



# Understanding “Double Negative” Voters: Identity and Potential Impact in 2024

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Online survey of 1,154 “double negative” voters,  
including 882 “true hard core” voters

Fielded June 7-18 2024

# Key Takeaways & Strategic Imperatives

1

**Far from being an obscure minority, Double Negative voters comprise a substantial portion of the electorate:** One in four voters is a double-negative voter and 18% are equally unfavorable to Biden and Trump OR support a third-party candidate against them in the multi-candidate trial heat.

2

**Despite an overwhelmingly negative outlook, these voters recognize the implications of the presidential election.** These voters may be strikingly pessimistic about their own standing and outlook on American society. Yet a clear majority (75%) say they care who wins the presidential election in November.

3

**Biden has more potential to capture the support of Double Negative voters than does Trump.** By definition, Double Negatives are receptive to third-party alternatives, and this tendency is especially pronounced among those who are equally unfavorable to both Biden and Trump. Despite this, more Double Negative voters remain open to voting for Biden than to Trump.

4

**To win over Double Negatives, Biden must reassure these voters that he is up to the job for four more years and has strong economic policies.** This is particularly important for winning back potential defectors from 2020 and addressing the concerns of younger voters and voters of color.

# Key Takeaways & Strategic Imperatives

5

**Messaging increases the perceived threat of the Trump/MAGA agenda.** Initially, Double Negative voters are split on Biden/Democratic vs Trump/MAGA agendas. Post-messaging, they see Trump and a MAGA-controlled congress as worse for them, especially Democratic-leaning voters, women under age 50, and white women with college degrees.

6

**The top dealbreakers for Trump are cutting Social Security and healthcare, creating division, and imposing abortion restrictions.** Emphasizing these concerns can disqualify Trump from consideration among Double Negatives across demographics.

7

**Double Negatives need to see a clear choice for president that shifts them from a “lesser of two evils” perception to a positive view as Biden as the better option.** The strongest contrasts highlight the differences between Biden and Trump on healthcare, democracy, and abortion.

# Overview of Methodology

Online survey of 1,154 “double negative” voters nationally, including 882 “hardcore double negative” voters and 386 “true double negatives.” The definitions for each of these groups are:

<b>“Double Negative” Voter</b> <b>24% of the electorate</b>	<b>“Hardcore Double Negative” Voter</b> <b>18% of the electorate</b>	<b>“True Double Negative” Voter</b> <b>8% of the electorate</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has unfavorable opinions of both Biden and Trump OR</li> <li>• Supports a third-party candidate against them in the multi-candidate trial heat</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has <u>equally</u> unfavorable opinions of both Biden and Trump (very unfavorable to both or somewhat unfavorable to both) OR</li> <li>• Supports a third-party candidate against them in the multi-candidate trial heat.</li> </ul> <p><i>These voters represent a subset of overall “Double Negatives”</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Has <u>equally</u> unfavorable opinions of both Biden and Trump (very unfavorable to both or somewhat unfavorable to both)</li> </ul> <p><i>These voters represent a subset of “Hardcore Double Negative” voters.</i></p>

\*Double negative sample drawn from a national survey of 5,010 registered voters matched to the voter file and identified based on answers to survey questions. The total national sample was weighted to match demographics and partisanship of voter file and Census figures for registered voters nationwide.

# Double Negative voters and Hardcore Double Negative voters are more likely to be women, younger, and soft partisans than voters in general.

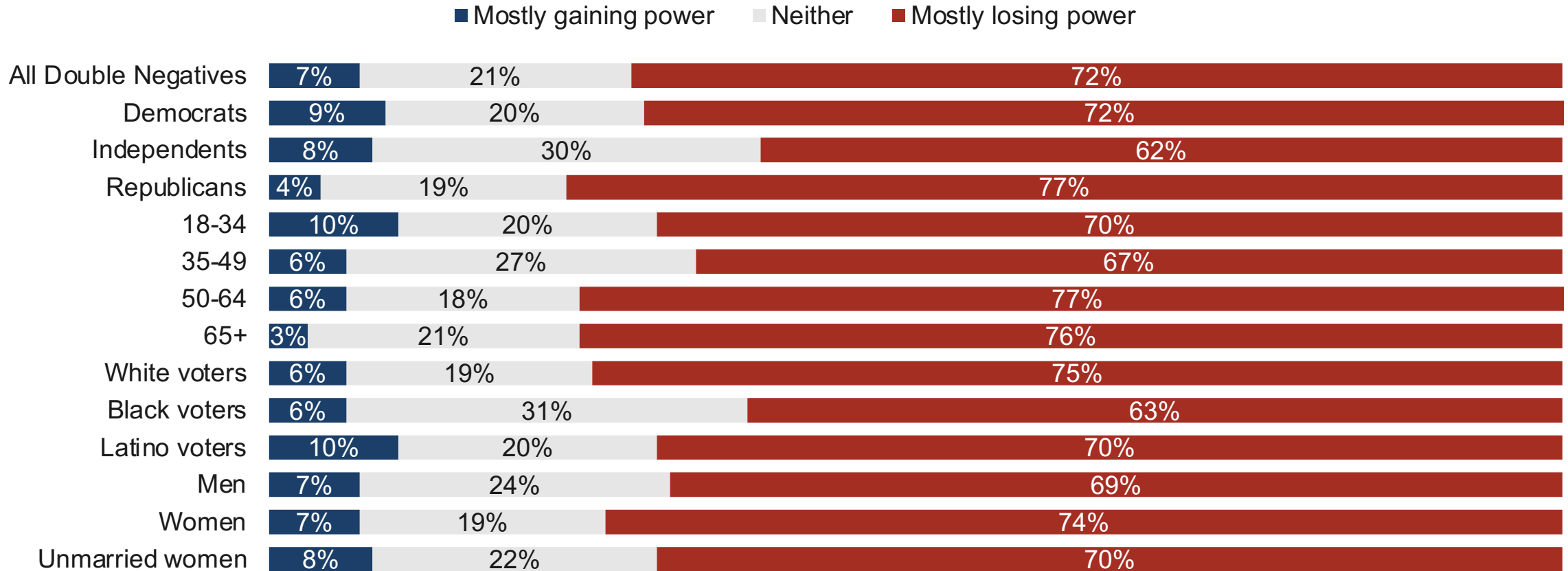
*Comparing all voters with different types of Double Negative voters.*

*(Read as columns such that all voters are 47% men, 52% women while double negative voters are 42% men, 56% women)*

	All voters %	Double Negative Voters %	Hardcore Double Negatives %	True Double Negatives %
Men	47	42	40	43
Women	52	<b>56</b>	<b>58</b>	54
Non-binary	1	2	2	3
Unmarried women	28	32	34	32
18-34	23	<b>32</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>
35-49	23	24	26	27
50-64	25	20	20	21
65+	29	24	20	21
White	70	68	68	73
Black	12	11	12	10
Latino	12	12	13	11
AAPI	4	6	5	4
High school grad/less	27	25	26	26
Some college	33	36	37	33
College grad	25	26	25	27
Postgrad	15	13	11	14
Strong Democrats	21	8	7	6
Soft Democrats	25	<b>35</b>	<b>36</b>	28
Independents	8	<b>18</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>25</b>
Soft Republicans	25	<b>32</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>34</b>
Strong Republicans	21	7	6	7
Biden 2020	46	44	43	36
Trump 2020	42	32	30	33
Other candidate 2020	2	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	9
Did not vote 2020	11	<b>19</b>	<b>21</b>	23

