

G B A O

Alliance for Retired Americans Qualitative & Quantitative Research

August 2024

Qualitative



- Conducted June 24, July 2 & 10, 2024
- In-person (2 hrs, 8-10 participants) & online (90 min, 5-7 participants)

JUNE 24, 2024, ARIZONA

- **Group 1:** Swing white senior women in Maricopa County
- **Group 2:** Swing white senior men in Maricopa County

JULY 2, 2024, PHILADELPHIA

- **Group 1:** Swing white senior women in Philadelphia suburbs
- **Group 2:** Swing white senior men in Philadelphia suburbs

July 10, 2024, ONLINE

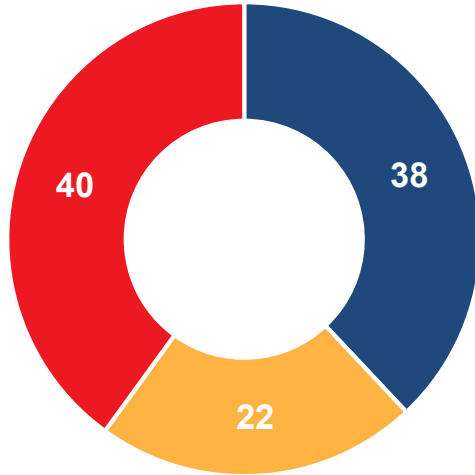
- **Group 1:** Black senior men in Philadelphia, swing voters or lower motivation Democratic voters
- **Group 2:** Hispanic senior women in Phoenix, swing voters or lower motivation Democratic voters

Quantitative

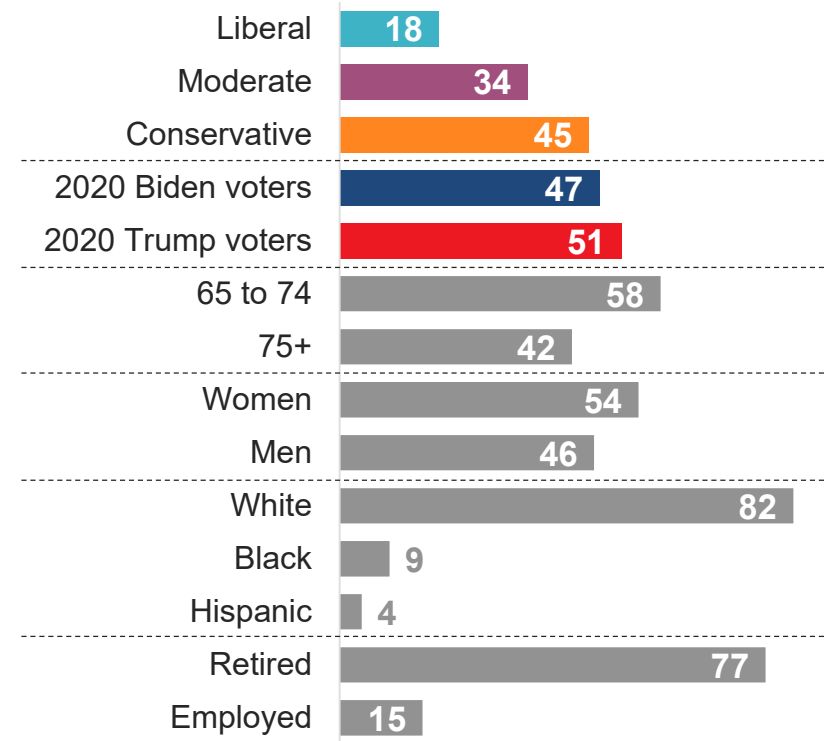


- n = 1,200 likely general election senior voters in battleground states (Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin)
 - Landline, cell phone, and text-to-web
- Conducted July 23-30, 2024
- Margin of error = +/- 2.8 percentage points

Demographics



● Democrat ● Independent ● Republican



- Harris is running very strongly with seniors in the key swing states, fighting Trump to a two-point deficit and outpacing Biden's 2020 performance with the same bloc;
- Opportunities for growth still exist for Harris in key areas;
- Democrats' traditional advantage on issues critical to seniors, such as Medicare and Social Security, has dwindled;
- Seniors respond well to attacks on Trump's record on Medicare – but skepticism around that record will require solid credentialing around any potential attack.

