceries or you're a maid cleaning someone's house?

(Hispanic man, Denver)

I feel like that's the problem is that people don't play by the rules. They either are taking advantage of the top by their tax evasion and the political lobbying and the people that don't represent them that represent the corporation. (College woman, Denver)

At the end of the day, politics is about money. You know, we buy our representatives. You know, we don't necessarily get them into office because we voted. A lot of it has to do with money, you know.

(African American woman, Atlanta)

Corrupt politicians that don't stand like for their people but for the lobbyists that are influencing decisions and paying for their next campaign.

(College woman, Denver)

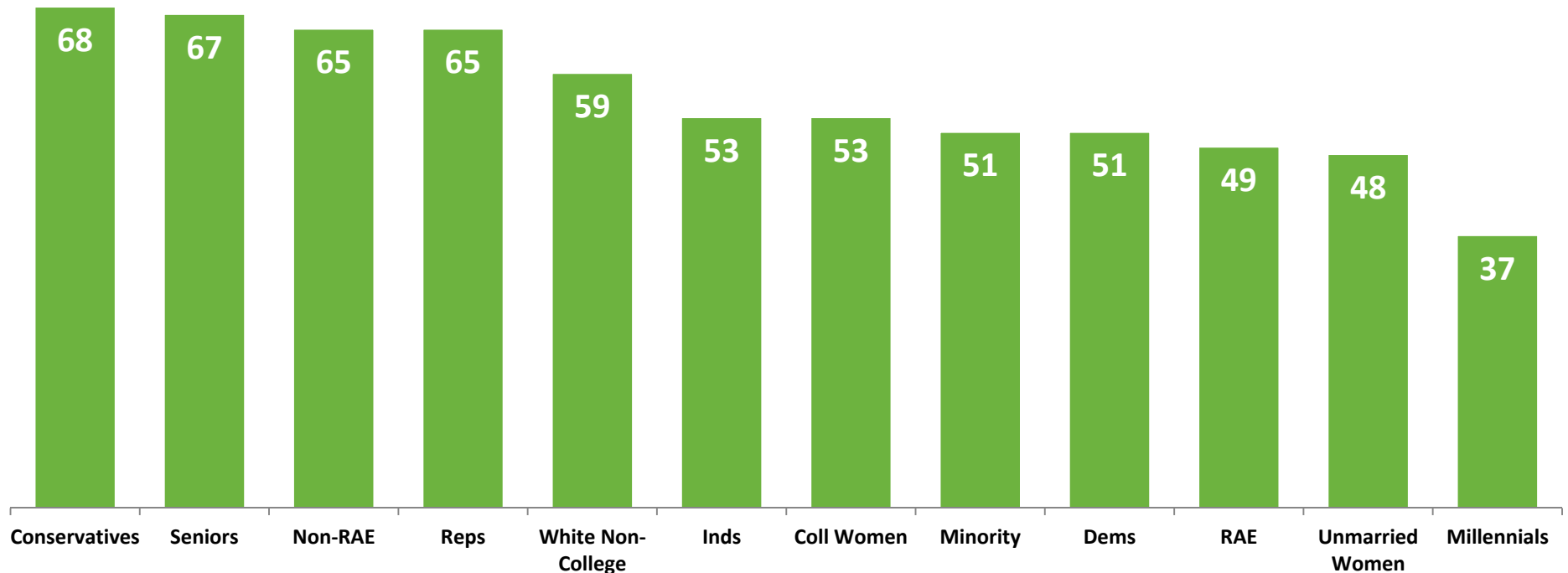
We have a lot of crooked politicians. We have – we're talking about special interests and lobbyists that are just working for some people and leaving everybody else out. And you know it'd be nice to be able to start from the ground up.

(College woman, Denver)

Engagement and disengagement has big impact

How interested are you in the November, 2016 elections for President, U.S. Congress and other state and local offices? Please rate your interest from one to ten, with one meaning that you have no interest in this election and ten meaning that you are extremely interested. Of course, you can choose any number between one and ten.

% 10 - Extremely Interested



From middle class to leveling the playing field

The starting point: the state of the middle class

[Who are the losers in this economy?] I just feel like the people who play by the rules. I feel like that's the problem is that people don't play by the rules. They either are taking advantage of the top by their tax evasion and the political lobbying and the people that don't represent them that represent the corporation. And then the people who are, like Brenda mentioned taking disability when they don't – shouldn't be. Across the board, the rules are not enforced.
(College woman, Denver)

I don't know, I think there should be a balance, somewhat. Like she had said, there should be something for the middle, because you shouldn't just give everything to the wealthy. You shouldn't give everything to the poor. There should be some sort of balance in between. And it's like what our government's supposed to do. There's supposed to be some sort of balance, but we're not doing that anymore.
(White non-college woman, Cleveland)

The middle class is not as large as it used to be. .. I think the wealthy and the bigger businesses are gaining more power. It's not trickling down to the middle class, and it's causing a lot of the middle class to become lower. I think, it's a smaller group of people today than it used to be.
(White non-college woman, Cleveland)

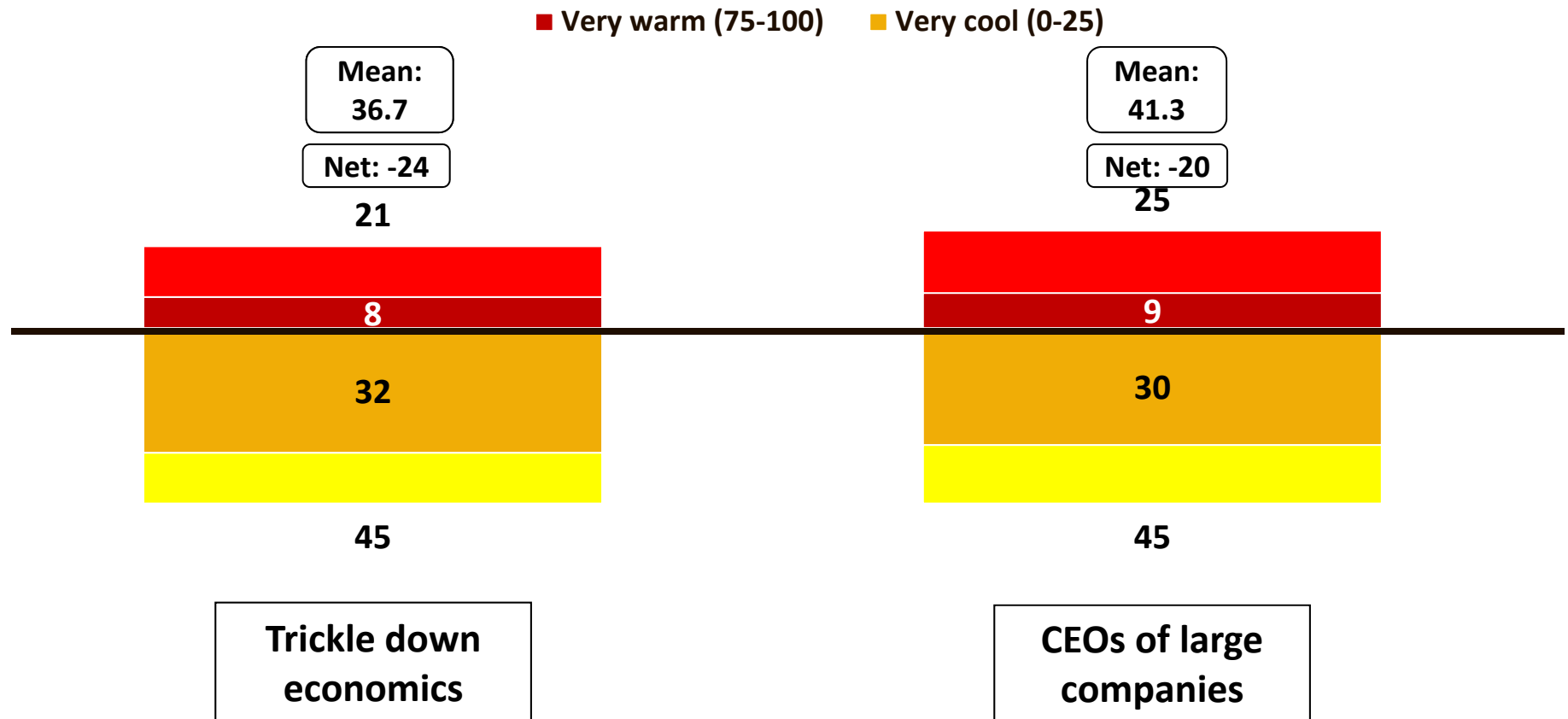
The rich get richer and what about the middle class people or the poor people? It just harder and harder for them every day.
(Hispanic man, Denver)

We do need a frame for how to invest in our families and our community, and to ensure that we can afford the middle-class life. I sort of feel like the middle class is sort of vanished away. You know, you either have ...the haves, or the have-nots.
(African American woman, Atlanta)

I consider myself to be middle class, slightly upper, but I've worked hard all my life - gotten ahead, raised my family. It's become so much harder in the last 20 years. I think correcting these specific situations would allow me to continue to progress.
(White non-college man, Cleveland)

Competing economic visions

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.



CEOs, corporate greed central to what is wrong with the economy

CEOs say, "I've got a company. I'm gonna move it overseas and pay less – have more people and pay less." And I know the government gives these companies big, huge tax breaks to do that.

(White non-college man, Cleveland)

Where you're talking about like corporations like you think if you just leave them alone they're going to do what's right for people when you got – the ones that drive me nuts are like Apple and GE; they make billions of dollars paying no taxes and then they go over to Luxembourg, Europe, the islands, so they're using our capital money that we're spending to go get stuff, they don't reinvest – well they reinvest in jobs but they spend it overseas instead of spending it here which is kind of crazy I think.

(College man, Atlanta)

When people don't – When they're not being watched or regulated, they do – they're greedy. They were probably paid to get – reduce the tax rate on capital gains and inheritance.

(White non-college man, Cleveland)

If you have a big corporation or you're in a big corporation you have money. Money talks. You know? And you could influence people with your wallet. You know? Make a large donation to the president or at a dinner, at a state dinner. If you have money those things will get you in with people and how your opinions will help influence theirs. But, if you don't have money how is someone going to take you serious? If you're bagging groceries or you're a maid cleaning someone's house?