# A large majority of Double Negative voters across demographic groups feel that they are losing power.

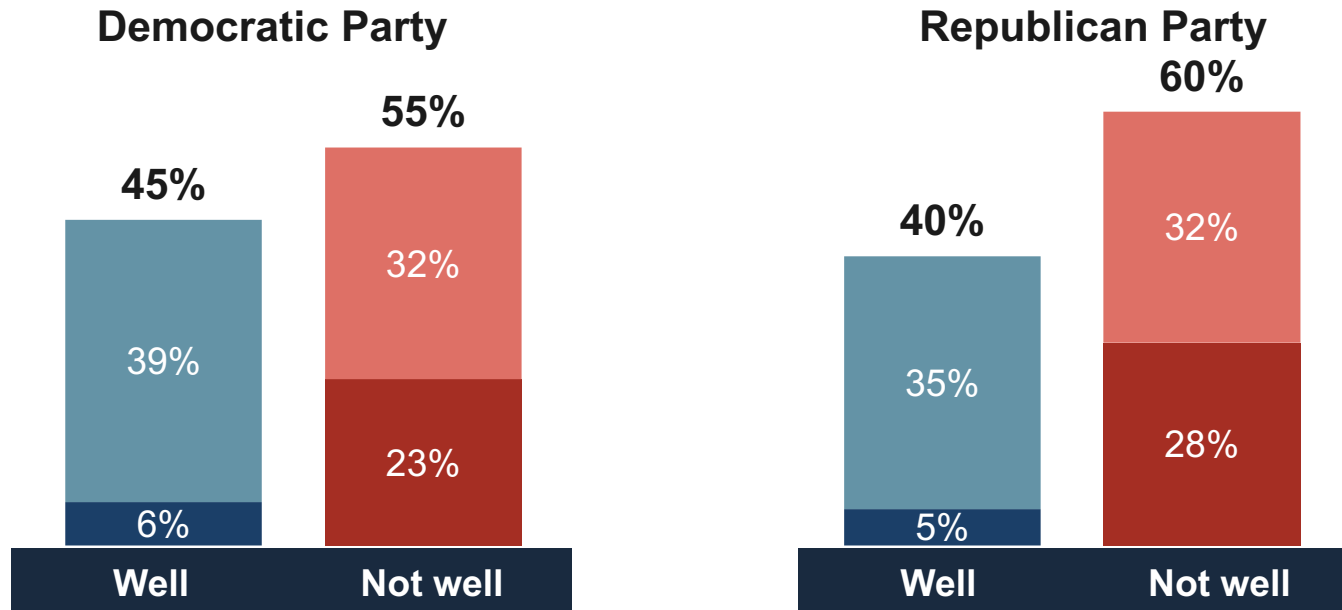
*Do you think people like you are mostly gaining power or losing power in our country today?*



# Double Negative voters don't feel well represented by either party but give a slight edge to the Democrats.

Would you say the \_\_\_\_\_ represents the interests of people like you...?

■ Very well    
 ■ Somewhat well    
 ■ Not too well    
 ■ Not well at all



True Double Negatives

27     73

Third party/not DN

63     37

# Republicans' strongest points are immigration and crime, while Democrats hold a significant edge on the crucial issue of abortion.

Who do you think would be better on \_\_\_\_\_?

(Democrats better – Republicans better)

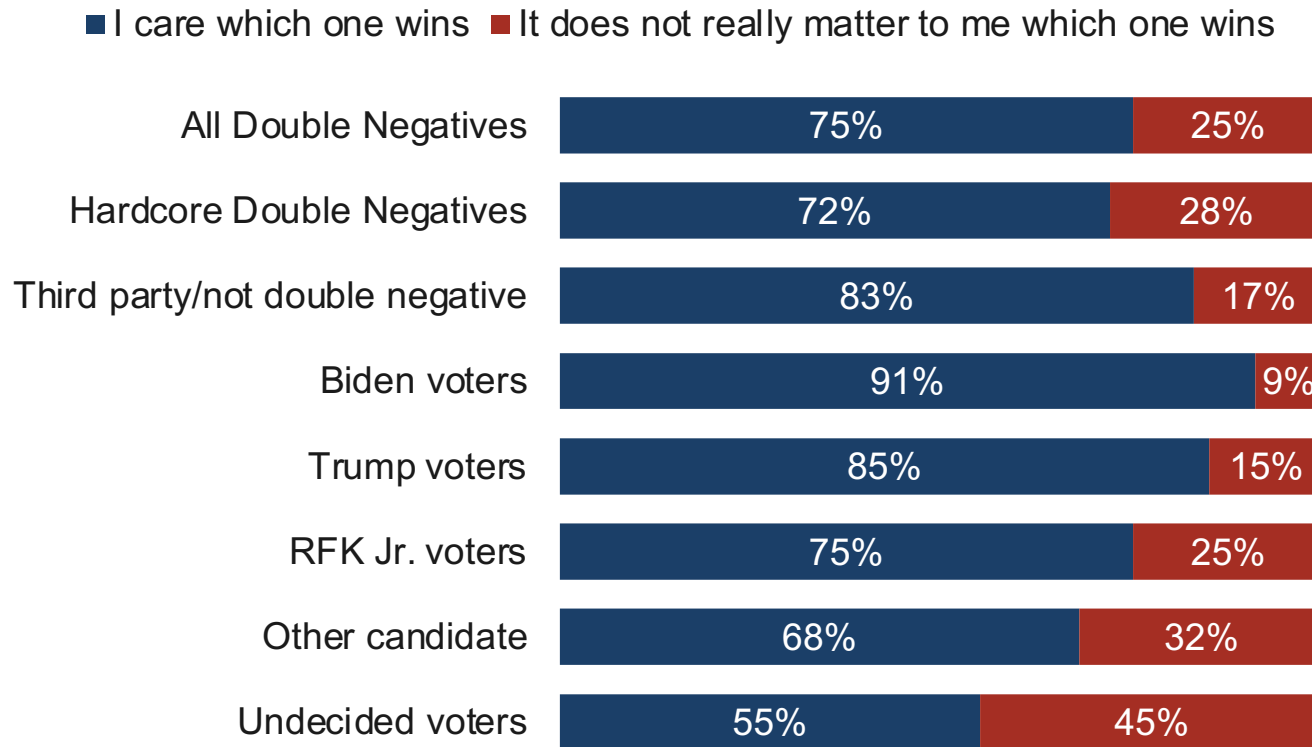
Democrat Advantage	Republican Advantage
Abortion and reproductive rights (+42)	The cost of living (-9)
Healthcare (+36)	Immigration (-21)*
Social Security (+26)	Crime and public safety (-22)
	Border security (-45)*

\*Item was split-formed, each was asked of one-half of respondents



# Despite negative outlook, three in four double negative voters care about who wins the election, with many citing different negative outcomes depending on who wins.

Would you say you care about which candidate wins the presidential election?



Among Double Negative Voters who care who wins the presidential election

Why do you care which candidate wins?



