# CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

TO:         MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN COMMITTEE

FROM:       TONY FABRIZIO, DAVID LEE, & TRAVIS TUNIS

RE:         TRUMP "RUNNING THE TABLE" AGAINST BIDEN IN FIVE KEY
            BATTLEGROUND STATES; BIDEN INFRASTRUCTURE AND BBB PLANS
            FLOP WITH THESE VOTERS

DATE:       NOVEMBER 21, 2021

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Fabrizio, Lee & Associates recently completed five surveys of *n*=600 likely 2024 voters in the key battleground states of Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin (See methodology statement and key demographics on last page). In all five states, President Trump leads President Biden in a hypothetical 2024 ballot, has a significantly stronger job approval rating than Biden, and seen as better able to handle a host of key issues tested. Simply put, at this juncture battleground state voters want Donald Trump leading this country instead of Joe Biden.

### *In all 5 Biden 2020 States, Donald Trump Leads on the 2024 Ballot, Including by Double-Digits in Michigan & Wisconsin*

In a hypothetical matchup between the current and former Presidents, Donald Trump leads Joe Biden in all five key states tested. In all but Georgia, his lead is outside the margin of error, and in Michigan and Wisconsin, he leads by 12 and 10-points, respectively. There has been a clear shift over the past year, with voters now in favor of President Trump over Biden.

| *Hypothetically, if the 2024 election for President were held today and the candidates were (ROTATE) Donald Trump, the Republican and Joe Biden, the Democrat, for whom would you vote? (PROBE: Definitely/Probably)* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *AZ* | *GA* | *MI* | *PA* | *WI* |
| **TOTAL TRUMP** | **51** | **48** | **53** | **51** | **52** |
| **TOTAL BIDEN** | **43** | **45** | **41** | **45** | **42** |
| Definitely Trump | 44 | 43 | 45 | 48 | 47 |
| Probably Trump | 7 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 5 |
| Probably Biden | 4 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Definitely Biden | 40 | 40 | 38 | 39 | 38 |
| Undecided (DO NOT READ) | 6 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| **NET TRUMP** | **+8** | **+3** | **+12** | **+6** | **+10** |

### Huge Gap Between Trump and Biden Job Approvals with Trump holding a nearly 20 points or more Advantage

President Trump's approval ratings are a net even or stronger throughout, including +9 in Wisconsin and +6 in Michigan. On the other hand, Biden's approval ratings are incredibly negative. He is underwater double-digits in all five states and in all but Georgia, an outright majority *strongly* disapprove of President Biden.

| *Do you approve or disapprove of the job Joe Biden is doing as President? (PROBE: Strongly/ Somewhat) / Do you approve or disapprove of the job Donald Trump did as President? (PROBE: Strongly/Somewhat)* | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Arizona* | | *Georgia* | | *Michigan* | | *Pennsylv.* | | *Wisconsin* | |
| | Trump | Biden | Trump | Biden | Trump | Biden | Trump | Biden | Trump | Biden |
| **TOTAL APPROVE** | **50** | **40** | **50** | **41** | **52** | **38** | **50** | **39** | **54** | **41** |
| **TOTAL DISAPPROVE** | **50** | **59** | **47** | **57** | **46** | **59** | **48** | **58** | **45** | **58** |
| Strongly approve | 36 | 19 | 34 | 15 | 36 | 18 | 38 | 19 | 37 | 18 |
| Somewhat approve | 14 | 21 | 16 | 25 | 16 | 20 | 13 | 20 | 17 | 23 |
| Somewhat disapprove | 6 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 5 |
| Strongly disapprove | 44 | 51 | 41 | 49 | 41 | 53 | 43 | 51 | 41 | 53 |
| Don't Know/Refused | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| **NET APPROVE** | **±0** | **-19** | **+3** | **-16** | **+6** | **-21** | **+2** | **-19** | **+9** | **-17** |

### Trump Dominates Biden on being Best Able to Handle Key Issues Facing U.S.

When asked who was best able to handle the following issues, voters in these five key states selected President Trump by wide margins on stopping illegal immigration, securing the border, controlling federal spending, holding the line on taxes, restoring law & order, dealing with the withdrawal from Afghanistan, getting inflation under control, and rebuilding the economy. Even on issues that Biden ran on, like protecting Social Security & Medicare and rebuilding the nation's infrastructure, more think President Trump is best able to handle. Given his advantage on these key issues for Americans, it's not surprising they are choosing Trump over Biden in these states.

| *Now more specifically, between (ROTATE) Joe Biden and Donald Trump, who in your opinion is BEST ABLE to handle each of the following issues? (SPLIT SAMPLE)* | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (RANDOMIZE ISSUES) | | **TRUMP** | **BIDEN** | BOTH EQUALLY | NEITHER | DK/REF (DNR) | **NET TRUMP** |
| **Stop illegal immigration** | AZ | **56** | **19** | 4 | 20 | - | **+37** |
| | GA | **52** | **29** | 4 | 15 | - | **+23** |
| | MI | **55** | **21** | 4 | 20 | * | **+34** |
| | PA | **58** | **23** | 3 | 16 | - | **+35** |
| | WI | **59** | **21** | 3 | 15 | 1 | **+38** |
| **Secure the border** | AZ | **57** | **25** | 4 | 14 | * | **+32** |
| | GA | **54** | **23** | 4 | 17 | 2 | **+31** |
| | MI | **56** | **26** | 2 | 16 | - | **+30** |
| | PA | **54** | **29** | 2 | 14 | * | **+25** |
| | WI | **59** | **22** | 2 | 16 | 2 | **+37** |

| | | TRUMP | BIDEN | BOTH EQUALLY | NEITHER | DK/REF (DNR) | NET TRUMP |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Now more specifically, between (ROTATE) Joe Biden and Donald Trump, who in your opinion is BEST ABLE to handle each of the following issues? (SPLIT SAMPLE)* | | | | | | | |
| (RANDOMIZE ISSUES) | | | | | | | |
| **Control federal spending** | AZ | 43 | 31 | 1 | 25 | * | +12 |
| | GA | 45 | 34 | 1 | 18 | 1 | +11 |
| | MI | 50 | 28 | 1 | 21 | * | +22 |
| | PA | 52 | 32 | 2 | 14 | 1 | +20 |
| | WI | 51 | 29 | 3 | 16 | 1 | +22 |
| **Hold the line on taxes** | AZ | 53 | 30 | 3 | 14 | - | +23 |
| | GA | 48 | 34 | 4 | 13 | 1 | +14 |
| | MI | 54 | 33 | 1 | 12 | 1 | +21 |
| | PA | 51 | 37 | 1 | 10 | 1 | +14 |
| | WI | 53 | 31 | * | 14 | 1 | +22 |
| **Protect Social Security and Medicare** | AZ | 44 | 41 | 3 | 12 | - | +3 |
| | GA | 44 | 42 | 4 | 9 | 1 | +2 |
| | MI | 43 | 41 | 4 | 13 | - | +2 |
| | PA | 43 | 45 | 3 | 7 | 2 | -2 |
| | WI | 46 | 39 | 3 | 11 | 1 | +7 |
| **Restore law and order** | AZ | 49 | 39 | 1 | 11 | - | +10 |
| | GA | 44 | 37 | 3 | 14 | 1 | +7 |
| | MI | 50 | 30 | 3 | 16 | 1 | +20 |
| | PA | 53 | 35 | 3 | 8 | 1 | +18 |
| | WI | 54 | 36 | * | 8 | 2 | +18 |
| **Deal with the withdrawal from Afghanistan** | AZ | 51 | 30 | 2 | 16 | 2 | +21 |
| | GA | 48 | 31 | 3 | 17 | 1 | +17 |
| | MI | 52 | 30 | 2 | 15 | * | +22 |
| | PA | 50 | 35 | 2 | 13 | 1 | +15 |
| | WI | 53 | 31 | 1 | 12 | 2 | +22 |
| **Get inflation under control** | AZ | 53 | 30 | 1 | 16 | - | +23 |
| | GA | 51 | 35 | 3 | 11 | - | +16 |
| | MI | 53 | 28 | 1 | 16 | 1 | +25 |
| | PA | 54 | 33 | 2 | 11 | - | +21 |
| | WI | 55 | 32 | 1 | 11 | * | +23 |
| **Rebuild the economy** | AZ | 54 | 37 | 1 | 7 | - | +17 |
| | GA | 53 | 39 | 2 | 5 | 1 | +14 |
| | MI | 53 | 36 | 2 | 8 | - | +17 |
| | PA | 54 | 39 | 2 | 5 | 1 | +15 |
| | WI | 57 | 36 | 1 | 5 | 2 | +21 |
| **Rebuild the nation's infrastructure** | AZ | 50 | 39 | 2 | 9 | - | +11 |
| | GA | 47 | 43 | 4 | 6 | 1 | +4 |
| | MI | 46 | 42 | 5 | 7 | - | +4 |
| | PA | 46 | 45 | 2 | 6 | 1 | +1 |
| | WI | 51 | 41 | 2 | 5 | 1 | +10 |

*Each Best Able issue question was split-sampled*

***Biden's Biggest Policy Initiatives are Flops with Voters, especially Build Back Better***

Except for Georgia where voters are split, a plurality of voters oppose President Biden's Build Back Better Act. In fact, in Arizona, Michigan, and Wisconsin, net opposition is in the double-digits. Adding to the unpopularity of BBB, there is heavy intensity in opposition, but much less so among those in favor.