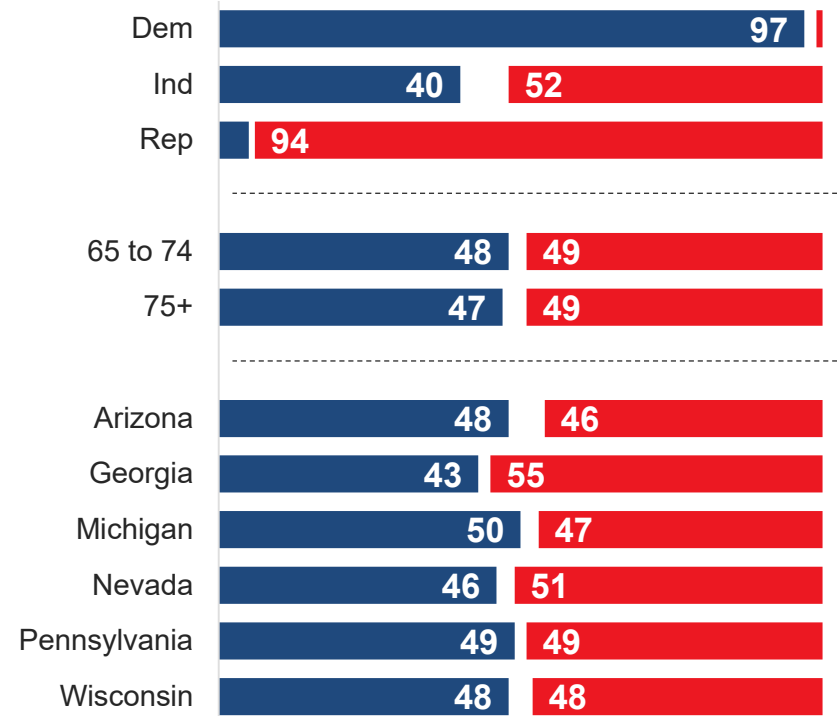
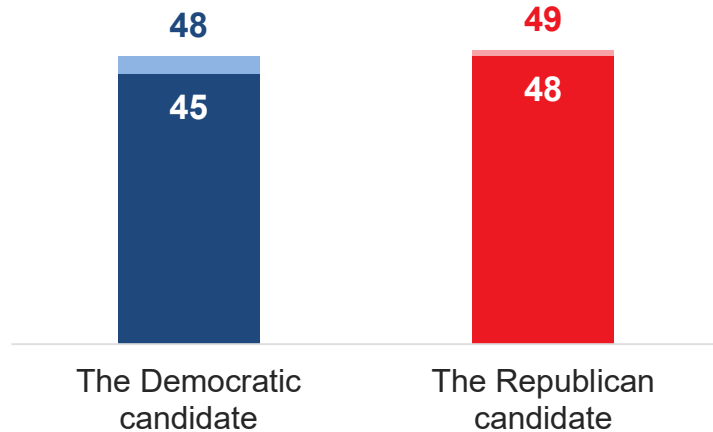
Swing State Seniors Divided On Partisan Loyalty

Figure 7

Generic Vote

If the November election for U.S. Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote?

Darker shade = Strong support



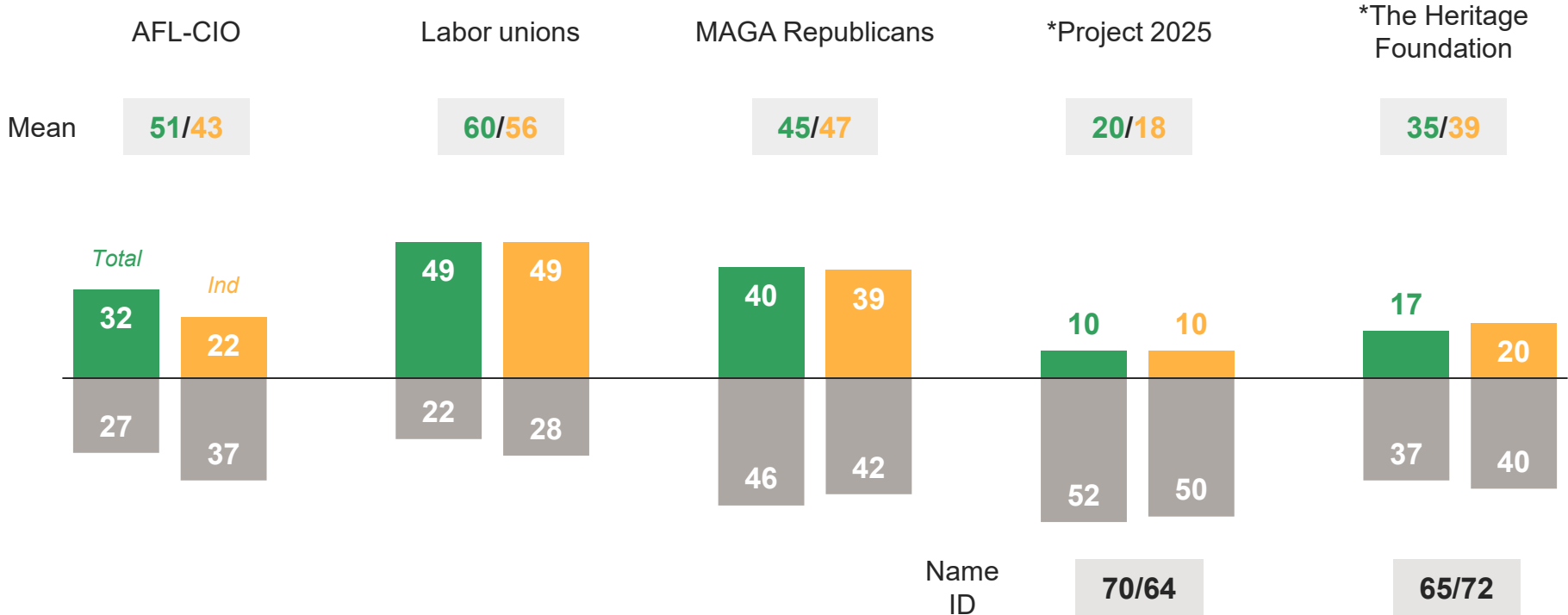
Labor Unions Popular; Project 2025 Is Very Unfavorable With Seniors