(Hispanic man, Denver)

It seems like the people in management get more money. The people that are doing the actual work are getting less money or getting further behind. And they should be getting caught up with management as far as wages go, but they're not.

(White non-college man, Cleveland)

It's talking about doing bold changes to rewrite laws but it gets so complicated because how do you rewrite laws when there are all these monopolies and the people making decisions are getting paid through interest groups and all these other things.

(College man, Atlanta)

Money creating corrupt politicians

We have a lot of crooked politicians. We have – we're talking about special interests and lobbyists that are just working for some people and leaving everybody else out. And you know it'd be nice to be able to start from the ground up.

(College woman, Denver)

They [politicians] may come in thinking that they want to do this, and then in reality they get paid off not to.

(White non-college woman, Cleveland)

At the end of the day, politics is about money. You know, we buy our representatives. You know, we don't necessarily get them into office because we voted. A lot of it has to do with money, you know.

(African American woman, Atlanta)

Corrupt politicians that don't stand like for their people but for the lobbyists that are influencing decisions and paying for their next campaign.

(College woman, Denver)

... but when you talk about the rules, I don't know if any of you remember Leona Helmsley when she went to jail and there was this interview and she was like, the rules are for the little people. And as you're talking about the rules I was sort of thinking about that and thinking about people like Martha Stewart who the rules didn't apply to her in terms of insider trading. So is that what you're seeing when you say the – who makes those rules?

(College woman, Denver)

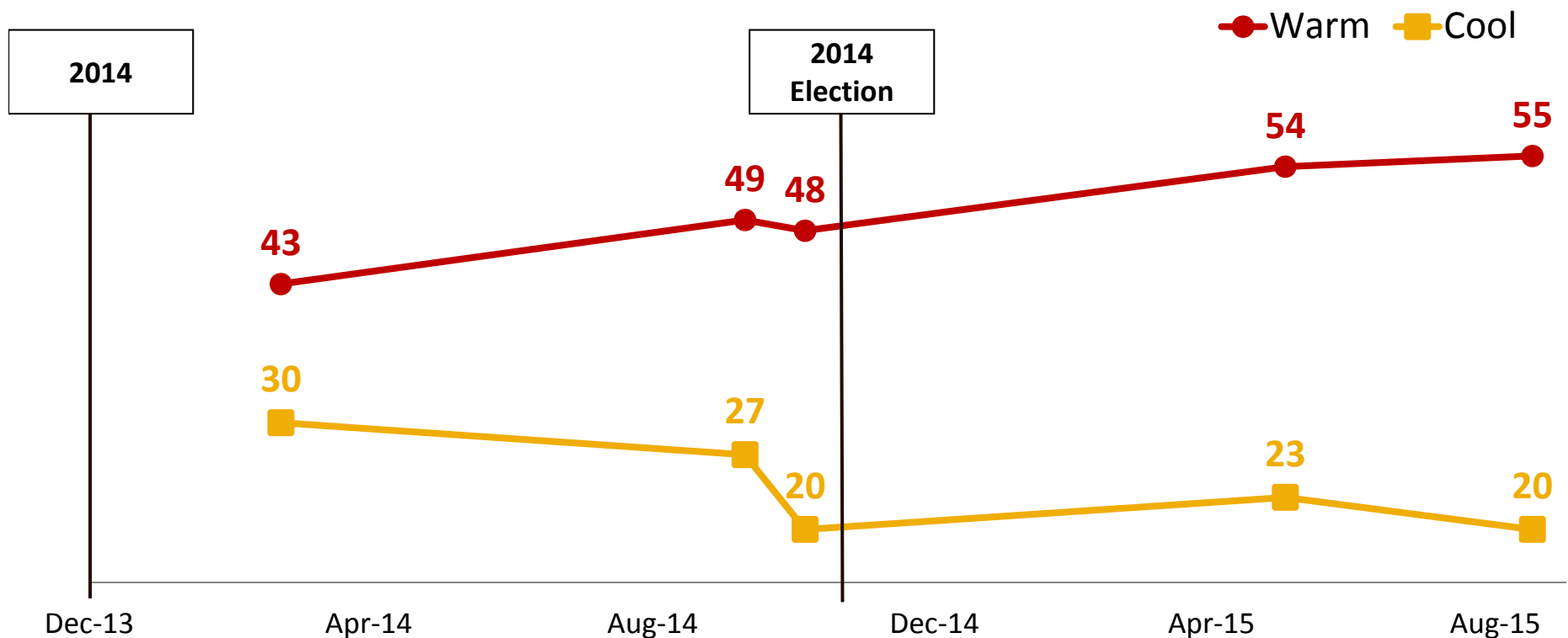
Because I think a lot of politicians, whoever's backing them, that's what they're gonna vote for rather than what people really want. So if they're being backed by somebody who doesn't support a certain subject, then they're not gonna go for it even if that's what the majority of the people really want.

(White non-college woman, Cleveland)

Plan to overhaul campaign spending increases in popularity

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

A plan to overhaul campaign spending by getting rid of big donations and allowing only small donations to candidates, matched by taxpayer funds



Leveling the playing field

I think it's kind of a redistribute or leveling the playing field. But, I think when you were thinking about what would you call this, I mean, when you had Franklin Delano Roosevelt he called that the new deal. When I think about this, this is a fair deal. This is a fair deal for everybody and that's what I think about when I read some of these ideas. This is a fair deal.

(Hispanic man, Denver)

I mean I don't even think we need this comprehensive agenda part. We just need to get campaign finance reform, like just to stop this influence of special interest, to allow – I mean there will always be people advocating for their interests I guess. But if we could just level the playing field.

(College woman, Denver)

I don't think you should just give money out to people but I mean if you had more of a level playing field like at least give somebody a chance.

(College man, Atlanta)

I think access to healthcare and education because I think those are just the very basics to make everything a level playing field and gives other people the opportunity to move ahead.

(College woman, Denver)

I think what that would do is level the playing field, so that you'd have more ideas as far as what these reforms would be, because those candidates that aren't beholden to these corporations they might have more face time on TV or whatever that would be.

(Hispanic man, Denver)

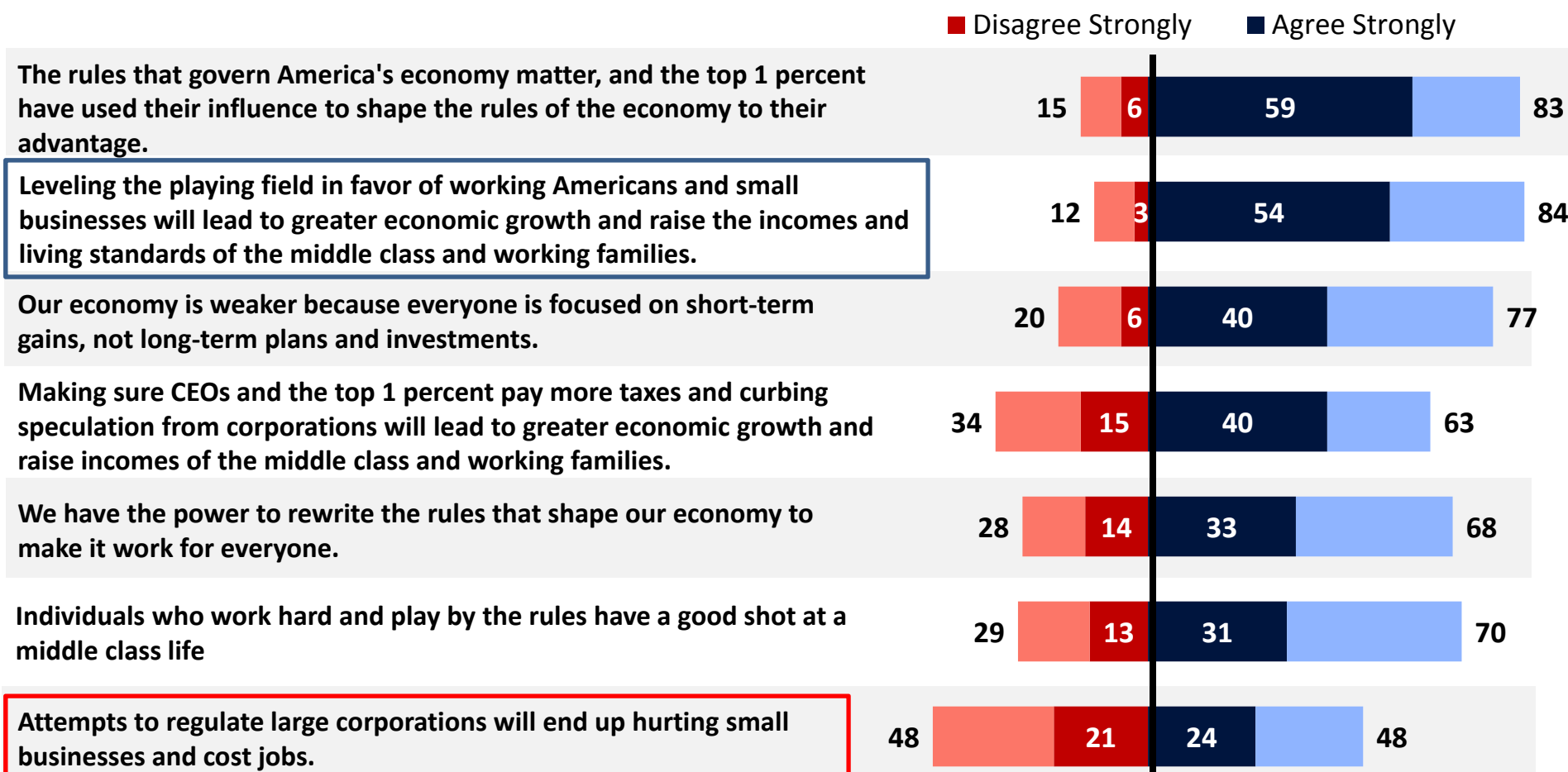
I guess it's just one of those things that needs to be a better leveled playing field. What's – everybody should have the same opportunities.