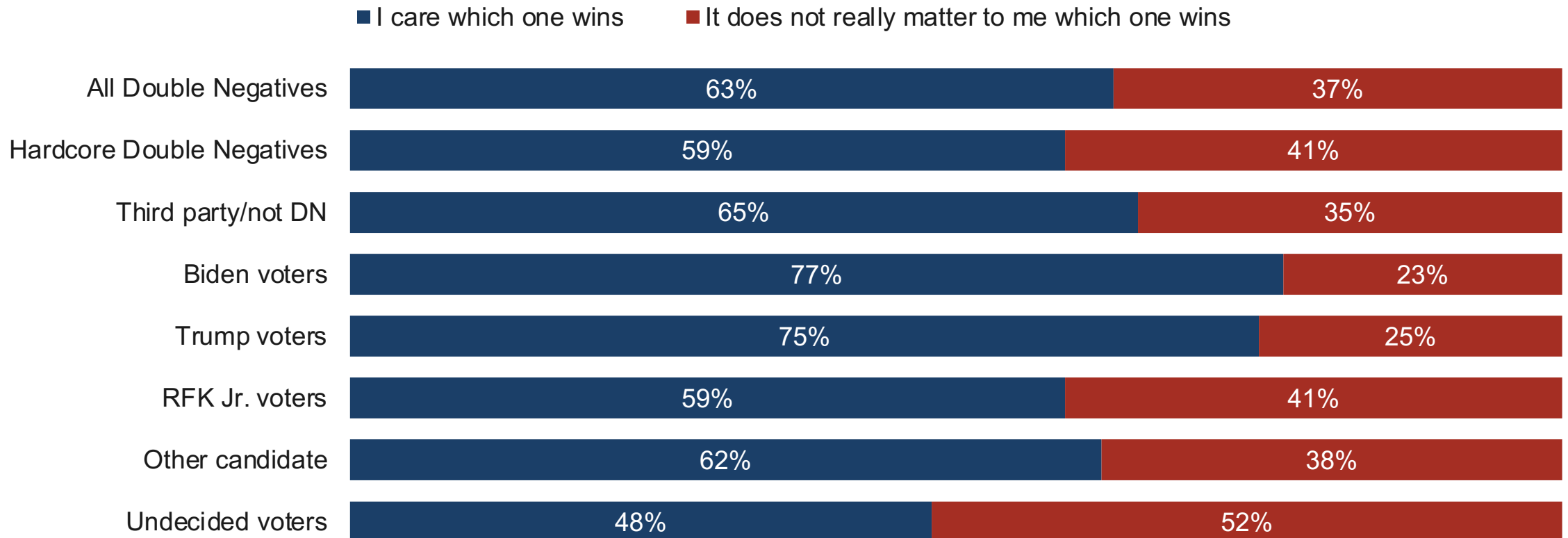
While I don't like Joe Biden, I think he is less dangerous than Donald Trump. The latter threatens democracy. Biden is **mediocre and indecisive at times, but he's less of a threat to make the country worse.**



If Biden wins, I believe the **economy will continue to spiral and inflation** will get worse. If Trump wins, I believe women will **lose the right to have abortions** and there will be a lot of civil unrest.

# A smaller majority of Double Negative voters care about which party wins the majority in Congress.

*Would you say you care about which party wins the majority in Congress?*



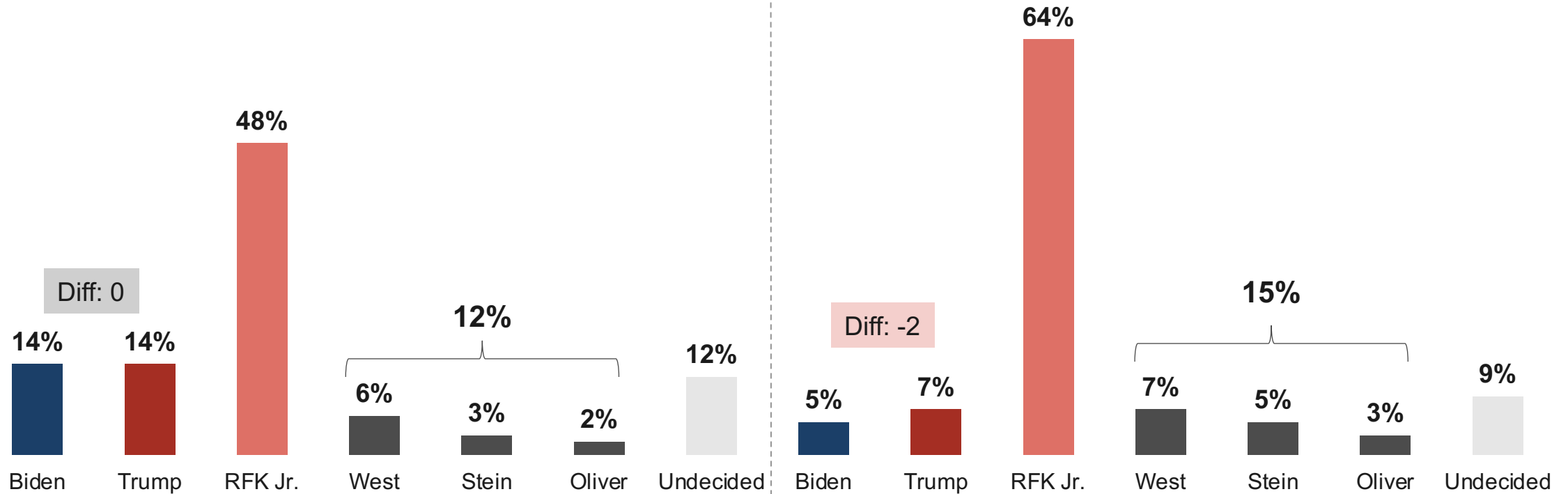
**Women and independent voters** are more likely to care about which candidate wins the presidency but NOT care about which party wins the majority in Congress.

# Dissatisfaction with Biden and Trump has led to a high degree of third-party defection, especially among Hardcore Double Negative voters.

2024 Presidential Trial Heat

All Double Negatives

Hardcore Double Negatives



# Trump is retaining slightly more of his voters from 2020 than Biden, but most Double Negatives are looking for alternatives in 2024.

*2024 vote choice among all Double Negatives*

	Biden %	Trump %	RFK Jr. %	Other Third-Party %	Undecided %
All Double Negatives	14	14	48	12	12
Hardcore Double Negatives	5	7	64	15	9
Democrats	22	4	48	16	10
Independents	7	7	52	12	22
Republicans	8	29	47	6	10
Biden 2020	25	3	48	12	11
Trump 2020	7	33	42	6	13
DNV 2020	10	12	52	14	12

