

2026 Double Negative Model

A Tool for Our Political Time



A new targeting tool for today's political environment

- A Pew study from late 2024 reported that 28% of Americans have unfavorable views of both major parties – a 400% increase over the last 20 years. And, a recent poll from the *New York Times* and Siena found that a **staggering 43% of voters are dissatisfied with both major parties.**
- Our new Double Negative model is a unique targeting tool for finding these disaffected voters who view both major parties negatively.
- This model provides a new and different way to find likely undecided voters beyond what typical partisanship, support, and persuasion models offer.
- Expanding universes by adding these targets means expanding the map.

The poli sci explanation for why this is important

Partisanship as identity

Being a partisan is not just an expression of one's policy preferences; it's a part of who one is.

Mass polarization

Loving one's party correlates with hating the other party.

Affective polarization

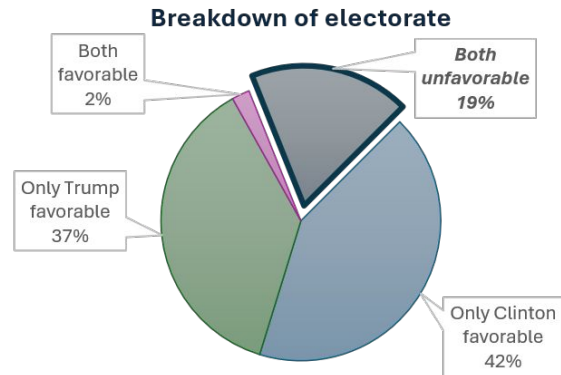
The partisan divide is increasingly linked to emotional dislike of the opposing party rather than policy disagreements with them.

Negative partisanship

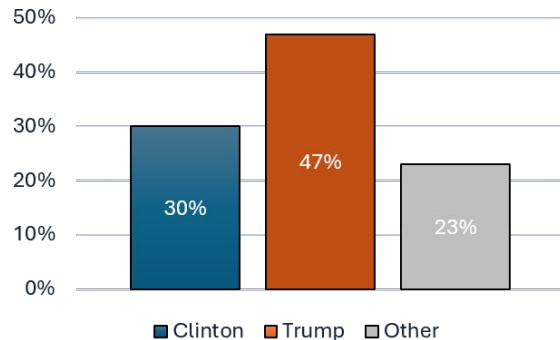
Voting behavior is driven more by an aversion to the party you don't associate with than an affection for the one you do.

Double negatives likely put Trump in office...twice

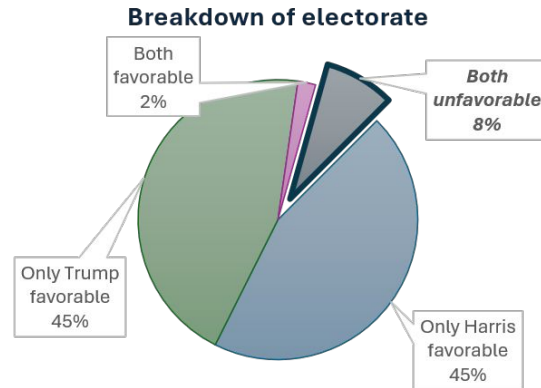
2016



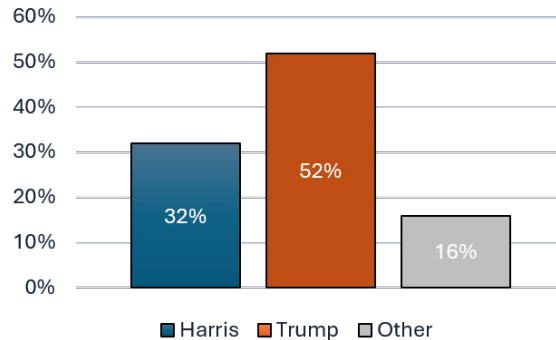
Vote among both unfavorable



2024



Vote among both unfavorable



The common refrain in focus groups

“Both parties are bad”

“All politicians look out for themselves, not me”

“There’s no difference between Democrats and Republicans”



“All politicians are the same”

“Big money special interests influence both sides”

Training survey designed for options and flexibility

Traditional training questions

Please rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

1. Democrats in Congress
2. Republicans in Congress
3. The Democratic party
4. The Republican party

Non-traditional training questions

How well do you believe the two major political parties in America represent people like you?

Pick one:

America's two major political parties are basically the same.
OR

There are real differences between America's two major political parties.

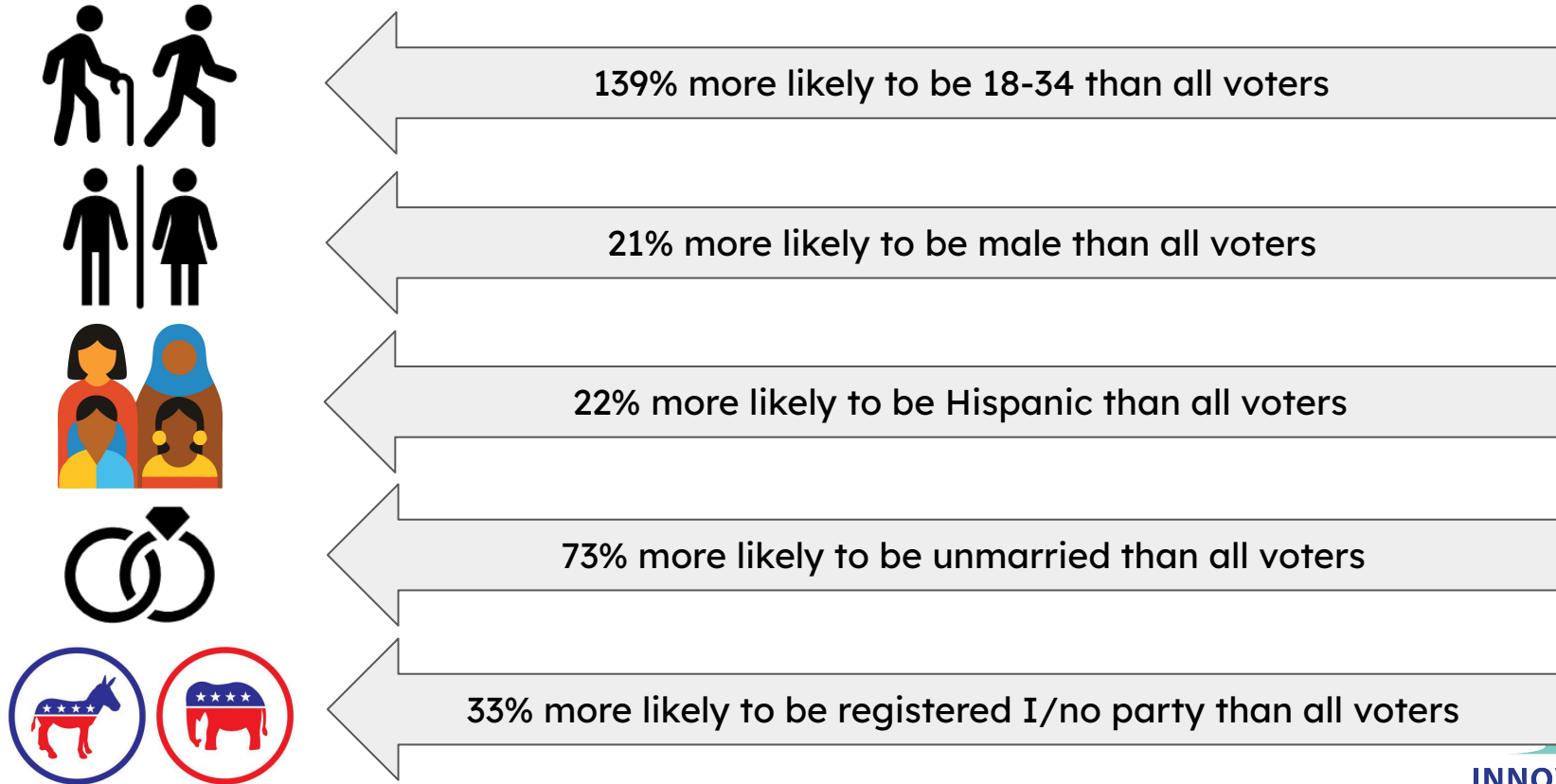
Agree/disagree: *Neither of America's two political parties care about people like me.*

Agree/disagree: *Regardless of which party is in power, America's political system is rigged against average Americans.*

A huge survey builds a quality model

- We collected **9,815** matched surveys from Americans nationally and in targeted Congressional districts
- We modeled towards and away from two specific groups:
 - Towards: Double Negatives, defined as voters who ranked their approval of both parties under 30 on a 0-100 scale
 - Away from:
 - Half, voters with partisanship scores over 65 who ranked their approval of the Democratic party 85-100 and their approval of the Republican party below 15
 - Half, the reverse (Republican partisans)
- This design ensures that the model finds people who do not care for either party while excluding partisans on either side of the aisle

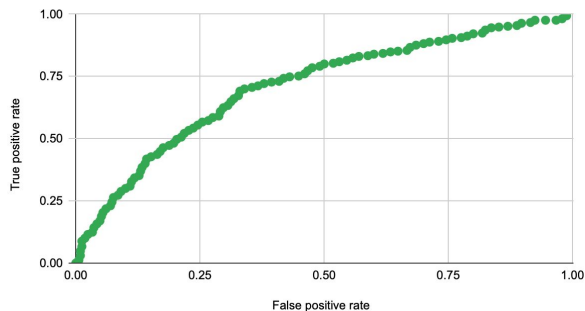
Likely Double Negatives are young, unmarried, unaffiliated



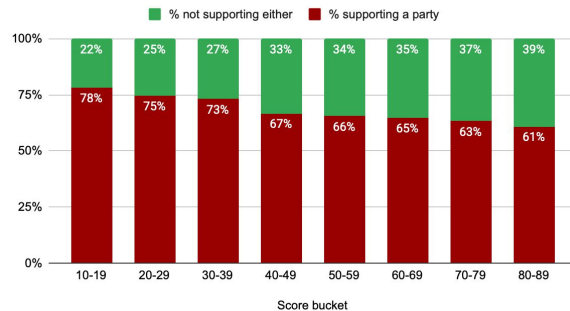
Universe: top 20% of the Double Negative score, removing people with 35-65 partisan scores (typical persuasion targets)

The model validates nicely on the standard metrics

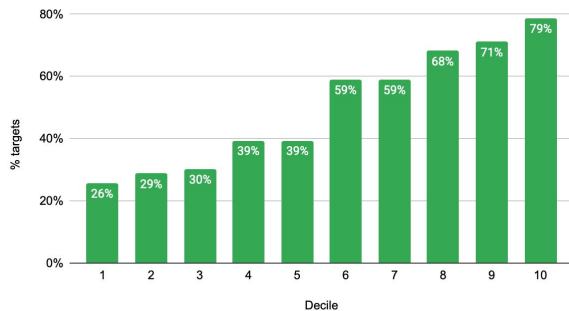
The ROC curve reveals an AUC of 0.79



Out-of-sample IDs show a clean stair-step pattern



The in-score decile plot also features a strong stair-step pattern



Strong recall/sensitivity of 0.8,
optimized for finding as many
targets as possible



**INNOVATING FOR
THE PUBLIC GOOD**
R&D FOR DEMOCRACY

9.1 million voters across 17 key states are likely Double Negatives

State	2024 statewide win margin	Double Negative targets
AK	-68,781	96,914
AZ	+80,574	434,229
FL	-1,667,791	1,055,114
GA	-298,857	683,746
IA	-226,248	191,787
KS	+20,878	124,973
ME	+86,866	93,220
MI	+19,006	1,199,855
MN	+500,729	627,910

State	2024 statewide win margin	Double Negative targets
MS	-305,528	82,486
NC	+828,187	468,153
NE	-62,631	63,655
NH	-75,973	46,160
NV	+24,124	269,550
OH	-206,434	1,084,380
TX	-959,492	1,969,332
WI	+28,781	656,632



~52K voters/district are Double Negatives – often more than the margin

Frontline CDs			
District	Double Negative targets	District	Double Negative targets
AL-02	54,629	NV-03	68,642
CA-13	35,296	NV-04	68,714
CA-45	38,430	NY-03	44,293
CT-05	40,036	NY-04	35,226
FL-09	83,331	NY-19	47,627
FL-14	90,886	OH-01	79,225
FL-25	23,920	OH-09	62,857
IN-01	70,365	OH-13	60,884
MI-08	95,810	OR-05	67,700
NC-01	17,735	TX-28	38,982
NJ-09	30,551	TX-34	24,637
NM-02	36,047	VA-07	66,823
NV-01	68,197	WA-03	98,786

Red to Blue CDs					
District	Double Negative targets	District	Double Negative targets	District	Double Negative targets
AZ-01	42,314	IA-03	42,076	PA-08	57,311
AZ-02	46,965	KY-06	57,421	PA-10	33,767
AZ-06	47,497	ME-02	54,189	SC-01	60,470
CA-06	37,166	MI-04	100,581	TX-15	35,433
CA-22	35,212	MI-10	85,039	TX-35	58,100
CA-48	37,526	MN-01	66,298	TN-05	56,639
CO-05	64,957	MT-01	112,354	VA-01	57,098
CO-08	46,658	NC-11	26,413	VA-02	68,810
FL-07	36,861	NE-02	21,388	VA-05	58,809
FL-13	33,140	NJ-07	38,883	WI-03	89,788
FL-22	26,131	NY-17	62,871		
IA-01	64,526	OH-07	64,733		
IA-02	41,820	PA-01	27,108		

The model is ready to implement in your work

Ready to see who you're not reaching?

Please reach out to New River Strategies at
doublenegative@newriverstrat.com

The New River team will help you run counts, de-dupe your existing lists against the model, and talk through targeting options to find just the right voters.



New River Strategies