Figure 8

Organization Favorability

● Favorable ● Unfavorable

Asked on a 0-100 scale
0=very unfavorable, 100=very favorable



* = Split-sample

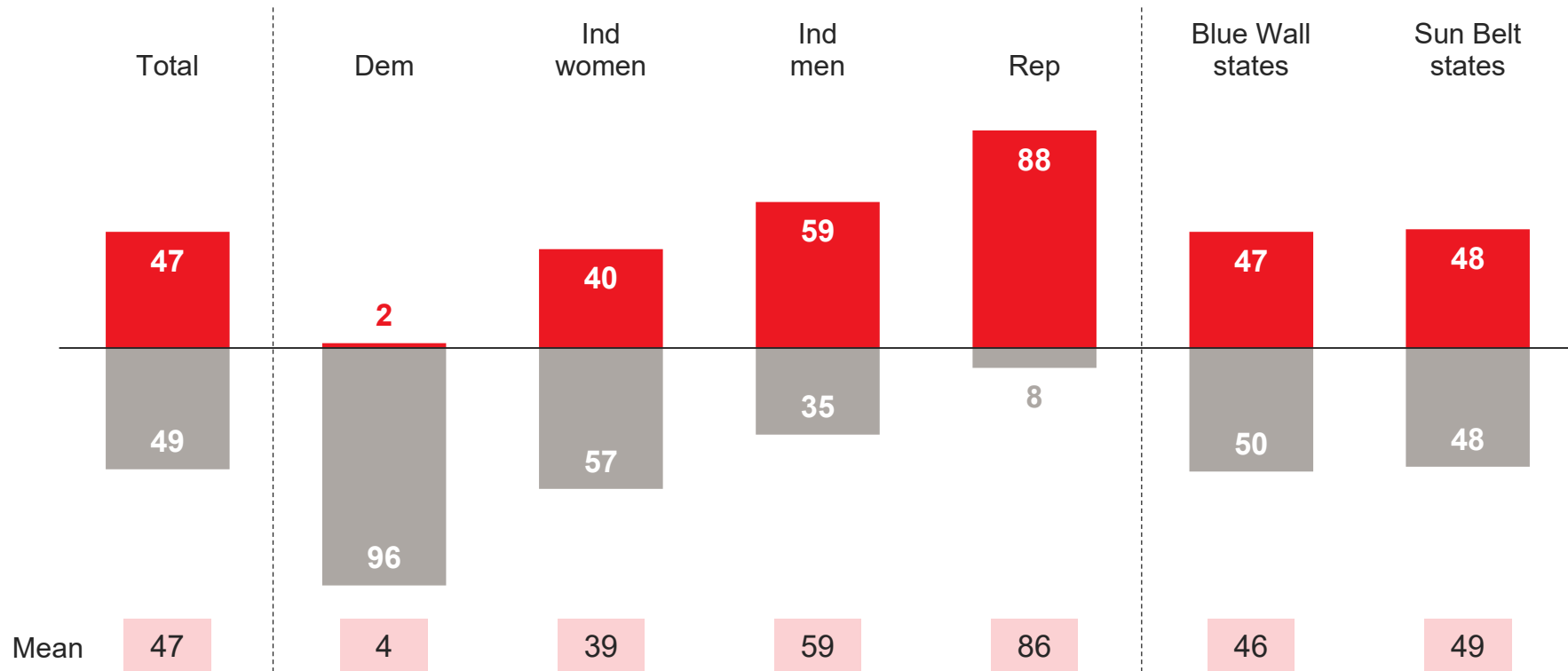
Trump's Standing Deeply Polarized;

