



Ipsos Webinar Series

THE INSIDE TRACK: ELECTION 2016

Post-Election Special

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WITH CLIFF YOUNG

ELECTION BRIEFING #12: DEC 5, 2016

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Hello
& WELCOME

GAME CHANGERS



Today's Webinar

1

**The Outcome
& Ipsos'
Performance**

2

**Why Were The
Polls All
Wrong?**

3

**Election '16
Context &
What Comes
Next**

First

THE OUTCOME & IPSOS

GAME CHANGERS



First Off: Why We Were All Surprised... Our Take

1. Poll precision and accurate election prediction are not the same thing

- As we'll show, the polls were *technically* more accurate than 2012... but the error was persistent and put all pollsters on the wrong side of the aisle

2. Main issue was differential turnout

- Looking forward, we'll need to refine a way to project turnout more accurately at the state level

3. Especially in disruptive election scenarios, avoid over-reliance on past vote behaviors

- Focus prediction attention on key states and away from popular vote – and keep definition of “swing states” very broad



THE OUTCOME

2016 Presidential Election Result

Clinton 232

306 Trump

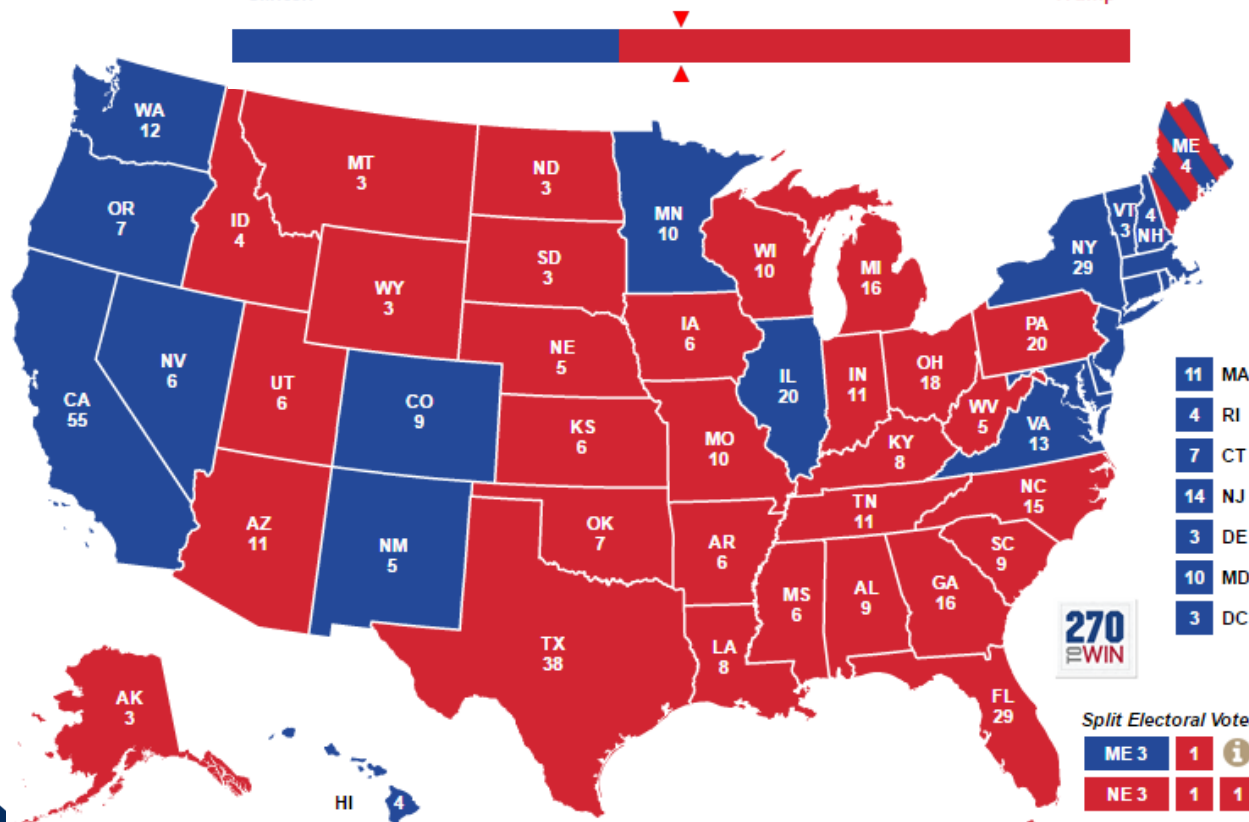
Popular Vote*

Clinton 48%

Trump 46%

Other 6%

*Updated as of 12/02/16



THE OUTCOME

Ipsos' Final State Projections



CLINTON ★

247

45% OF VOTE
Predicted winner

270 TO
WIN

TRUMP

185

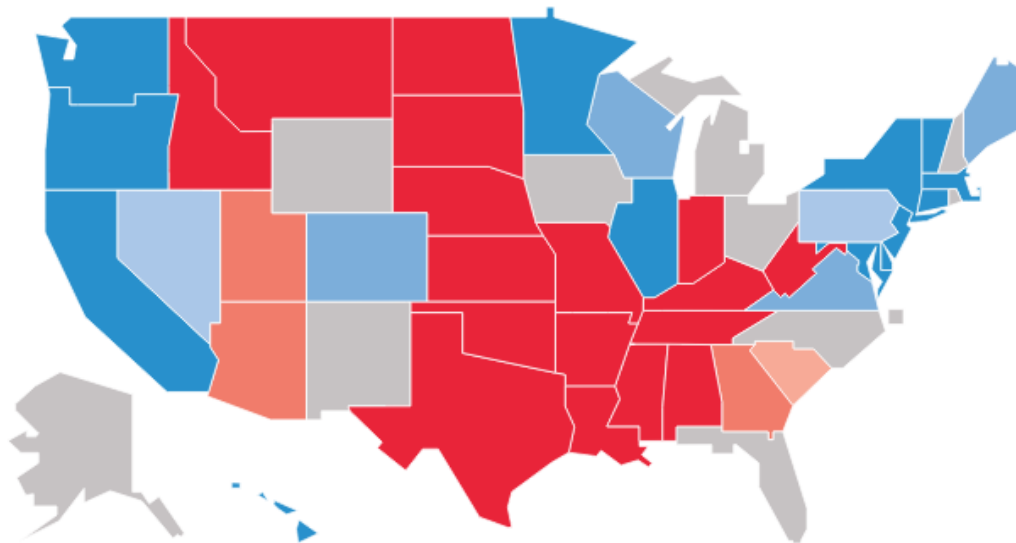
42% OF VOTE



High confidence

SHOW
CARTOGRAM

SHOW
TABLE



SCENARIO THE REUTERS/IPSOS FINAL ESTIMATE

THE OUTCOME

Ipsos' Final State Projections (Swing States)