(College man, Atlanta)

The operative economic principles

Support for key economic principles

I am going to read you some statements about the American economy. For each, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.



Winning the intellectual argument

Roosevelt Narrative

Now, I am going to read you [one view/another view] about the economy and how to make it better. Please tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about the economy and how to make it better.

Roosevelt Economic Narrative

The rules that govern our economy no longer work for Americans. For 40 years, economic policies have rewarded large corporations and the wealthiest with the promise that their gains would "trickle down" to everyone else. It hasn't worked. Instead we have faced sluggish growth and economic insecurity for more and more Americans with all the gains going to the top. It is time to rewrite the rules of our economy so small businesses and average American families have a chance too, not just the wealthy and well-connected. That starts with preventing corporations and CEOs from flooding the political process with money so they can manipulate the rules to their advantage. Then we can focus on policies that will grow our economy and level the playing field -rebalancing the tax code so those at the top pay their fair share like the rest of us, changing corporate governance so CEOs prioritize long term investments in workers and their companies over short-term gains and speculation, and ensuring banks do what they're supposed to do and serve America's families and provide loans to productive businesses. We can also raise wages for working people by guaranteeing equal pay for women and create more family-supporting jobs by investing in infrastructure and making college more affordable. We have the power to rewrite the rules of our economy.

■ Very Convincing

73

41

Conservative Narrative

Now, I am going to read you [one view/another view] about the economy and how to make it better. Please tell me whether you find it a very convincing, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or a not at all convincing statement about the economy and how to make it better.

Conservative Economic Narrative

Our economy is being crushed by the weight, the cost, the ineptitude, and the corruption of the federal government, and we need to challenge the status quo in Washington to get the economy back on the right track. Exploding government regulation has made it harder for people to see rising incomes and harder for businesses to create new jobs and hire more workers. This has hurt families and stopped growth that would help everyone. But, some continue to push for a new period of big government and big government spending that has failed to end poverty and left more and more people dependent on government. They want more and more regulation that is strangling small businesses. Instead, we need to get government out of the way and give the innovators and entrepreneurs the freedom they need to rebuild the economy from the ground up. We need to get our economy growing much faster by throwing out the corrupt tax code and lowering tax rates. We need to change every aspect of regulations that are job killers, including Obamacare, so that we can increase economic growth, create more jobs, and strengthen the economy for everyone.

■ Very Convincing

61

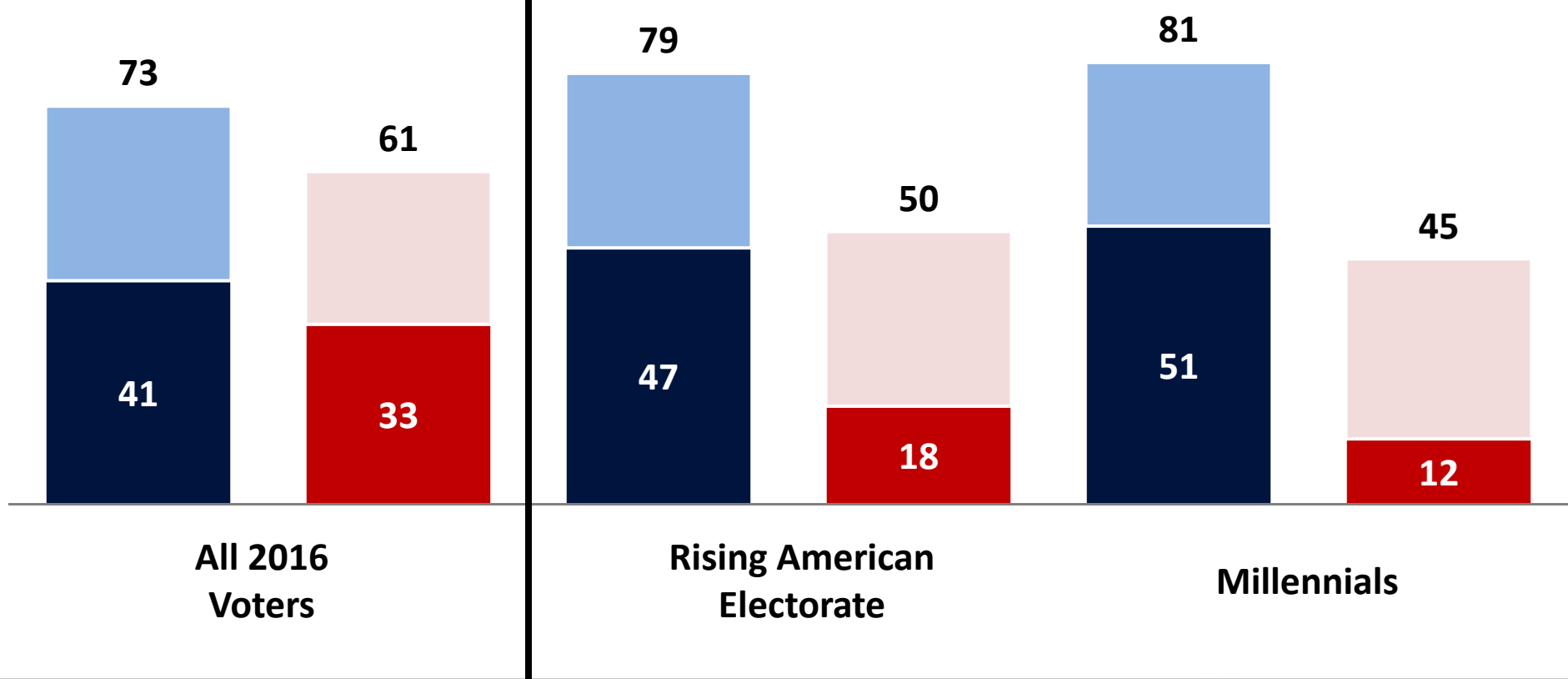
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Roosevelt narrative scores higher than conservative narrative with stronger intensity among key groups

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Roosevelt Economic Narrative vs. Conservative Narrative

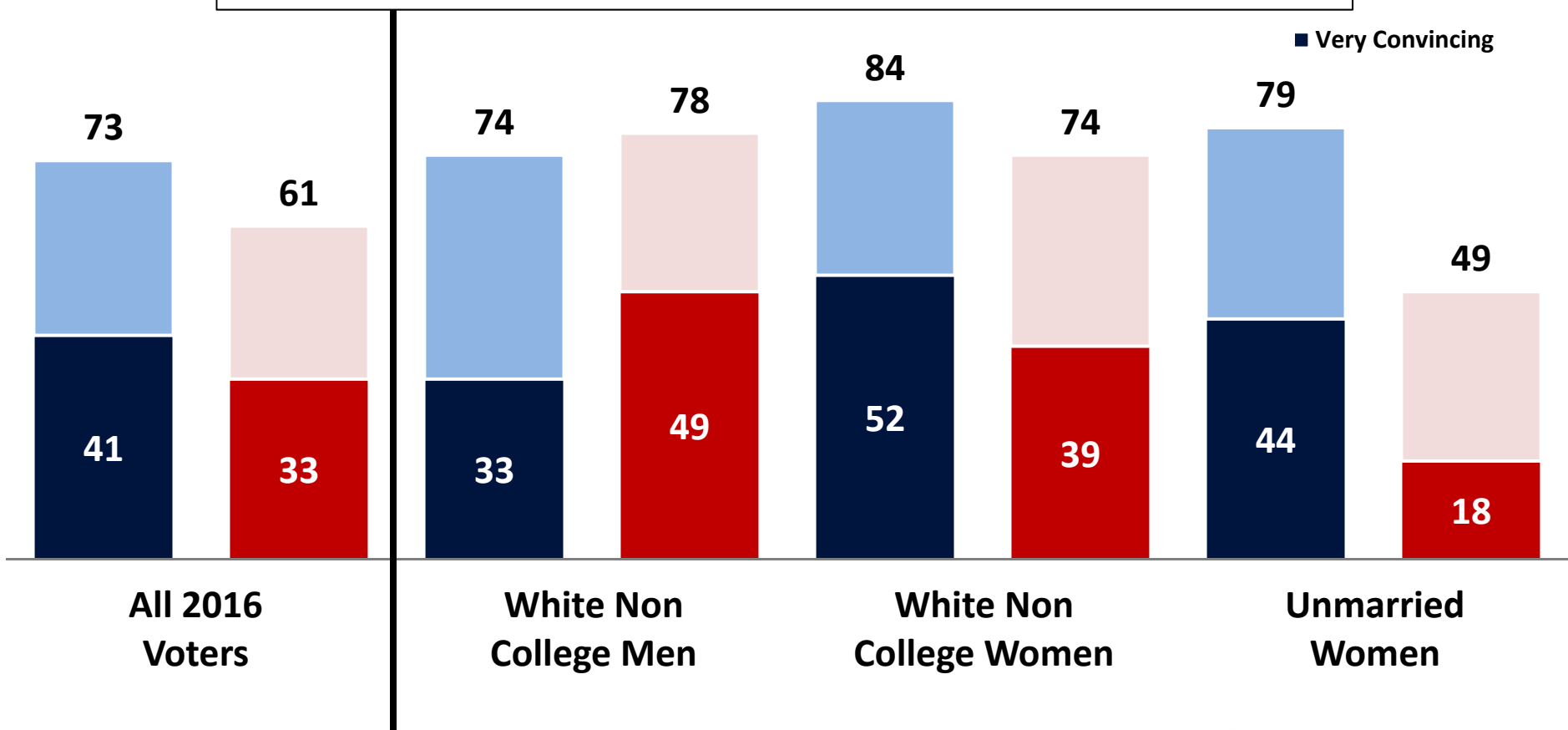
■ Very Convincing



White working class women among the strongest supporters of the Roosevelt narrative

