

# ELECTIONS

## Research and Analysis

### Election Ontario

2018



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## Introduction

Post graduate studies at Kent State University in Ohio made mandatory a course in quantitative analysis – a sort of deep dive into statistical analysis. It was one of my favourite courses and taught by noted political scientist Dr. Murray Fishel – also a favourite of mine. On the first day of class Dr. Fishel lectured about the 1936 Presidential election in the United States. That election, as he described it in painstaking detail, was touted as pivotal for Americans – the country had been pounded by the Great Depression and President Roosevelt’s “New Deal” was his way to kick start the economy. It heralded support programs for farmers, American industry, elderly and young people. The Democrats loved the plan, Fishel told us. Not so much for the Republican Party, he said, who nominated fiscal conservative and Kansas Governor Alfred Landon as its candidate for that election.

The 1936 campaign was described as the great choice for voters - spending by the Democrats or fiscal conservatism by the GOP. Media in that year, suggested the campaign would be hotly contested based on a national poll that was conducted. In 1936, a magazine called *The Literary Digest* ran one of the biggest opinion polls ever to gauge the thinking of Americans on an election. The magazine asked 2.4 million people who they planned to vote for in the 1936 Presidential election: President, Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt, or the Republican nominee, Alfred Landon.

The Digest released its poll and predicted the following:

GOP Presidential candidate Governor Alf Landon secured 57% support and would win the election and the White House.

Democrat candidate President Franklin Delano Roosevelt secured 43% support and would likely lose the Presidency and “the New Deal” would fail.

The poll must have had one of the smallest margins of error in polling. But it was dead wrong! We all know from history that President Roosevelt actually received 62% of the popular vote and almost every Electoral College vote while GOP challenger Governor Landon received only 38% of the popular vote and an embarrassing 8 Electoral College votes.

Although the margin of error was low in *the Literary Digest* poll – it claimed a margin of error of less than 4% - its sampling was skewed based on the fact it polled its subscriber base. *The Literary Digest* fell prey to what is known as selection bias. Subscribers of the magazine and members of groups and organizations whom it polled tended to be wealthier than the average American – which accounted for the overwhelming support for fiscal conservative sentiment against the “New Deal”. It was the biggest polling disaster – ever, and cast Governor Landon into the political wilderness until he died in the late 1980’s.

Polling today is more innovative, but there are still many ways that bias creeps in. For instance, a poll that calls only landlines might leave out a whole demographic of younger opinion holders who only use mobile devices. Other polls are what’s known as “opt-in”, where users of a specific website answer questions, which is less reliable than a random sampling poll.

What does margin of error really mean? In most polls, a pollster typically asks about 1,000 people a question like: “Who do you plan to vote for?” The goal for the outcome that the pollster expects is to be 95% certain that the real level of support in the whole population of the country, province, city, constituency etc., is captured in the sample's range, from the low end of a margin of error to the high end.

That range is called a "confidence interval."

A good friend, the one-time owner and now retired Chairman of one of Canada's best known public opinion agencies, liked to talk about all the polling he provided for political campaigns. He often noted that if he conducted a poll about a campaign or a candidate 100 times, he would randomly select different groups of 1,000 people. In so doing, he would expect that the true proportion — the candidate's actual support for example — would be found within the margin of error of 95 out of the 100 polls. That's why he would often say that he's 95% confident in the results.

However, those five outliers are one reason elections don't always turn out the way pollsters such as my friend predict.

The chance that what's happening in reality is captured by a number outside the 95% confidence interval is, as one might expect, quite unlikely. The more outside it is, the smaller the likelihood. But it's still possible for a poll to be way off and nowhere was that more prevalent than in the US Presidential election in 2016. Every pollster had Democrat Presidential candidate Hilary Clinton winning that election over GOP Presidential candidate Donald Trump — overwhelmingly!

If observers really wanted to be 100% confident in a poll's estimated outcome, there will either have to be a poll that asks every voter or the pollster would have to be satisfied with a huge margin of error.

