Northern Populism:

Causes and Consequences of the Ordered Outlook

Western Populism: The Disruption

Massey College

Toronto, Ontario

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EKOS

1) **Aims and strategy**

2) Are causal conditions present in Canada?

3) Expressions of ordered outlook

4) Ordered outlook and the recent election

5) Conclusion and policy implications

Key terms (i)

» **Populism**:
- Corrupt elite
- Power restored to people
- Strategy for gaining power

» **Ordered (Authoritarian) outlook**:
- Emphasizes obedience, order, hostility to outgroups
- Triggered under certain conditions
- Search for strong man, turn back the clock, pull up the drawbridge

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Key terms (ii)

» **Ordered-open axis**:

  • Shift from right-left

» Renewed interest in authoritarian outlook

Conditions underlying authoritarian outlook

» Conditions underlying the resurgence of authoritarian outlook:

- Wage stagnation/Middle class decline
- Hyper-concentration of wealth
- Cultural backlash/Normative threat
- External risk

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Generational outlook & social class

Generational Outlook

"Thinking about your overall quality of life do you think the next generation will be better off, worse off, or about the same as you are 25 years from now?"

Legend: ■ Worse off — ▲ About the same — ● Better off
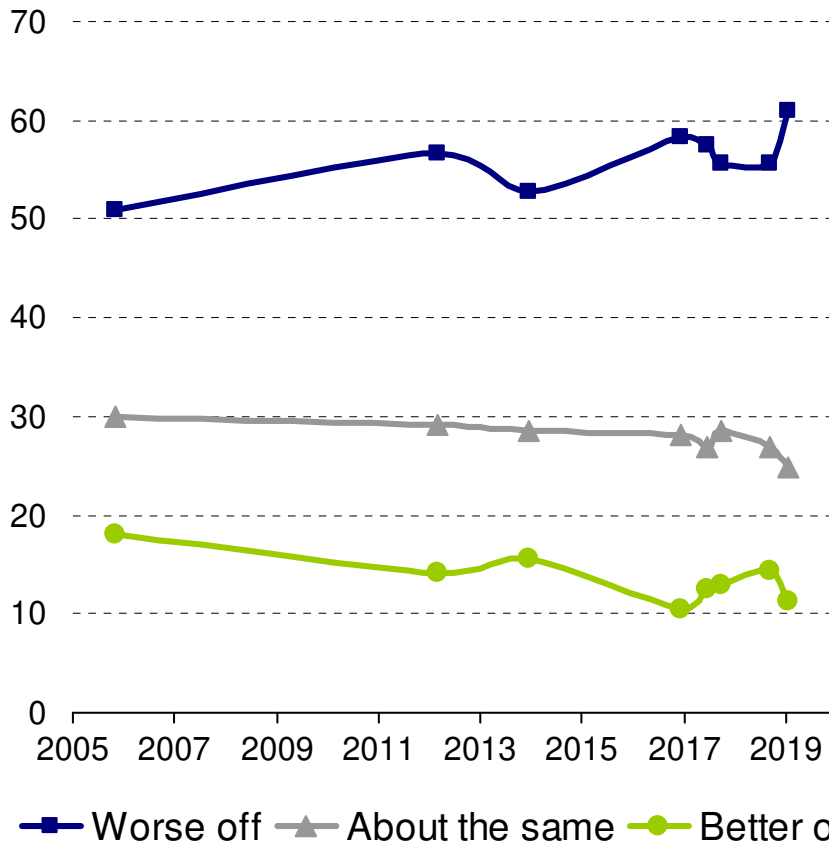
Self-Rated Social Class

"Would you describe you and your household as poor, working class, middle class, or upper class?"