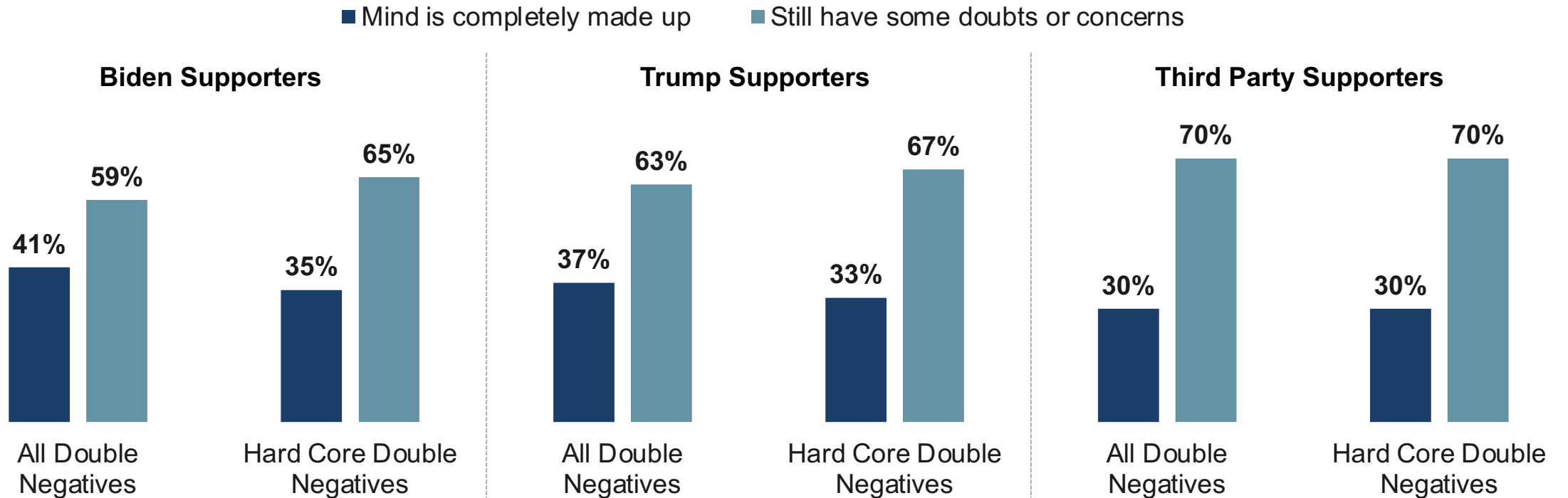
# With the exception of white men with college degrees, RFK receives high levels of support from Double Negatives across demographic groups.

2024 vote choice among all Double Negatives

	Biden %	Trump %	RFK Jr. %	Other Third-Party %	Undecided %
All Double Negatives	14	14	48	12	12
Men	15	19	44	11	11
Women	13	11	52	12	12
Unmarried women	15	7	51	14	12
Black voters	16	6	44	21	14
Latino voters	10	12	55	10	12
White men/non-college	14	19	51	9	7
White men/college+	16	26	35	11	13
White women/non-college	9	12	58	8	13
White women/college+	15	14	46	13	12
18-34	16	9	50	16	9

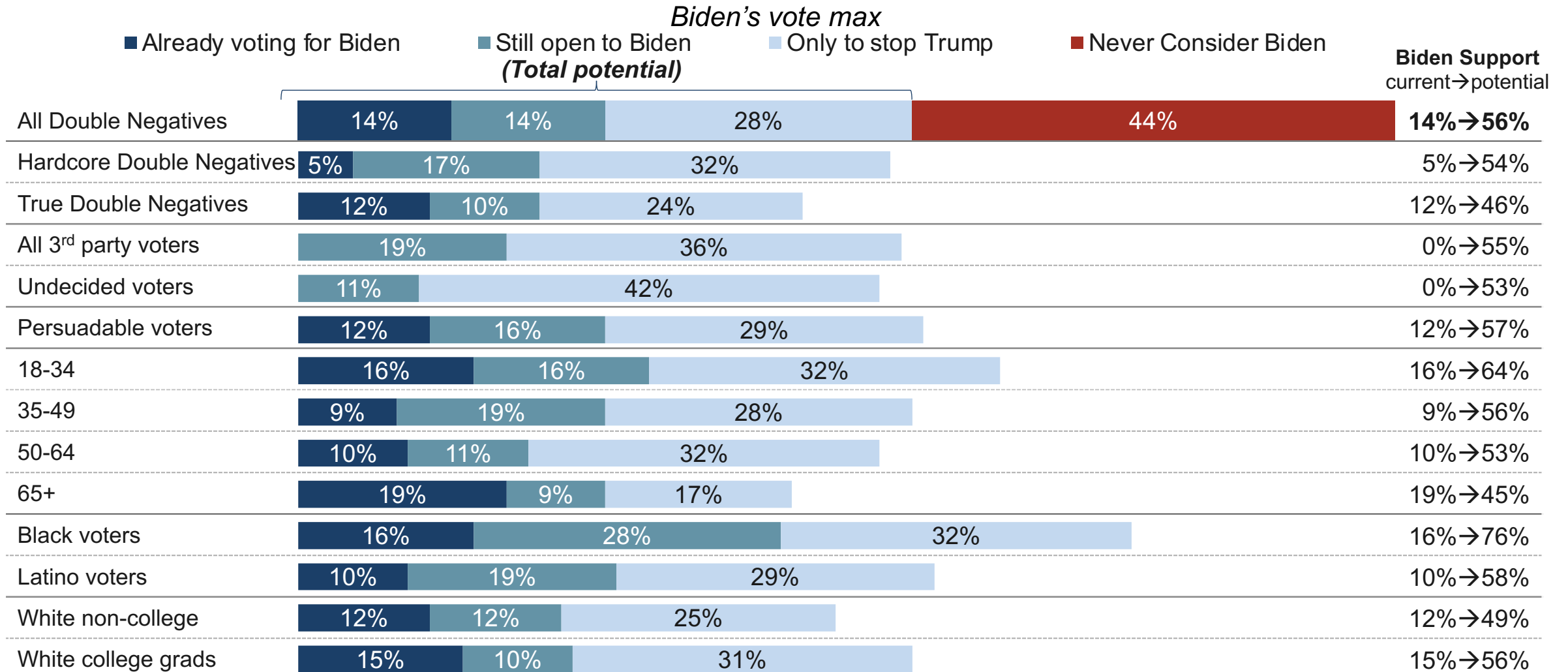
# Most Double Negatives haven't committed to a candidate yet and are open to persuasion, leaving the door open to Biden.

*Would you say your mind is already made up to vote for (CANDIDATE NAMED), or is there still a chance you could change your mind and vote for someone else?*