Figure 9

Trump Favorability

● Favorable ● Unfavorable

Asked on a 0-100 scale
0=very unfavorable, 100=very favorable



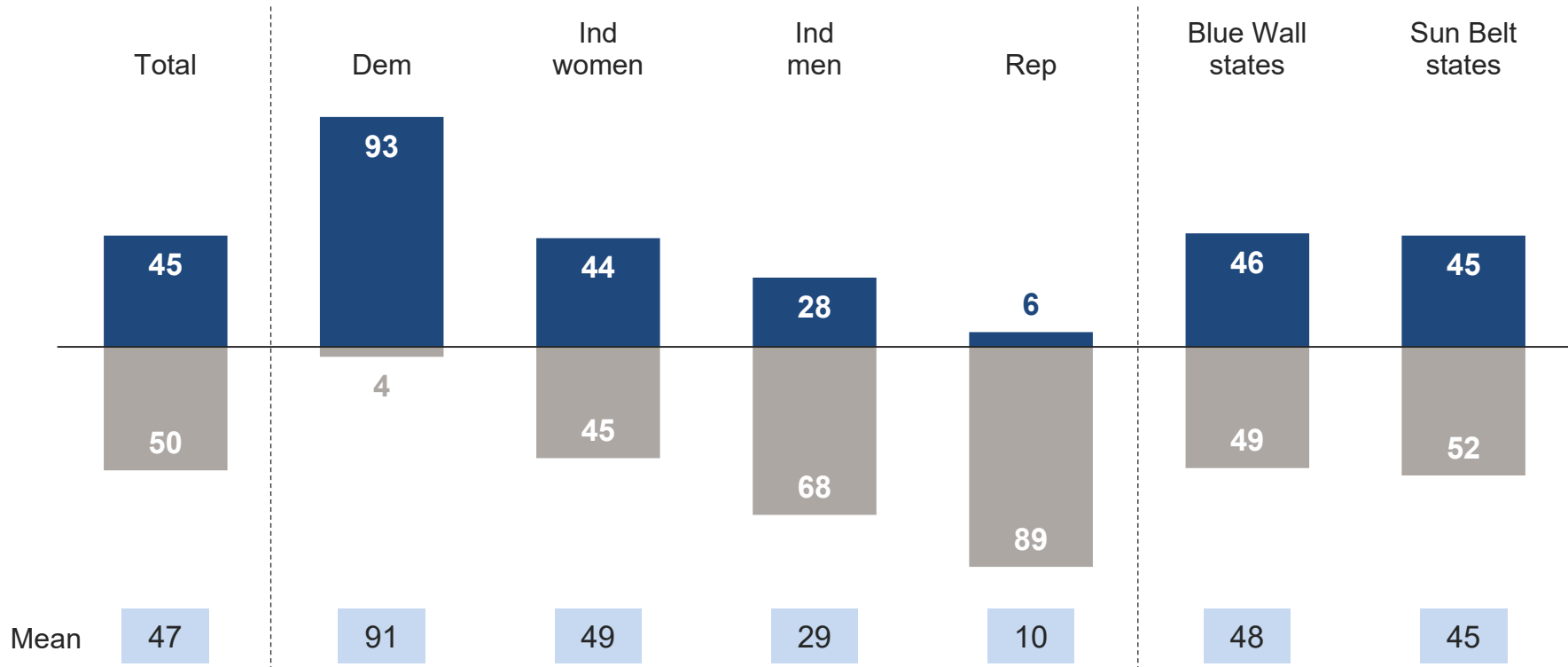
Impressions of Harris Almost A Mirror Image of Trump's