% who say MIDDLE CLASS
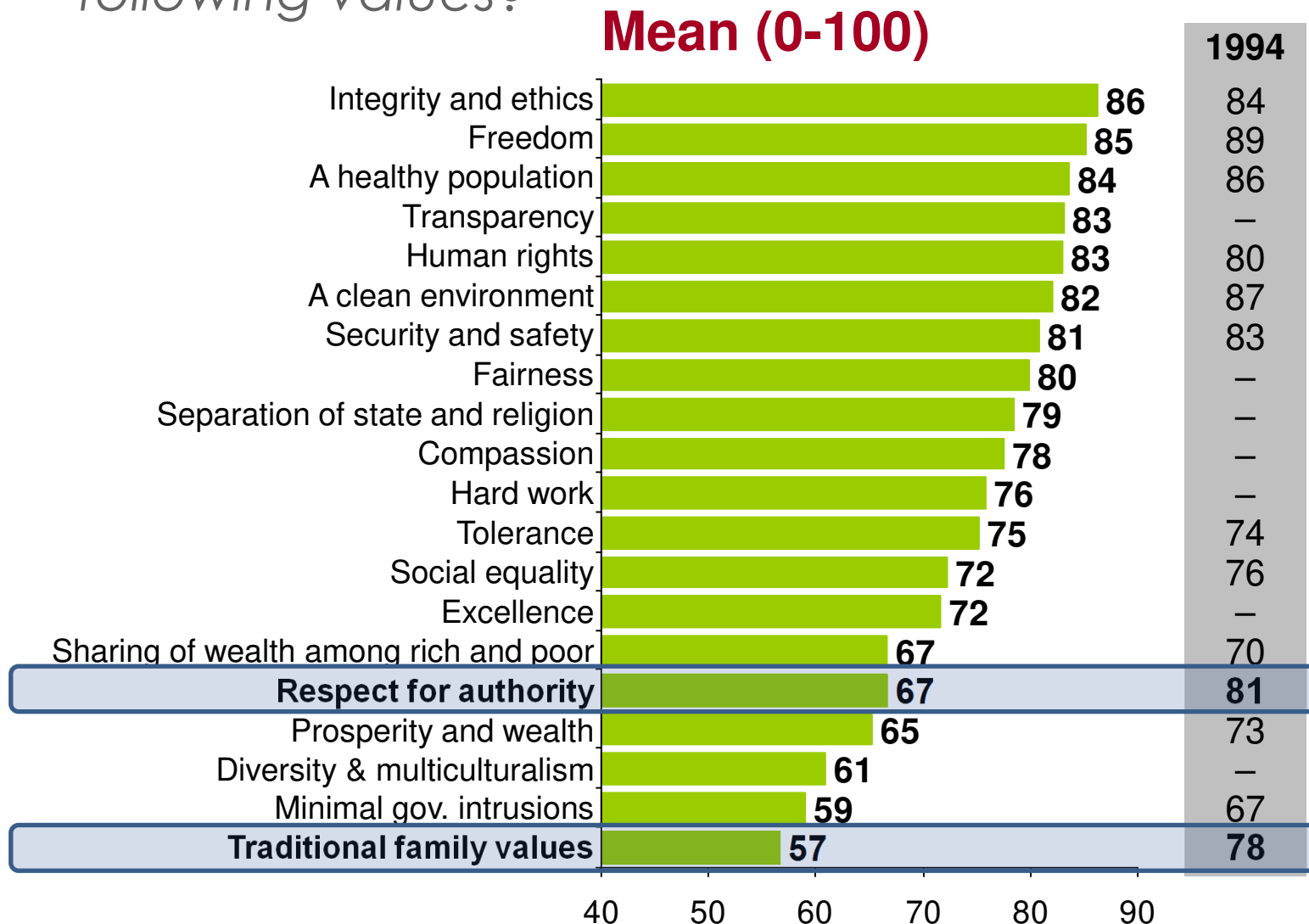

Legend: — US 🇺🇸 — Canada 🇨🇦
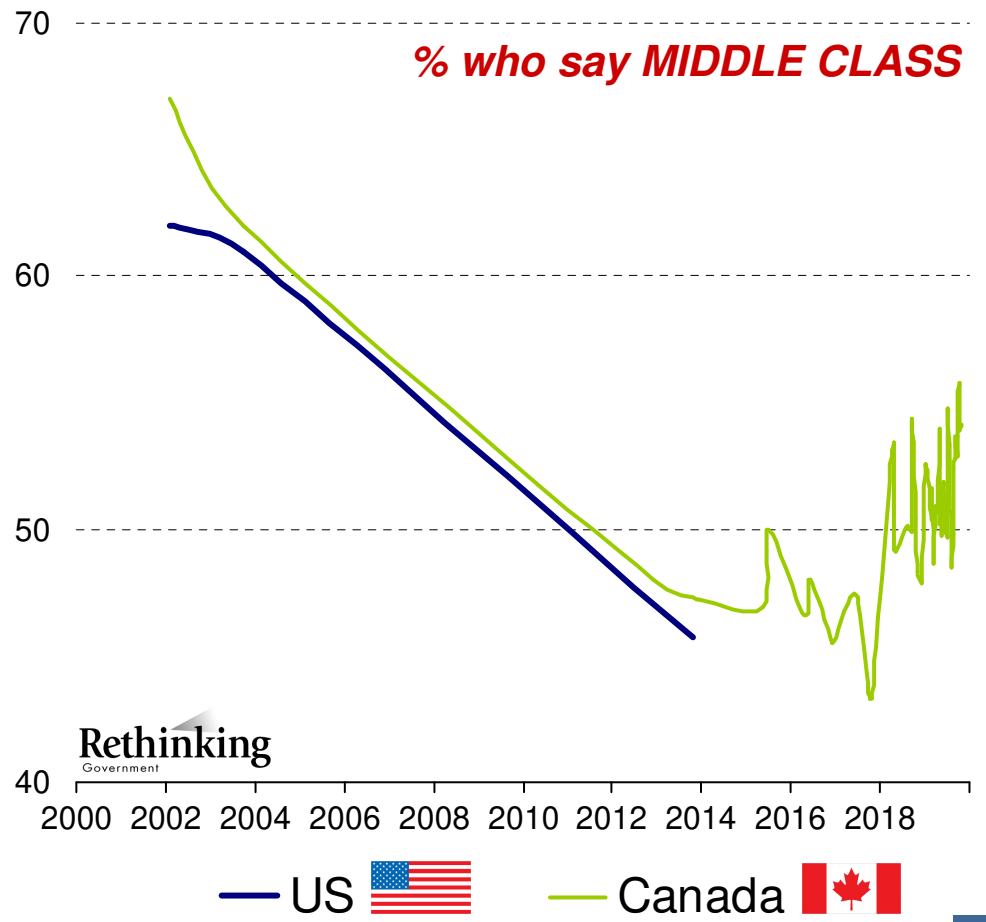
BASE (left): *Canadians; January 10-15, 2019, n=978, MOE +/- 3.1%, 19 times out of 20*