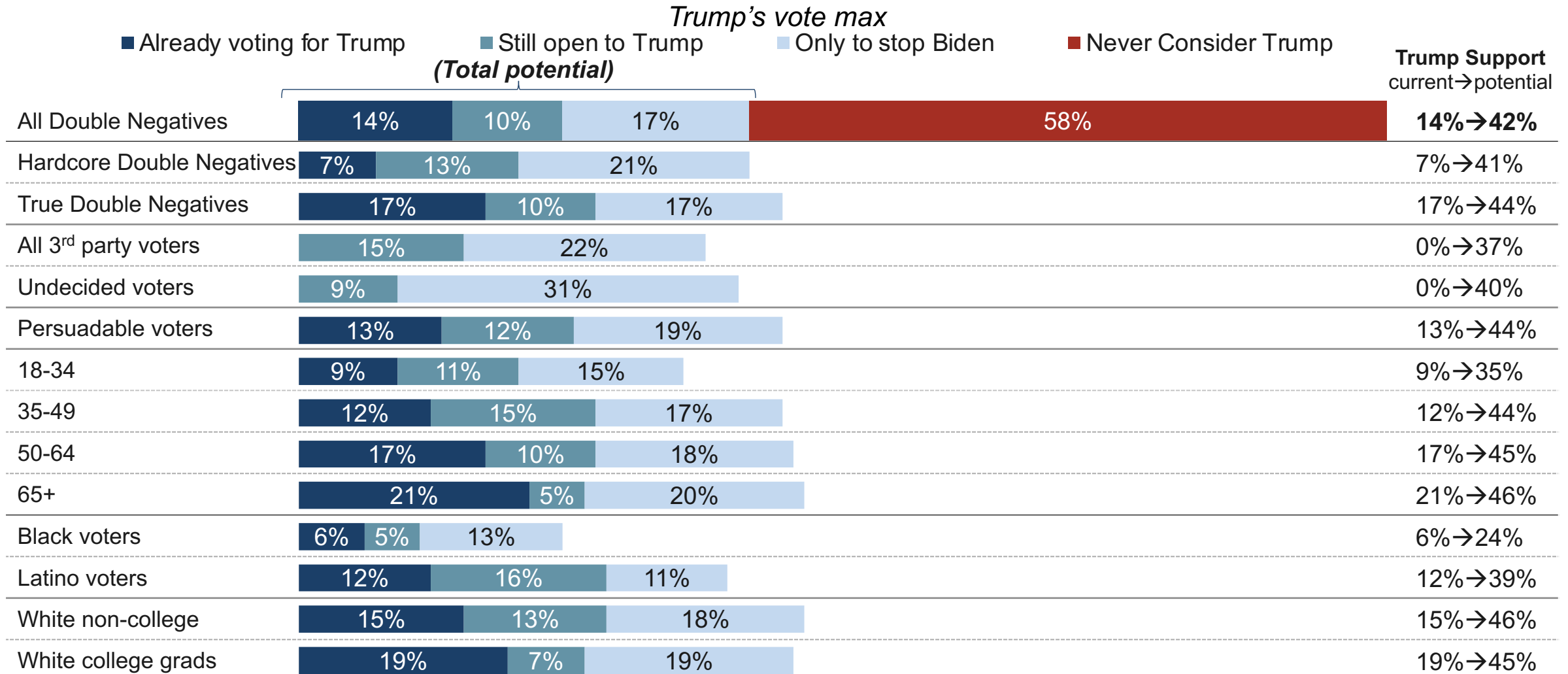


71% of Double Negatives are persuadable (undecided or still have doubts or concerns about candidate)

# Fully 56% of Double Negative voters would consider voting for Biden.












# Trump's vote potential is lower than Biden's among all key subgroups.





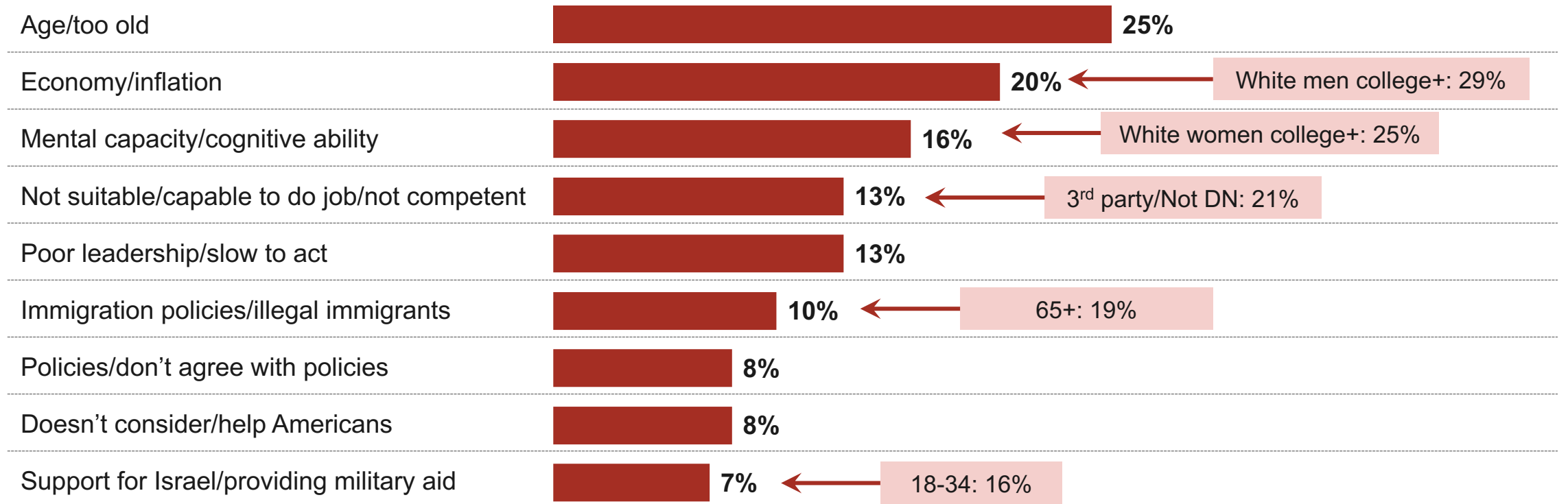
# More than half of Double Negative voters say a potential second term for Biden has them feeling uninspired.

*Which TWO or THREE of the following feelings or emotions best describes how you would feel about **Joe Biden** being reelected as president?*

			True Double Negatives	3rd party/ not DN	White voters	Black voters	Latino voters
Uninspired		<b>51%</b>	55	37	52	37	52
Scared		<b>34%</b>	43	25	36	22	33
Disgusted		<b>33%</b>	41	22	36	22	29
Depressed		<b>31%</b>	42	20	35	16	25
Indifferent		<b>30%</b>	24	30	28	35	32
Okay		<b>25%</b>	9	43	21	32	30
Angry		<b>22%</b>	29	17	24	15	19
Hopeful		<b>13%</b>	4	31	10	28	19
Safe		<b>8%</b>	2	17	6	18	10

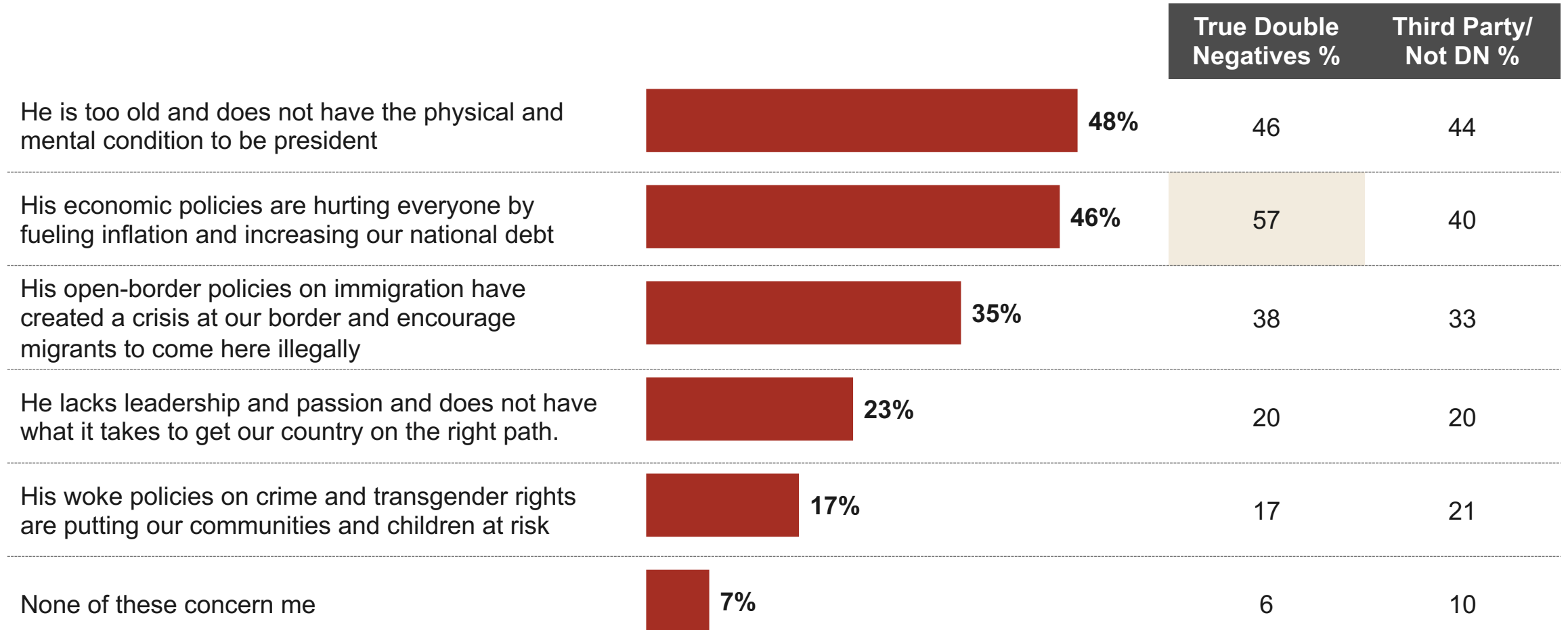
# Concerns about Biden are rooted in the perception that he is neither physically nor mentally up to the job and that he has mishandled the economy.

