

The New Populism:

Values, Economics, and Democracy

By Frank Graves

*Presentation to the Second Annual Distinguished Policy
Fellow Awards Dinner*

University of Calgary – School of Public Policy

*Calgary, Alberta
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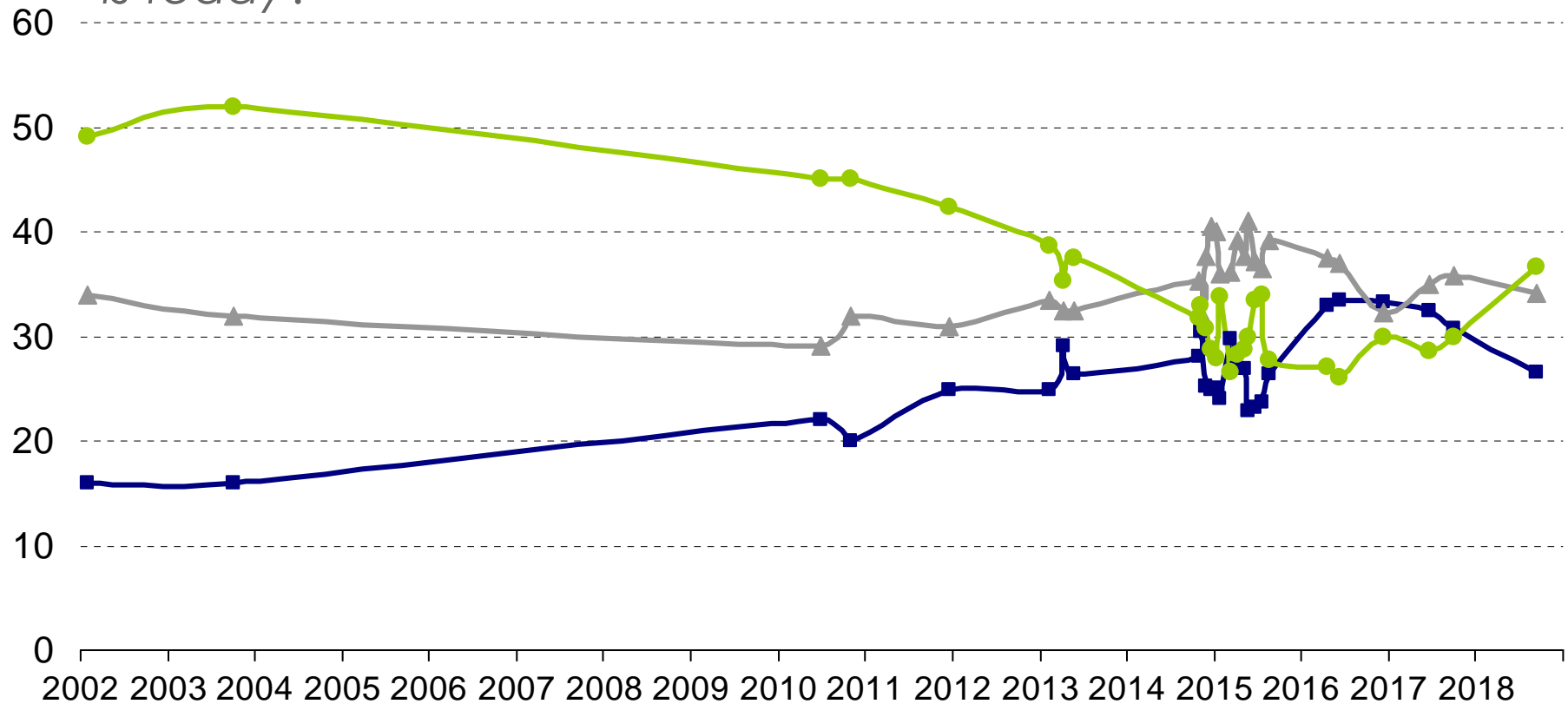
EXOS



- 1) **The Roots of Populism**
- 2) From Left-Right to Open-Ordered
- 3) The Rise of Northern Populism
- 4) Value Foundations
- 5) Shifting Attitudes to Immigration and Trade
- 6) New Fault Lines
- 7) Conclusions

Medium-term financial outlook

Q. Thinking ahead over the NEXT FIVE YEARS or so, do you think your personal financial situation will be better or worse than it is today?