BASE (right): *Canadians; October 22-30, 2019, n=1,944, MOE +/- 2.2%, 19 times out of 20*

Rethinking Government

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Goals and values

Q. *How would you rate the importance of each of the following values?*

Mean (0-100)

Value	Mean	1994
Integrity and ethics	86	84
Freedom	85	89
A healthy population	84	86
Transparency	83	–
Human rights	83	80
A clean environment	82	87
Security and safety	81	83
Fairness	80	–
Separation of state and religion	79	–
Compassion	78	–
Hard work	76	–
Tolerance	75	74
Social equality	72	76
Excellence	72	–
Sharing of wealth among rich and poor	67	70
Respect for authority	67	**81**
Prosperity and wealth	65	73
Diversity & multiculturalism	61	–
Minimal gov. intrusions	59	67
Traditional family values	57	**78**

40   50   60   70   80   90

Perceived danger in the world

**Q.** *From your own point of view, do you feel that, overall, the world is safer, more dangerous, or about the same as it was five years ago?*

More dangerous values: 56, 59, 50, 64, 63, 59, 60, 53, 68, 53, 65, 63, 49, 56, 55, 50, 48, 43, 44, 42, 44, 52, 47, 59, 70

About the same values: 35, 33, 45, 29, 31, 32, 34, 37, 29, 41, 28, 38, 38, 39, 42, 47, 44, 40, 46, 37, 27

Safer values: 9, 7, 4, 7, 5, 8, 6, 9, 3, 5, 5, 7, 12, 5, 11, 6, 8, 10, 5, 6, 7, 4, 3

Years: 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017

Summary bar: **70** | **27** | **3**

Legend: ■ More dangerous   ▲ About the same   ● Safer

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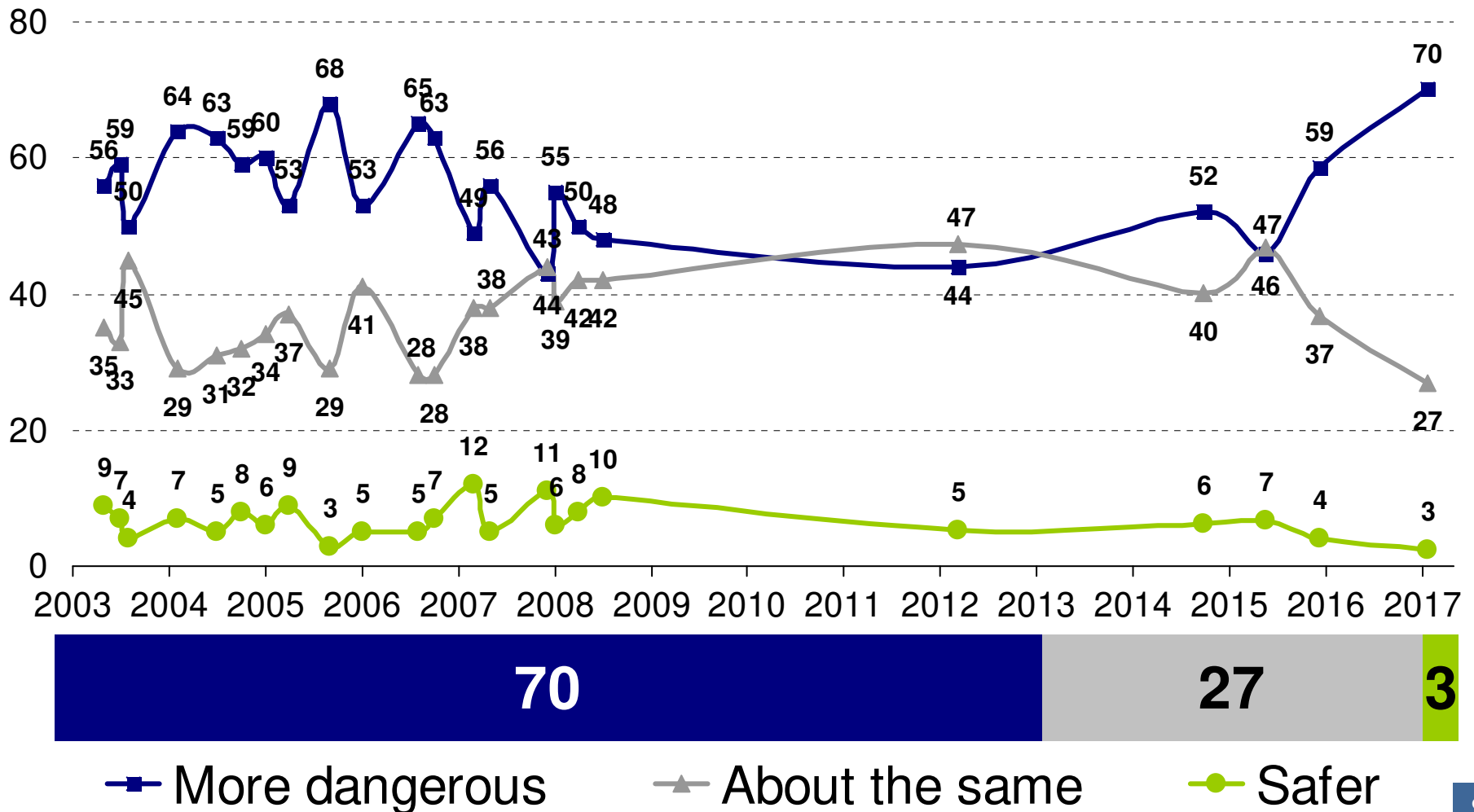
Tracking trust in government