At K&A we don't do polls. Our clients expect outcomes to reflect the research we undertake on their behalf — knowing who's going to win helps clients plan their strategies for dealing with the Party in power. In order for that to occur, we cannot rely on what pollsters “say”, so we've developed and we conduct statistical analysis on a riding by riding basis (in Canada) to make predictions on who will win an election and who will make decisions.

During the Presidential election in 2016, we thought it would be an interesting thing to analyze who “might” win the election. Using voter preference research and stats from 5 previous Presidential elections, we studied voter preference State by State and unearthed a trend in favour of the Republicans. In so doing, we predicted that Donald Trump would win that election. We presented our prediction to media friends days before the final vote. It was met with “guffaws” galore. Imagine how pundits and observers felt the day after Trump's win?

Using the same research tools for provincial elections in Canada, we predicted that the governing Liberals would NOT win the general election in the province of British Columbia and that the NDP would — we were off by two seats. In Manitoba we predicted that the NDP would lose government to the Conservatives where the NDP had held power for almost two decades.

The following are our predictions for the upcoming Ontario election.

## Ontario General Election 2018 – a Perspective

The 2018 general election in Ontario will be transformational for the province.

For many, this election is the first time among a generation of voters that they may see a change in its provincial government – from Liberal to something other than Liberal.

In fact, for the first time in 15 years, the governing party (the Liberals) face their toughest challenge with many suggesting that Premier Wynne’s government may not prevail – or even take second place.

Let’s look at the numbers. At present there are 107 seats in the provincial legislature in Ontario. The breakdown is as follows in terms of seats in the current Legislature:

Liberal Party	PC Party	NDP	Other/vacant
55	27	18	7

Because of population growth in Ontario, the election Commission in the province recommended an increase in the number of seats from the current 107 seat Legislature by an extra 16 seats. That noted, there will be 123 electoral constituencies for the 2018 election to be held on June 7, 2018.

To prepare for the campaign, media outlets throughout the province use poll tracking to determine what they believe will be the best outcome for Parties facing off against each other. There is a lot of public opinion going on at present and aggregated polling results from all public opinion polling conducted as of April 10, 2018 suggest the following:

Liberal Party	PC Party	NDP	Green Party
27.2%	42.1%	23.4%	5.7%

In a recent news piece by broadcaster [CBC.ca](http://CBC.ca) and based on the aggregated polling information it suggested that seat projections would be the following:

Liberal Party	PC Party	NDP	Green Party
16	87	20	0

### We hold a different perspective at K&A.

Based on the use of regression analysis - a process for estimating the relationships among variables, we have predicted the outcome of the 2018 election. The results are provided herein including the number of seats for each of the major parties vying to be government.

By way of explanation, elections in Canada can be analyzed on two variables:

- 1) dependent variables – basically traditional voting preferences (the percentage each Party can expect to receive in terms of votes every election cycle) against;
- 2) many independent variables (like issues that arise during the election period OR substantial issues affecting a Party, a leader or the jurisdiction under a writ) that determine how voters may also decide who they may support.

Our research on Campaign 2018 netted analysis that provides to our readers an understanding as to prediction or forecast of outcomes. It should be made clear that there are always variables – like scandal or human foibles – that factor into any outcome(s) we predict, so our predictions for Election 2018 might not always lead to causation (voter intent)– but generally it’s close.

For the purposes of this research, we studied every riding and grouped those ridings into a cluster of proximate ridings consistent with the format used by Elections Ontario.

Then using election data from the previous five (5) elections, we analyzed the trends, arrived at a determination of the victorious candidate based on those dependent and independent variables – including traditional plurality (margin of win) for the incumbent against vote changes among other candidates, and predicted the number of seats for each Party . If the aggregated “against” votes overtake the plurality for the incumbent in that riding, we determined a different outcome for that particular riding. If variables do not impact the math, we deemed the incumbent re-elected.