Figure 10

Harris Favorability

● Favorable ● Unfavorable

Asked on a 0-100 scale
0=very unfavorable, 100=very favorable



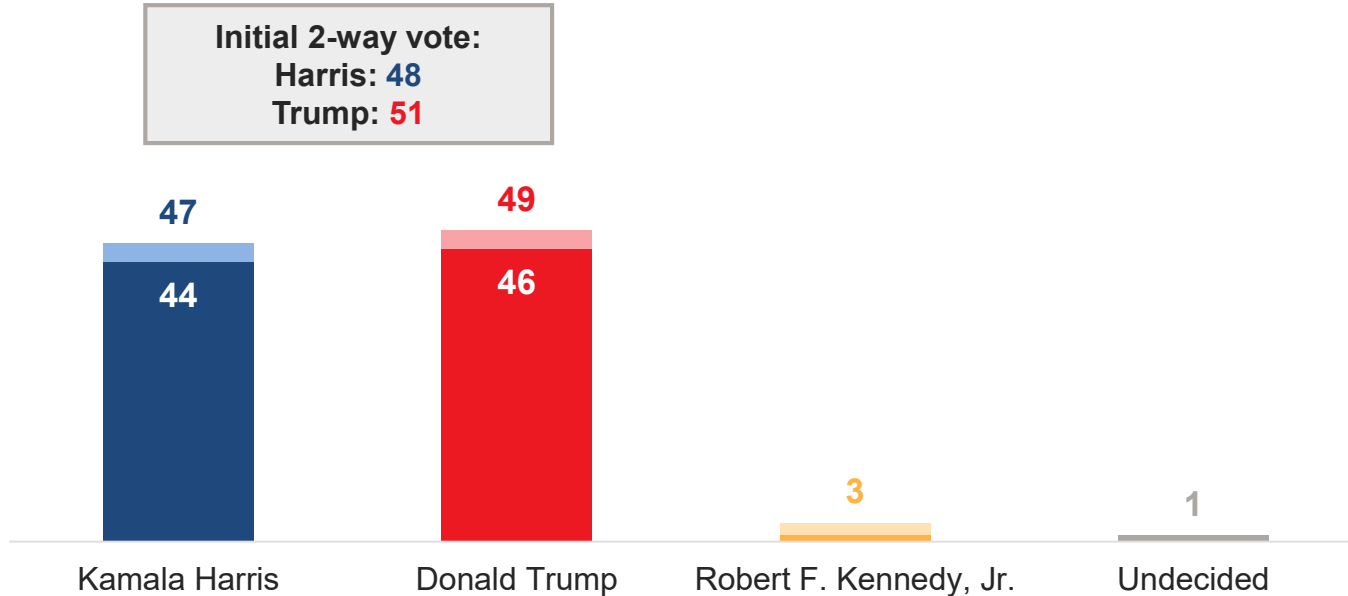
Senior Vote Extremely Close In Swing States, RFK Not A Factor

Figure 11

Initial 3-Way Vote

If the November election for President were held today, for whom would you vote?

