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Memorandum

To: Interested Parties
From: Tony Fabrizio and Bob Ward
Date: November 5, 2025
Re: Target CD voters oppose spending cuts on Medicare Advantage

Fabrizio Ward recently polled 1,000 registered voters in 28 Targeted Congressional Districts (TCD) on the topic of Medicare Advantage.

Bottom Line

Cutting funding to Medicare Advantage that would result from Cassidy/Merkley bill poses an electoral risk for members. Seniors will have an outsized impact in the midterm election in these most competitive districts, and more than half of them are enrolled in Medicare Advantage, a program viewed favorably by voters across the board, and highly supported by those enrolled in it. Voters oppose a $124 billion cut to Medicare Advantage by a 2:1 margin. Moreover, a Republican supporting these cuts would drop their ballot support significantly, turning a modest 5-point deficit into a 19-point deficit. The Republican who fights the cuts would gain a few points.

Medicare and Medicare Advantage have strong images with TCD voters

Voters view Medicare favorably by a 65% - 17% margin, while its image is strongest among Harris voters, Trump voters view it favorably by a 29-point margin and Swing voters, those who split their tickets and will be a key group in determining who controls the House, view it favorably by 42-points. The positive views for Medicare are driven in part by Trump and Swing voters on Medicare, among whom 80%+ rate it favorably. (Chart 1)

Voters also support seniors having a choice between two Medicare options. Medicare Advantage is viewed favorably by those with an opinion at 49% - 18%. Voters across the political spectrum view it favorably by a double-digit margin, but its biggest fans are the voters 65+ who are on Medicare Advantage, who view it favorably by an 88% - 6% margin. To be on Medicare Advantage is to like it a lot. This is key to understanding the threat posed to politicians that plan cuts to the program: ***most seniors are enrolled in Medicare Advantage, and they would likely be easy to activate to oppose candidates that cut it***. (Chart 2)

There is strong opposition to reducing the amount spent on Medicare Advantage

When voters are told how Medicare is funded based on the health risk assessment of enrollees, they oppose by a 37-point margin (60% oppose, 23% support) steps to make it harder to assess higher risk patients as proposed by legislation offered by Senators Bill Cassidy (R-LA) and Jeff Merkley (D-OR). The changes would result in a $124 billion cut to the Medicare Advantage program over ten years. More voters are opposed to this than support it across each political group: Harris voters, Swing voters and Trump voters.

Not surprisingly, one of the most opposed groups are those on Medicare Advantage, who oppose it 74% - 13%, but those on Traditional Medicare are also opposed to cuts by 30-points. Trump voters on Medicare oppose it almost two-to-one. (Chart 3)

How a Republican handles MA has a big impact on their chances for re-election

Overall, a generic Democrat has a narrow 46% - 41% lead over a Republican on the Congressional generic ballot in these districts. How Republican candidates approach Medicare Advantage spending leads to two significantly different outcomes. A Republican candidate who wants to cut Medicare Advantage by $124 billion pays a serious penalty, losing by a 19-point margin, a net drop of 14-points. Seniors will make up an outsized share of the midterm electorate, and more than half of seniors are enrolled in Medicare Advantage. Next, consider the Republican candidate who fights against cutting Medicare Advantage: the ballot moves a few points in the positive direction. This data shows that Republicans will need to do more than just fight for the MA status quo to gain an electoral advantage in these top districts, but they absolutely cannot afford supporting cuts to the popular Medicare Advantage program. (Chart 4)

Methodology

Fabrizio Ward conducted on behalf of the Better Medicare Alliance a survey on October 23-27, 2025 of 1,000 registered voters in the 28 most competitive House districts across the country – the 15 districts won by the current Republican member by a margin of 5% or less in 2024 and the 13 districts won by a Democrat but also won by President Trump. Interviews were conducted evenly across the 28 districts. The survey was offered in English and Spanish. Quotas were set by age, gender, partisan affiliation, education, and race/ethnicity. Data was weighted by district, age, gender, recalled 2024 vote, education, and race/ethnicity. Margin of sampling error for n1,000 is ±3.1% at the 95% confidence level. The interviews were conducted via cell phones (35%), landlines (25%), and SMS-to-Web (40%) to voters sampled from the voter file.

Key Demographics

Party Affiliation

Republican	33%
Independent	26
Democrat	36
Other/Ref	5

2024 Vote

Donald Trump	48%
Kamala Harris	43
Someone else	4
Did not vote	1
Refused	4

Race/Ethnicity

White	69%
Latino/Hispanic	17
African American/Black	6
Asian American	3
Native American	2
Other (SPECIFY)	1
Refused	2

Age

18-34	25%
35-49	23
50-64	23
65+	26
Refused	2

Education

High School or Less	24%
Some College	38
4-Year College	22
Post-Grad degree	15
Refused	1