[Here are our predictions](#)

EAST

Ottawa

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Carleton	Goldie Ghamari	Progressive Conservative
Kanata - Carleton	Merrilee Fullerton	Progressive Conservative
Nepean	Lisa Macleod	Progressive Conservative
Orleans	Marie -France Lalonde	Liberal
Ottawa Centre	Yasir Naqvi	Liberal
Ottawa South	John Fraser	Liberal
Ottawa -Vanier	Nathalie Des Rosier	Liberal
Ottawa West – Nepean	Bob Chiarelli	Liberal

Eastern Ontario

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Bay of Quinte	Todd Smith	Progressive Conservative
Glengarry-Prescott Russell	Amanda Simard	Progressive Conservative
Hastings-Lennox and Addington	Darryl Kramp	Progressive Conservative
Kingston & the Islands	Sophie Kiwala	Liberal
Lanark - Frontenac	Randy Hillier	Progressive Conservative
Leeds Grenville	Steve Clark	Progressive Conservative
Renfrew	John Yakabuski	Progressive Conservative
Stormont Dundas	Jim MacDonald	Progressive Conservative

Central Ontario

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Barrie Innisfil	Andrea Khanjin	Progressive Conservative
Barrie Springwater	Garfield Dunlop	Progressive Conservative
Bruce Grey	Bill Walker	Progressive Conservative
Dufferin Caledon	Sylvia Jones	Progressive Conservative
Haliburton- Kawartha Lakes	Laurie Scott	Progressive Conservative
Northumberland	Lou Rinaldi	Liberal
Peterborough	Jeff Leal	Liberal
Simcoe Grey	Jim Wilson	Progressive Conservative
Simcoe North	Jill Dunlop	Progressive Conservative
York Simcoe	Caroline Mulroney	Progressive Conservative

Durham and York

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Ajax	Rod Phillips	Progressive Conservative
Aurora Oakridges	Michael Parsa	Progressive Conservative
Durham	Granville Anderson	Liberal
King -Vaughan	Stephen Lecce	Progressive Conservative
Markham Stouffville	Paul Calandra	Progressive Conservative
Markham Unionville	Amanda Yeung Collucci	Liberal
Newmarket Aurora	Christine Elliot	Progressive Conservative
Oshawa	Jennifer French	NDP
Pickering Uxbridge	Peter Bethlanfalvy	Progressive Conservative
Richmond Hill	Reza Moridi	Liberal
Thornhill	Gila Martow	Progressive Conservative
Vaughan Woodbridge	Stephen DelDuca	Liberal
Whitby	Lorne Coe	Progressive Conservative

Peel

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Brampton Centre		Progressive Conservative
Brampton East		Progressive Conservative
Brampton North	Harinder Malhi	Liberal
Brampton South		Progressive Conservative
Brampton West		Liberal
Mississauga Centre	Tanya Granic	Progressive Conservative

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Mississauga Cooksville	Kaleed Rasheed	Progressive Conservative
Mississauga Erin Mills		Progressive Conservative
Mississauga Lakeshore	Charles Sousa	Liberal
Mississauga Malton	Amrit Mangat	Liberal
Mississauga Streetsville	Bob Delaney	Liberal

### Scarborough

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Agincourt	Soo Wong	Liberal
Scarborough Centre	Mazhran Shafiq	Liberal
Guildwood	Mitzie Hunter	Liberal
Scarborough North	Raymond Cho	Progressive Conservative
Scarborough Rouge Park	Vijay Thanigasalam	Progressive Conservative
Scarborough South West	Lorenzo Berardinetti	Liberal

### North York and North Toronto

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Don Valley East	Denzil Minnan Wong	Progressive Conservative
Don Valley North	Shelley Carroll	Liberal
Don Valley West	Kathleen Wynne	Liberal
Eglinton Lawrence	Michael Colle	Liberal
Willowdale	David Zimmer	Liberal
York Centre	Ramon Estoris	Liberal