Battleground state voters are more mixed on Biden's Bipartisan Infrastructure Package, but it is far from the popular initiative the current President was clearly hoping for. Furthermore, as with Build Back Better, those opposed to the Infrastructure Package are more likely to feel strongly, while those in favor are less so. Not only is Biden unpopular with Battleground state voters, but he isn't producing anything that will help him improve.

| *Based on what you know, do you favor or oppose President Biden's Build Back Better Act? (PROBE: Strongly/Somewhat)* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *AZ* | *GA* | *MI* | *PA* | *WI* |
| **TOTAL FAVOR** | **41** | **44** | **38** | **42** | **39** |
| **TOTAL OPPOSE** | **51** | **44** | **50** | **46** | **51** |
| Strongly favor | 29 | 27 | 29 | 29 | 26 |
| Somewhat favor | 12 | 16 | 9 | 13 | 13 |
| Somewhat oppose | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
| Strongly oppose | 46 | 39 | 46 | 41 | 44 |
| Don't Know/Refused | 8 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 9 |
| **NET FAVOR** | **-10** | **±0** | **-12** | **-4** | **-12** |

| *Based on what you know, do you favor or oppose President Biden's Bipartisan Infrastructure Package? (PROBE: Strongly/Somewhat)* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *AZ* | *GA* | *MI* | *PA* | *WI* |
| **TOTAL FAVOR** | **45** | **46** | **44** | **46** | **45** |
| **TOTAL OPPOSE** | **48** | **45** | **49** | **46** | **48** |
| Strongly favor | 30 | 27 | 30 | 29 | 29 |
| Somewhat favor | 15 | 19 | 14 | 17 | 15 |
| Somewhat oppose | 7 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 7 |
| Strongly oppose | 41 | 36 | 41 | 38 | 41 |
| Don't Know/Refused | 7 | 10 | 7 | 8 | 7 |
| **NET FAVOR** | **-3** | **+1** | **-5** | **±0** | **-3** |

***METHODOLOGY STATEMENT****:* Fabrizio, Lee & Associates conducted surveys of 600 likely 2024 voters each in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin from November 11 – 16th, 2021. The interviews were split 35% cell phone/35% SMS to web/30% landline phone, using live operators for the cell phone and landline phone portions. Geography was matched to past voter turnout in recent general elections. Gender, age, party registration/affiliation, race/ethnicity, and education were matched to demographic profiles of likely voters based on the voter file of past voters, state data, AP/Fox News VoteCast, and exit polls. Respondents were randomly selected from lists of registered voters. The margin of error at the 95% confidence interval for 600 voters is ±4.00%.

## *KEY DEMOGRAPHICS*

### Party Registration/Affiliation

|  | AZ | GA | MI | PA | WI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Republican | 38% | 37% | 35% | 40% | 35% |
| Independent | 25% | 26% | 28% | 12% | 27% |
| Democrat | 34% | 34% | 32% | 46% | 34% |
| Other (SPECIFY) | 3% | 2% | 4% | 1% | 3% |
| DK/Refused | <1% | 1% | <1% | 1% | 1% |

### Race/Ethnicity

|  | AZ | GA | MI | PA | WI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| White | 71% | 60% | 79% | 79% | 87% |
| Latino/Hispanic | 19% | 5% | 4% | 6% | 4% |
| African American/Black | 3% | 30% | 12% | 11% | 6% |
| Asian American | 1% | 1% | 1% | 2% | 1% |
| Other | 5% | 2% | 4% | 1% | 1% |
| DK/Refused | 1% | 2% | <1% | 1% | <1% |

### Age

|  | AZ | GA | MI | PA | WI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18-34 | 19% | 23% | 21% | 21% | 15% |
| 35-44 | 16% | 18% | 15% | 15% | 15% |
| 45-54 | 15% | 18% | 16% | 16% | 20% |
| 55-64 | 21% | 19% | 20% | 19% | 20% |
| 65+ | 29% | 21% | 28% | 28% | 29% |
| Refused | - | 1% | - | 1% | 1% |

### Gender

|  | AZ | GA | MI | PA | WI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **MALE** | **48%** | **47%** | **47%** | **47%** | **47%** |
| **FEMALE** | **52%** | **53%** | **53%** | **53%** | **53%** |
| Female, working outside the home | 30% | 34% | 32% | 36% | 35% |
| Female, homemaker | 20% | 18% | 21% | 16% | 17% |
| Female/Refused | 1% | 1% | <1% | 1% | 1% |

### Education

|  | AZ | GA | MI | PA | WI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| High School or less | 16% | 19% | 21% | 24% | 23% |
| Some College | 48% | 41% | 43% | 36% | 39% |
| College+ | 36% | 40% | 36% | 40% | 38% |
| Refused | <1% | <1% | <1% | <1% | <1% |

### Vote History

|  | AZ | GA | MI | PA | WI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Voted in 1 or more of the last 4 General Elections | 95% | 88% | 92% | 93% | 92% |
| Voted in 2020 | 90% | 83% | 87% | 87% | 85% |