*Among Double Negative voters who have an unfavorable view of Biden*  
**Why do you have an unfavorable view of Joe Biden?**  
*(coded open-end responses)*



# Biden's biggest obstacles to winning over Double Negative voters are concerns about his age and economic policies.

*Which one or two concerns would stop you from voting for Joe Biden?*



# To win key voters, Biden must show he's capable and has strong economic policies. Immigration is mainly a concern for right-leaning voters.

*Which one or two concerns would stop you from voting for Joe Biden?*

2020 Biden voters	2020 Trump voters	2020 Didn't vote	Men	Women
Too old (57)	Economic policies (55)	Economic policies (46)	Economic policies (45)	Too old (50)
Economic policies (37)	Immigration (52)	Too old (40)	Too old (44)	Economic policies (46)
Immigration (28)	Too old (42)	immigration (30)	Immigration (39)	Immigration (34)

18-34 year olds	Black voters	Latino voters	White noncollege	White college grads
Too old (49)	Economic policies (36)	Too old (53)	Too old (50)	Economic policies (54)
Economic policies (48)	Immigration (34)	Economic policies (47)	Economic policies (43)	Too old (48)
Lacks leadership (32)	Too old (31)	Lacks leadership (28)	Immig. (27)	Immigration (38)
			Immigration (36)	

# A potential second term for Trump primarily brings up feelings of disgust, fear, and anger.

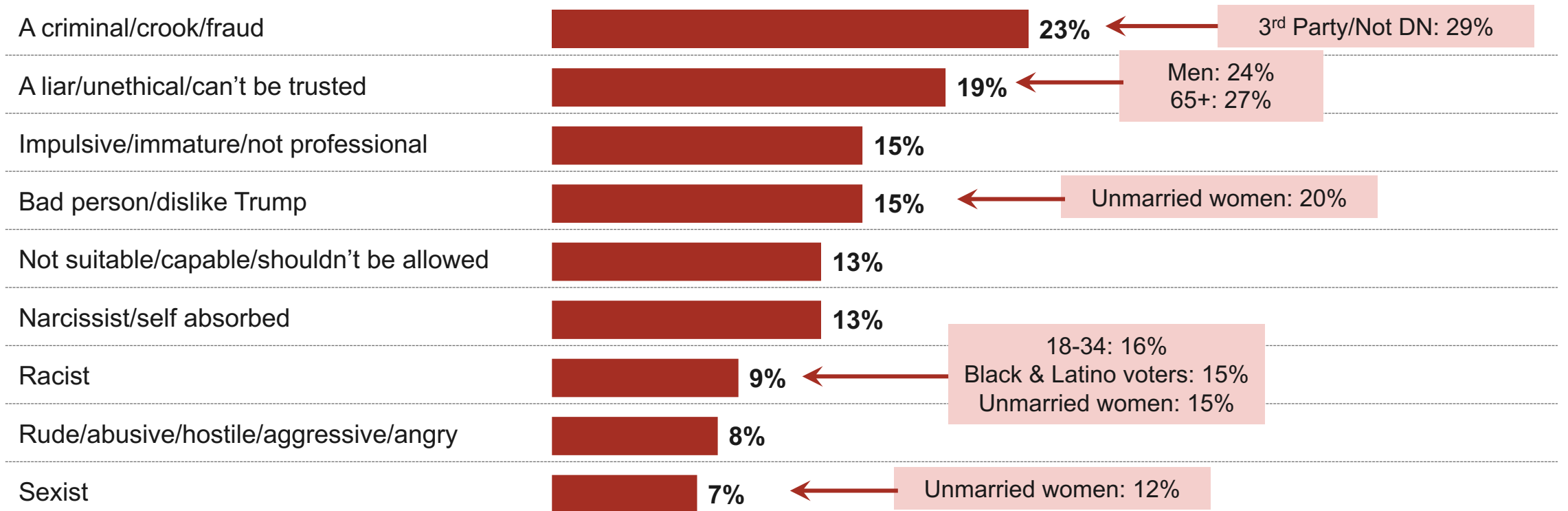
Which TWO or THREE of the following feelings or emotions best describes how you would feel about **Donald Trump** being reelected as president?

		True Double Negatives	3rd party/not Double Negative	Men	Women*
Disgusted	54%	49	47	49	57
Scared	44%	42	40	37	49
Angry	39%	39	33	33	43
Uninspired	22%	27	18	27	19
Okay	21%	16	33	24	19
Hopeful	20%	15	29	22	19
Depressed	19%	24	13	20	18
Indifferent	19%	23	19	20	17
Safe	7%	5	15	8	7

\*Unmarried women mirror women overall in emotion reactions

# Volunteered concerns about Trump stem from the belief that he is a criminal, a liar, and lacks the maturity required of the office.

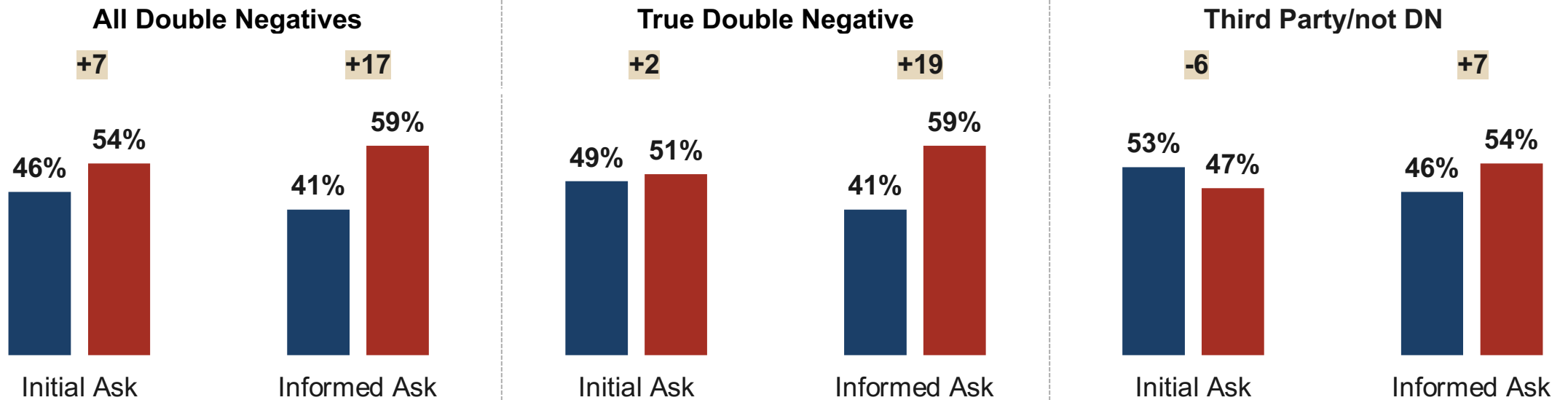
Among Double Negative voters who have an unfavorable view of Trump  
 Why do you have an unfavorable view of **Donald Trump**?  
 (coded open-end responses)



# Messaging shifts Double Negatives to view the Trump/MAGA agenda as a greater threat.

*Thinking about your personal life and overall well-being, which do you think would have the worst impact in your life-- President Biden and Congress passing a liberal Democratic agenda or President Trump and Congress passing a MAGA Republican agenda?*

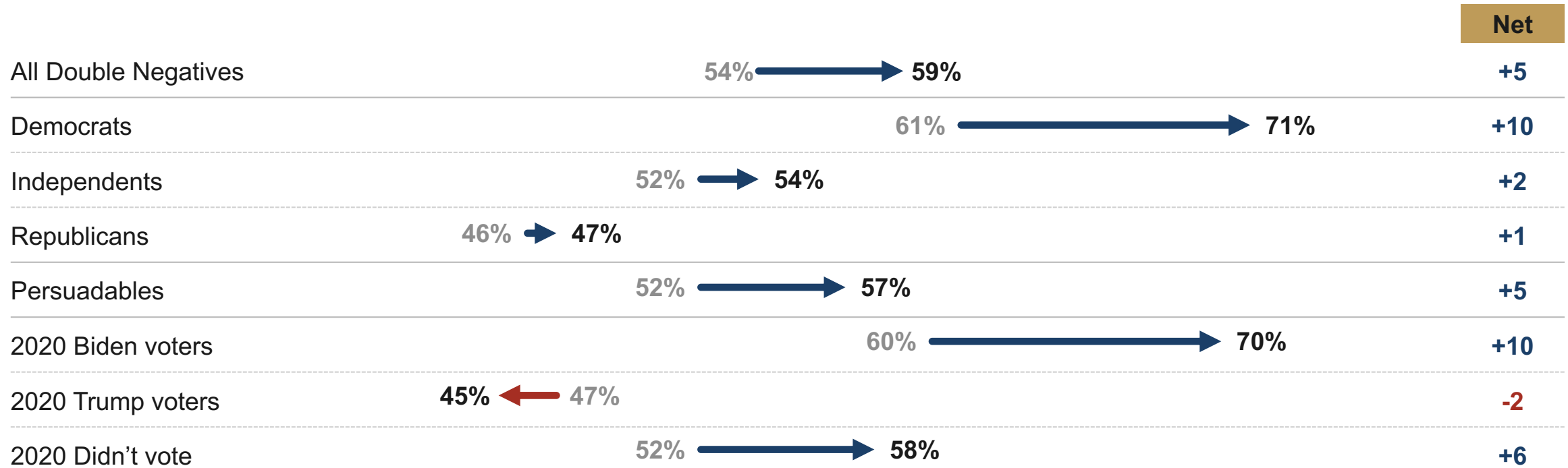
■ President Biden and Congress passing a liberal Democratic agenda    ■ President Trump and Congress passing a MAGA Republican agenda



# Concerns about a Trump/MAGA agenda increase most among Democrats.

*% More concerned about impact on personal life of President Trump and Congress passing a MAGA Republican agenda*

Initial Diff. to Post Diff.

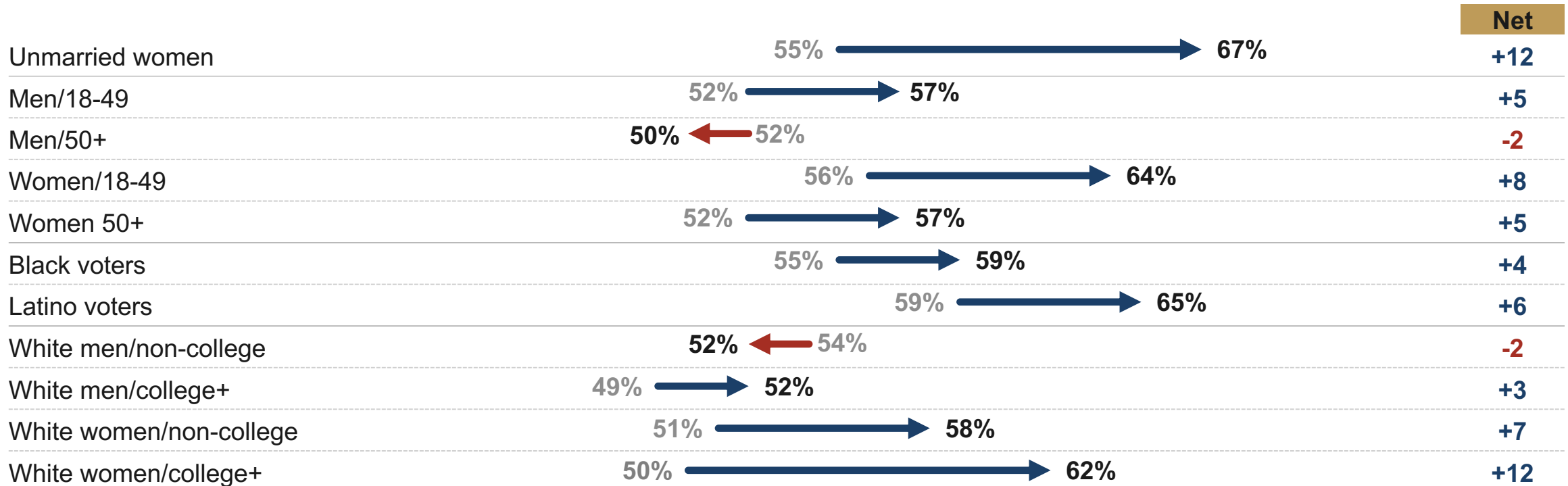




# There is also a notable increase among college-educated women in concern about a Trump/MAGA agenda.

*% More concerned about impact on personal life of President Trump and Congress passing a MAGA Republican agenda*

Initial Diff. to Post Diff.



# The top Trump dealbreakers are cutting Social Security and healthcare, creating division, and threatening democracy.

*% say concern would definitely stop you from voting for Trump*

	All Double Negatives	True Double Negatives	Third party/Not DN
<b>(CUTTING SOCIAL SECURITY/HEALTHCARE)</b> He favors cutting Social Security and Medicare and promises to repeal the Affordable Care Act that would make healthcare unaffordable for millions.	56	51	55
<b>(DIVISION)</b> He creates division, encourages hate, and creates chaos in the country.	56	48	56
<b>(THREAT TO DEMOCRACY)</b> He is a threat to our democracy and the Constitution and says he wants to be a dictator on day one.	55	48	53
<b>(SELF OVER COUNTRY)</b> He only cares about himself, and he can't be trusted to put the country's best interests before his own.	52	43	50
<b>(WEALTHY/CORPORATIONS)</b> He favors the ultra-wealthy and big corporations over average working families.	50	44	50
<b>(CHARACTER)</b> He does not have the right character, temperament, or integrity to be president.	50	43	51
<b>(ABORTION)</b> He says he is proud of overturning Roe v. Wade, which results in extreme abortion bans, and he would support further restrictions on a woman's right to choose.	48	40	50

# Cutting Social Security and healthcare could turn soft Trump voters away. Emphasizing abortion is also key to making Trump unacceptable.

*Top three concerns that give you the biggest double about voting for Trump*

		All Persuadables %	Soft Trump %	Consider Trump %
(DIVISION)	35%	35	29	26
(CUTTING SS/HEALTHCARE)	32%	36	41	36
(THREAT TO DEMOCRACY)	28%	27	20	17
(ABORTION)	27%	28	24	30
(CHARACTER)	22%	22	28	23
(SELF OVER COUNTRY)	20%	19	10	15
(WEALTHY/CORPORATIONS)	18%	18	15	25
None of these concern me	7%	6	9	11

# Across demographics, Trump's divisiveness is his top character vulnerability and cuts to Social Security and Medicare are his top policy weaknesses.

*Top three concerns that give you the biggest double about voting for Trump*

Women 18-49	Women 50+	Men 18-49		Men 50+	Unmarried women
Abortion (43)	Cutting SS/healthcare (42)	Division (34)		Character (31)	Abortion (36)
Division (37)	Division (36)	Threat to democracy (27)		Division (31)	Division (36)
Cutting SS/healthcare (29)	Threat to democracy (35)	Wealthy/corp (25)	SS/HC (25)	Cutting SS/healthcare (30)	Cutting SS/healthcare (36)

Black voters	Latino voters	White noncollege	White college grads
Division (42)	Division (39)	Cutting SS/healthcare (35)	Division (39)
Threat to democracy (30)	Cutting SS/healthcare (36)	Abortion (29)	Character (30)
Cutting SS/healthcare (29)	Abortion (30)	Division (28)	Threat to democracy (29)

# Biden's best contrasts for winning double negatives are healthcare, democracy, and abortion.

*% very important reason to vote for Biden over Trump*

	All Double Negatives	Persuadables
<b>(HEALTHCARE)</b> Joe Biden is committed to protecting Social Security and Medicare and to ensuring access to affordable healthcare. Donald Trump proposed cutting Social Security and Medicare every year as president, and now supports a dangerous plan to eliminate a major source of funding for them. He wants to totally repeal the Affordable Care Act with no plan to replace it.	52	52
<b>(DEMOCRACY)</b> Donald Trump is a threat to our democracy and a danger to our Constitution. He tried to overturn one election and Trump has said repeatedly that he wants to be a dictator on day one. Since his first days in office, Joe Biden has prioritized strengthening our democracy and protecting the sacred right to vote.*	50	49
<b>(ABORTION)</b> Joe Biden believes women must be able to make their own reproductive healthcare decisions, and he is committed to restoring the protections of Roe v. Wade. Donald Trump says there must be some form of punishment for women who have an abortion, and he brags about appointing the justices who overturned Roe v. Wade.*	49	49
<b>(ABORTION)</b> Joe Biden believes women must be able to make their own reproductive healthcare decisions, and he is committed to restoring the protections of Roe v. Wade. If elected, Donald Trump would sign a national abortion ban into law, and would put access to IVF and birth control at risk.**	47	45

\* Only asked of half of respondents (Form A)

\*\* Only asked of half of respondents (Form B)

# (Cont.) Trump's criminal charges are the least impactful contrast for Biden.

*% very important reason to vote for Biden over Trump*

	All Double Negatives	Persuadables
<b>(RACISM)</b> Donald Trump encourages and sides with white supremacists. He invented and spread the birther lie that President Obama was not born in America and called violent white supremacists in Charlottesville 'very fine people.' Biden stands up to white supremacists and promotes racial justice.	45	42
<b>(EXTREME DIVISION)</b> If Trump becomes president again, he will use his power to punish his enemies and silence his opponents, and will incite more chaos, division, and political violence with his extreme MAGA agenda. Joe Biden steadfastly defends and fights to expand people's rights and freedoms, promoting unity and stability in our country.	44	43
<b>(TAXES)</b> Joe Biden says working Americans, not billionaires, need tax breaks. That is why Biden supports tax cuts for people earning under \$400,000 and making the ultra-wealthy pay their fair share. Donald Trump helps those at the top and passed tax cuts that mainly benefited the richest one percent. Now Trump wants even more tax cuts for millionaires and billionaires.	44	44
<b>(CRIMINAL CHARGES)</b> Trump is running for president to stay out of prison. He faces criminal charges in four different states, including attempting to overturn the 2020 election, inciting a mob to attack the Capitol on January 6th, and taking classified documents from the White House after leaving office. Since his first days in office, Joe Biden has prioritized strengthening our democracy and protecting the sacred right to vote.**	38	36

\* Only asked of half of respondents (Form A)

\*\* Only asked of half of respondents (Form B)

# The democracy contrast resonates widely with Double Negatives, while healthcare is Biden's strongest inroad with right-leaning Double Negatives.

*Highest % very important reason to vote for Biden over Trump*

RFK Jr. voters	West/Stein voters	Soft Biden	Soft Trump
Healthcare (55)	Democracy (67)	Extreme division (73)	Healthcare (34)
Democracy (52)	Abortion (63)	Democracy (72)	Abortion (24)
Abortion (51)	Racism (59)	Healthcare (71)	Taxes (22)

Black voters	Latino voters	White noncollege	White college grads
Democracy (62)	Democracy (55)	Healthcare (54)	Democracy (53)
Extreme division (61)	Abortion (55)	Abortion (48)	Healthcare (48)
Racism (58)	Healthcare (52)	Racism (52)	Taxes (44)
			Abortion (48)

# Abortion is the top contrast for younger voters and unmarried women.

*Highest % very important reason to vote for Biden over Trump*

<b>Ages 18-34</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Unmarried women</b>
Abortion (54)	Healthcare (44)	Healthcare (58)	Abortion (64)
Democracy (50)	Democracy (44)	Abortion (57)	Healthcare (61)
Racism (49)		Democracy (53)	Democracy (58)



# Summarizing the Key Takeaways & Strategic Imperatives

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**Far from being an obscure minority, Double Negative voters comprise a substantial portion of the electorate:** One in four voters is a double-negative voter and 18% are equally unfavorable to Biden and Trump OR support a third-party candidate against them in the multi-candidate trial heat.

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**Despite an overwhelmingly negative outlook, these voters recognize the implications of the presidential election.** These voters may be strikingly pessimistic about their own standing and outlook on American society. Yet a clear majority (75%) say they care who wins the presidential election in November.

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**Biden has more potential to capture the support of Double Negative voters than does Trump.** By definition, Double Negatives are receptive to third-party alternatives, and this tendency is especially pronounced among those who are equally unfavorable to both Biden and Trump. Despite this, more Double Negative voters remain open to voting for Biden than to Trump.

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**To win over Double Negatives, Biden must reassure these voters that he is up to the job for four more years and has strong economic policies.** This is particularly important for winning back potential defectors from 2020 and addressing the concerns of younger voters and voters of color.

# Summarizing the Key Takeaways & Strategic Imperatives

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**Messaging increases the perceived threat of the Trump/MAGA agenda.** Initially, Double Negative voters are split on Biden/Democratic vs Trump/MAGA agendas. Post-messaging, they see Trump and a MAGA-controlled congress as worse for them, especially Democratic-leaning voters, women under age 50, and white women with college degrees.

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**The top dealbreakers for Trump are cutting Social Security and healthcare, creating division, and imposing abortion restrictions.** Emphasizing these concerns can disqualify Trump from consideration among Double Negatives across demographics.

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**Double Negatives need to see a clear choice for president that shifts them from a “lesser of two evils” perception to a positive view as Biden as the better option.** The strongest contrasts highlight the differences between Biden and Trump on healthcare, democracy, and abortion.