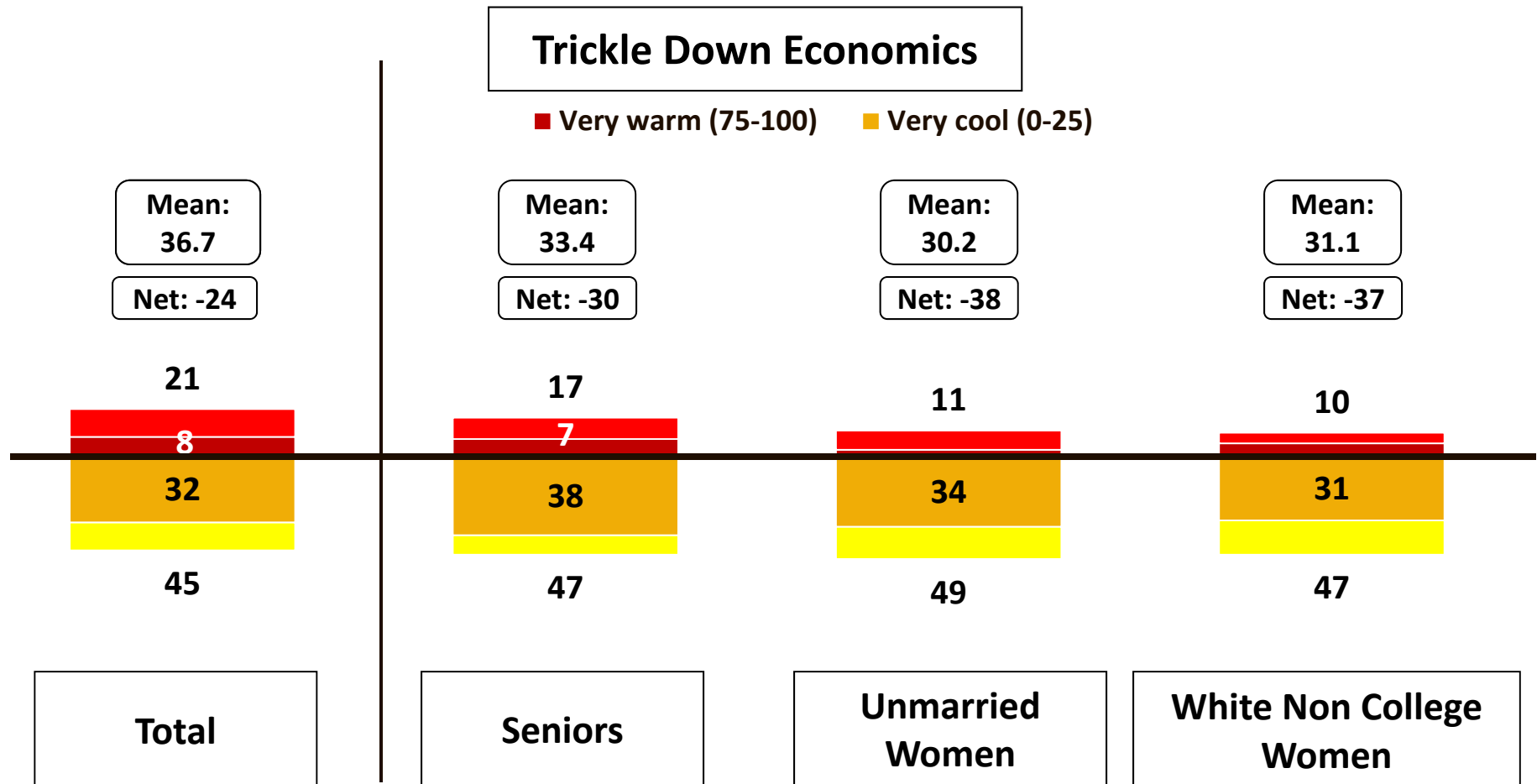
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Roosevelt Economic Narrative vs. Conservative Narrative



Trickle down economics a strong pejorative for all

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.



Trickle down economics is dead, but more connected to corporate greed than Reaganomics

We need to move away from trickle down economic policies. So like, we tried it, the corporations are doing great, their profits are at record highs and it hasn't trickled down.
(College woman, Denver)

Well I think that was really the beginning of deregulation and the support and putting out the idea of trickledown economics. If we enrich the top, if we enrich the corporations, all of us are going to prosper from that and I think that was ultimately the economic message that we believed in. Well obviously it didn't work because the big investor class in the businesses obviously didn't invest in the people that they were hiring with all that extra money. They were putting it overseas, et cetera.
(College man, Atlanta)

They're still saying, hey just keep loosening the regulations and letting the market do what it needs to do and the lobbyists do what they need to do and let corporations do what they need to do to grow and it will eventually trickle down and all those will rise. [Will that happen?] It hasn't worked before.
(College woman, Denver)

I agree with a lot of it and I like the idea that, you know, this isn't – this didn't happen by accident. You know? There were political decisions and economic decisions that happened without a lot of people's consent and that led to this.
(Hispanic man, Denver)

The people at the top of the companies make a lot of money and that doesn't necessarily translate down to the people at the bottom. They don't hire more people, they don't pay them more money. They just collect more themselves.
(College woman, Denver)

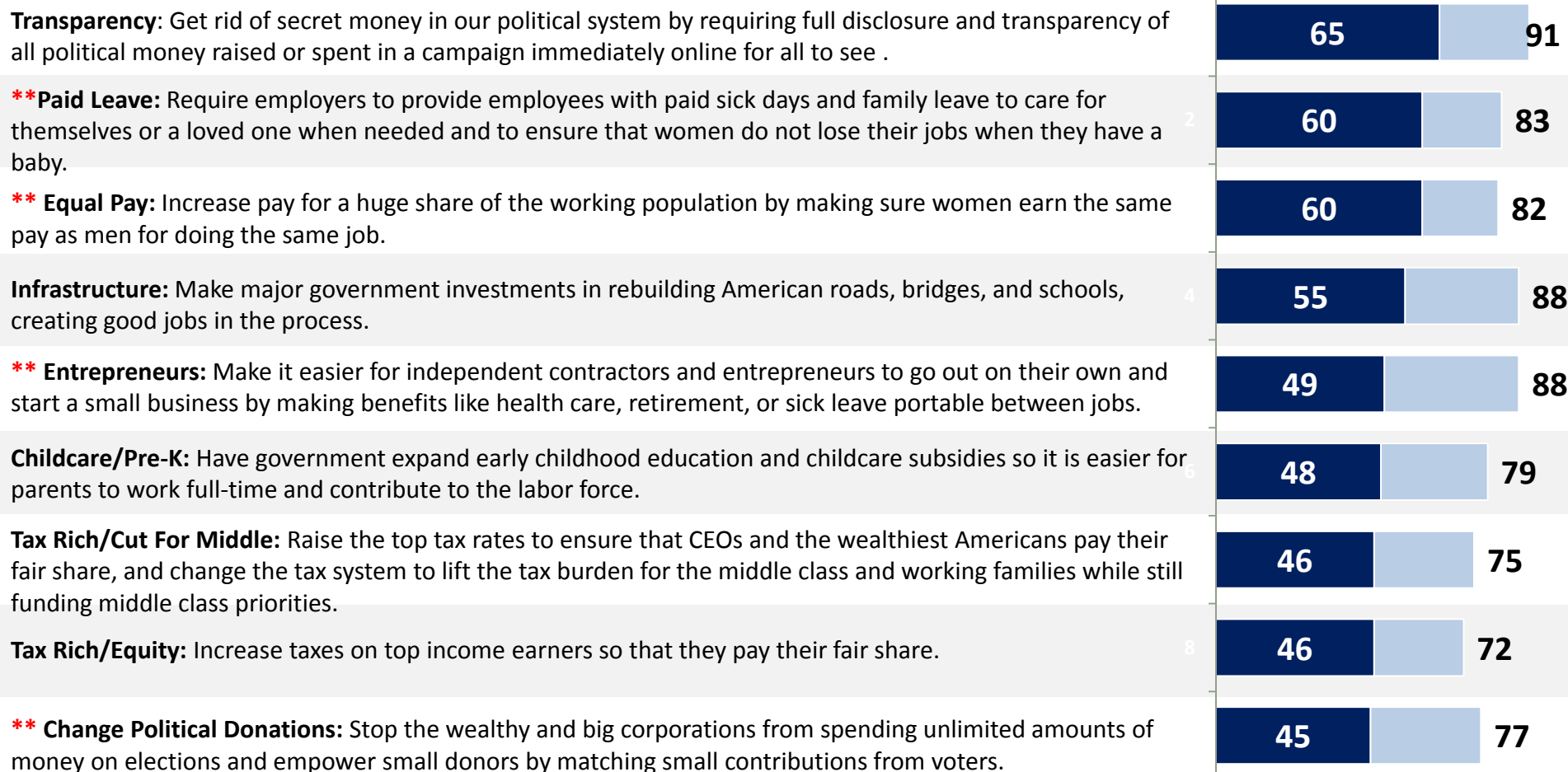
...but it doesn't reach us, the middle class, as much as, I think, it was intended.
(White non-college woman, Cleveland)

I think at that time it was kind of a new kind of idea this kind of trickledown economics. And I think the idea was really based on the fact that, you know, I'm a businessman. I'm going to do the right thing. I'm going to do this trickledown economics that's going to have impact across multiple facets or multiple populations. I think it was a great idea. I don't know in practice it really worked the way that Reagan or others wanted it to work. I think it needs to be a balance between that and too much overregulation on businesses and things like that.
(Hispanic man, Denver)

The public's bold policy agenda

The economists' Rewriting the Rules agenda

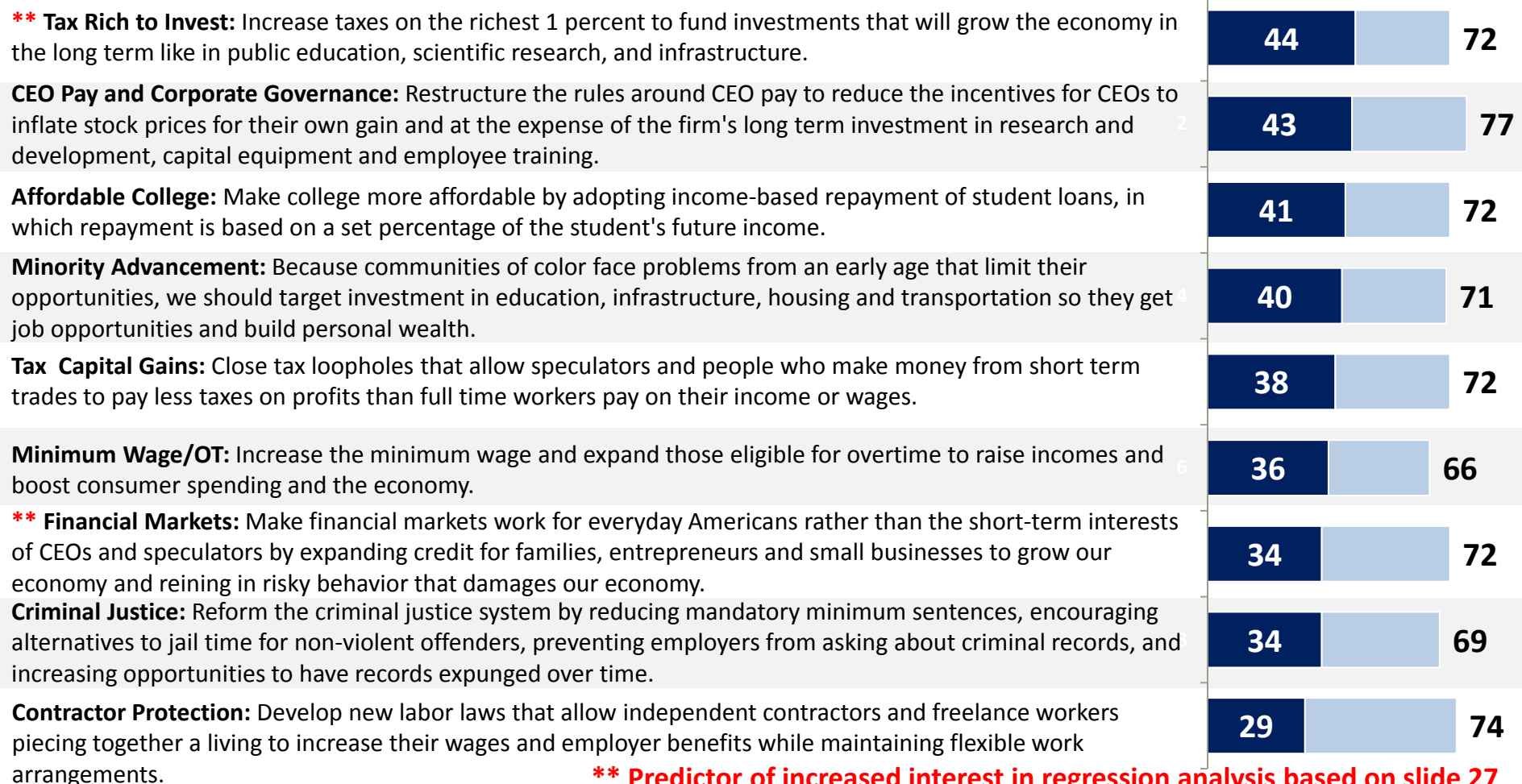
Now I am going to read you parts of a plan proposed by economists to the DEMOCRATIC candidates to produce a better economy. After each item, please tell me whether you think that policy would be very effective, somewhat effective, not that effective, or not at all effective in producing a better economy.



**** Predictor of increased interest in regression analysis based on slide 27**

The economists' Rewriting the Rules agenda

Now I am going to read you parts of a plan proposed by economists to the DEMOCRATIC candidates to produce a better economy. After each item, please tell me whether you think that policy would be very effective, somewhat effective, not that effective, or not at all effective in producing a better economy.

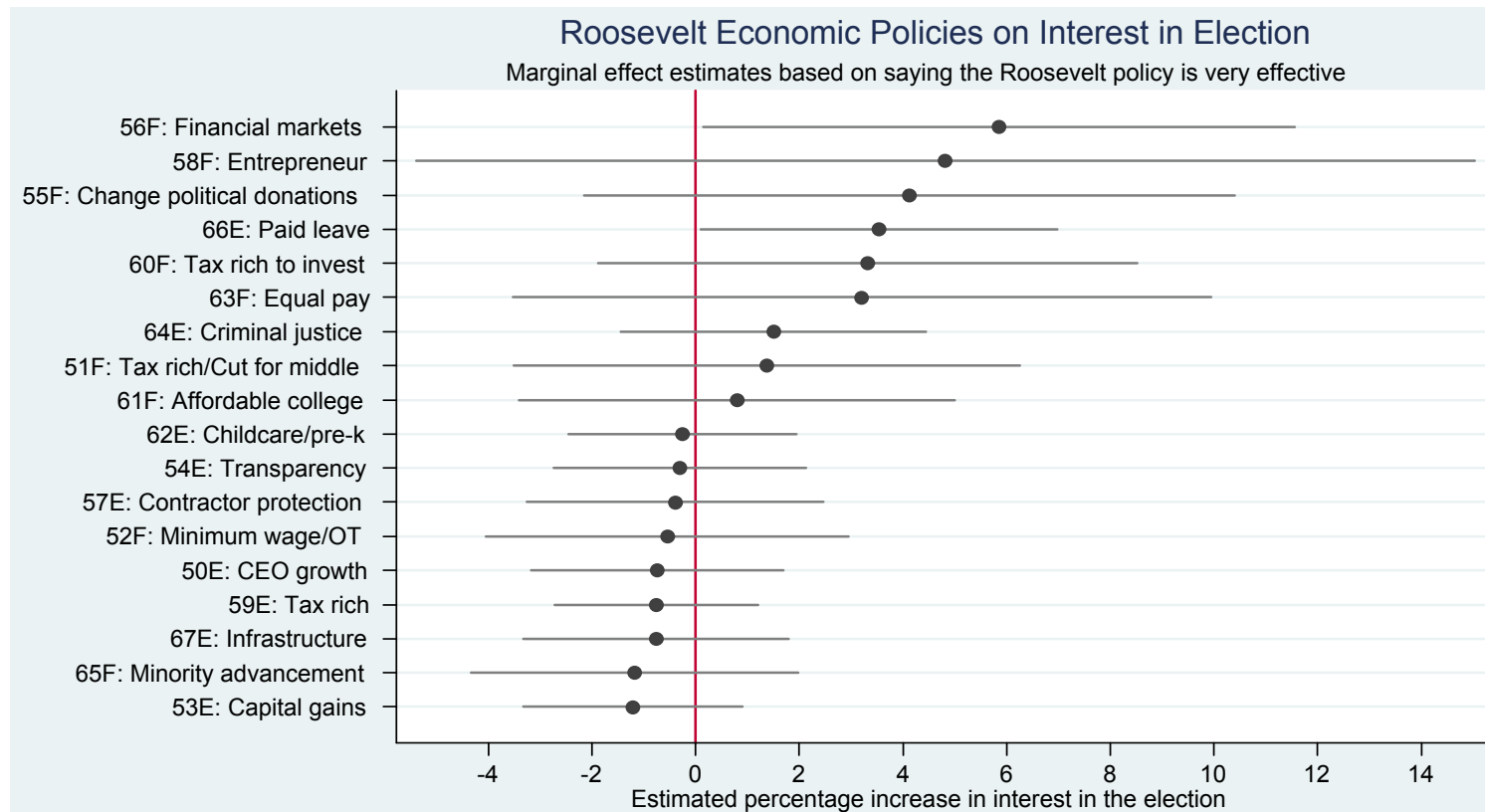


**** Predictor of increased interest in regression analysis based on slide 27**

Policy Priorities among Millennials:

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1. | Paid Sick and Leave |
| 2. | Equal Pay |
| 3. | Transparency |
| 4. | Childcare/Pre-K |
| 5. | Affordable College |
| 6. | Minority Advancement |
| 7. | Infrastructure |
| 8. | Tax Rich to Invest |
| 9 (tie) | Tax Rich/Cut For Middle AND Change Political Donations |
| 10. (tie) | Tax Rich/Equity AND Criminal Justice |
| 11. | Entrepreneurs |
| 12. | CEO Pay and Corporate Governance |
| 13. | Minimum Wage/OT |
| 14. | Tax Capital Gains |
| 15. | Financial Markets |
| 16. | Contractor Protection |

Making financial markets work, helping entrepreneurs, and stopping the wealthy from donating unlimited amounts most likely to drive enthusiasm to vote



***The figure above reflects results of regression analysis on the impact of Roosevelt economic policies on interest in the 2016 election. The chart shows the estimated change in interest in the election based on voters who said they thought the policy was “very effective.”*

Voter Policy Priorities:

Political Reform

Transparency: Get rid of secret money in our political system by requiring full disclosure and transparency of all political money raised or spent in a campaign immediately online for all to see.

Change Political Donations: Stop the wealthy and big corporations from spending unlimited amounts of money on elections and empower small donors by matching small contributions from voters.

Working Families

Equal Pay: Increase pay for a huge share of the working population by making sure women earn the same pay as men for doing the same job.

Paid Sick and Leave: Require employers to provide employees with paid sick days and family leave to care for themselves or a loved one when needed and to ensure that women do not lose their jobs when they have a baby.

Investment

Infrastructure: Make major government investments in rebuilding American roads, bridges, and schools, creating good jobs in the process.

Tax Top To Invest

Tax Rich to Invest: Increase taxes on the richest 1 percent to fund investments that will grow the economy in the long term like in public education, scientific research, and infrastructure.