Q. *How much do you trust the government in Ottawa/Washington to do what is right?*

% who say MOST/ALL THE TIME

Canadians 🇨🇦   Americans 🇺🇸
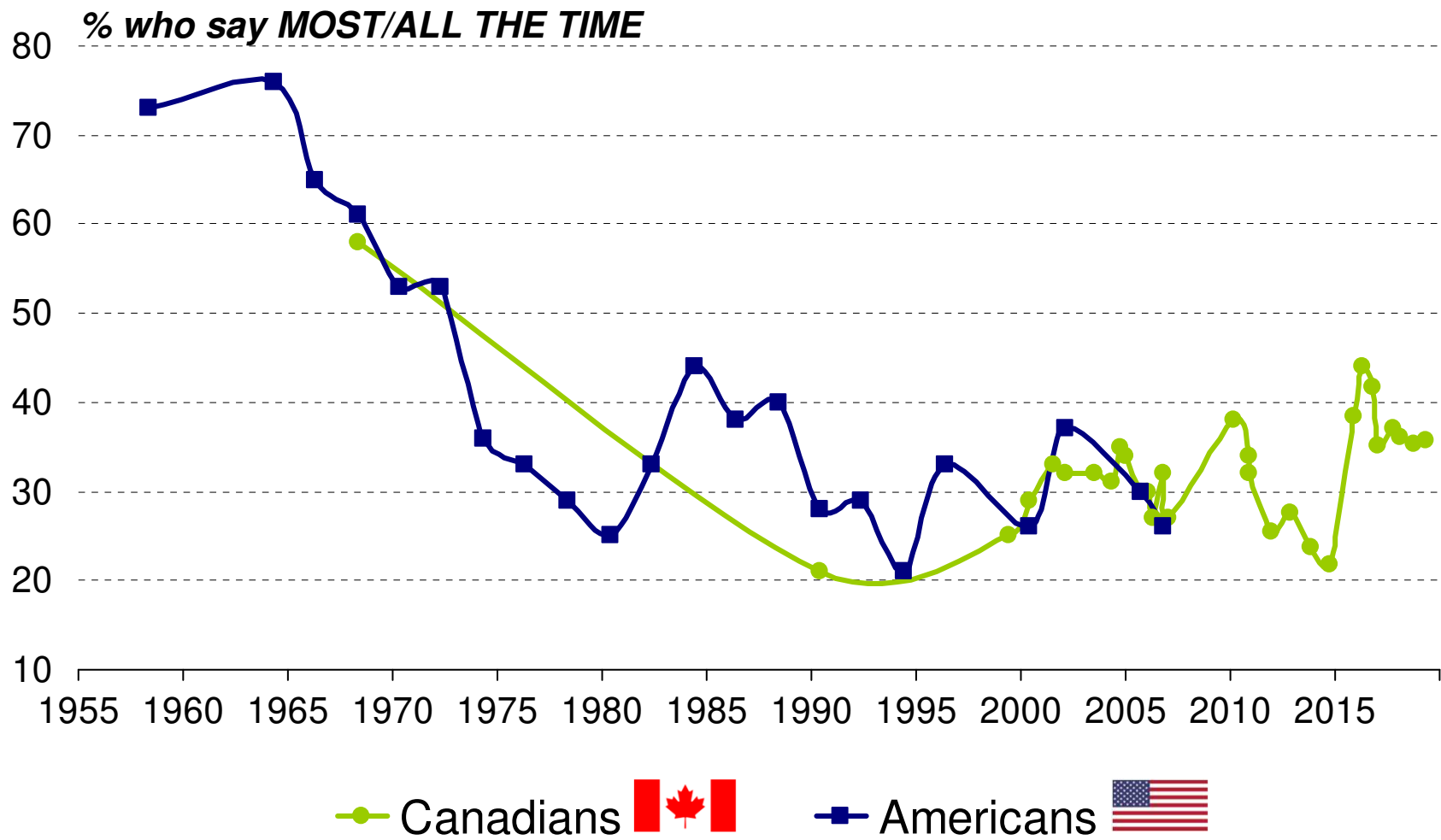
BASE: *Canadians; April 26-30, 2019, n=1,484, MOE +/- 2.5%, 19 times out of 20*

Direction of country

Q. *All things considered, would you say the country is moving in the right direction or the wrong direction?*

Wrong direction   **Right direction**

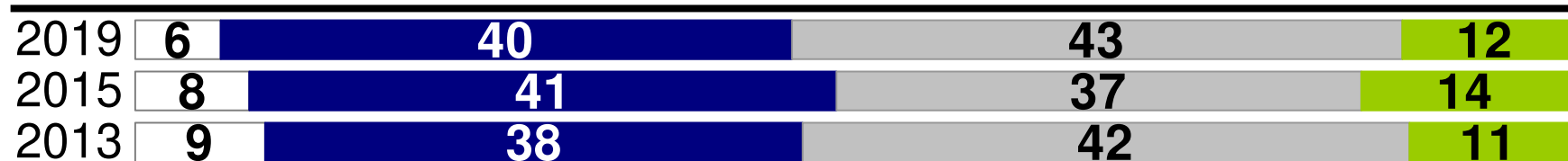*Note: Figures adjusted to exclude those who skipped the question.*

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3) **Expressions of ordered outlook**

4) Ordered outlook and the recent election

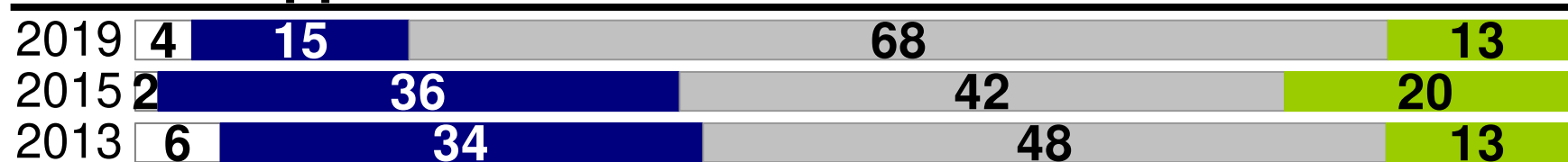5) Conclusion and policy implications

Attitudes to minorities by party support

Q. *Forgetting about the overall number of immigrants coming to Canada, **OF THOSE WHO COME** would you say there are too few, too many or the right amount who are **MEMBERS OF VISIBLE MINORITIES**?*

National

Year	DK/NR	Too many	About right	Too few
2019	6	40	43	12
2015	8	41	37	14
2013	9	38	42	11

Liberal supporters

Year	DK/NR	Too many	About right	Too few
2019	4	15	68	13
2015	2	36	42	20
2013	6	34	48	13

Conservative supporters

Year	DK/NR	Too many	About right	Too few
2019	7	69	23	2
2015	3	53	33	10
2013	3	47	41	8

☐ DK/NR ■ Too many ■ About right ■ Too few

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Trust in scientists by party support

Q. *How much trust do you have in each of the following?*
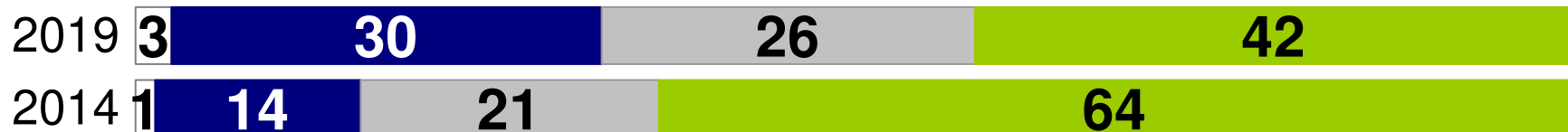
Scientists

National

Year	DK/NR	Low level (1-3)	Moderate level (4)	High level (6-7)
2019	2	14	16	68
2014	1	6	15	78

Liberal supporters

Year	DK/NR	Low level (1-3)	Moderate level (4)	High level (6-7)
2019	1	6	11	82
2014	1	3	10	87

Conservative supporters

Year	DK/NR	Low level (1-3)	Moderate level (4)	High level (6-7)
2019	3	30	26	42
2014	1	14	21	64

☐ DK/NR ■ Low level (1-3) ■ Moderate level (4) ■ High level (6-7)