Darker shade = More certain

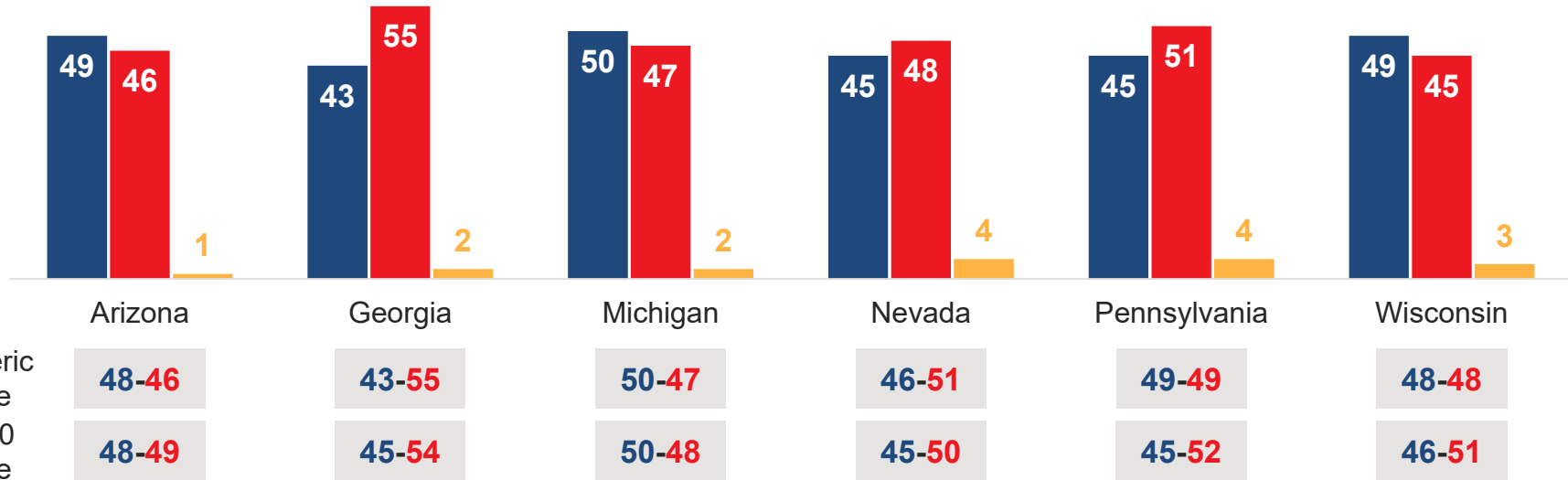


Race Varies From State To State, Georgia Is Toughest Terrain

Figure 12

Initial 3-Way Vote

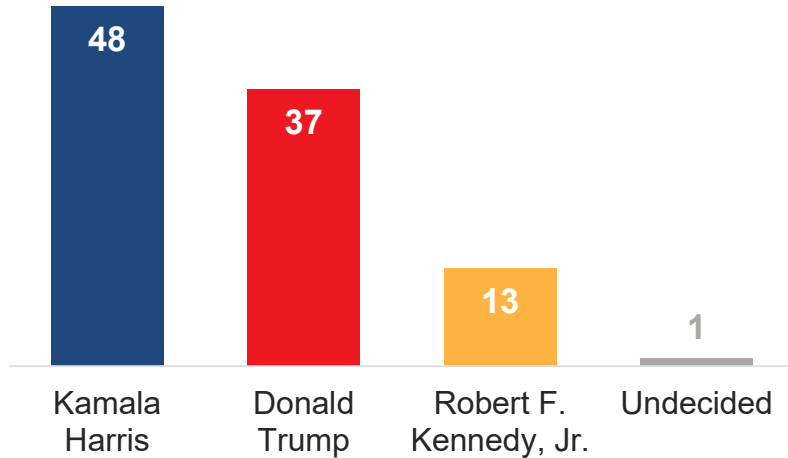
● Kamala Harris ● Donald Trump ● Robert F. Kennedy, Jr.



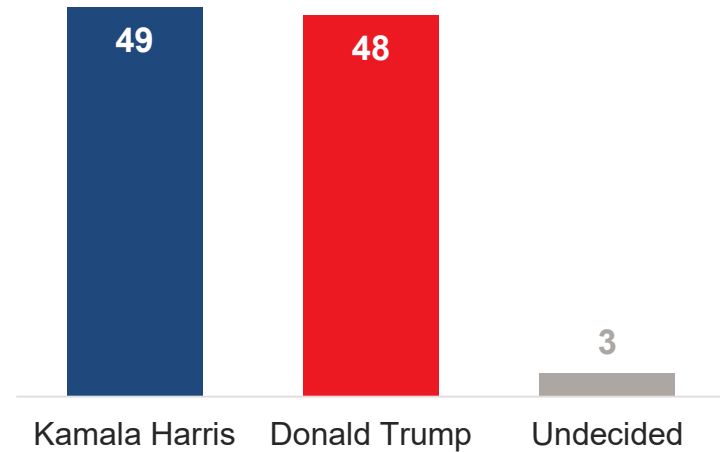
Independent Women Looking For Alternative To Trump

Figure 13

Initial 3-Way Vote Among Independent Women



Initial 2-Way Vote Among Independent Women



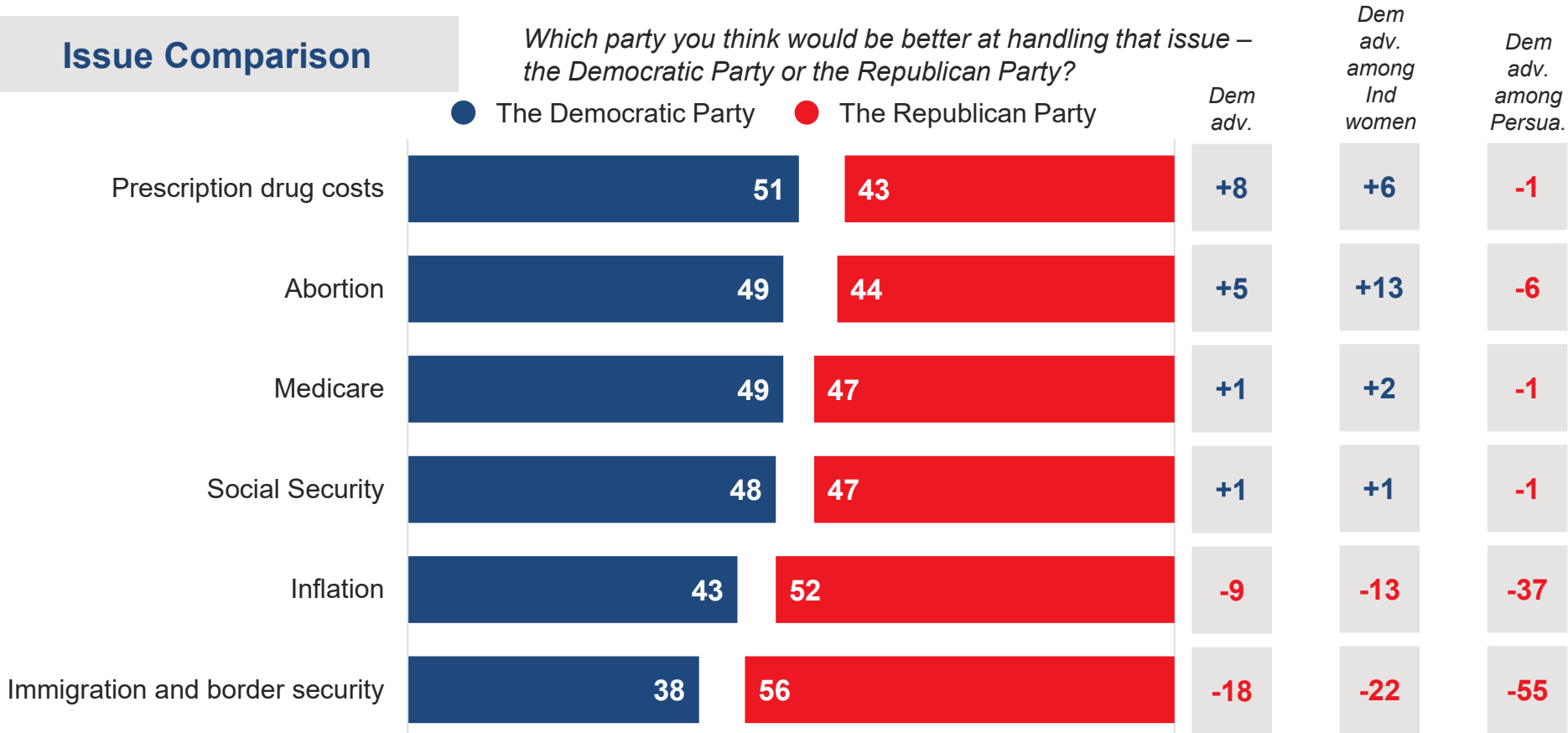
Democrats Barely Holding Advantage On Key Seniors' Issues