	Results (Clinton- Trump)	Ipsos (Clinton- Trump)	Ipsos Difference (Ipsos-Results)	Credibility Interval Ipsos Final Poll	Market Average Difference (Clinton-Trump)
Colorado	2	6	4	5%	10
Florida	-1	1	2	4%	2
Michigan	0	1	1	6%	6
North Carolina	-4	-1	3	6%	1
Ohio	-9	1	10	6%	1
Pennsylvania	-1	3	4	5%	5
Virginia	5	5	0	5%	5
Wisconsin	-1	6	7	5%	6
TOTAL	-1	3	3.9	2%	5



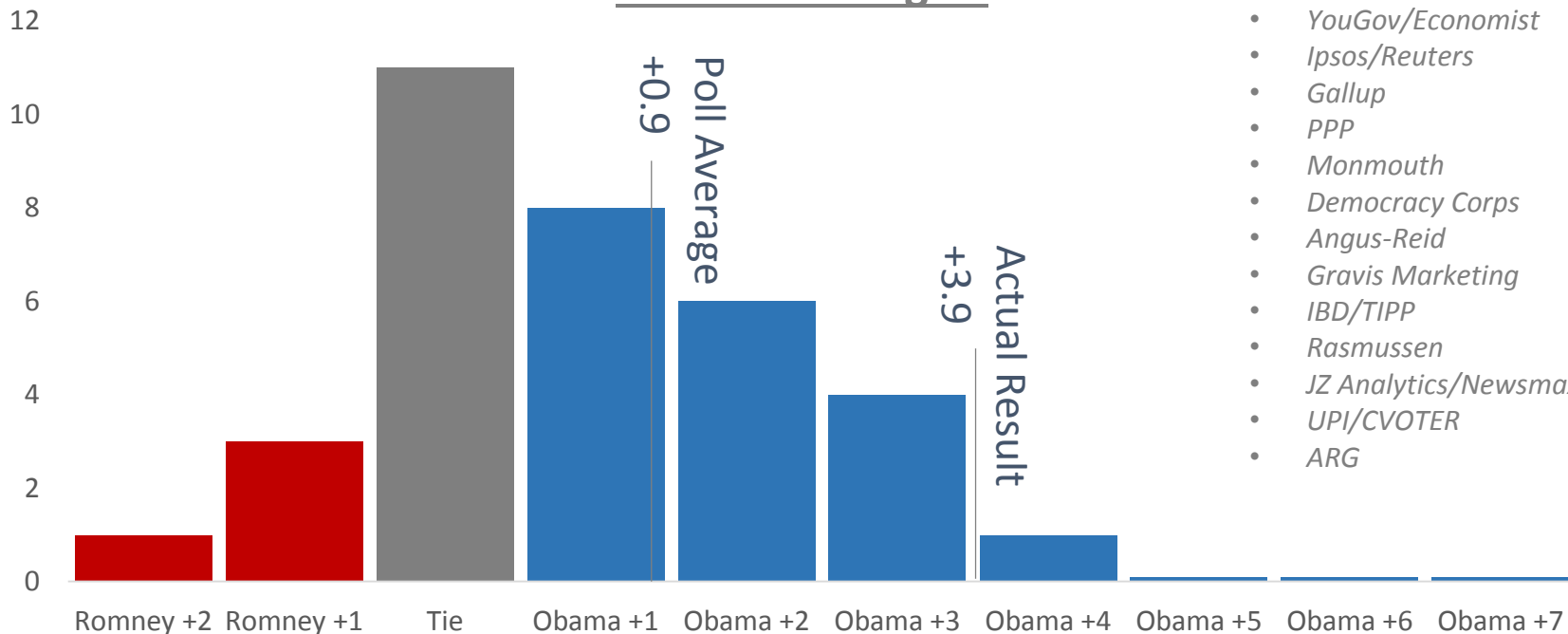
THE OUTCOME

2012 Polling Accuracy

Includes polling from:

- Politico/GWU/Battleground
- CNN
- ABC/Post
- NBC/WSJ
- Pew
- Fox
- YouGov/Economist
- Ipsos/Reuters
- Gallup
- PPP
- Monmouth
- Democracy Corps
- Angus-Reid
- Gravis Marketing
- IBD/TIPP
- Rasmussen
- JZ Analytics/Newsmax
- UPI/CVOTER
- ARG