Toronto and East York

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Beaches East York	Arthur Potts	Liberal
Davenport	Marit Stiles	NDP
Parkdale High Park	Adam Pham	NDP
Spadina Fort York	Han Dong	Liberal
Toronto Centre	Todd Ross	Liberal
Toronto Danforth	Peter Tabuns	NDP
Toronto St. Paul's	Tom Packwood	Progressive Conservative
University Rosedale	Gillian Smith	Progressive Conservative

Etobicoke and York

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Etobicoke Centre	Kinga Surma	Progressive Conservative
Etobicoke North	Doug Ford	Progressive Conservative
Etobicoke Lakeshore	Christine Hoggarth	Progressive Conservative
Humber River Black Creek	Deanna Sgro	Liberal
York South Weston	Laura Albanese	Liberal

Hamilton Halton Niagara

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Burlington	Jane McKenna	Progressive Conservative
Flamborough Glanbrook	Donna Skelly	Progressive Conservative
Hamilton Centre	Andrea Horvath	NDP
Hamilton East Stony Creek	Paul Miller	NDP
Hamilton Mountain	Monique Taylor	NDP
Hamilton West – Ancaster-Dundas	Ted McMeekin	Liberal
Milton	Parm Gill	Progressive Conservative
Niagara Centre	Jeff Burch	NDP
Niagara Falls	Wayne Gates	NDP
Niagara West	Sam Oosterhoff	Progressive Conservative
Oakville	Kevin Flynn	Liberal
Oakville North Burlington	Effie Triantafolopoulos	Progressive Conservative
St. Catharines	Jim Bradley	Liberal

Midwestern Ontario

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Brantford Brant	Will Bouma	Progressive Conservative
Cambridge	Belinda Karahalios	Progressive Conservative
Guelph	Mike Schriener	Green Party
Haldimand Norfolk	Toby Barrett	Progressive Conservative
Huron Bruce	Lisa Thompson	Progressive Conservative
Kitchener Centre	Mary Heinen Thorn	Progressive Conservative

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Kitchener Conestoga	Sarah Harris	Progressive Conservative
Kitchener South Conestoga	Fitz Vanderpool	NDP
Oxford	Ernie Hardiman	Progressive Conservative
Perth Wellington	Randy Pettipiece	Progressive Conservative
Waterloo	Catherine Fife	NDP
Wellington Halton Hills	Ted Arnott	Progressive Conservative

### Southwestern Ontario

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Chatham Kent Leamington	Rick Nicholls	Progressive Conservative
Elgin Middlesex London	Jeff Yurek	Progressive Conservative
Essex	Taras Natyshak	NDP
Lambton Kent Middlesex	Monte MacNaughton	Progressive Conservative
London Fanshawe	Teresa Armstrong	NDP
London North Centre	Susan Truppe	Progressive Conservative
London West	Peggy Sattler	NDP
Sarnia Lambton	Bob Bailey	Progressive Conservative
Windsor Tecumseh	Percy Hadfield	NDP
Windsor West	Lisa Gretzky	NDP

Northeastern Ontario

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Algoma Manitoulin	Mike Mantha	NDP
Mushkegowuk - James Bay	Andre Robichaud	Progressive Conservative
Nickel Belt	France Gelinias	NDP
Nippising	Vic Fedeli	Progressive Conservative
Parry Sound Muskoka	Norm Miller	Progressive Conservative
Sault Ste Marie	Ross Romano	Progressive Conservative
Sudbury	Troy Crowder	Progressive Conservative
Timiskaming -Cochrane	John Vanthof	NDP
Timmins	Gilles Bisson	NDP

Northwestern Ontario

Riding name	Incumbent/new MPP	Party
Kenora Rainy River	Greg Rickford	Progressive Conservative
<u>Kiiwetinoong</u>	Clifford Bull	Progressive Conservative
Thunder Bay Atikokan	Bill Mauro	Liberal
Thunder Bay Superior North	Michael Gravelle	Liberal

Totals

Party	Total Number of Seats: 123
Progressive Conservative	66
Liberal	36
NDP	20
Green Party	1

## Ontario General Election 2018 – Analysis

There are many factors that have gone into our analysis. For the most part, the backdrop for campaign 2018 will not be dissimilar to the last two elections. Many independent variables played a role in 2011 and 2014 and will again in 2018. Campaigns matter and specifically the leaders' campaigns will hold the spotlights and they themselves will present the biggest independent variable – we have taken that into account broadly. Our analysis draws the comparison and offers insight into how each leader and his/her campaign will impact the outcome of election 2018.

- 1) Ontarians are just not attracted to Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne. It is almost indescribable. Focus groups that we have been involved with find her unappealing without actually being able to put a finger on reasons. This flies in the face of her actual appeal in personal encounters – she is genuine and pleasant. Unfortunately, she cannot meet every Ontarian to appeal to them one on one, so her campaign will have to suffice. It may be too late. One variable that we used to determine our analysis was her energy during campaigns – she is a good campaigner and that will carry some weight for her Party during the piece. Another variable is the Budget – it was well received and it appeared to be authentic in its promise as aspirational for every Ontarian across the province. Yet another variable, and perhaps a notable one, is that Ontarians actually agree that the Liberals have delivered reasonably good government despite some of the rhetoric about high debt loads as compared to, say, California. Watch for the campaign team to highlight effective messaging that accurately describes comparisons in debt loads between Ontario other provinces and other jurisdictions – watch for messaging about infrastructure spending and other investments that are linked directly to better outcomes in the province. It is against this backdrop that we offer an outcome diametrically opposed to that which was offered by media at the outset of our analysis. The Liberal Party will lose seats and the government but retain Official Opposition status. Further, we predict that Kathleen Wynne will announce her retirement as Leader shortly after the election opening an enormous opportunity for new leadership and a new brand.
- 2) Many political observers in Ontario and Canada have quite wrongly linked Doug Ford to Donald Trump - misogynist, isolationist, fiscal conservative. There are ads already

surfacing with side by side photos of Trump and Ford suggesting that he (Doug Ford) is Ontario's version of the universally derided US President. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. There is appeal of and for Doug Ford from corners in the province that are unimaginable. He is not part of the elite, he is not unattached from Main Street – he is part of it. His appeal to blue collar workers is as prevalent as his appeal to multi-cultural communities. His appeal to white men is as prevalent as his appeal to ethnic women. Ford Nation has support among the Chinese, East Asian, Black and Caribbean communities as much as the Italian and Eastern European communities. Ford Nation is not the average “white guy” – it is clearly multi-ethnic. Attend a Ford picnic in Etobicoke in August and you'll see that the attendees are as ethnically diverse as the province. That appeal will be what attracts voters in almost every community across the province and is what the Progressive Conservative campaign team will be banking on to move the math in favour of doubling its current seat count on election night. Doug Ford has already come out swinging in his messaging about how Ontario under the current Government has created higher costs for its citizens in electricity prices, food prices and general costs of living. Not to mention the huge salaries that agency CEO's seem to attract, the miles of red tape in bureaucracy and the backroom elites who seem to get all the largess from the Liberal Government. Look for the Ford campaign team to create messages that deliver doubt in the minds of voters on the true value of the province's debt and its impact on future generations of Ontarians. Look too for strong messages about the financial impact of carbon pricing especially at a time when gas prices are high, the cost of living in the GTHA is almost untenable and the fact that he will make clear that the entire issue of climate change cannot and should not be remedied by citizens in the province of Ontario. His messages hope to gain resonance and will be aimed at moving voters from the Liberals to his party. In so doing, he will appeal to voters in key GTHA ridings that ring Toronto including Peel, Scarborough, Halton and Etobicoke – the current areas known as Ford Nation. Ford's Progressive Conservative voter base is secured in key areas of the province like eastern, mid and south west Ontario - look for breakthroughs in some of the newer ridings – especially in northwest Ontario where Indigenous candidates who have been attracted to Ford's Progressive Conservative Party are sure to win.