■ Worse (1-3)

▲ The Same (4)

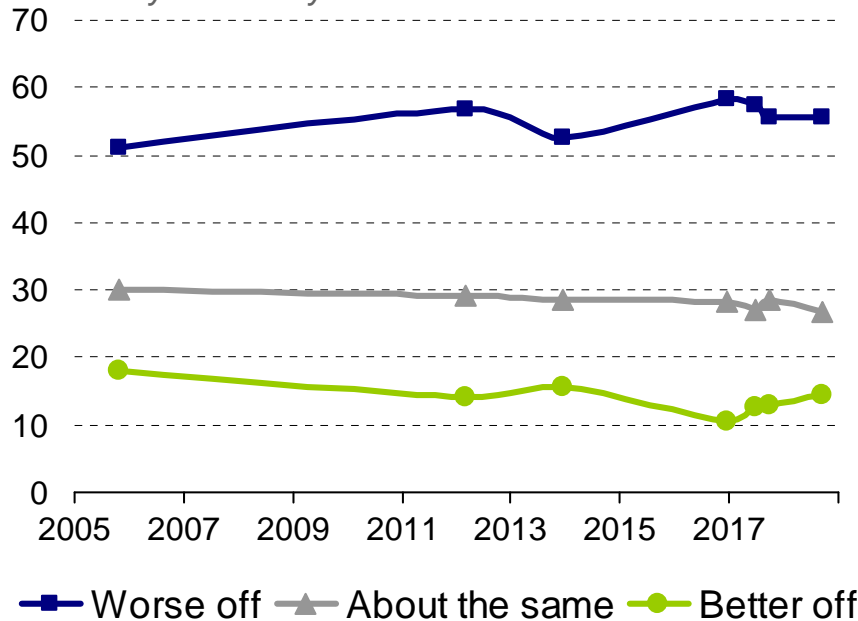
● Better (5-7)

Generational outlook & social class

- » Fears are highest when turned to the future
- » The grey outlook on the present turns almost black as the public ponder the fate of future generations
- » The apparent 'end of progress' may be relaxing its hold

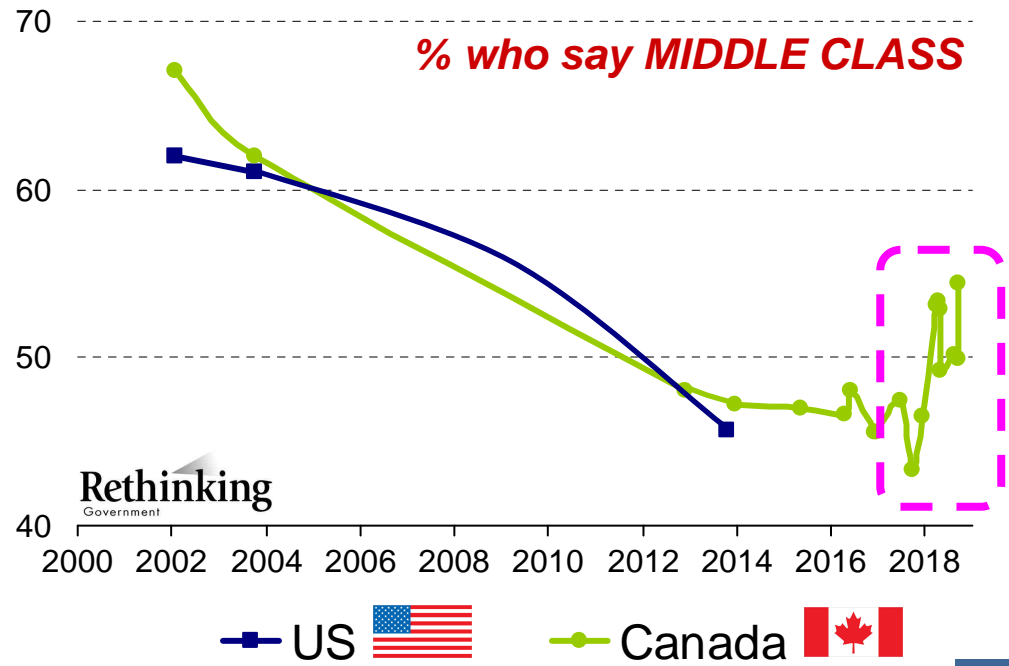
Generational Outlook

"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?"



Self-Rated Social Class

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



BASE (left): Canadians (half-sample); August 15-September 10, 2018, n=3,497, MOE +/- 1.7%, 19 times out of 20

BASE (right): Canadians; August 15-September 10, 2018, n=7,006, MOE +/- 1.2%, 19 times out of 20

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A troubling syllogism?