Independent Contracting

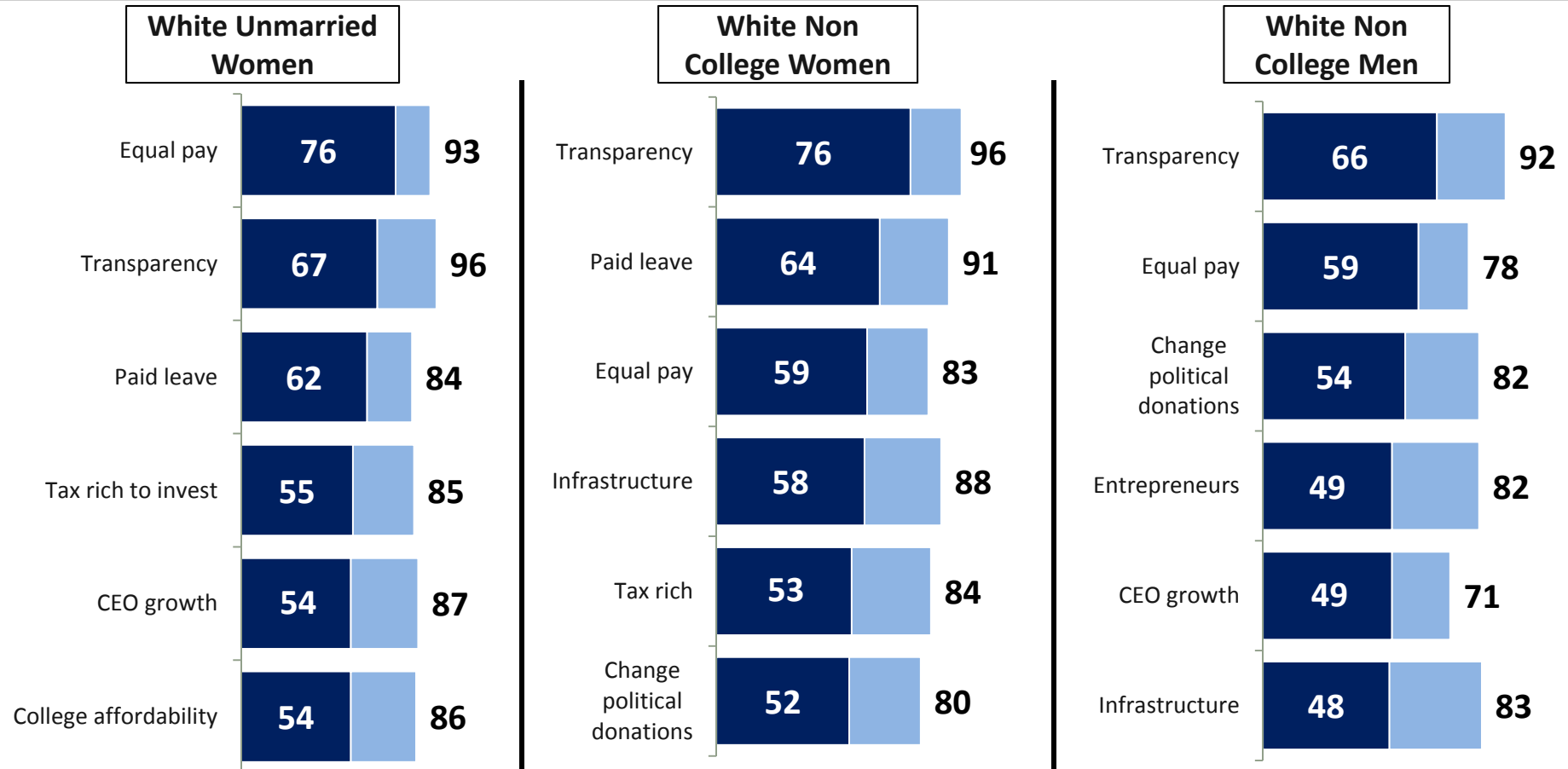
Entrepreneurs: Make it easier for independent contractors and entrepreneurs to go out on their own and start a small business by making benefits like health care, retirement, or sick leave portable between jobs.

CEO and Corporate Governance

CEO Pay: Restructure the rules around CEO pay to reduce the incentives for CEOs to inflate stock prices for their own gain and at the expense of the firm's long term investment in research and development, capital equipment and employee training

Public agenda begins with transparency, pay equity, paid leave, top taxes and infrastructure

Now I am going to read you parts of a plan proposed by economists to the DEMOCRATIC candidates to produce a better economy. After each item, please tell me whether you think that policy would be very effective, somewhat effective, not that effective, or not at all effective in producing a better economy.



The conservative economists' agenda for presidential candidates

Now I am going to read you parts of a plan proposed by economists to the REPUBLICAN candidates to produce a better economy. After each item, please tell me whether you think that policy would be very effective, somewhat effective, not that effective, or not at all effective in producing a better economy.

Lower taxes: Lower the tax rates for individuals and families so that people can keep more of the money that they earn.

Cut Welfare: Cut welfare spending, which has doubled since 2008, by cutting payments on those who refuse to work so the 108 million people receiving some welfare benefit have more incentive to get a job.

Keystone: Make our country the world's leading producer of oil and build the Keystone XL pipeline, which will create thousands of jobs and make us energy independent.

Right to Work: Pass a national Right to Work law so people have the freedom to work in any job they want without joining a union.

Cut Business taxes: Lower taxes on businesses to jump start the economy, make companies more competitive, and create millions of American jobs.

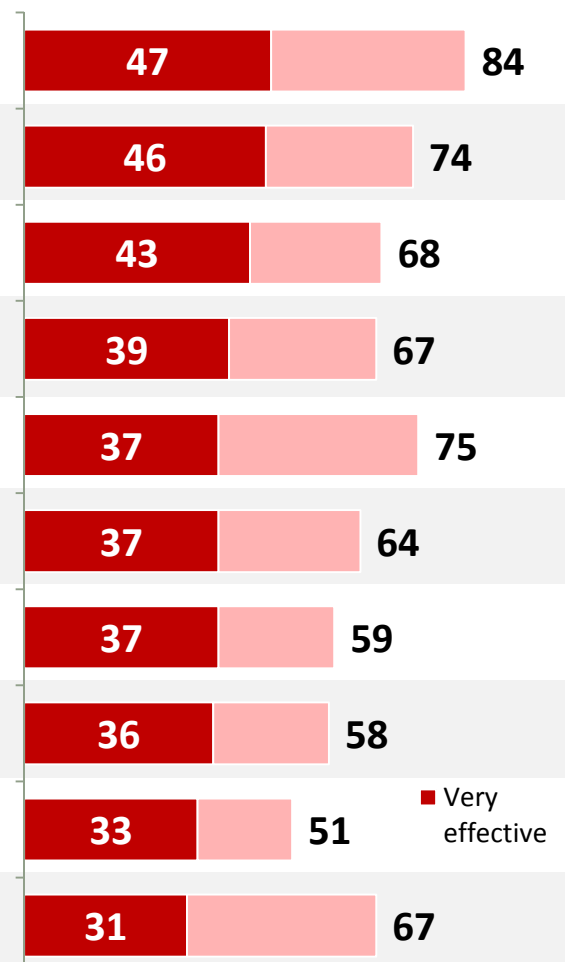
Deficit: Eliminate the 500 billion dollar a year deficit and start paying down the federal debt which is 17 trillion dollars, meaning every American born in this country begins life 56 thousand dollars in debt.

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.

Immigration: Close our borders to protect workers from unfair competition from illegal immigrants who are willing to work for less than the minimum wage and depress wages for everyone.

Obamacare: Repeal and replace Obamacare which costs our economy 716 billion dollars a year, is increasing insurance rates and gives small businesses an incentive NOT to hire more employees.

Cut 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.



Messages and impact

Leveling the Playing Field message stronger than conservative message

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 not at all positive.

Leveling the Playing Field Message

■ Much more positive

We need an economy that works for the middle class, not an economy governed by trickle down. Today, people struggle to earn enough to sustain a family, yet corporations use donations and lobbyists to manipulate the rules in their favor. It's time to rewrite the rules to promote growth that benefits all Americans. We can't change everything overnight, but we can start by reducing the toxic influence of corporate money in politics. Then we can finally rebalance our tax code so those at the top pay their fair share and we can ensure CEOs behave in a way that helps America, not just their bottom lines. We can rein in the big banks, help small businesses get loans, make sure women get equal pay, and lift the burden of college debt. And we can invest in modernizing our infrastructure and training skilled workers. Let's level the playing field so we can grow the middle class and America again.



Conservative Message

■ Much more positive

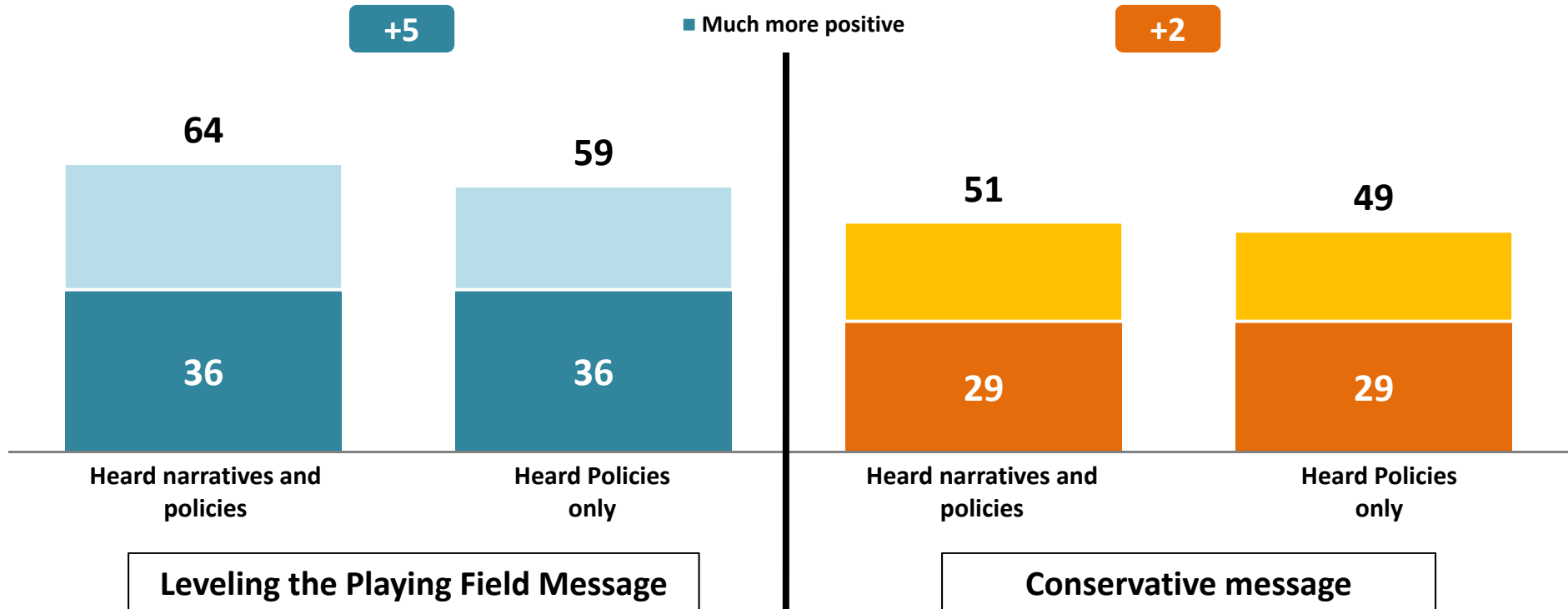
Americans are struggling in an economy that is weighed down by big government's crippling debt, overregulation, and taxes that have made it harder for businesses to grow and create jobs and for families to get ahead. Right now, Washington keeps getting bigger, taxes get higher and American families pay the price. We need to make changes that reduce the size of government and get it out of the way so we can create real economic growth that helps people. This means repealing and replacing the disastrous Obamacare law that has raised health care premiums and cost jobs, and any other regulations that are killing American jobs. We need to cut taxes on the businesses and entrepreneurs so they have more money to expand their businesses and hire more workers, which puts more money into the economy, and to compete with other countries to keep good paying jobs here in America.