Final Poll Margins

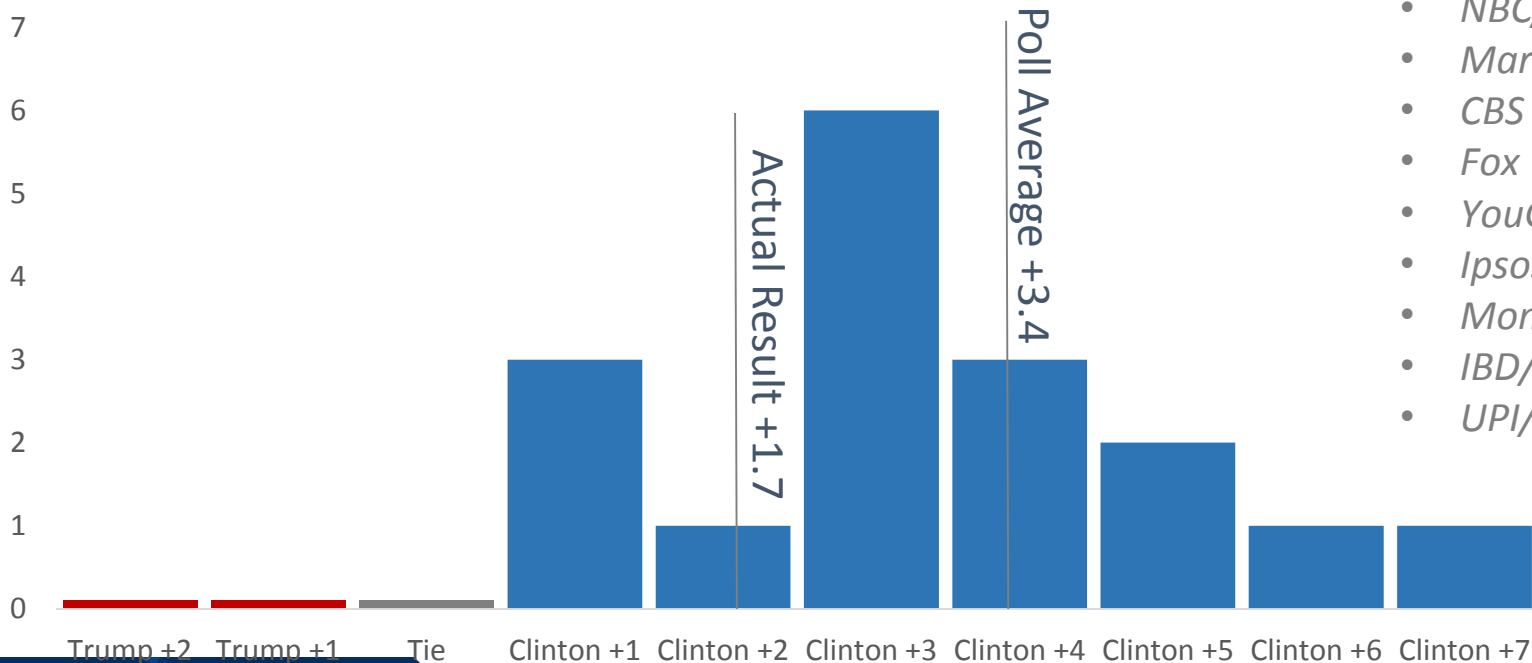


Polls Conducted Oct 22-Nov 5, 2012

THE OUTCOME

2016 Polling Accuracy

Final Poll Margins



Includes polling from:

- Bloomberg/Selzer
- CNN
- ABC/Post
- NBC/SurveyMonkey
- NBC/WSJ
- Marist
- CBS
- Fox
- YouGov/Economist
- Ipsos/Reuters
- Monmouth
- IBD/TIPP
- UPI/CVOTER

THE OUTCOME

Silver Lining? Ipsos' Final National Projection

Popular Vote*	
Clinton	48%
Trump	46%
Other	6%

*Updated as of 12/02/16



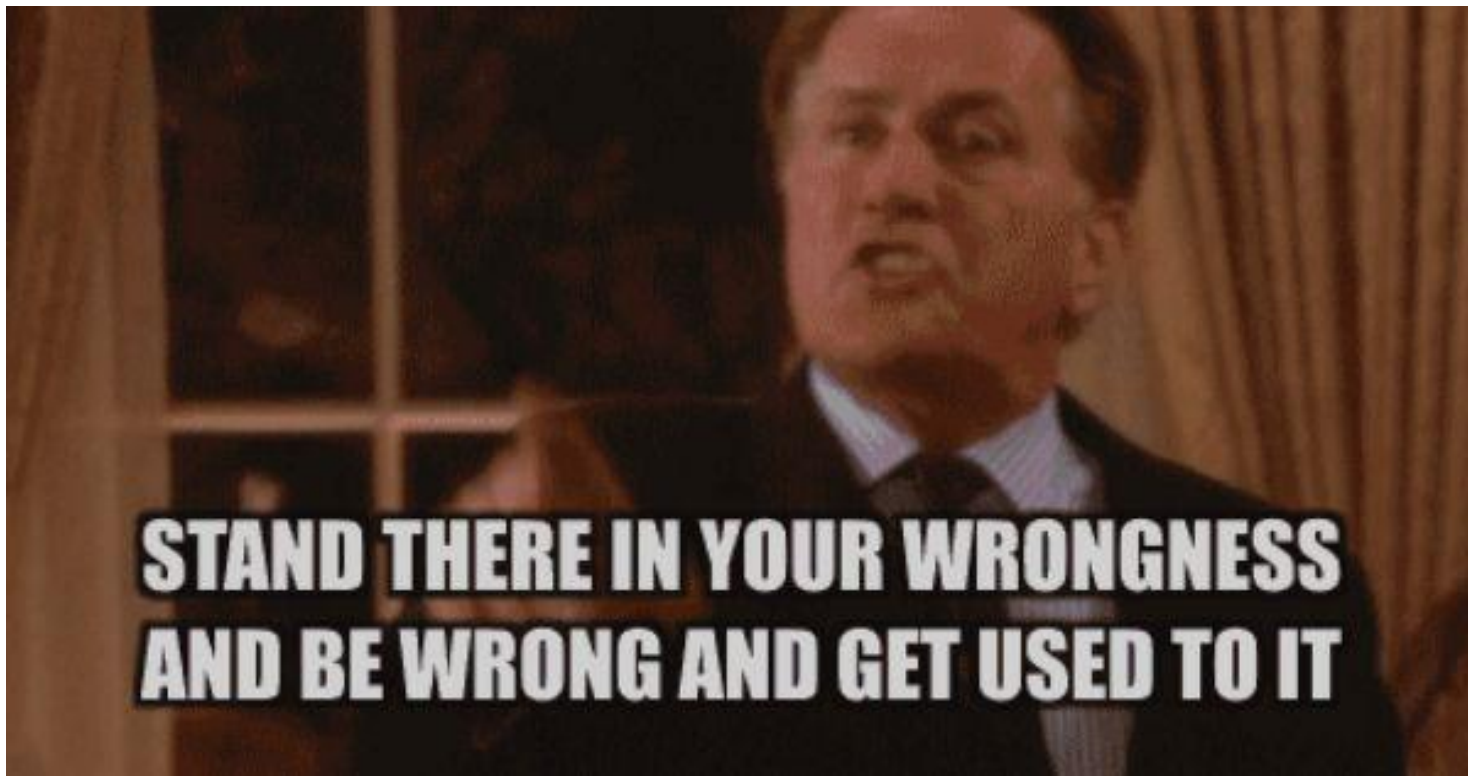
2PT CLINTON LEAD

**3PT CLINTON
LEAD →**



THE OUTCOME

But... We Still Got It Wrong



Second

WHY WERE THE POLLS WRONG?