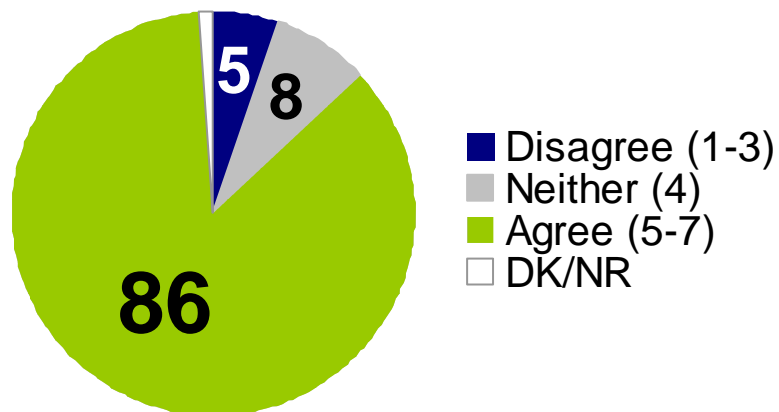
Proposition 1: **IF** a healthy society and a strong economy require a growing, optimistic middle class

Proposition 2: **AND IF** the middle class is *neither* growing nor optimistic

Implication: **THEN** societal health and economic progress will be in peril if these negative conditions persist

Q. Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement:

“A growing and optimistic middle class is an essential component of societal progress”