- 3) It's her time to shine and she's seemingly risen to the challenge. Despite previous lacklustre campaigns and a unfair characterization of being lazy, NDP Leader Andrea Horvath has come out of the blocks stronger and more confident than ever. Her campaign platform has already been released and it looks good. Her energy level is high and she has attracted young, smart candidates. Look also for a secret weapon – Jagmeet Singh the super popular and attractive federal NDP Leader who is certain to campaign in key Toronto ridings and in areas where the Party expects a breakthrough – Ottawa for example. The only caveat to her campaign is math. One variable is the traditional NDP voter base is about 18% in the province, so if Horvath attracts votes from the centrist voter (those who may have voted Liberal previously), it may skew the numbers thereby taking away votes from a Liberal MPP, for example, and by extension ensure that Progressive Conservative candidate(s) could sneak up the middle and help that Party win more seats. We have factored this variable into our research, which accounts for why the NDP may not make the breakthrough the Party aspires to make in Campaign 2018. That noted, our research indicated that although she will increase her seat count and show well in the popular vote, she will not be a factor in the new legislative session as third-Party Opposition. This is her third provincial campaign and

it's supposed to be her best shot at forming Government. She will not prevail. Look for Ms. Horvath to resign shortly after the election – likely within the year after, which will usher in a new era of leadership for the provincial party.

- 4) The fact that he will get province wide attention for his spot in the debates will ensure that Green Party Leader Mike Schiener will win his seat in Guelph and make an historic breakthrough with the first seat for the Green Party in the Ontario legislature. Notwithstanding that the party has mythical appeal – especially in a city like Guelph – his role in the debates will give him prominence and voter appeal. The party's base is not significant enough to be a variable anywhere in the province except the leader's riding. Historical breakthrough with a seat notwithstanding, the Party will not have standing in the Legislature because it does not have the required number of seats to attain that status. Look for the Leader to be a short-term attraction for the media and unless he can attract a more significant voter base, he will be viewed as an aligned independent member. He will likely not get any Committee work at Queen's Park and will have no opportunity to ask a question in Question Period.
- 5) The Trillium Party currently has one seat in the legislature. It had plans for a breakthrough including trying to attract MPPs to its fold. That plan has failed miserably in the giant wake of Ford Nation at the helm of the Progressive Conservative Party and huge public support he's garnered. The Trillium Party candidate is a former Progressive Conservative member who was thrown out of his Party for inappropriate behaviour. The member will likely lose his seat to the Progressive Conservative candidate in the riding and the party will not be a factor in election 2018 and will flame out.



## K&A. Inc. – Canadian public policy and management experts

Proudly celebrating its 11<sup>th</sup> year providing public policy advice and management consulting to a blue-chip client base in North America, the company has been at the forefront of some of the most comprehensive and controversial legislative initiatives in Canada. As experts in healthcare, gaming and energy K&A helped craft important legislation throughout Canada including; prescription drug legislation in several provinces that has reformed the programs in several provinces and decreased the cost of generic medications. The reforms have also led to increased scopes of practice for pharmacists, technicians and other allied health professionals that has transformed the delivery of healthcare across Canada. Other notable initiatives have been the development of legislation and regulations for smoke free rules across Canada – especially in the development of alternatives to combustible tobacco.

Globally the company works in Asia, Latin America and eastern Europe. Its focus is on the development of infrastructure projects and related management – to Canadian standards. Its draft discussion paper, for example, on the use of international medical graduates from Canada prompted an opportunity for physicians and other allied health professionals to be able to work in healthcare in foreign jurisdictions prompting an increase in Canadian standards for healthcare in those jurisdictions.

Its principals have extensive experience in public sector, corporate Canada and are experts in governance. The company is effective at assisting clients who need to weave through the maze of public sector regulation and legislation. K&A personnel speak the language of government and can translate for clients when the language of Government appears incomprehensible. More importantly, we get results because we can hold governments' feet to the fire.

Our communications department is savvy beyond words, our media database is one of the most comprehensive in Canada and is capable of developing and delivering for our clients. Our expertise in communications helped to deliver on Canada's most effective cyber targeting legislation that has been heralded for its protection against bullying and targeting.

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