Figure 14

Issue Comparison

Which party you think would be better at handling that issue – the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?

● The Democratic Party ● The Republican Party



*Persuadable voters = Vote shifters, weak, lean, or undecided voters, ticket splitters

In Focus Groups, There Is A Sense That Democrats Are Better On Seniors' Issues, But It Requires Prompting And Some Are Disillusioned

Figure 15

Parties On Seniors' Issues

*Maricopa Co.
white man*

"I think Biden was going to protect [Social Security and Medicare] more. I think that's his party. I think that's kind of their mainstay, to look to the future and make sure that people have something to fall back on."

*Philadelphia suburban
white man*

"The Republicans have been trying to attack [Social Security] for years. And in Trump's last two budgets, he tried to cut Medicare and Medicaid."

*Phoenix Hispanic
woman*

My sense is that the Democratic [Party] leaning is towards safeguarding this issue, our rights as Medicare recipients and moderating costs. I feel that the Republican Party overall is more finance-based and will look at the dollar amount rather than the people factor."

*Maricopa Co.
white woman*

"They're identical. They're telling the same story."

*Philadelphia suburban
white woman*

"I don't think anybody's trying to address [seniors' issues]. The government is beholden to drug companies, health care companies, insurance companies, they need those companies to finance their campaigns."

Trump's Medicare Record Problematic For This Audience

Trump Negatives

● Very serious concerns ● Total serious concerns

* = Split-sample

*(**MEDICARE ADV**) The plan for Trump's second term, outlined by dozens of top officials from his first administration, includes a proposal to privatize Medicare for all new enrollees, forcing seniors into for-profit plans that restrict what doctors they can see.



*(**MEDICARE CUTS**) In his first term, Donald Trump tried multiple times to slash Medicare. His final budget proposal cut \$50 billion a year from Medicare, even as the number of older Americans continues to rise.



(**DRUG PRICES**) If Trump wins, his advisors are planning to bar Medicare from negotiating with drug corporations for lower prices, eliminate penalties for those same corporations who jack up prices, and eliminate the cap on out-of-pocket spending for prescriptions.



(**SOCIAL SECURITY**) As President, Trump did nothing to protect Social Security for future generations or to safeguard the investments workers are making in their future. Instead of requiring the wealthiest Americans to pay their fair share to keep Social Security solvent, Trump pledged to cut the program's funding.