GAME CHANGERS



Observations

2016 was less of a data failure and more of an analytical failure:

- While meaningless, the popular vote measures were mostly right
- *Despite not correctly predicting the Trump victory*, the polls in 2016 were more accurate than in 2012 in terms of predicting the vote share for each candidate.
- At the state level Trump unexpectedly won the key states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania *by fairly narrow margins*. The total winning vote margin across these three key states (cumulative) **will likely be no more than 88k votes**.

Two Things That Do NOT Explain It

1. Overall Low Turnout

- Turnout in 2016 is on par with 2012
- Turnout lightly lower in key swing states than non-swing states

2. “Shy Trumpers”

- Absolutely no evidence in our data nor anyone else’s for this notion
- Multiple independent investigations on individual polling and metadata find that this was not a dynamic
- Despite media hype and anecdotes → simply not the case

THE POLLS

OK, But Why WERE They Wrong?



- Ipsos' turnout model did not sufficiently account for the lower Democratic turnout in key swing states, ESPECIALLY those in the Rust Belt / Midwest
 - These are regions that have seen persistent industry decline, wage stagnation, and job loss
 - They were also very adversely affected by the Recession but have not seen the recovery felt on the coasts and in larger cities
 - *Clinton herself made this error too, assuming this region was 'in the bag' and therefore not spending as much campaign time here, nor calibrating her message to speak to these very disaffected voters*
- This was a DISRUPTIVE election, and our tools were not precise enough to measure or calibrate these shifts

Lessons Learned

- **2016 heralded political supercycle of uncertainty**
 - Trust in institutions is massively eroded; increasing anti-establishment sentiment
 - Unilateral agreement that things are “broken”
- **In a disruptive election scenario, past is not prologue**
 - We cannot rely on our tried & tested tools, like turnout model(s) and assumptions
 - Must develop more robust and finely-tuned (retuned) turnout models to better understand not just vote intention but likely behavioral impact
- **Poll precision and accurate election prediction are not always bedfellows**
 - Polls were more precise this time but wrong; polls were less precise last time but right



Third

CONTEXT & WHAT NEXT?