Q. Overall, which of the following choices do you believe best describes Canada's middle class?

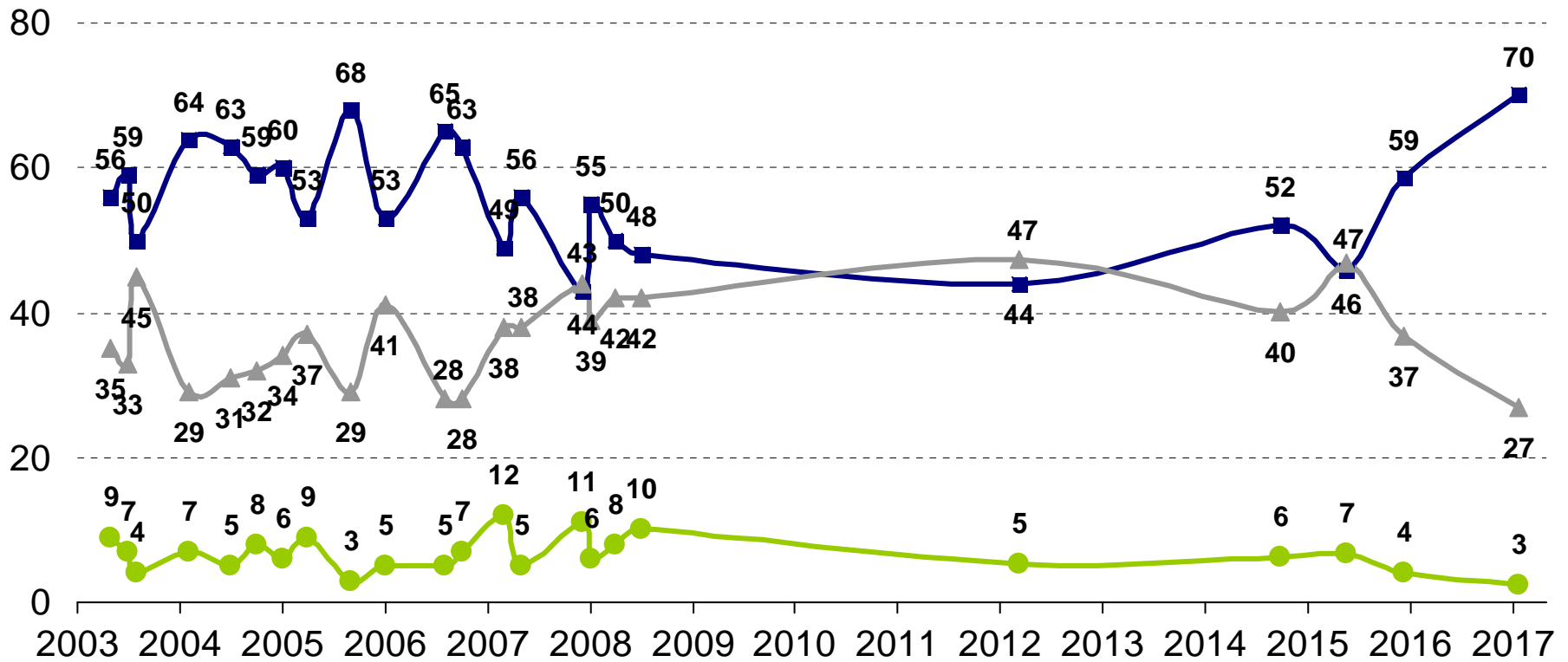


BASE (left): December 7-10, 2015 (n=1,811), MOE +/- 2.3%, 19 times out of 20

BASE (right): Canadians; July 16-23, 2014 (n=2,620), MOE +/- 1.9%, 19 times out of 20

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
 ▲ About the same
 ● Safer



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From left-right to open-ordered

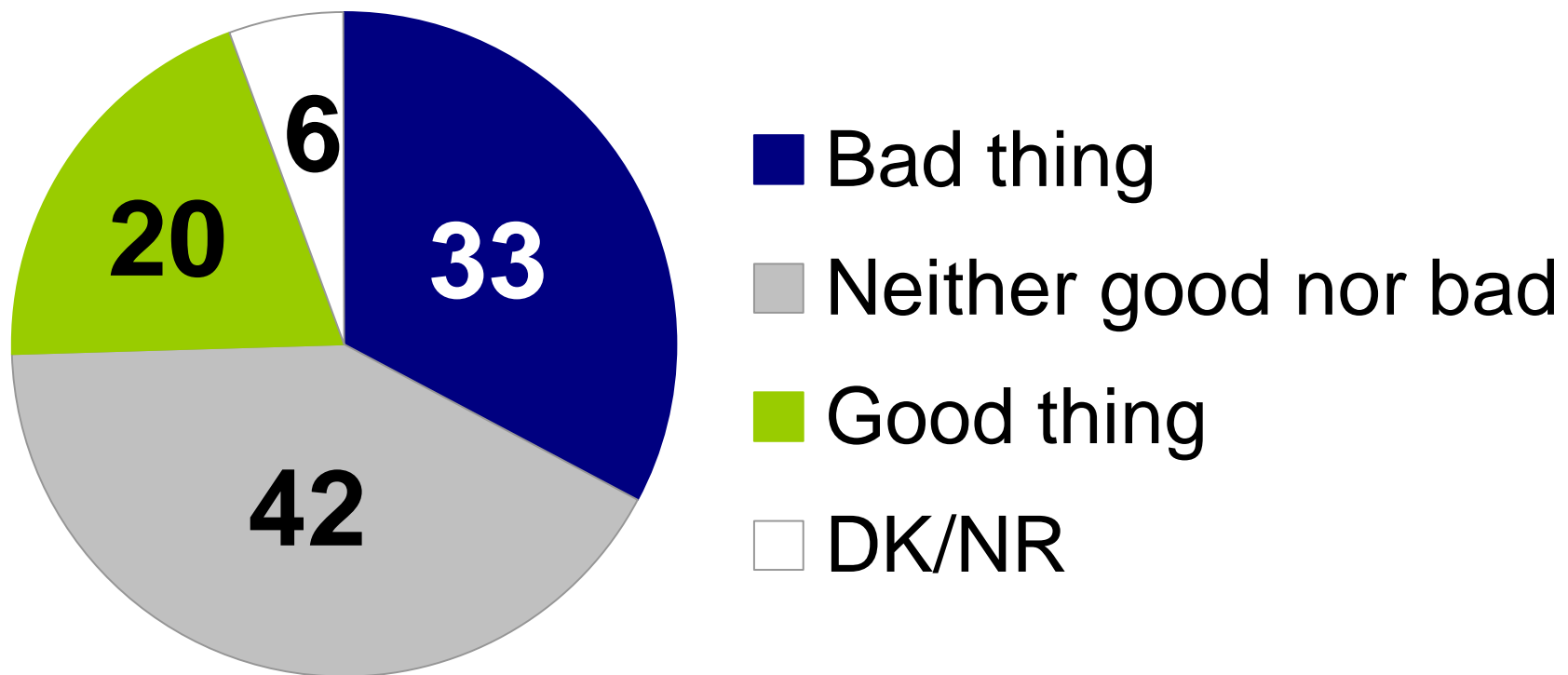
Left-Right vs. Open-Ordered	
<i>How is the new ordered outlook different from the traditional right?</i>	
Left	Right
<ul style="list-style-type: none">-Collectivism-Active government-Social ills societally produced-Rehabilitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">-Individualism-Minimal government-Individuals author social problems-Punishment
Open	Ordered
<ul style="list-style-type: none">-Cosmopolitan (anywhere)-Pro-diversity and immigration-Optimistic about the future-Reason and evidence-Climate change dominant priority-Creativity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">-Parochial (somewhere)-Deep reservations about diversity/Anti-immigrant-Deeply pessimistic about future/public institutions-Moral certainty-Economy and energy trump climate change-Good behaviour