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Political ideology
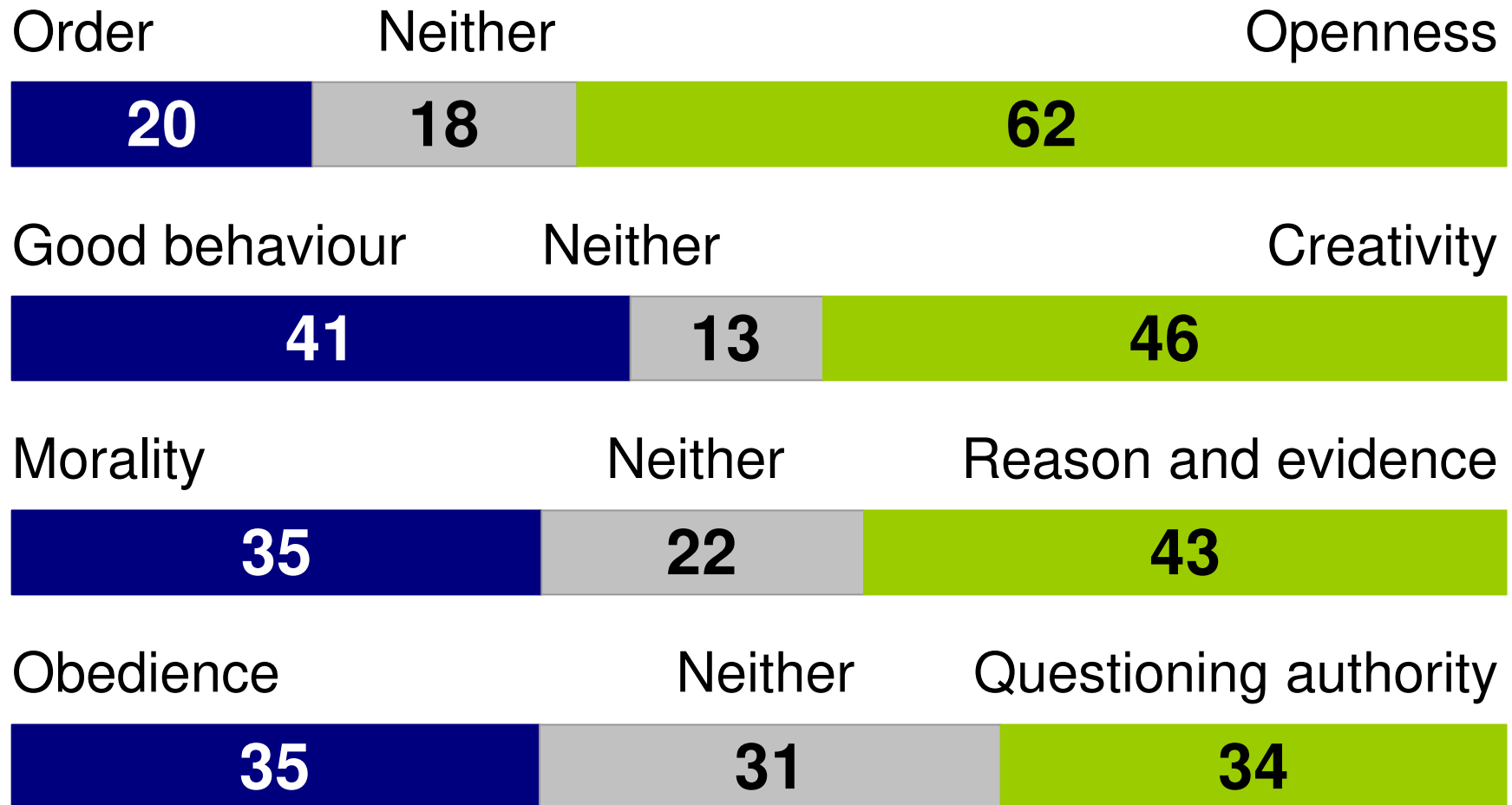
Q. *Forgetting about your current party choice, do you consider yourself a small "l" liberal or a small "c" conservative?*

6	33	25	36
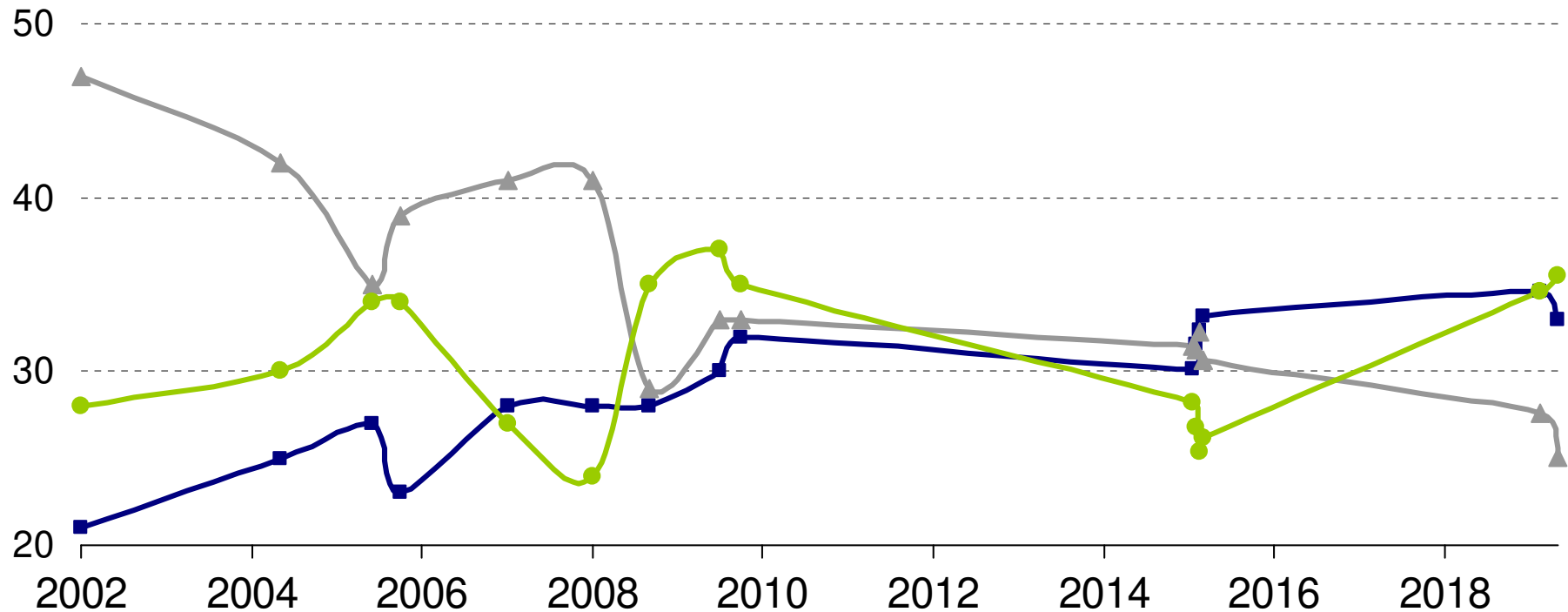
Small 'c' conservative   Neither   Small 'l' liberal

Ingredients of open-ordered index

Q. *When raising children, which of the following do you think is more important to emphasize?*

Order	Neither	Openness
20	18	62

Good behaviour	Neither	Creativity
41	13	46

Morality	Neither	Reason and evidence
35	22	43

Obedience	Neither	Questioning authority
35	31	34

Note: Figures adjusted to exclude those who skipped the question.

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BASE: *Canadians; April 3-30, 2019, n=2,529, MOE +/- 2.0%, 19 times out of 20*

Open-ordered index (i)

Open ←

Ordered →

	Mean (-20 to 20)
National	0.0

Education
- High school: 2.7
- College: 1.0
- University: -2.1

Social class
- Poor: 1.6
- Working class: 1.3
- Middle class: -1.0
- Upper class: -0.3

Vote intention
- Liberal Party: -2.8
- Conservative Party: 3.8
- NDP: -3.4
- Green Party: -2.2
- People's Party: 0.5
- Bloc Québécois: -1.9

Mean (-20 to 20)

-10 -8 -6 -4 -2 0 2 4 6 8 10

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Most important issue by party support

Q. *Of the following issues, which one do you think should be the most important issue for the next federal election?*

May 2019

Liberal	1 — 6	25	14	55
Conservative	1 — 15	25	50	9

BASE: Canadians; May 22-28, 2019, n=3,132, MOE +/- 1.8%, 19 times out of 20

January 2015

Liberal	3 — 18	34	24	21
Conservative	2 — 10	32	48	9

BASE: Canadians; January 21-27, 2015 (n=1,909), MOE +/- 2.2%, 19 times out of 20

☐ DK/NR
■ Issues like ethics and accountability
■ Restoring middle class progress
■ Fiscal issues like taxes and debt
■ Issues related to the environment and climate change

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Overview of 2019 federal election

» Demographics 2019 very different than 2015
  • Conservative base focussed in non-university, men, and working class

» Dramatic and growing polarization on key issues:
  • Climate change
  • Science
  • Visible minority immigration
  • Trust in media
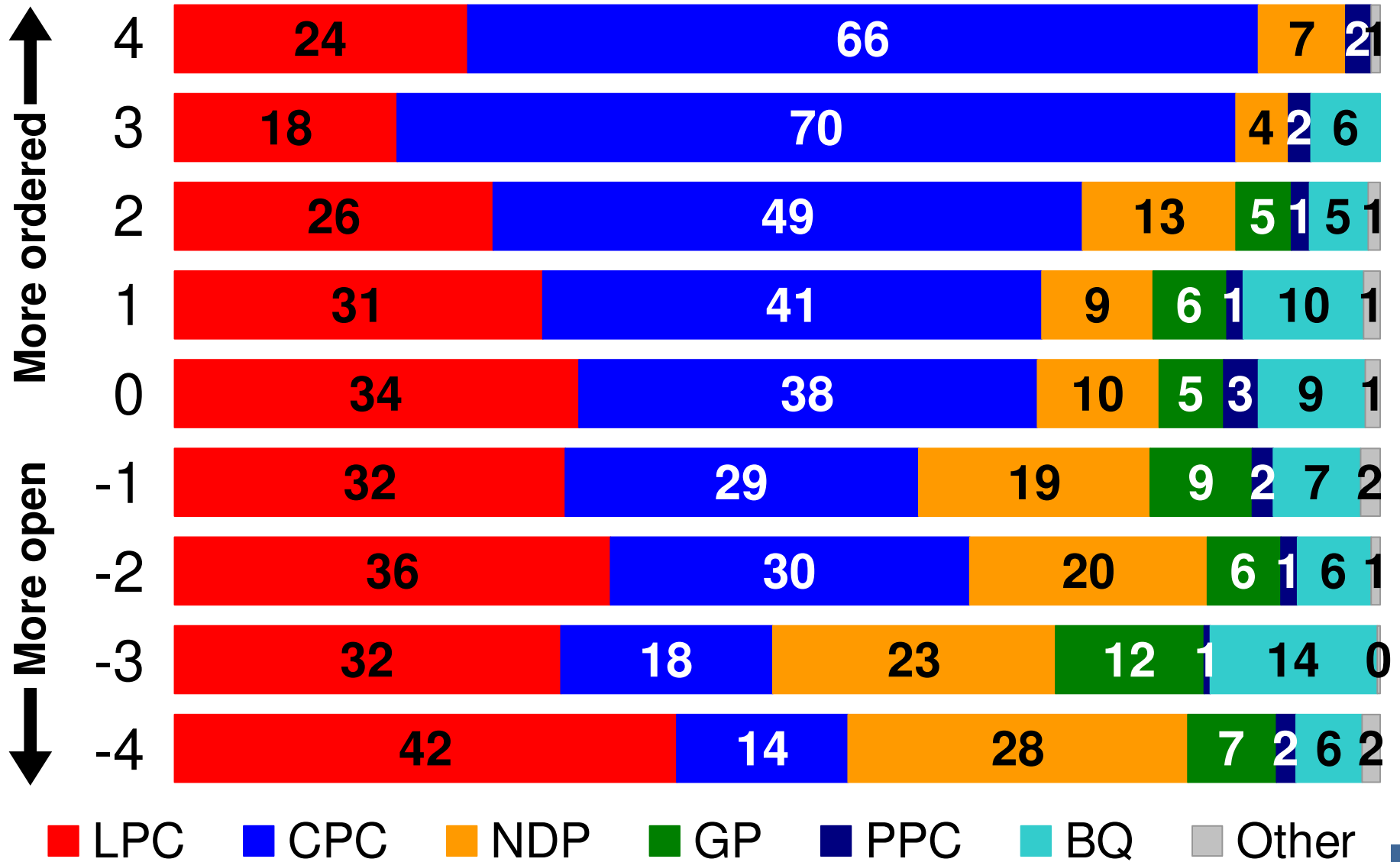 • Overall direction of country
  • Identity politics

Impact of ordered populism (i)

» Ordered – or authoritarian – populism critical/poorly understood force

» Open-ordered index strongest predictor of Conservative vote

» Also predicts who switched from conservative to progressive and vice versa

- Some 2015 Liberals who are ordered went Conservative

- Some 2015 Liberals who are more open went NDP

Impact of ordered populism (ii)

- Less ordered Conservatives went Liberal and NDP

- More ordered Conservatives stayed Conservative

» Tensions in Alberta & Saskatchewan not just 'western alienation', but also expression of ordered outlook?

» May be at the heart of heightened polarization we see in Canada

- Mimics patterns evident in the United States and elsewhere

Open-ordered index

	LPC	CPC	NDP	GP	PPC	BQ	Other
4	24	66	7		2	1	
3	18	70	4		2	6	
2	26	49	13	5	1	5	1
1	31	41	9	6	1	10	1
0	34	38	10	5	3	9	1
-1	32	29	19	9	2	7	2
-2	36	30	20	6	1	6	1
-3	32	18	23	12	1	14	0
-4	42	14	28	7	2	6	2

More ordered (up) / **More open** (down)

Legend: ■ LPC ■ CPC ■ NDP ■ GP ■ PPC ■ BQ ■ Other

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Binary Logistic Regression

Dependent variable: Voted Conservative (No=0/Yes=1)		Co-efficient (B)	Wald test	Sig. level
Constant	–	-2.81	21.33	0.00
Open-ordered index	0 (open) to 8 (ordered)	0.29*	101.60	0.00
Gender	Male	1.04	3.05	0.08
	Female	0.73	1.51	0.22
Age group	18-34	-0.49*	5.51	0.02
	35-49	0.05	0.10	0.75
	50-64	0.06	0.19	0.66
Region	British Columbia	0.33	3.57	0.06
	Alberta/Sask.	1.24*	70.82	0.00
	Manitoba	0.43	1.71	0.19
	Quebec	-1.29*	40.78	0.00
	Atlantic Canada	-0.48*	4.08	0.04
Education	High School	0.35*	5.60	0.02
	College	0.67*	25.42	0.00

Nagelkerke R^2:	0.283

Statistically significant at a 95% confidence level

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Conclusions

» Deep dissatisfaction with 2019 election

» Country bitterly divided on East-West, social class, and gender

» Deep polarization existential threat to consensus and sound public interest

- Mimics same patterns and trajectories in the U.S. and U.K.

» Urgent need to improve depth of understanding of this phenomenon in Canada

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