CONTEXT
Why

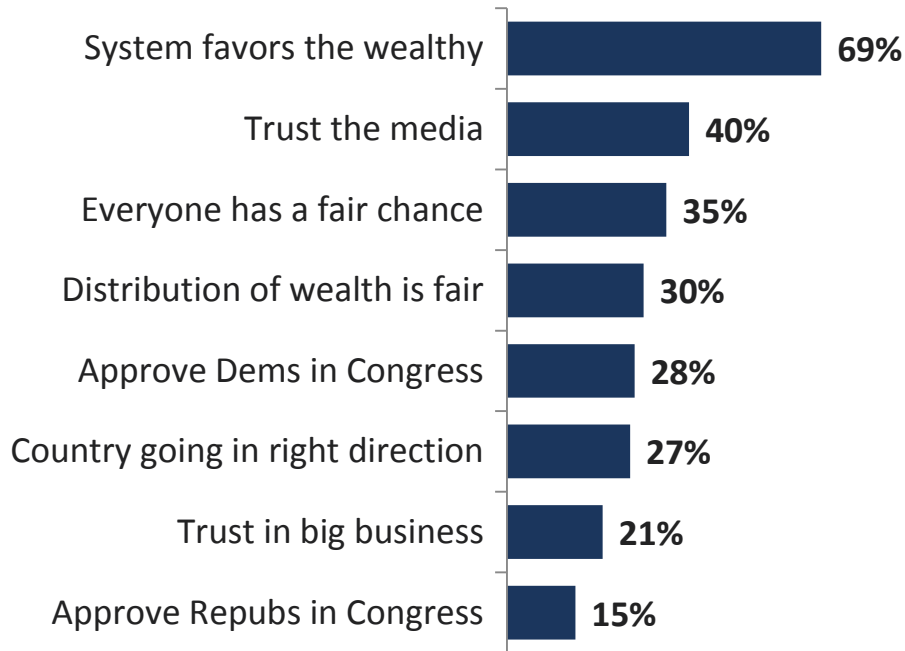


CONTEXT

This Election Was About “CHANGE” Too *(like 2012)*

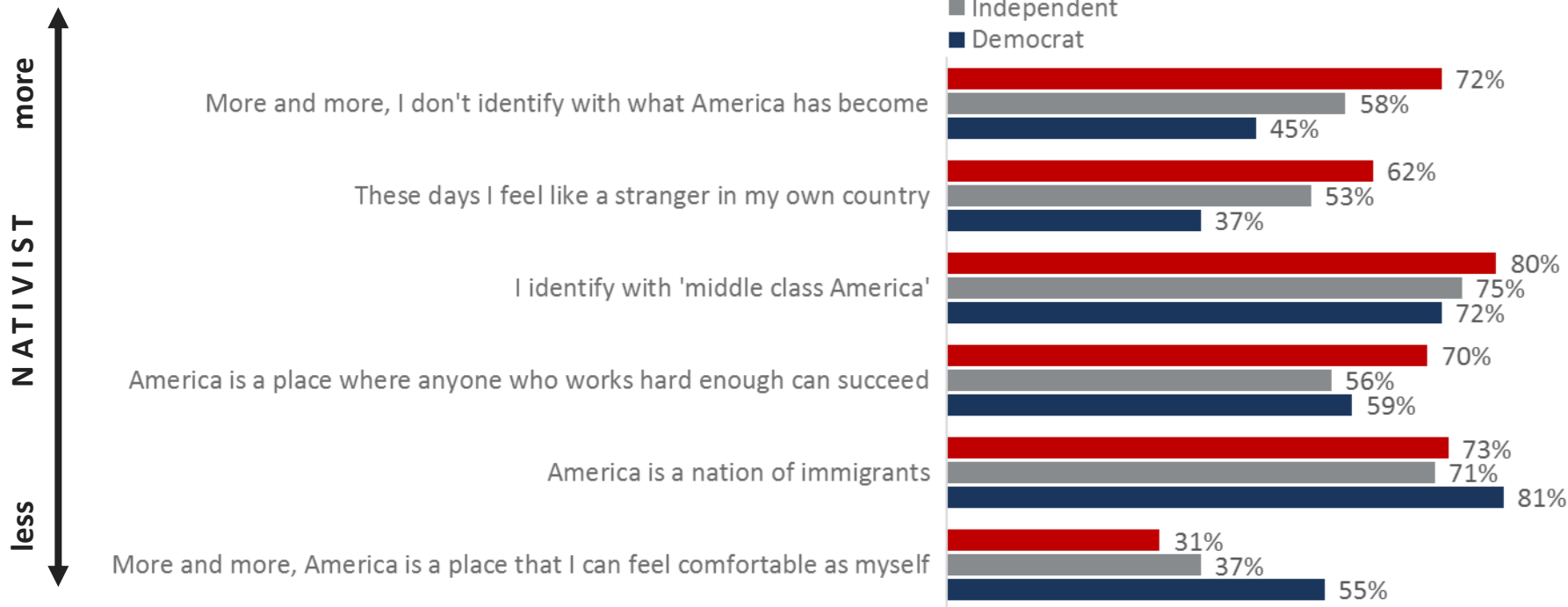
Rage Against The Machine

- A turning point in American history
- Perceptions of unfairness of the system leads to confidence in ‘establishment’ eroding
- Birth of a truly multicultural nation (first year more nonwhite than white children entering kindergarten)



CONTEXT

Nativism / Protectionism

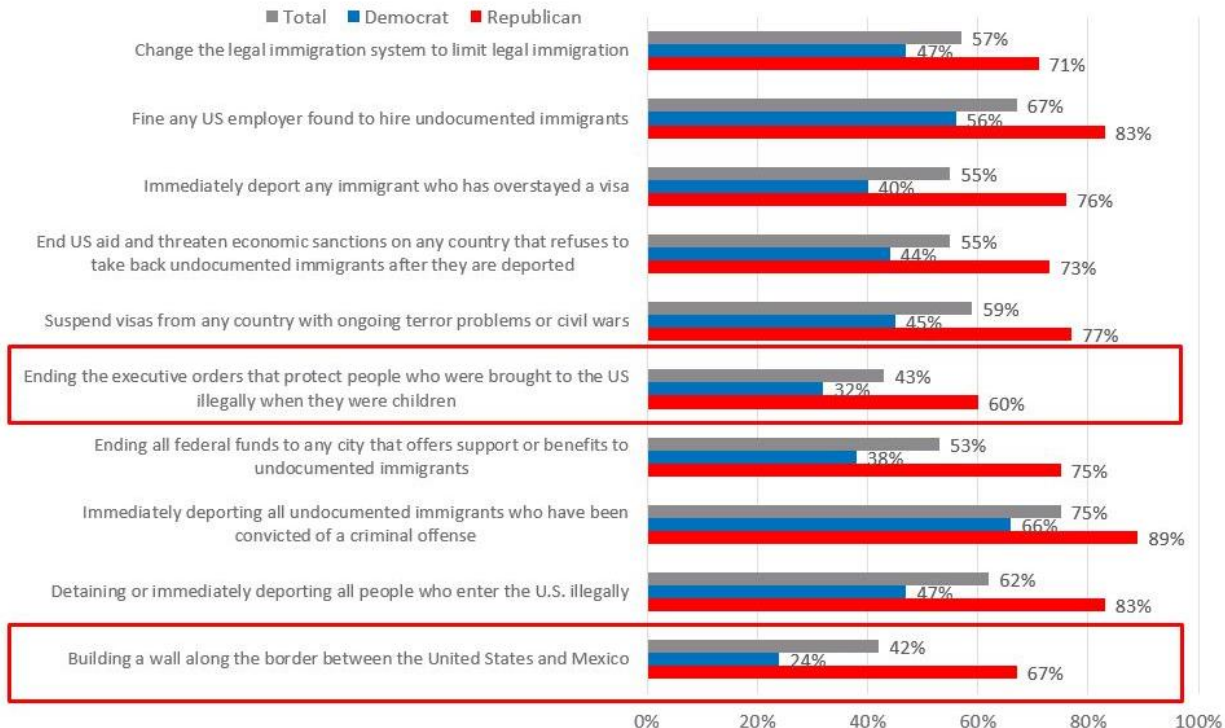


CONTEXT

President Elect Trump: Immigration

- A majority (50% or more) of Americans support Trump's policy prescriptions as laid out in his Arizona immigration speech
- The two exceptions are:
 1. Building a wall
 2. Deporting or targeting illegal immigrants who came as children