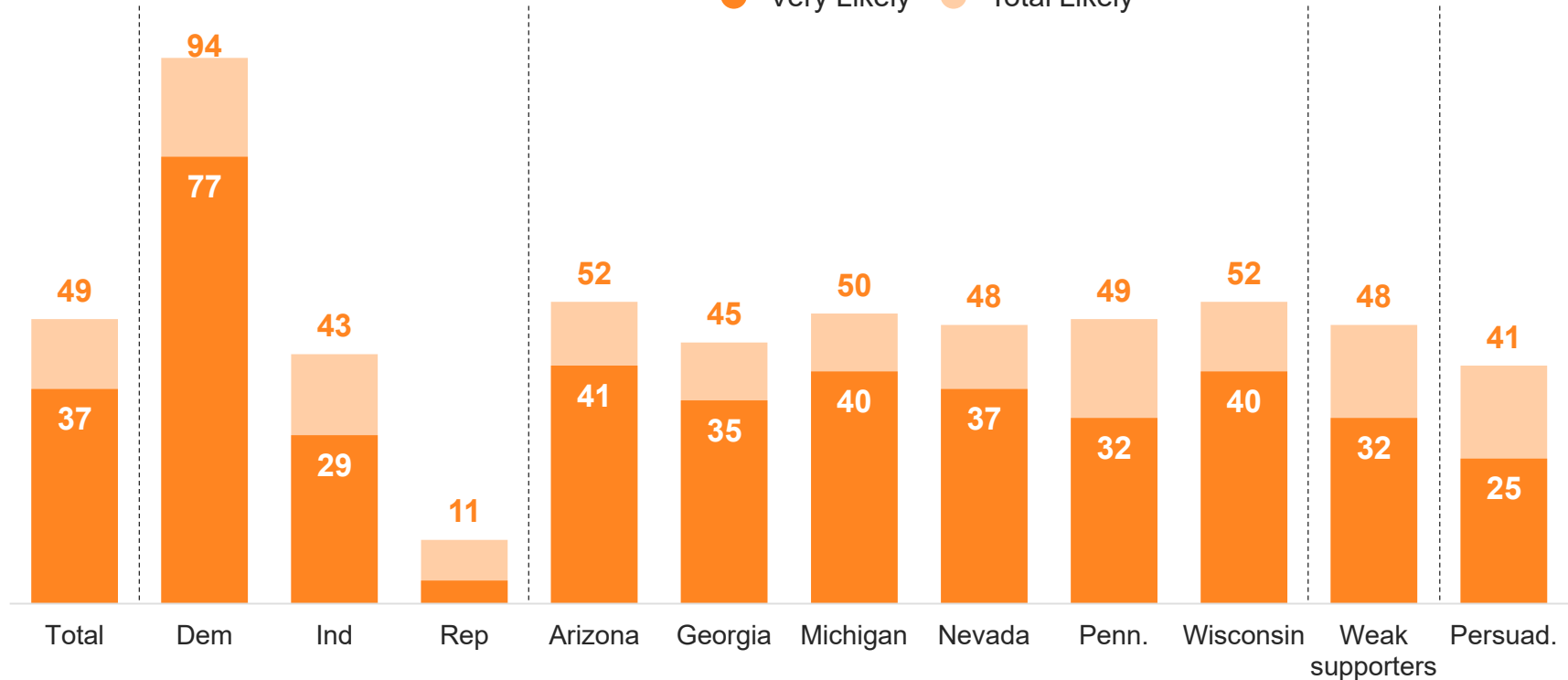
Seniors Divided On Whether Trump/GOP Will Cut Medicare & Social Security, Mirroring Skepticism in Focus Groups

Figure 17

GOP Medicare/Social Security Cuts

They will (**try to**) cut funding from Social Security and Medicare*. How likely do you think this will happen if Trump and the Republicans are in charge next year?

Very Likely Total Likely



* = Combined split

Mixed Reactions To Trump's Call for Medicare/Social Security Cuts

Figure 18

Social Security & Medicare Cuts

Focus Group Video

Focus group participants responded to a video of a news clip in which Trump discussed his budget plans and his openness to cutting Social Security and Medicare.

Some seniors believe Trump would try to slash these programs...

"In Trump's last two budgets he tried to cut Medicare by almost a half a billion dollars. So, if he tried it before, twice, and failed, why wouldn't he try it again?"

– Philadelphia suburban white man

"I think Trump wants to cut the programs. He's trying to appease the wealthier and they don't like this whole idea of Social Security. They call them entitlements... We don't have any entitlements!"

– Philadelphia suburban white woman

"I think Trump was very clear when he talked about entitlements, that what he plans to do once he gets elected, is to wholesale cut Social Security and Medicare to the bone."

– Philadelphia Black man

While others view his comments as taken out of context and view removing fraud as a positive.

"If they're cutting the administration of a program, it may not necessarily affect the end user benefits, like they'll just do a better search for fraud."

– Maricopa Co. white woman

"It would sure be nice eliminate all fraud. We're not going to eliminate all fraud, but if we can eliminate some of the fraud in Medicare, I think it could make a significant difference."

– Maricopa Co. white man

"It seemed like he was talking about getting after the fraud and abuse of entitlement programs. I kind of thought that's what they should be doing more."

– Maricopa Co. white man

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RESEARCH + STRATEGY