Gender

Male	48%
Female	52
Other	1

Congressional Districts

AK-AL	4%	NE-02	4
AZ-01	4	NJ-09	4
AZ-06	4	NM-02	4
CA-09	4	NV-03	4
CA-13	4	NY-03	4
CA-41	4	OH-09	4
CO-03	4	PA-07	4
CO-08	4	PA-08	4
IA-01	4	PA-10	4
IA-03	4	TX-28	4
ME-02	4	TX-34	4
MI-07	4	VA-02	4
MI-08	4	WA-03	4
NC-01	4	WI-03	4

Chart 1

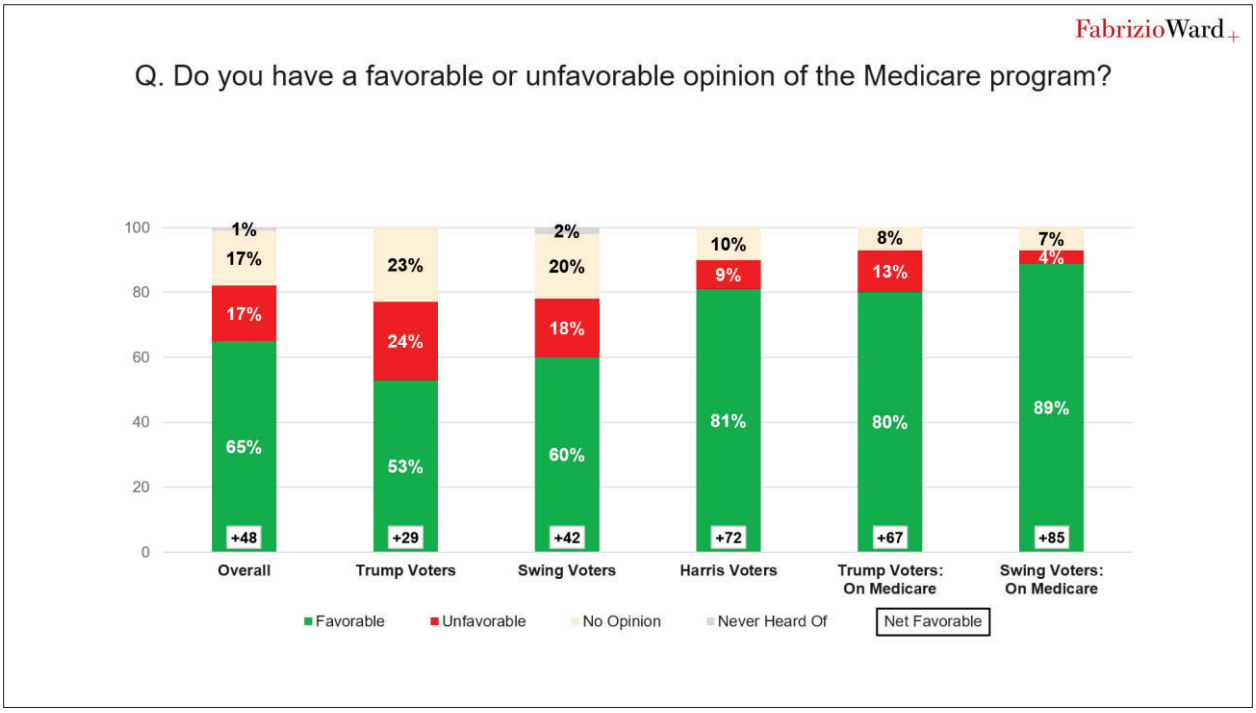

Chart 2

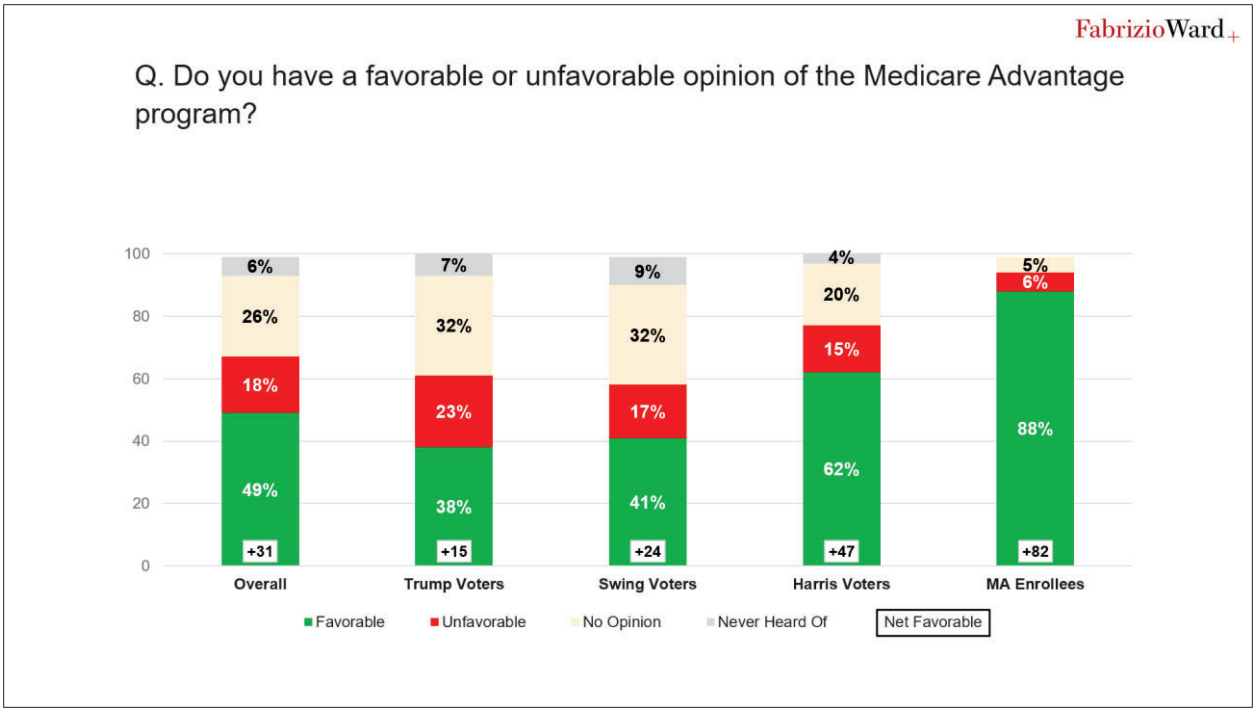

Chart 3

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Q. Medicare Advantage health plans are reimbursed by Medicare based on the health risk factors of the patients covered. Plans are paid more by Medicare for patients with more chronic ailments. Some in Congress have proposed making it harder to assess patient health