Hearing narrative debate pushes up support for Leveling the Playing Field message

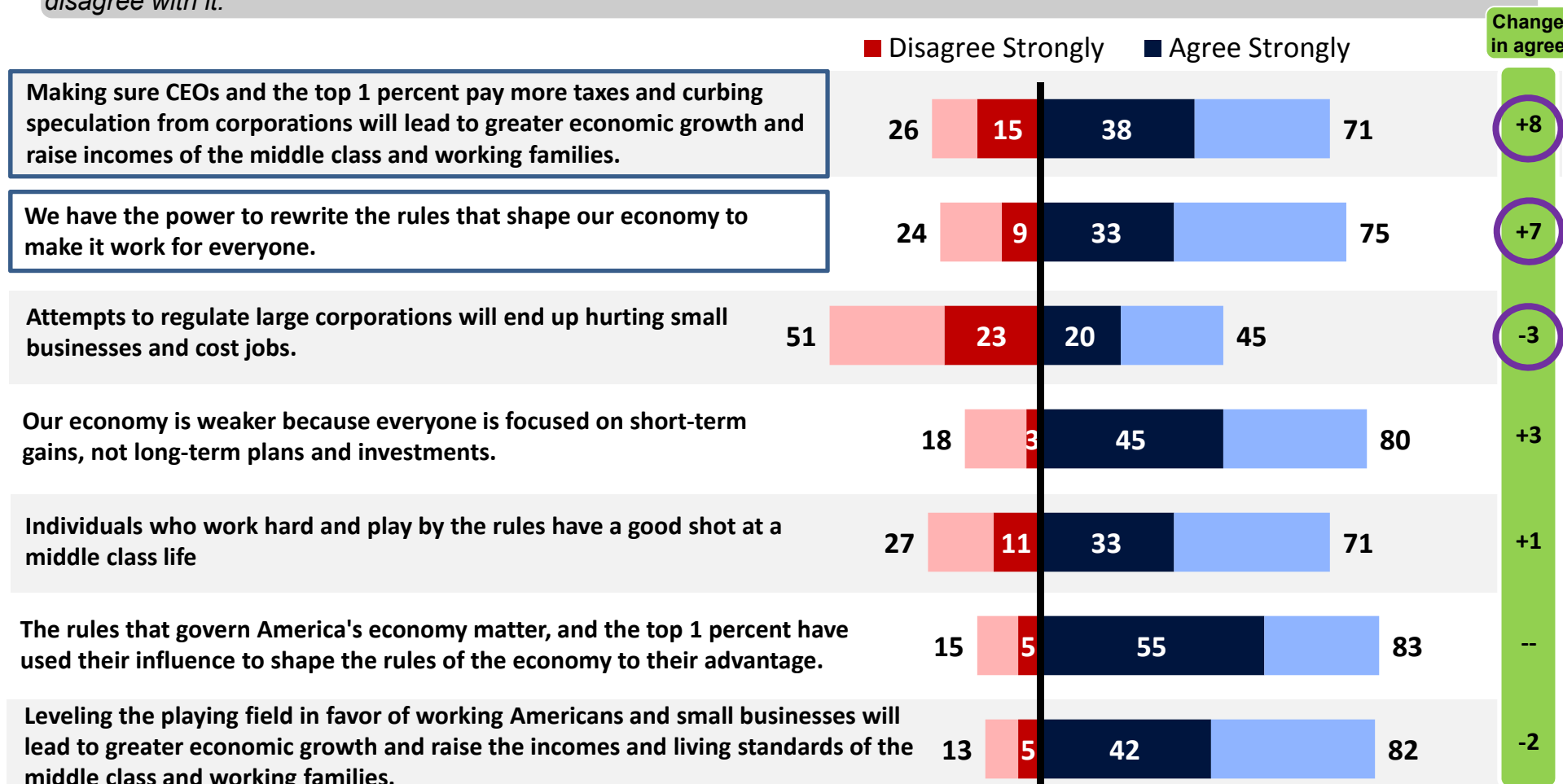
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All 2016 Voters



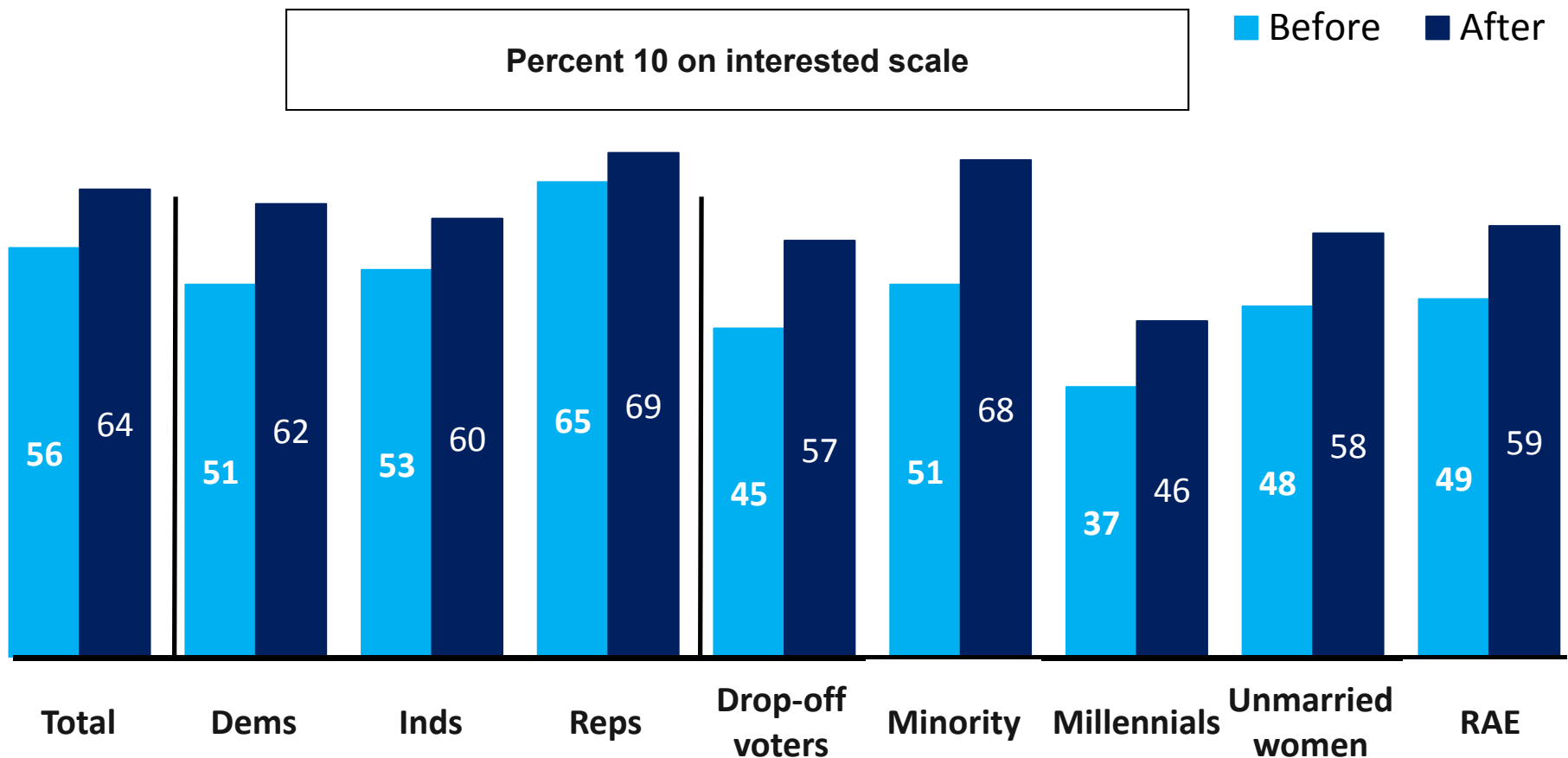
Joining this battle at the end shifts belief that taxing top produces inclusive growth and that people can be empowered

I am going to read you some statements about the American economy. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it.



This big battle of ideas, policies and message engages key publics

How interested are you in the November, 2016 elections for President, U.S. Congress and other state and local offices? Please rate your interest from one to ten, with one meaning that you have no interest in this election and ten meaning that you are extremely interested. Of course, you can choose any number between one and ten.



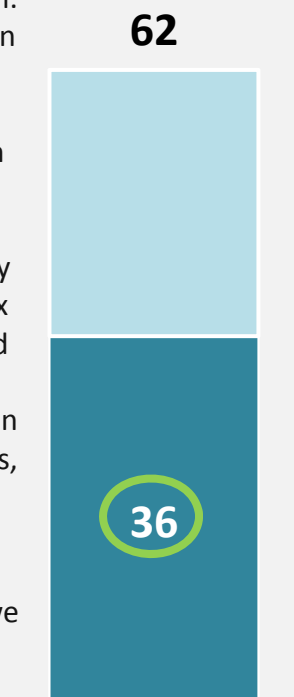
Leveling the Playing Field message has the intensity edge

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 not at all positive.