Q. Do you support or oppose the following policy proposals? Strongly/Somewhat Support



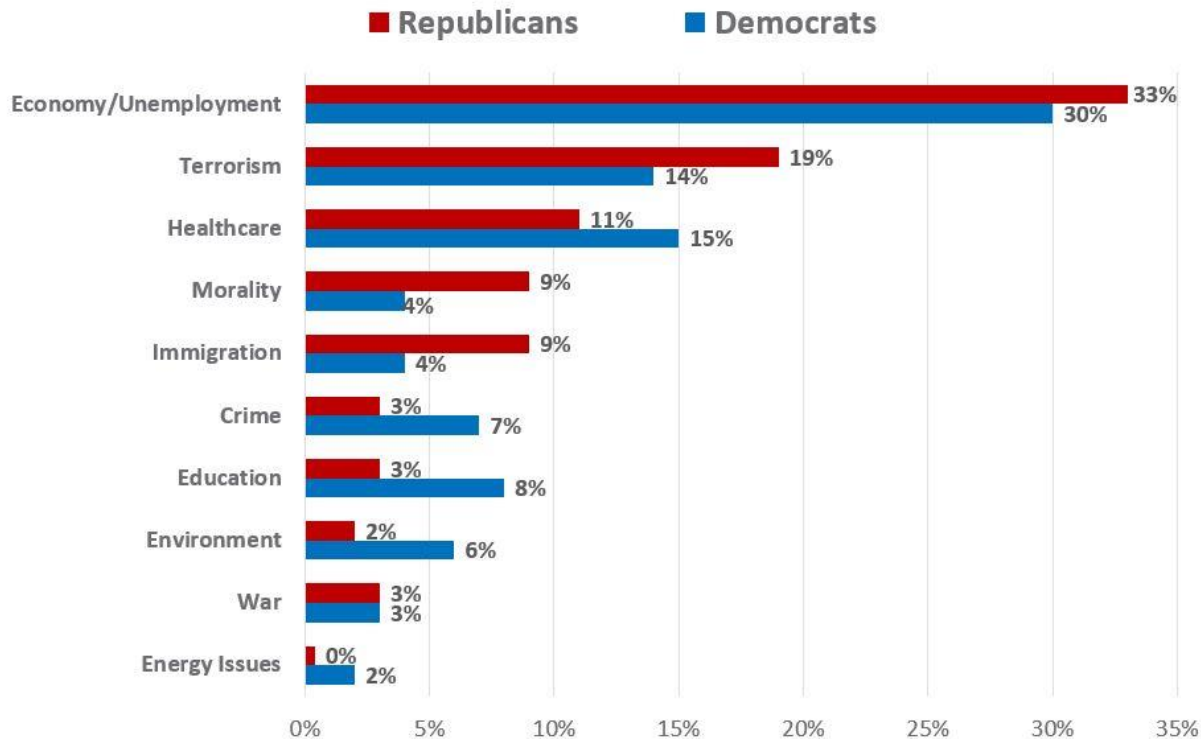
Source: Ipsos September 1-2, n=1,005

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CONTEXT

President Elect Trump: Agenda 2017

- Trump administration will face a public agenda which is mostly domestic in focus
- US public's number one priority is jobs and the economy
- Terrorism as a concern comes in second and is especially important among Republicans
- Healthcare, Crime, Education, and Environment rank more highly for Democrats



Source: Ipsos October 30-November 4, n= 3,153

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The background of the slide features a repeating pattern of light blue, five-pointed stars on a darker blue field. The stars are arranged in a staggered grid, with each star's center offset from the others. The overall effect is reminiscent of the American flag's star field.

Questions?

APPENDIX

Recommended Reading / Resources

Articles

- [It Wasn't the Polls That Missed, It Was the Pundits](#) (RealClearPolitics, Sean Trende)
- [How to better communicate election forecasts — in one simple chart](#) (Washington Post)
- [‘Shy’ Voters Probably Aren’t Why The Polls Missed Trump](#) (FiveThirtyEight, Harry Enten)
- [It’s Nativism: Explaining the Drivers of Trump’s Popular Support](#) (Cliff Young)
- [Even Odds for Trump & Clinton: Is Trump a 'Spoiler' or a 'Game-Changer'?](#) (RealClearPolitics, Cliff & Julia)

Watch / Listen

- [ARF \(Advertising Research Foundation\) 2016 Election Debrief – Research & Analytics](#) (Cliff Young)
- [Fox News: Cliff Young’s Post-Election Analysis](#) (Cliff Young)

Resources

- Cook Political Report National Vote Tracker: <http://cookpolitical.com/story/10174>
- Voter Turnout Data / US Elections Project: <http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/voter-turnout-data>

APPENDIX



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#Ipsos2016
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@jcbjackson

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@ReutersPolitics
@cmkahn



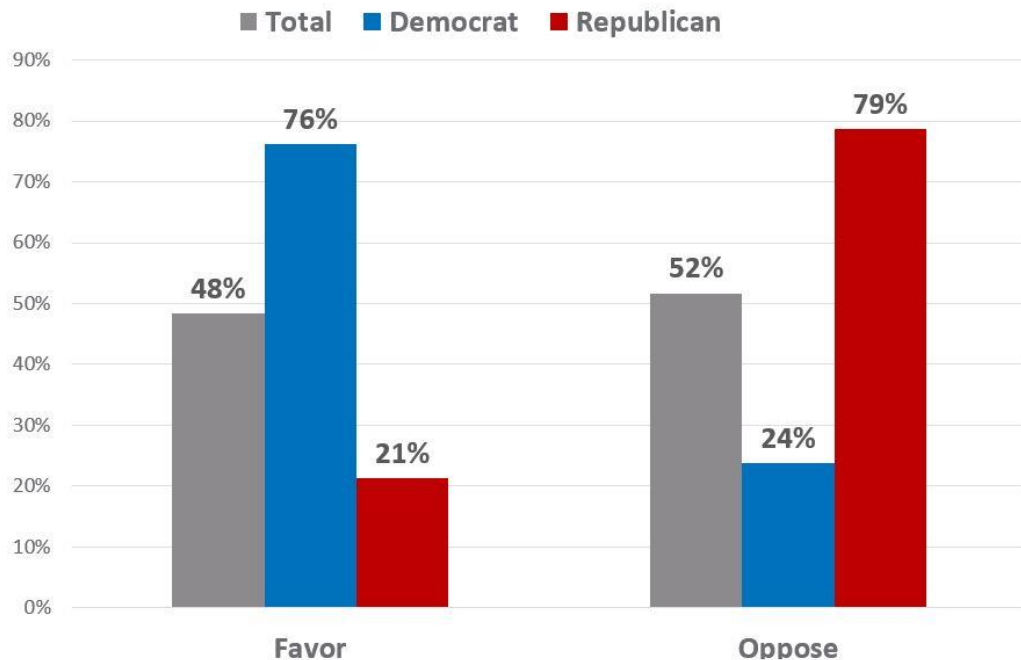
APPENDIX: EXTRA SLIDES

CONTEXT

President Elect Trump: Healthcare

- Just under half of Americans support Obamacare in general.
- However, when asked about specific policy items, a strong majority of Americans support the measures with the exception of the mandatory requirement to possess insurance.
- More specifically, a very strong majority of both Republicans and Democrats support
 1. Protections against pre-existing conditions, and
 2. Coverage of adult children