in Medicare Advantage, which would reduce funding for the program by an estimated $124 billion over 10 years. Do you support or oppose reducing the amount spent on Medicare Advantage by $124 billion, making it more difficult for Medicare Advantage to identify high risk patients?

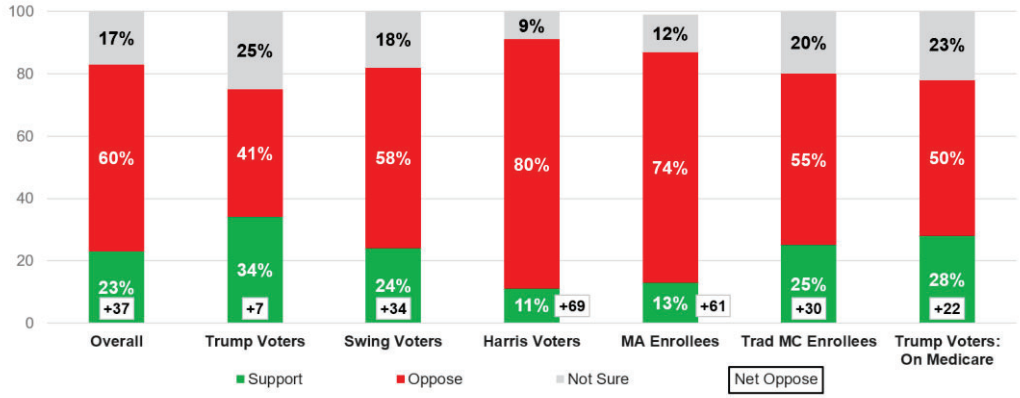

Chart 4

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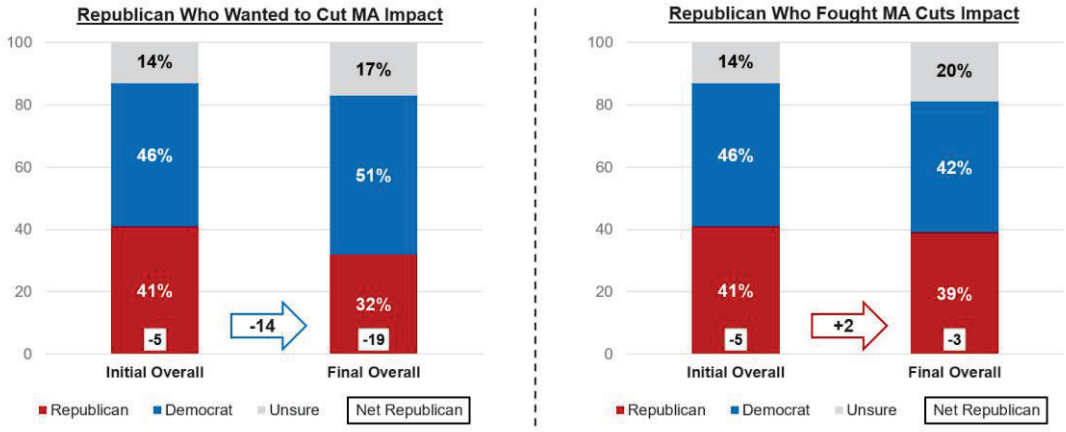
Q. Thinking more about this proposal to reduce Medicare Advantage spending by $124 billion…If the Republican candidate for Congress wanted to cut/fought against cutting Medicare Advantage by $124 billion, would you be more likely to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate?