

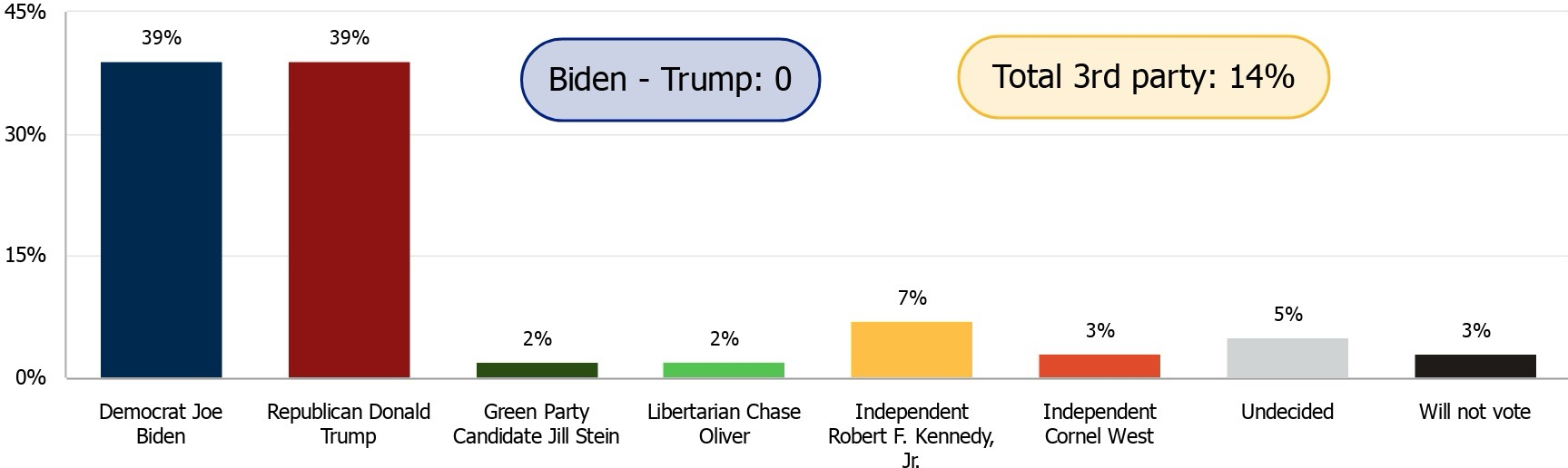
# Double Negatives/Dual Haters Modeling Project - Training Survey Overview

*Prepared for* **Innovating for the Public Good: R&D for Democracy** *by*  
**TargetSmart**



# Presidential head-to-head among all registered voters in the battleground

2024 Presidential Vote



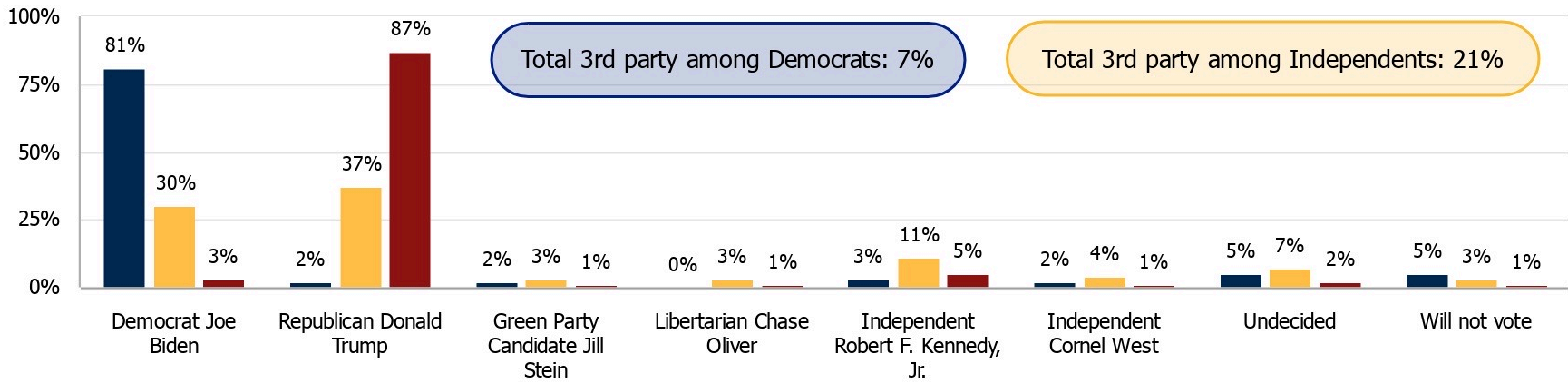
Q.16 And if the 2024 election for President of the United States were held today and the candidates were Democrat Joe Biden, Republican Donald Trump, Green Party Candidate Jill Stein, Libertarian Chase Oliver, independent Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., and independent Cornel West -- for whom would you vote?



# Democrats less consolidated than Republicans in Presidential head-to-head

2024 Presidential Vote by Party ID

● Democrat 
 ● Independent 
 ● Republican

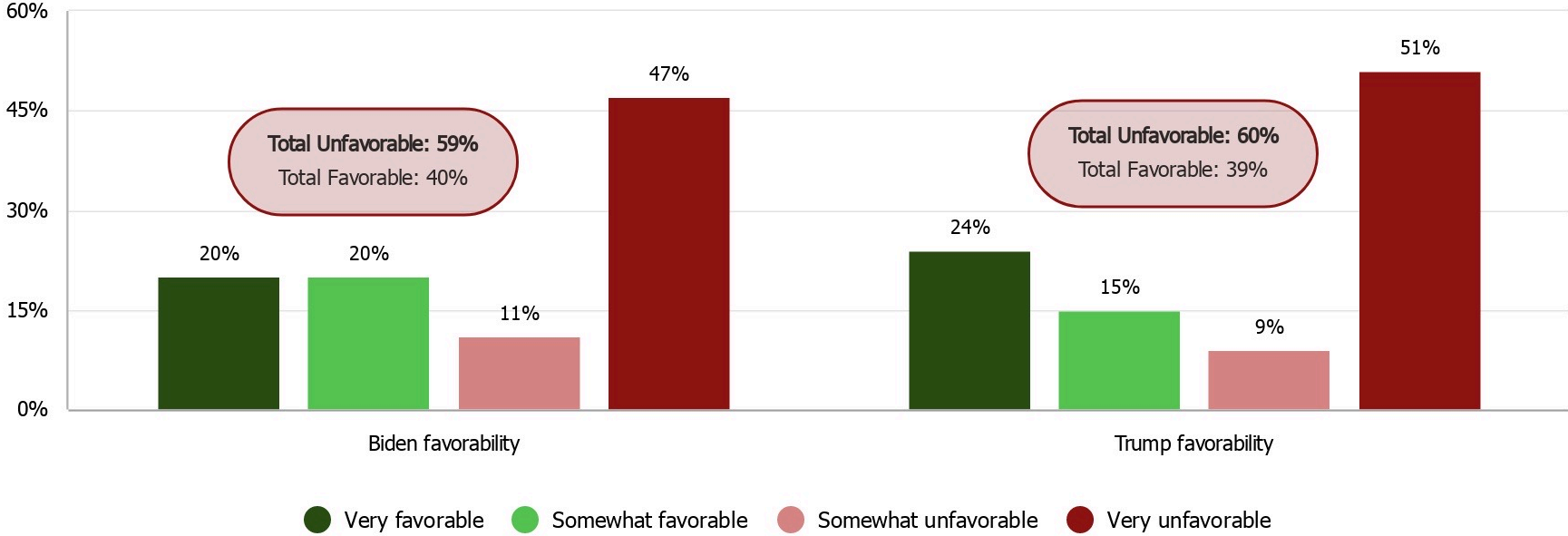


Q.16 And if the 2024 election for President of the United States were held today and the candidates were Democrat Joe Biden, Republican Donald Trump, Green Party Candidate Jill Stein, Libertarian Chase Oliver, independent Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., and independent Cornel West -- for whom would you vote?



# Intense unfavorable opinions of Biden and Trump

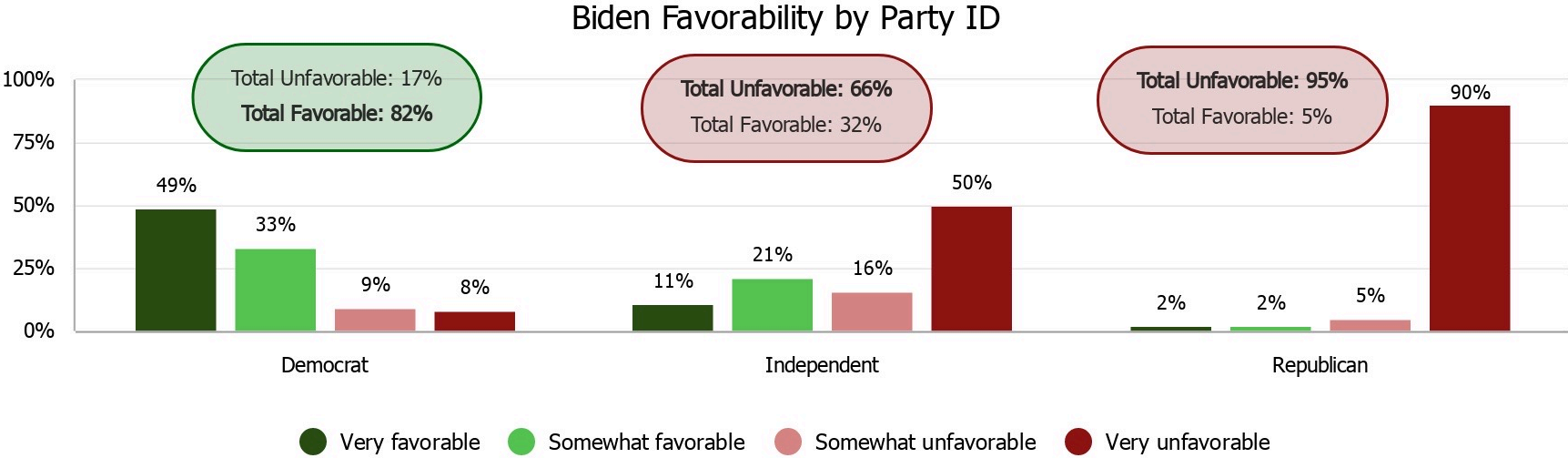
## Biden and Trump Favorability



Q.10 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Joe Biden? AND Q.11 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Donald Trump?



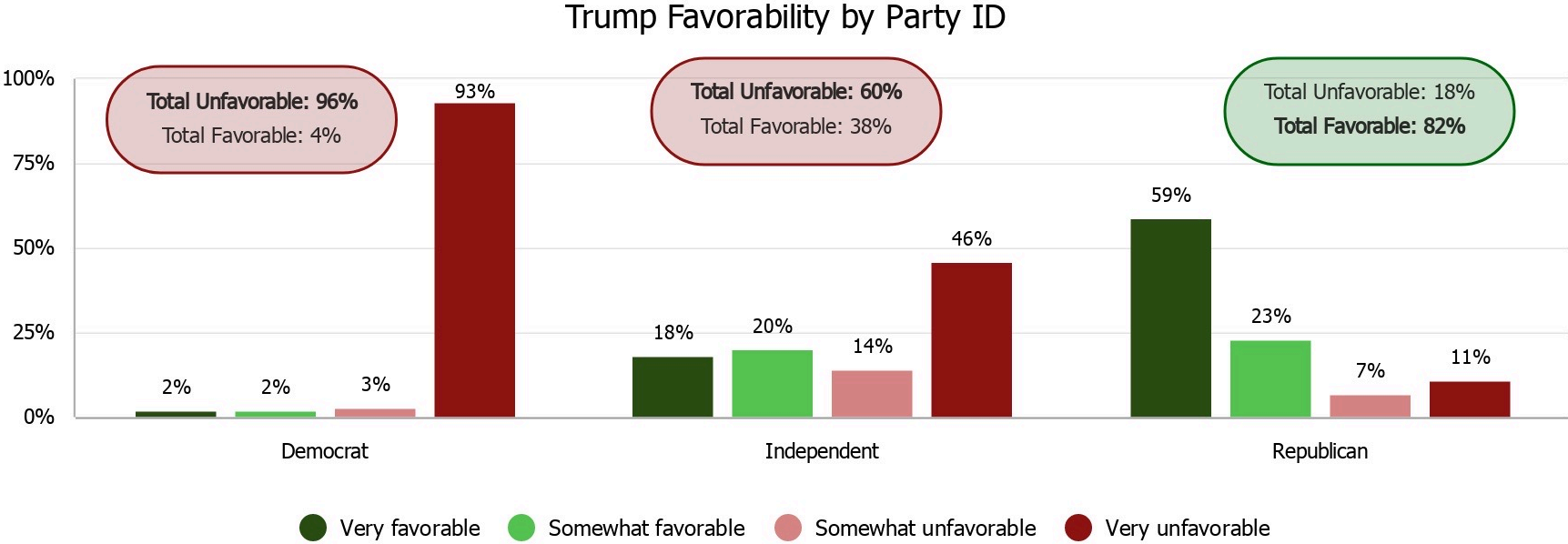
# Biden underwater with ID independents by a 2:1 margin; majority hold very unfavorable opinions of him



Q.10 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Joe Biden?



# Trump underwater with Independents but slight advantage on favorability

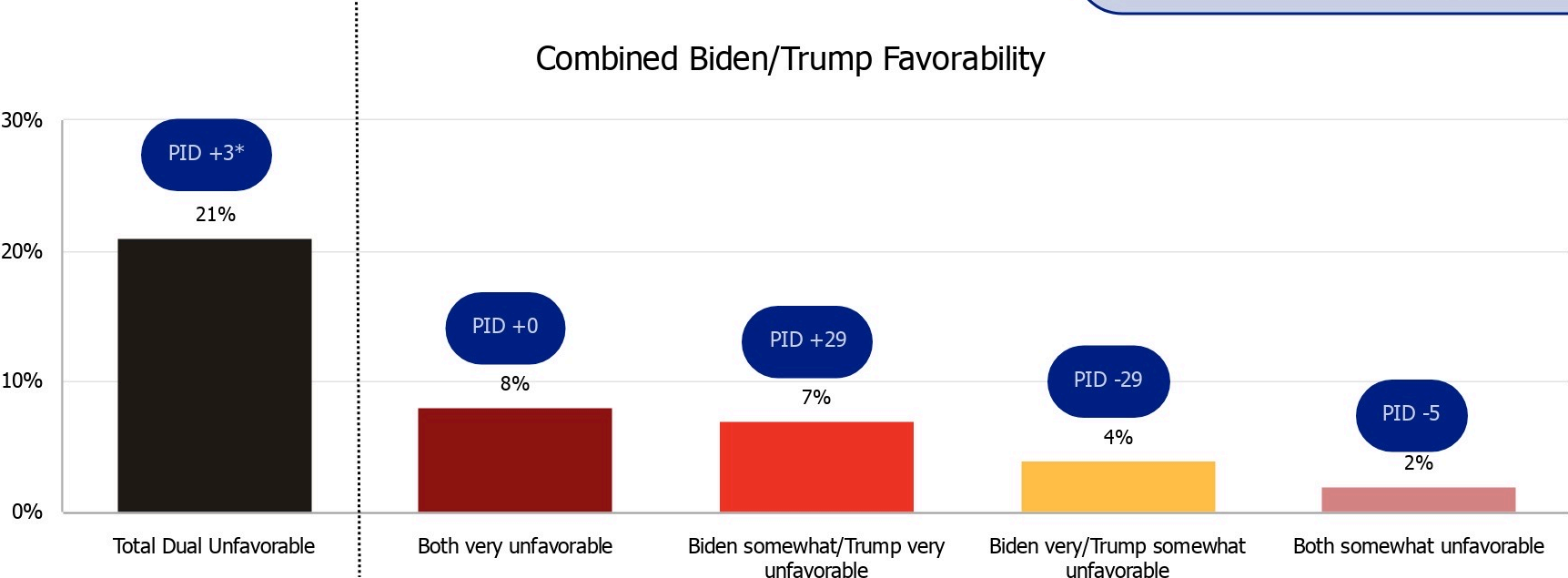


Q.11 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Donald Trump?



# 1-in-5 respondents hold unfavorable opinions of both Biden and Trump

\* PID represents the difference of self-identified Democrats - self-identified Republicans

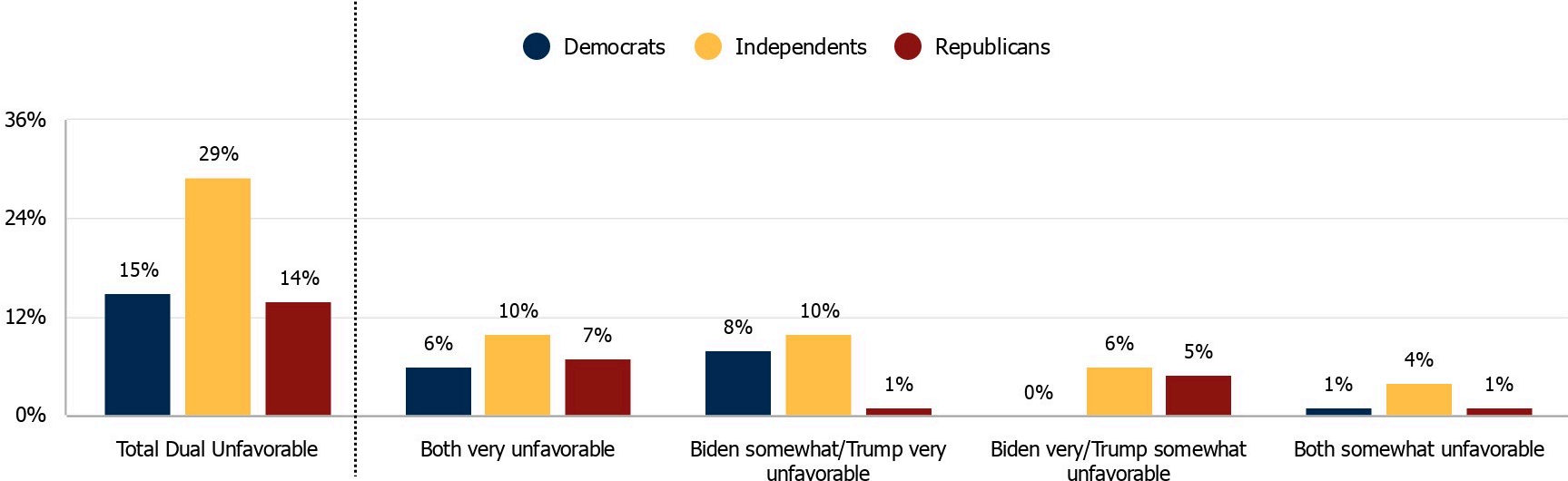


Q.10 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Joe Biden? AND Q.11 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Donald Trump?



# Nearly 3-in-10 independents have dual unfavorable opinions of Biden and Trump

Combined Biden/Trump Favorability by Party ID



Q.10 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Joe Biden? AND Q.11 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of Donald Trump?





# 21% of all voters are unfavorable towards both Biden and Trump, these audiences over-index on this measure...

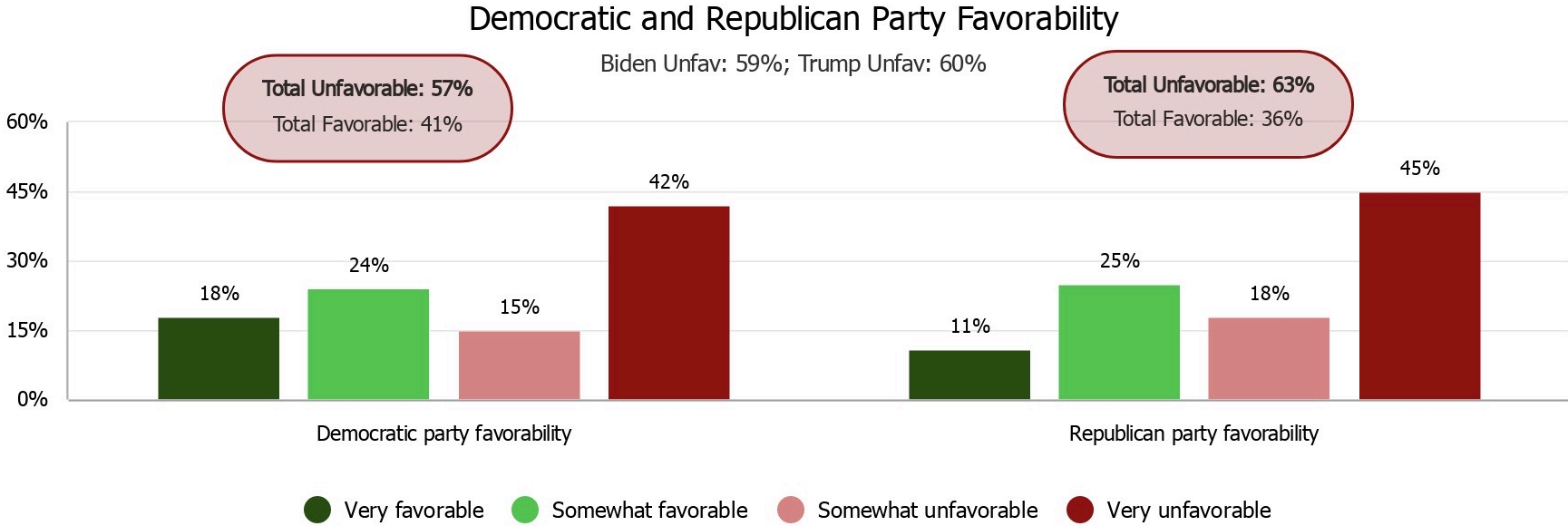
- Respondents that believe that neither party represents their interests well at all (62% unfavorable both)
- 3rd party voters
  - Jill Stein (65% unfavorable both)
  - Chase Oliver (66% unfavorable both)
  - Robert Kennedy Jr. (54% unfavorable both)
  - Cornel West (65% unfavorable both)
- Non Biden/Trump voters that would maybe consider supporting Trump (48% unfavorable both)
- Not following the news too closely or not closely at all (30% unfavorable both)
- Non Biden/Trump voters that would maybe consider supporting Biden (42% unfavorable both)
- Respondents that believe the President (44% unfavorable both) and Congress (46% unfavorable both) make no difference in their lives
- Independents ages 18-49 (35% unfavorable both)
- Ages 18-34 (31% unfavorable both)
- Black ages 18-49 (28% unfavorable both)
- Women ages 18-49 (28% unfavorable both)
- White ages 18-49 (28% unfavorable both)
- Hispanic women ages 18-49 (27% unfavorable both)
- Single respondents (27% unfavorable both)

## Attitudes by Dual Negatives

## Demos by Dual Negatives



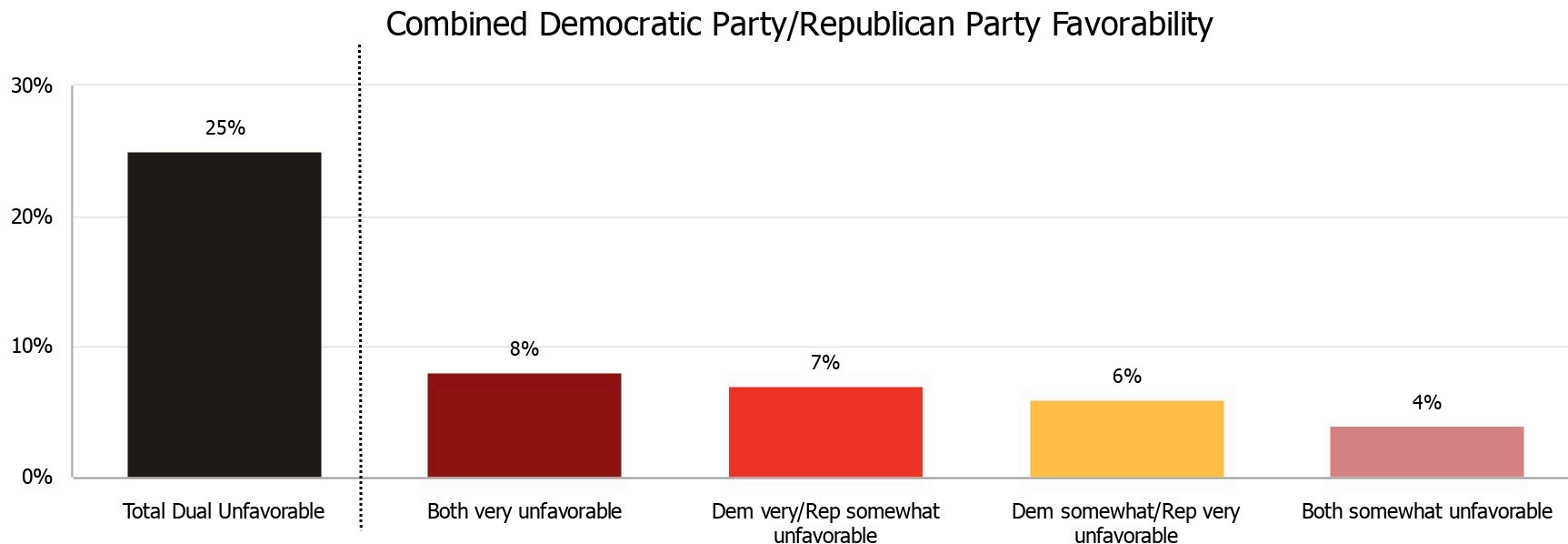
# Strong intensity behind unfavorables for both parties, GOP slightly less popular overall



Q.12 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the Democratic party? AND Q.13 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the Republican party?



# A quarter of respondents hold unfavorable opinions of both parties

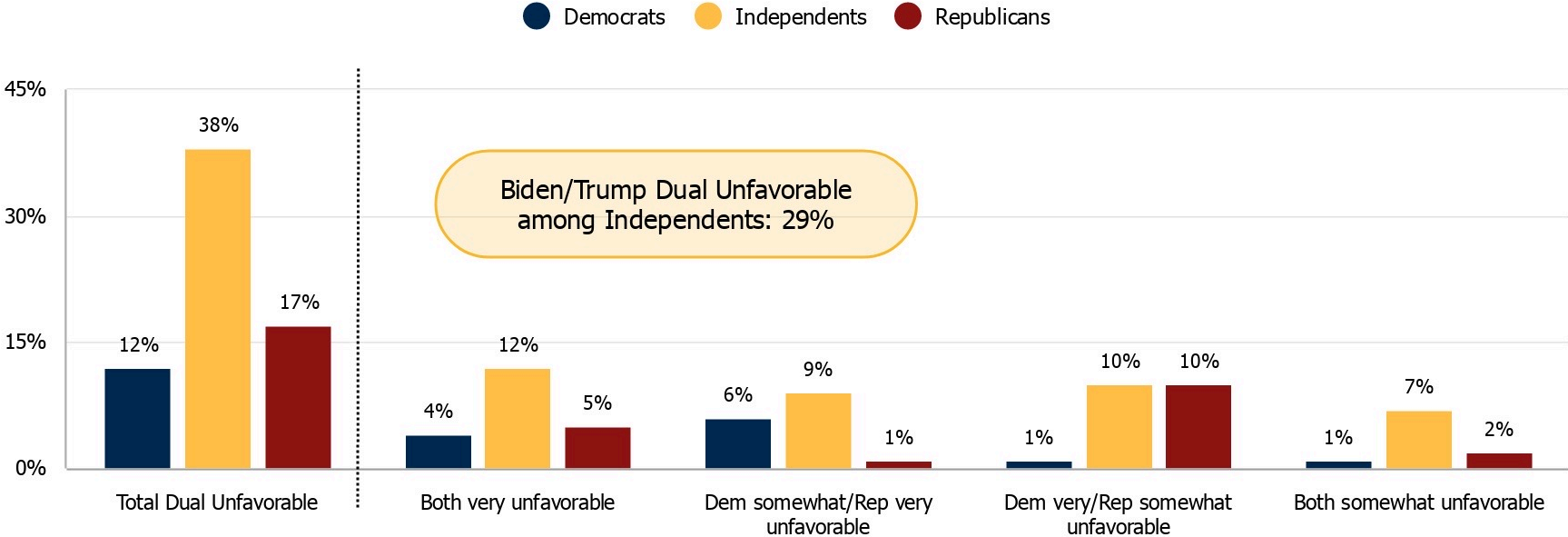


Q.12 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the Democratic party? AND  
Q.13 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the Republican party?



# Nearly 4-in-10 independents are dual party unfavorables

Combined Democratic Party/Republican Party Favorability by Party ID

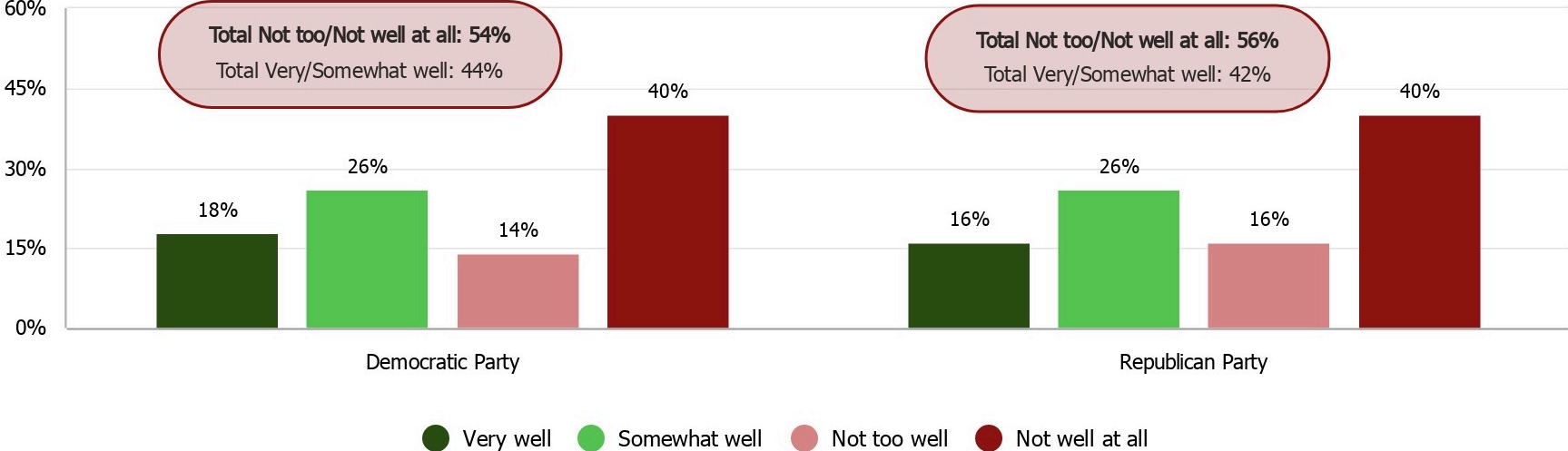


Q.12 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the Democratic party? AND  
Q.13 Would you say you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the Republican party?



# Few voters believe either party represents interests of people like them very well

## Democratic and Republican Party Represents the Interests of People Like You

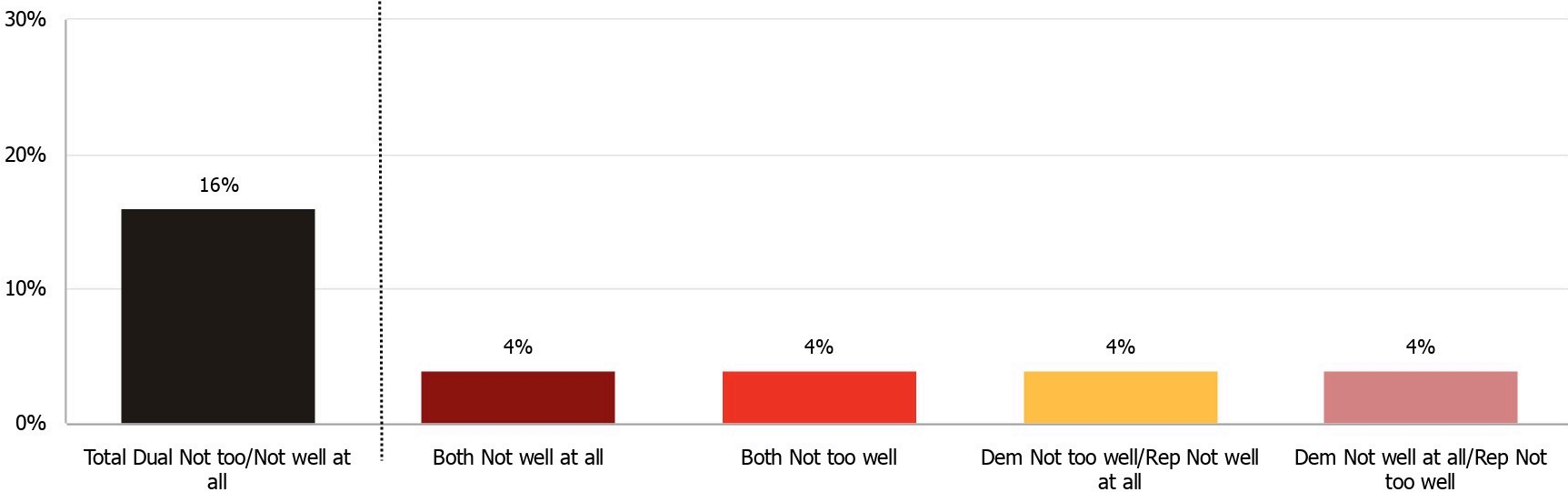


Q.26 Would you say the Republican Party represents the interests of people like you very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all? AND Q.27 Would you say the Democratic Party represents the interests of people like you very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all?



# Opinions that neither party represents people like them well are less prevalent than overall negative partisanship

Combined Democratic and Republican Party Represents the Interests of People Like You



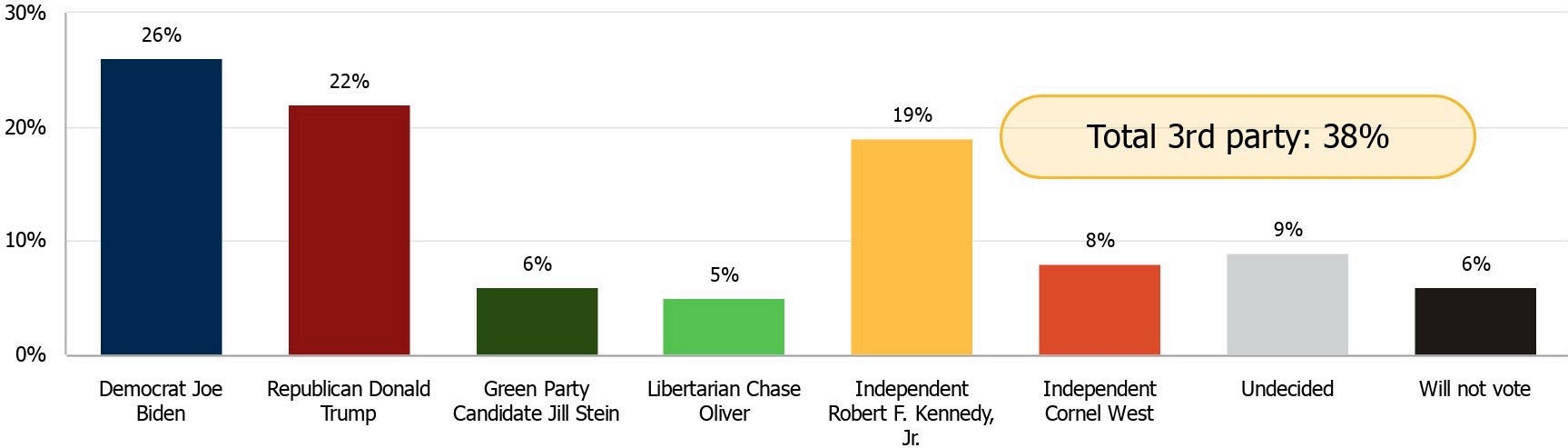
Q.26 Would you say the Republican Party represents the interests of people like you very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all? AND Q.27 Would you say the Democratic Party represents the interests of people like you very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all?



# 3-way race with RFK, Jr. capturing support from nearly 1-in-5 among overall dual unfavorables

2024 Presidential Vote by Respondents Dual Unfavorable of Biden and Trump

n = 1161



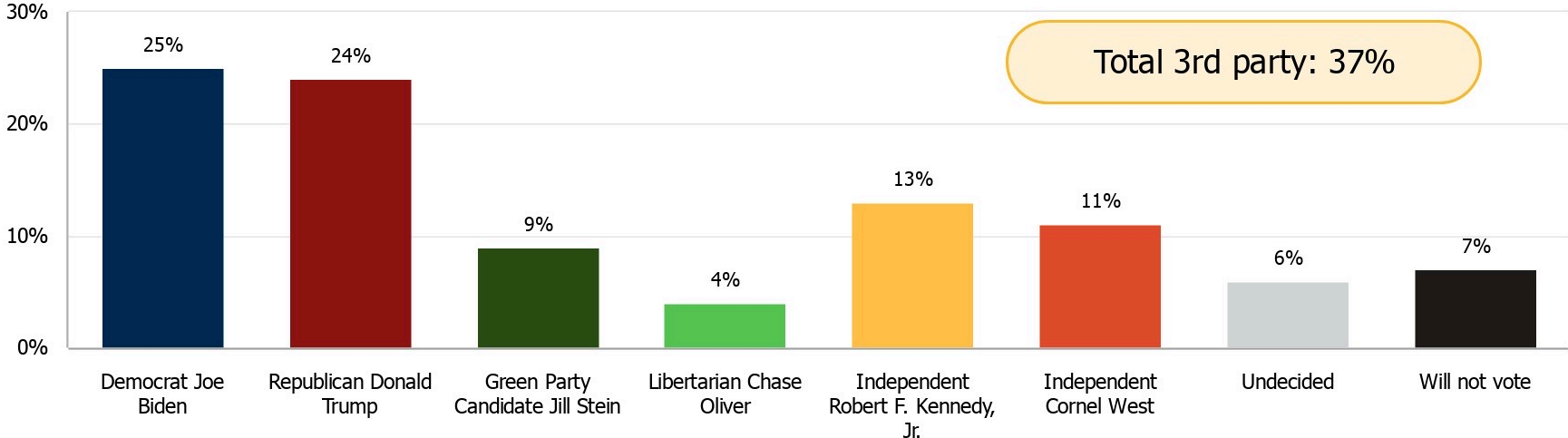
Q.16 And if the 2024 election for President of the United States were held today and the candidates were Democrat Joe Biden, Republican Donald Trump, Green Party Candidate Jill Stein, Libertarian Chase Oliver, independent Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., and independent Cornel West -- for whom would you vote?



# 3rd party vote is more diffuse among voters with very unfavorable opinions about both candidates

2024 Presidential Vote by Respondents Very Unfavorable of Biden and Trump

n = 430



Q.16 And if the 2024 election for President of the United States were held today and the candidates were Democrat Joe Biden, Republican Donald Trump, Green Party Candidate Jill Stein, Libertarian Chase Oliver, independent Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., and independent Cornel West -- for whom would you vote?

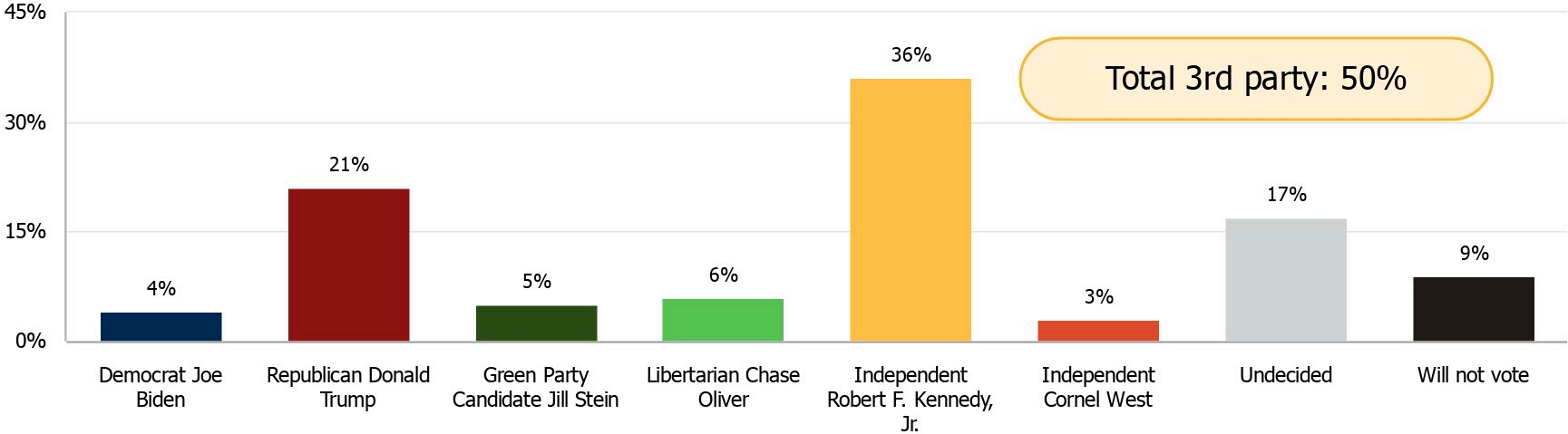




# RFK, Jr. leads among the few respondents who have somewhat unfavorable opinions about both candidates

2024 Presidential Vote by Respondents Somewhat Unfavorable of Biden and Trump

n = 118



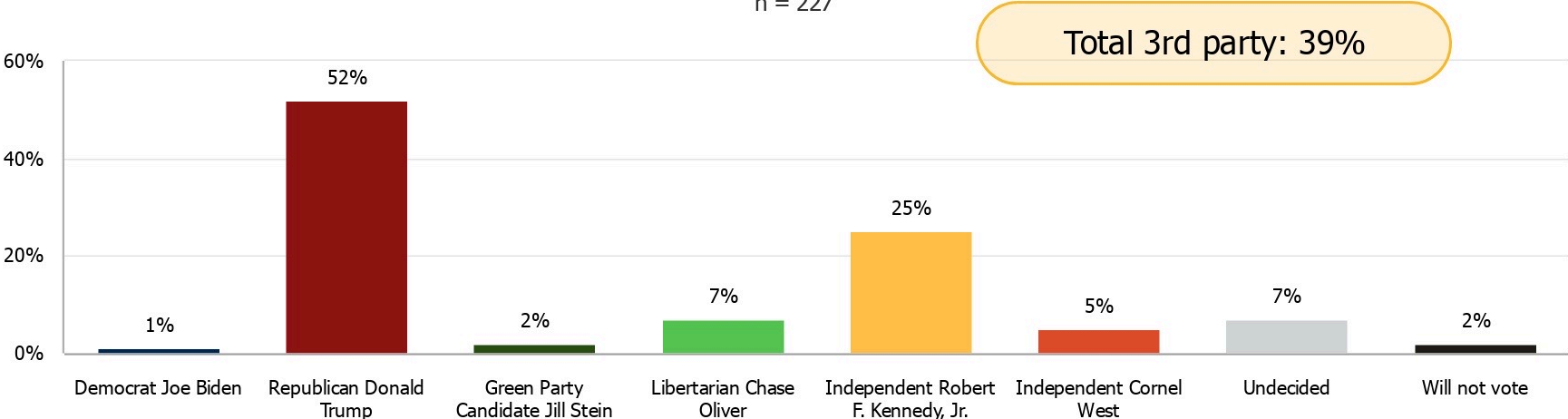
Q.16 And if the 2024 election for President of the United States were held today and the candidates were Democrat Joe Biden, Republican Donald Trump, Green Party Candidate Jill Stein, Libertarian Chase Oliver, independent Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., and independent Cornel West -- for whom would you vote?



# A quarter of very unfavorable Biden/somewhat unfavorable Trump supporters back RFK, Jr.

2024 Presidential Vote by Respondents Very Unfavorable of Biden and Somewhat Unfavorable of Trump

n = 227



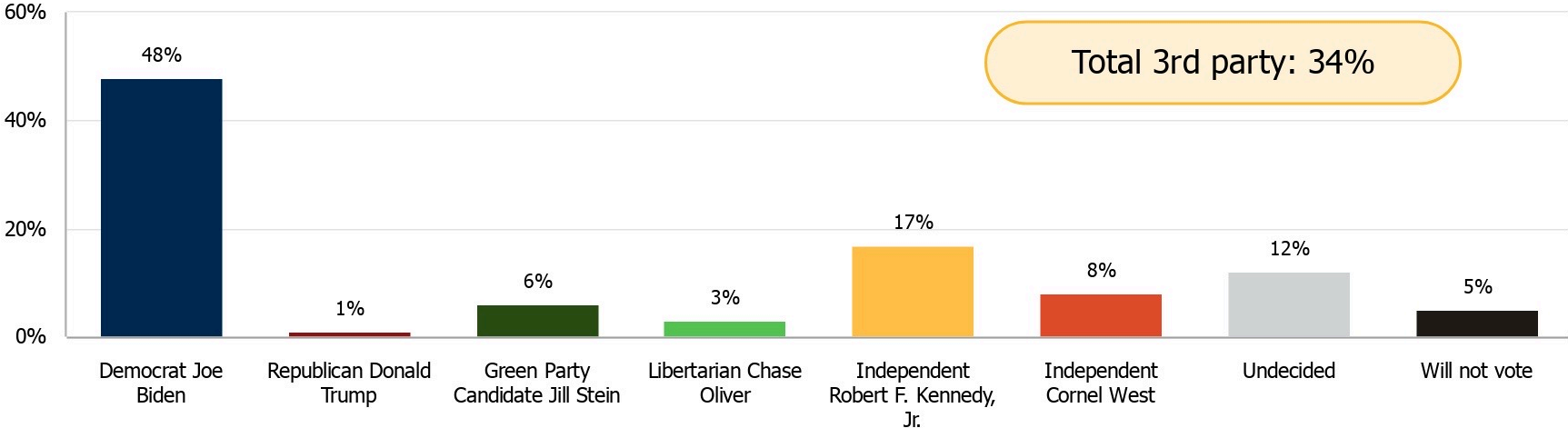
Q.16 And if the 2024 election for President of the United States were held today and the candidates were Democrat Joe Biden, Republican Donald Trump, Green Party Candidate Jill Stein, Libertarian Chase Oliver, independent Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., and independent Cornel West -- for whom would you vote?



# Biden underperforms relative to Trump among dual unfavorables who are soft on him

2024 Presidential Vote by Respondents Somewhat Unfavorable of Biden and Very Unfavorable of Trump

n = 386



Q.16 And if the 2024 election for President of the United States were held today and the candidates were Democrat Joe Biden, Republican Donald Trump, Green Party Candidate Jill Stein, Libertarian Chase Oliver, independent Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., and independent Cornel West -- for whom would you vote?



# Attitudinal predictors of dual unfavorables also a predictor for undecideds and non voters

2024 Presidential Race by Key Dual Unfavorables Attitudes

	% overall	% of dual negatives	Biden	Trump	Stein	Oliver	Kennedy, Jr.	West	Und	Not intend to vote
Total	-	-	39%	39%	2%	2%	7%	3%	5%	3%
Neither party represents their interests	4%	13%	16%	15%	8%	3%	12%	15%	11%	21%
Not following news closely	17%	23%	26%	26%	3%	3%	11%	3%	13%	15%
President makes no difference	8%	17%	28%	20%	3%	4%	11%	4%	11%	18%
Congress makes no difference	8%	17%	22%	23%	6%	3%	11%	4%	12%	18%



# Biden struggles with a variety of younger cohorts who tend to identify as negative partisans

2024 Presidential Race by Key Dual Unfavorables Demographics

	% overall	% of dual negatives	Biden	Trump	Stein	Oliver	Kennedy, Jr.	West	Und	Not intend to vote
Total	-	-	39%	39%	2%	2%	7%	3%	5%	3%
Independents 18-49	25%	42%	24%	38%	4%	4%	12%	6%	9%	4%
Ages 18-34	25%	36%	31%	32%	4%	3%	8%	4%	10%	7%
Black 18-49	5%	7%	36%	16%	5%	2%	8%	6%	13%	13%
Women 18-49	22%	28%	34%	31%	5%	1%	8%	5%	9%	6%
White 18-49	35%	46%	32%	40%	3%	3%	8%	4%	7%	3%
Hispanic women 18-49	1%	2%	36%	29%	3%	6%	10%	5%	8%	5%
Single respondents	21%	27%	40%	29%	4%	2%	9%	4%	8%	5%



# Index charts for non Biden and Trump supporters

- ✓ The slides that follow show relative indices on various key attitudinal and demographic dimensions measured in this training survey
- ✓ Each slide shows how 3rd party supporters, undecideds, and those who indicate they will not vote compare to the overall sample
- ✓ Higher numbers (above 1) in each cell indicate an over-index for that audience on that attitude or demographic marker
- ✓ Lower numbers (below 1) in each cell indicate an under-index for that audience on that attitude or demographic marker
- ✓ Numbers that approach 1 should be interpreted as being reflective of the total sample overall (representative of registered voters across the sampled battleground states)



Undecideds and those who do not intend to vote dramatically over-index, relative to sample overall, on not following the news closely

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Q. 8 News</b>						
Total Answering						
Very closely	0.65	0.70	0.72	1.07	0.20	0.13
Somewhat closely	1.41	1.11	1.16	0.92	1.03	0.46
Not too closely	1.00	1.33	1.42	0.92	2.75	2.75
Not closely at all	1.20	2.20	1.60	1.20	3.40	6.40
(Don't know/refused)	-	-	-	-	3.00	12.00
Total Very/Somewhat closely	0.99	0.88	0.92	1.00	0.55	0.28
Total Not too/Not closely at all	1.06	1.65	1.41	1.00	2.94	3.82



# Undecideds and non-voters more interested in local news than the sample overall

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Q. 9 National news vs local news</b>						
Total Answering						
National news - much more interested	0.84	0.38	0.84	0.84	0.28	0.22
National news - somewhat more interested	1.03	1.46	1.03	1.46	0.34	0.20
Local news - somewhat more interested	1.50	1.50	1.50	0.94	1.56	1.00
Local news - much more interested	0.75	1.00	1.00	0.63	2.25	2.63
(Both)	0.67	0.67	0.33	-	3.00	3.00
(Neither)	0.33	0.33	0.33	-	6.00	8.67
(Don't know/refused)	-	-	-	-	4.00	13.00
Total National news	0.96	0.93	0.94	1.16	0.31	0.19
Total Local news	1.27	1.35	1.35	0.85	1.81	1.50





Commonality across all of these voters is the lack of belief that which party holds the Presidency makes a big difference in their lives

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Q. 23 President difference</b>						
Total Answering						
A big difference	0.63	0.37	0.69	0.73	0.57	0.43
Some difference	1.43	1.53	1.35	1.33	1.15	0.65
No difference at all	1.38	2.50	1.38	1.38	2.63	4.63
(Don't know/refused)	-	-	-	-	5.00	16.00



# 3rd party supporters dramatically over-index on negative partisanship directed at Biden and Trump

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Combined Biden/Trump favorability</b>						
Total Answering						
Both very unfavorable	4.38	2.88	1.75	4.00	1.13	2.25
Both somewhat unfavorable	2.50	4.00	5.50	1.50	3.50	3.00
Biden very/Trump somewhat unfavorable	1.00	5.00	3.50	2.00	1.25	0.50
Biden somewhat/Trump very unfavorable	3.00	2.14	2.29	3.14	2.14	1.57
Both (Neutral/no opinion)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	0.44	0.43	0.58	0.44	0.77	0.75
Total Dual Unfavorable	3.10	3.14	2.57	3.10	1.71	1.76



The same is true for negative partisanship directed at the party brands overall

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Combined Democratic party/Republican party favorability</b>						
Total Answering						
Both very unfavorable	2.38	2.25	1.25	3.63	1.00	2.25
Both somewhat unfavorable	2.50	2.50	3.50	1.75	1.75	1.00
Dem very/Rep somewhat unfavorable	0.43	3.43	1.57	0.29	0.57	0.29
Dem somewhat/Rep very unfavorable	3.67	1.50	1.00	3.17	1.67	1.50
Both (Neutral/no opinion)	1.00	-	0.00	-	7.00	4.00
Other	0.61	0.53	0.81	0.59	0.85	0.85
Total Dual Unfavorable	2.12	2.44	1.60	2.24	1.20	1.32



West and Stein voters, as well as those who do not intend to participate, tend to be the most likely to believe neither party represents the interests of people like you

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Combined Democratic party/Republican party represents the interests of people like you</b>						
Total Answering						
Both Not well at all	4.00	2.25	1.75	6.00	2.75	6.00
Both Not too well	0.25	3.00	3.25	3.00	2.75	0.75
Dem Not too well/Rep Not well at all	4.25	1.50	1.50	5.50	1.00	0.50
Dem Not well at all/Rep Not too well	0.25	4.00	2.00	0.50	0.25	0.50
Other	0.77	0.69	0.79	0.49	0.88	0.82
Total Dual Not too/Not well at all	2.19	2.63	2.13	3.69	1.63	1.94



# 3rd party voters--particularly Stein, West, and RFK supporters--over-index on strong consideration of Biden relative to undecideds and non-voters

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Q. 19 Consider voting for Biden</b>						
Total Answering						
Strongly consider voting for Joe Biden	4.50	1.50	4.00	6.00	1.50	0.50
Maybe consider voting for Joe Biden	3.33	1.92	1.67	3.33	4.00	1.83
Not consider voting for Joe Biden	0.63	0.88	0.87	0.59	0.45	0.73
(Don't know/refused)	-	0.50	0.00	-	6.00	8.00



# Oliver and RFK, Jr. supporters are ripest targets for Trump

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Q. 20 Consider voting for Trump</b>						
Total Answering						
Strongly consider voting for Donald Trump	2.00	7.00	7.00	1.00	2.00	0.00
Maybe consider voting for Donald Trump	1.00	3.89	4.00	1.44	2.56	0.78
Not consider voting for Donald Trump	1.02	0.66	0.65	0.98	0.74	0.94
(Don't know/refused)	-	-	-	-	5.50	4.50



Significant over-indexes across non-Biden and Trump supporters on the notion that there is hardly any difference in what the parties stand for

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Q. 24 U.S. Congress difference</b>						
Total Answering						
A big difference	0.91	0.71	0.86	0.81	0.50	0.40
Some difference	0.82	1.29	1.15	1.18	1.29	0.74
No difference at all	2.50	1.88	1.50	1.63	2.75	4.63
(Don't know/refused)	-	-	-	-	4.00	16.00



Stein voters and undecideds are very young relative to the sample, but youth trend is present for all non-Biden and Trump supporters

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Q. 4 Respondent age</b>						
Total Answering						
18 - 24	3.38	0.75	1.00	1.25	2.50	2.25
25 - 29	1.56	2.78	1.11	2.22	1.67	2.22
30 - 34	0.88	1.75	1.38	1.25	1.38	1.63
35 - 39	1.00	1.67	1.22	1.89	0.89	1.22
40 - 44	1.29	1.14	1.14	1.86	1.00	1.14
45 - 49	0.88	1.25	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.75
50 - 54	0.38	0.38	1.13	0.75	0.75	0.75
55 - 59	0.38	1.00	0.88	0.63	0.75	0.38
60 - 64	0.40	0.50	0.90	0.50	0.70	0.40
Over 64	0.65	0.23	0.81	0.27	0.54	0.46





# Liberalism explains Stein and West support more than conservatism explains Oliver or RFK, Jr. support

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Q. 31 Ideology</b>						
Total Answering						
Very liberal	2.29	0.41	0.29	2.82	0.76	1.18
Somewhat liberal	1.61	0.33	0.78	0.83	1.28	1.50
Moderate	0.93	1.75	1.61	0.96	1.36	1.39
Somewhat conservative	0.15	1.25	1.35	0.35	0.85	0.30
Very conservative	0.18	0.76	0.53	0.18	0.24	0.18
(Don't know/refused)	-	-	-	-	5.00	6.00
Total Liberal	2.00	0.38	0.56	1.85	1.09	1.38
Total Conservative	0.16	1.03	0.97	0.27	0.54	0.24



# Urbanicity associated with Stein support, West support, Oliver support and levels of undecided and non-voting

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Urbanicity/Age/Gender</b>						
Total Answering						
Rural Younger Men	0.56	2.11	1.33	0.78	1.11	1.11
Rural Younger Women	1.43	0.71	1.43	1.57	1.57	2.14
Rural Older Men	0.88	0.63	0.63	0.13	0.63	0.25
Rural Older Women	0.75	0.50	1.17	0.25	0.58	0.33
Suburban Younger Men	1.30	1.80	1.10	1.00	1.30	1.30
Suburban Younger Women	3.33	1.22	1.33	1.89	1.56	1.67
Suburban Older Men	0.50	0.25	1.00	0.38	0.38	0.38
Suburban Older Women	0.18	0.36	0.91	0.45	0.55	0.64
Urban Younger Men	0.29	2.86	1.00	2.29	1.00	1.29
Urban Younger Women	2.40	0.60	0.60	2.60	2.20	2.40
Urban Older Men	0.40	0.20	0.80	0.00	1.40	1.00
Urban Older Women	0.29	0.29	0.71	1.43	0.57	0.57
Other	2.00	2.00	0.50	2.50	1.00	1.50



# Younger people of color dramatically over-index on non-voting and undecided, support for Stein and West

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Race/Gender/Age</b>						
Total Answering						
White Younger Men	0.63	2.32	1.16	1.05	1.16	0.84
White Younger Women	2.27	0.67	1.27	1.87	1.47	1.33
White Older Men	0.67	0.47	0.87	0.13	0.60	0.33
White Older Women	0.52	0.48	1.00	0.57	0.57	0.33
Black Younger Men	0.50	2.50	2.00	3.00	2.00	3.50
Black Younger Women	4.00	1.33	0.67	2.00	2.67	5.00
Black Older Men	0.67	0.33	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.33
Black Older Women	-	-	0.40	0.60	0.80	1.20
Hispanic Younger Men	0.67	0.67	0.67	1.33	1.33	2.33
Hispanic Younger Women	2.00	5.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00
Hispanic Older Men	-	-	1.00	0.00	2.00	3.00
Hispanic Older Women	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	-	2.00
Asian Younger Men	5.00	2.00	-	-	1.00	1.00
Other race Younger Men	0.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
Other race Younger Women	3.00	-	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.00
Other race Older Men	1.00	-	0.00	-	1.00	-
Other race Older Women	1.00	-	3.00	2.00	1.00	-
Other	2.00	2.00	0.50	2.00	1.00	0.50
POC Younger Men	1.14	1.86	1.14	1.86	1.29	2.29
POC Older Men	0.50	0.17	0.67	0.50	1.00	0.83
POC Younger Women	2.83	1.50	1.00	2.00	2.17	3.83
POC Older Women	0.25	0.25	0.88	0.75	0.75	1.00



# Stein supporters over-index on being unmarried women

	Jill Stein	Chase Oliver	Robert Kennedy, Jr.	Cornel West	Und	Do not intend to vote
<b>Marital status/Gender</b>						
Total Answering						
Married Men	0.52	1.24	0.92	0.60	0.80	0.76
Married Women	0.72	0.64	1.00	0.88	0.84	1.00
Unmarried Men	0.86	1.48	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.05
Unmarried Women	1.84	0.60	1.08	1.36	1.16	1.28
Other	0.80	1.20	0.40	1.40	1.40	0.40



# Model Class Design - Validation Survey Counts

	Disaffected Democrat Class	Disaffected Republican Class	Count (not exclusive)
Standard partisans	No	No	803
Dual candidate negatives	Yes	Yes	106
Dual party negatives	Yes	Yes	126
Trump very negative; Biden somewhat negative	Yes	No	96
Trump somewhat negative; Biden very negative	No	Yes	41
Left wing 3rd party voters	Yes	No	36
Right wing 3rd party voters	No	Yes	18
Other 3rd party voters	Yes	Yes	63
Undecided voters	Yes	Yes	104



# Survey Methodology

- Multi-modal survey (live phones, text to web, panel)
- Reached 5,497 registered voters in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, or Wisconsin
- Conducted January 14 - February 29, 2024
- Thirteen percent of respondents were reached on phones (15 percent weighted). Twenty percent of respondents completed the survey online and were reached via a SMS (25 percent weighted). Sixty-eight percent of respondents were recruited from Civiqs' web panel and matched to TargetSmart's voter file (61 percent weighted).
- Quotas were assigned to reflect the demographic and geographic distribution of registered voters in the battleground and data were weighted by gender, age, race on file, 2020 and 2022 general election vote history on file, TargetSmart High School Only Score, TargetSmart Partisan Score, and region by state to ensure an accurate reflection of the population
- Credibility interval +/- 1.3%



# The Research Team



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