Support for Healthcare Reform Act of 2010



Source: Ipsos December 16-21, n=2,050

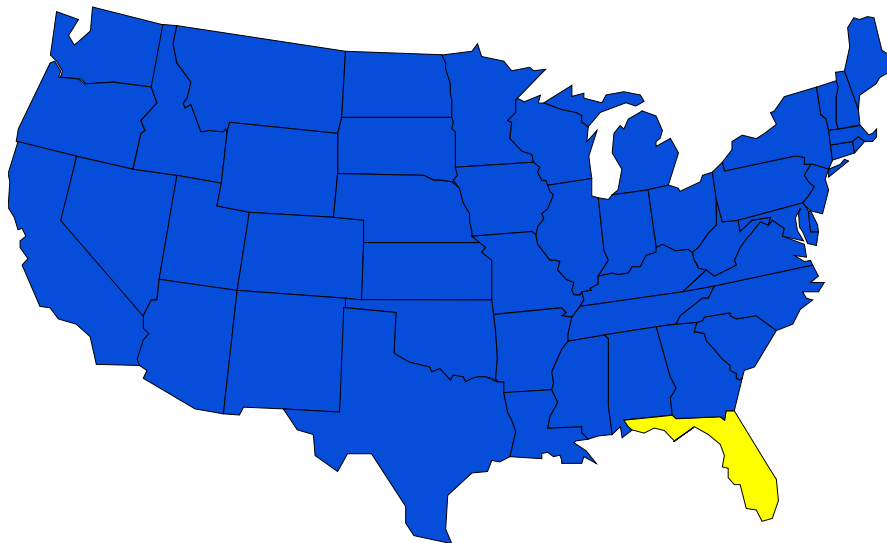
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Predicting Key States

FLORIDA (29):

Ipsos Prediction: **Clinton** by 1 point (*too close to call*)

Result: **Trump** by 1.2 points (~113K votes)

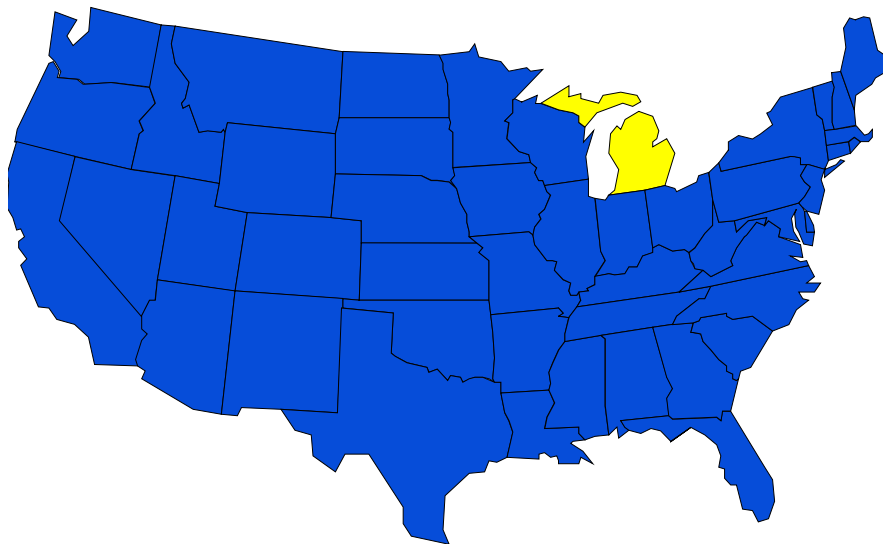


Predicting Key States

MICHIGAN (16):

Ipsos Prediction: **Clinton** by 1 point (*too close to call*)

Result: **Trump** by 0.2 points (~11K votes)



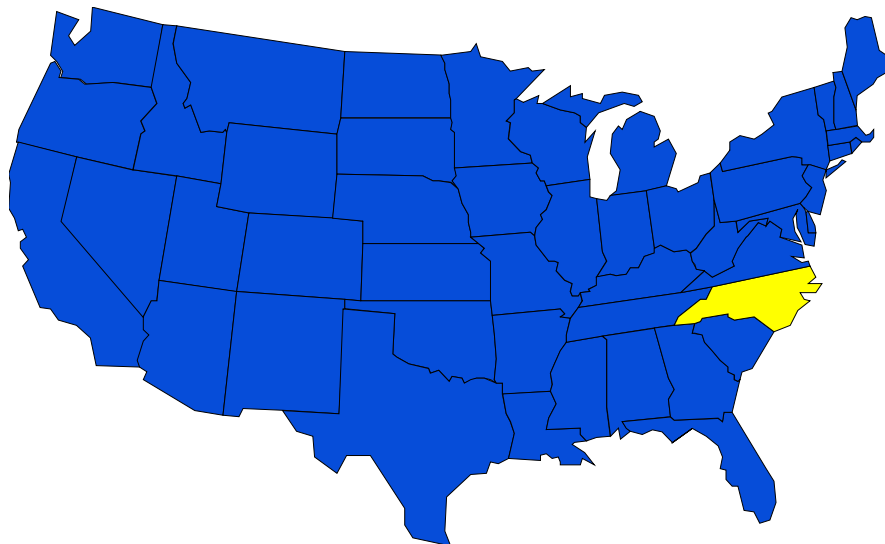
THE OUTCOME

Predicting Key States

NORTH CAROLINA (15):

Ipsos Prediction: **Trump** by 1 point (*too close to call*)

Result: **Trump** by 3.6 points



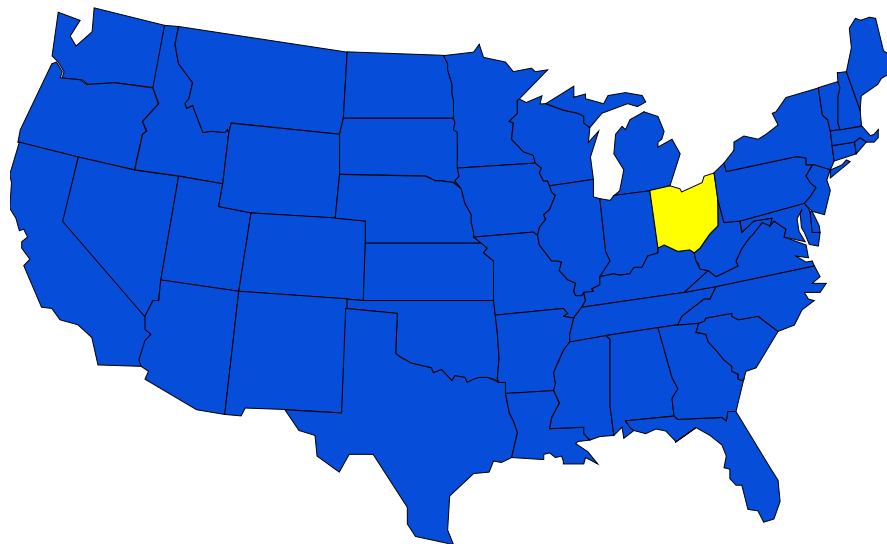
THE OUTCOME

Predicting Key States

OHIO (18):