Leveling the Playing Field Democratic Economic Message

We need an economy that works for the middle class, not an economy governed by trickle down. Today, people struggle to earn enough to sustain a family, yet corporations use donations and lobbyists to manipulate the rules in their favor. It's time to rewrite the rules to promote growth that benefits all Americans. We can't change everything overnight, but we can start by reducing the toxic influence of corporate money in politics. Then we can finally rebalance our tax code so those at the top pay their fair share and we can ensure CEOs behave in a way that helps America, not just their bottom lines. We can rein in the big banks, help small businesses get loans, make sure women get equal pay, and lift the burden of college debt. And we can invest in modernizing our infrastructure and training skilled workers. Let's level the playing field so we can grow the middle class and America again.

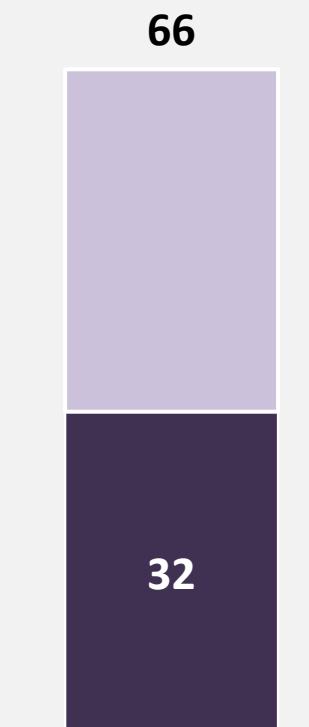
■ Much more positive



Mainstream Democratic Economic Message

The economy is doing better but Americans are still uncertain about their future and progress can be undone at any time. We need to promote an agenda of economic growth that will benefit all Americas. Raising the minimum wage, modernizing our infrastructure, and finding ways to make college more affordable will all make Americans more economically secure. We also need to address the shortage of jobs and skilled workers available by modernizing worker training programs that can prepare adults for the good jobs of today and tomorrow. And we need to reform our antiquated tax code to make it easier for businesses to expand here rather than abroad to bring jobs and money back into our economy.

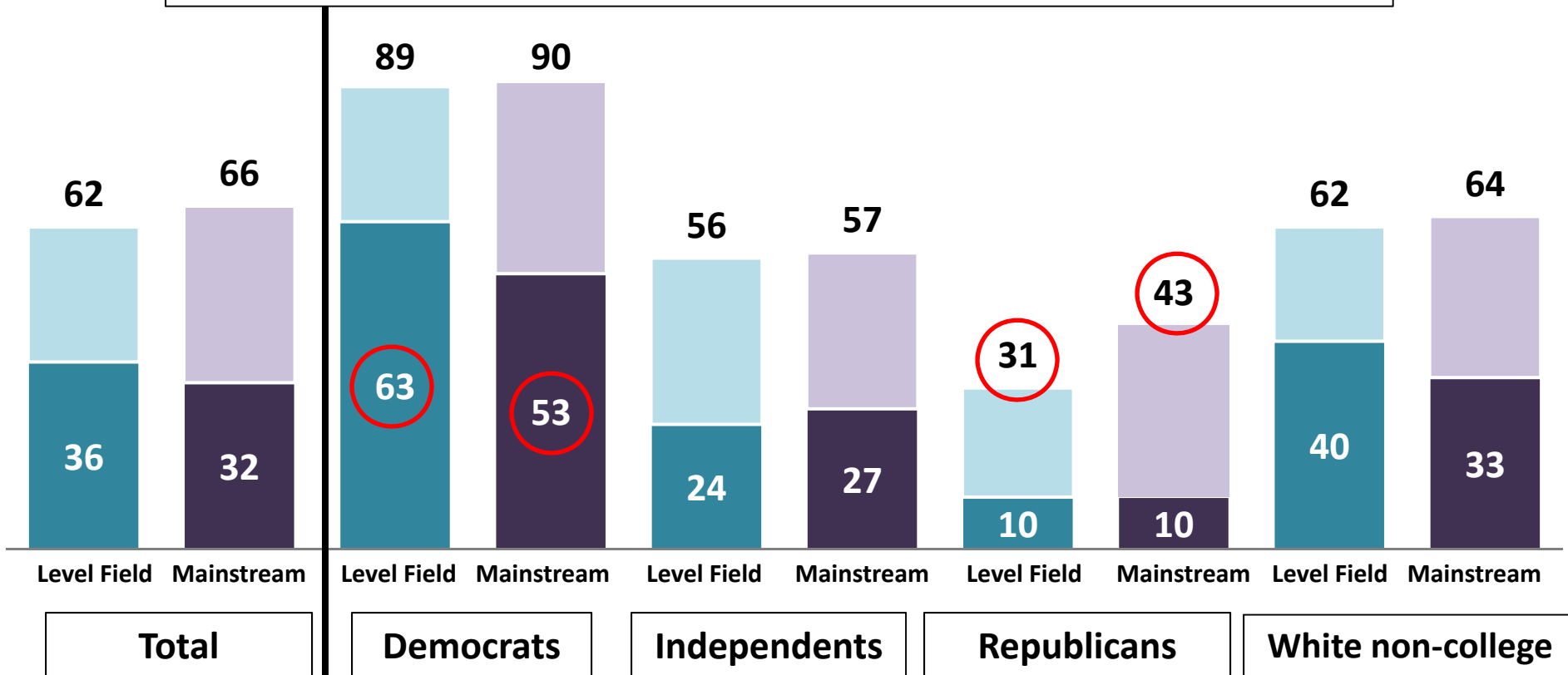
■ Much more positive



Stronger support for Leveling the Playing Field message among Democrats; Republicans preference for Mainstream message driving up overall support

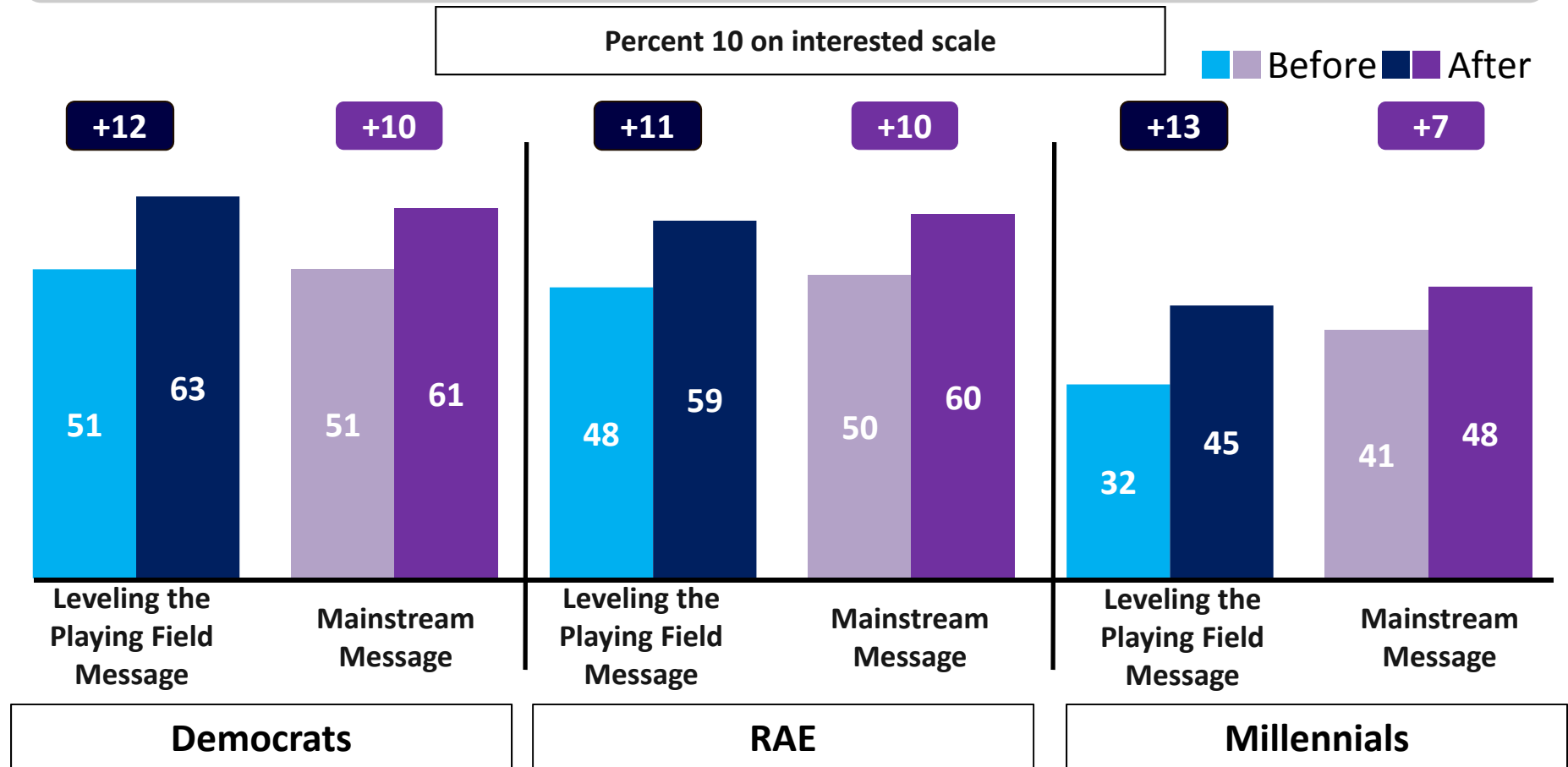
Now I am going to read you a statement by a DEMOCRATIC candidate on the economy. Please tell me whether the statement makes you feel much more positive about the Democratic candidate, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or not at all positive.

Leveling the Playing Field Economic Message vs. Mainstream Message



Leveling the Playing Field message more motivating, though not statistically significant

How interested are you in the November, 2016 elections for President, U.S. Congress and other state and local offices? Please rate your interest from one to ten, with one meaning that you have no interest in this election and ten meaning that you are extremely interested. Of course, you can choose any number between one and ten.



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