Ipsos Prediction: **Clinton** by 1 point (*too close to call*)

Result: **Trump** by 8.1 points



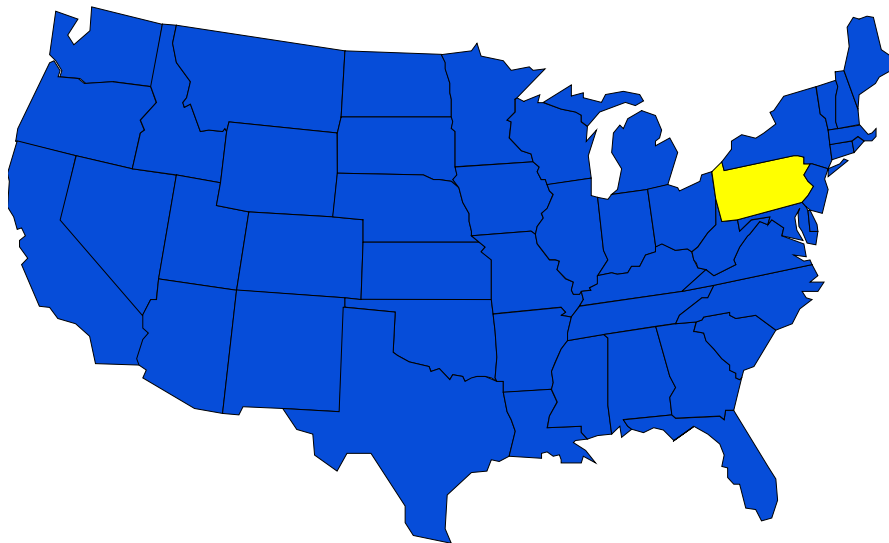
THE OUTCOME

Predicting Key States

PENNSYLVANIA (20):

Ipsos Prediction: **Clinton** by 3 points (*low confidence*)

Result: **Trump** by 0.7 points (~47K votes)



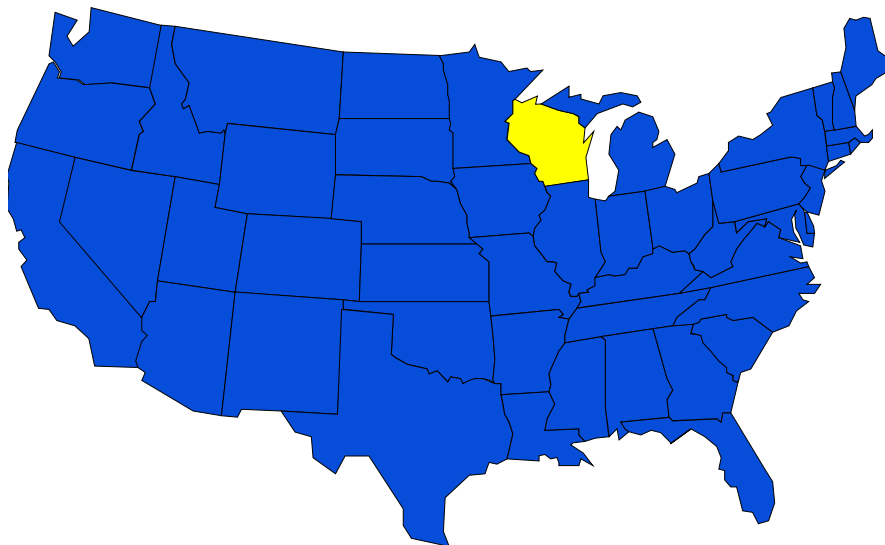
THE OUTCOME

Predicting Key States

WISCONSIN (10):

Ipsos Prediction: **Clinton** by 6 points (*moderate confidence*)

Result: **Trump** by 0.8 points (~22K votes)

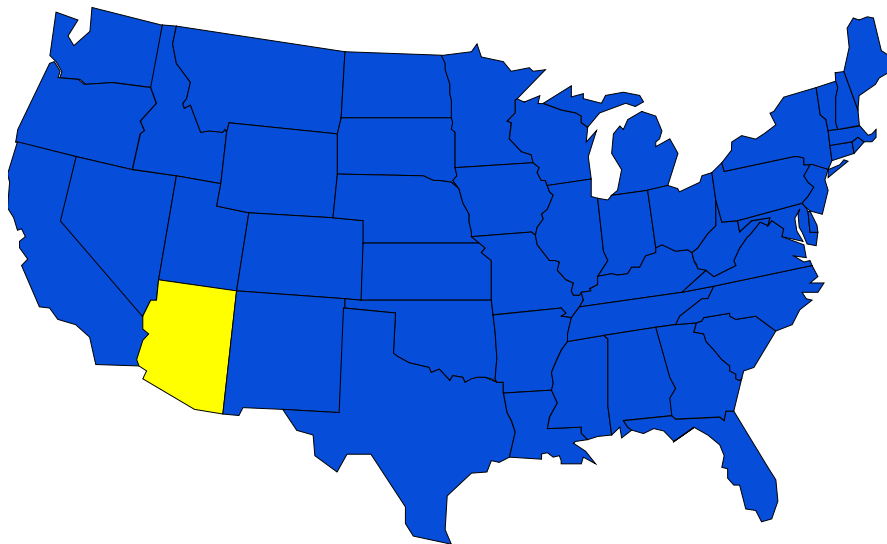


Predicting Key States

ARIZONA (11):

Ipsos Prediction: **Trump** by 5 points (*moderate confidence*)

Result: **Trump** by 3.5 points



Predicting Key States

NEW HAMPSHIRE (4):

Ipsos Prediction: **Clinton** by 2 points (*too close to call*)

Result: **Clinton** by 0.3 points (~3K votes)