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Views on the rise of populism

Q. Many people talk about the rise of populism in the United States and Europe which, among other things, includes growing opposition to trade and globalization, growing support for more restrictive immigration policies, and growing distrust of those considered to be elite. **Overall, do you think this rise of populism is a good thing or a bad thing?**

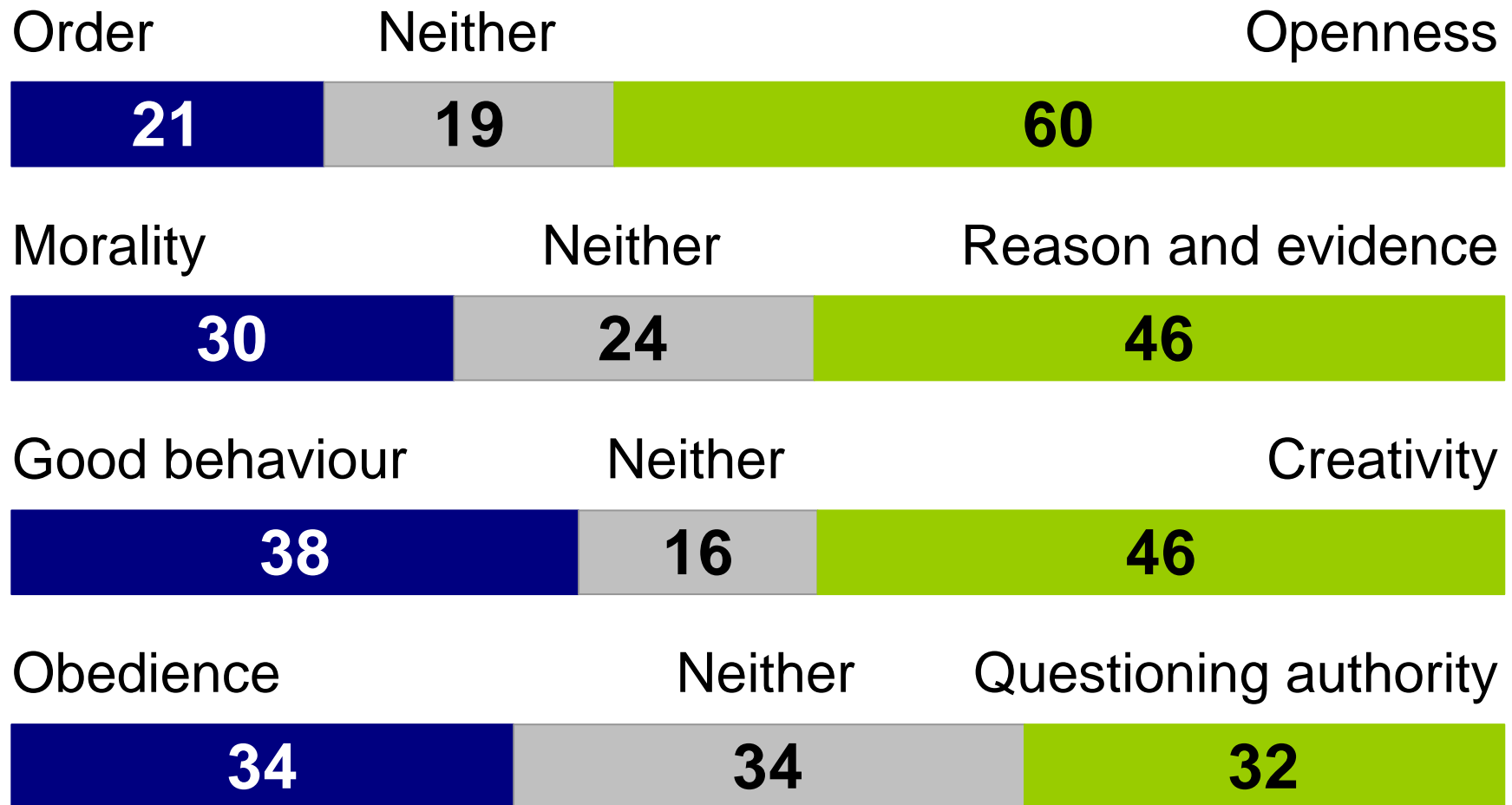


BASE: Canadians; June 1-19, 2017, n=5,568, MOE +/- 1.3%, 19 times out of 20

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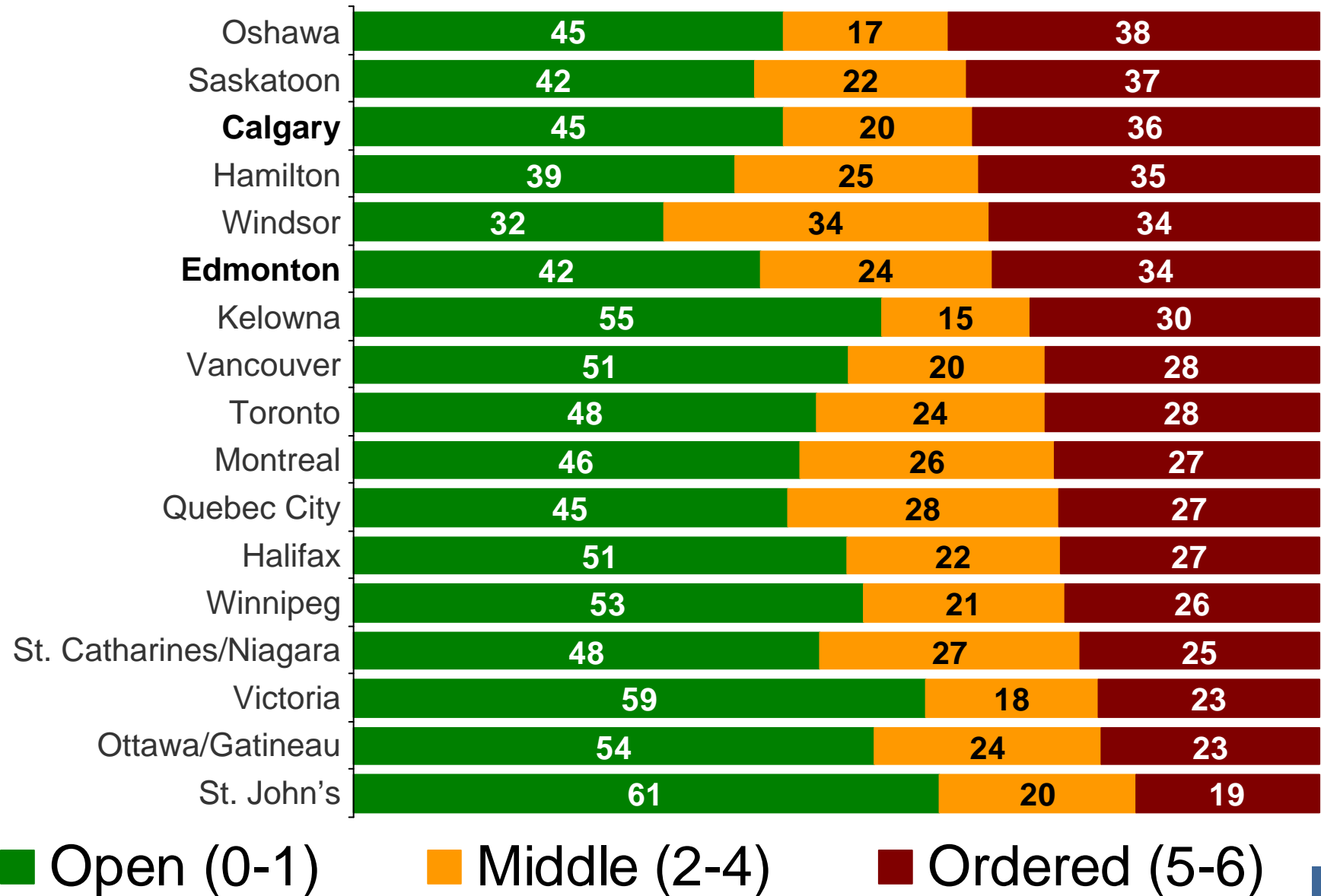
Ingredients of open-ordered index

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



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

Index by census metropolitan area





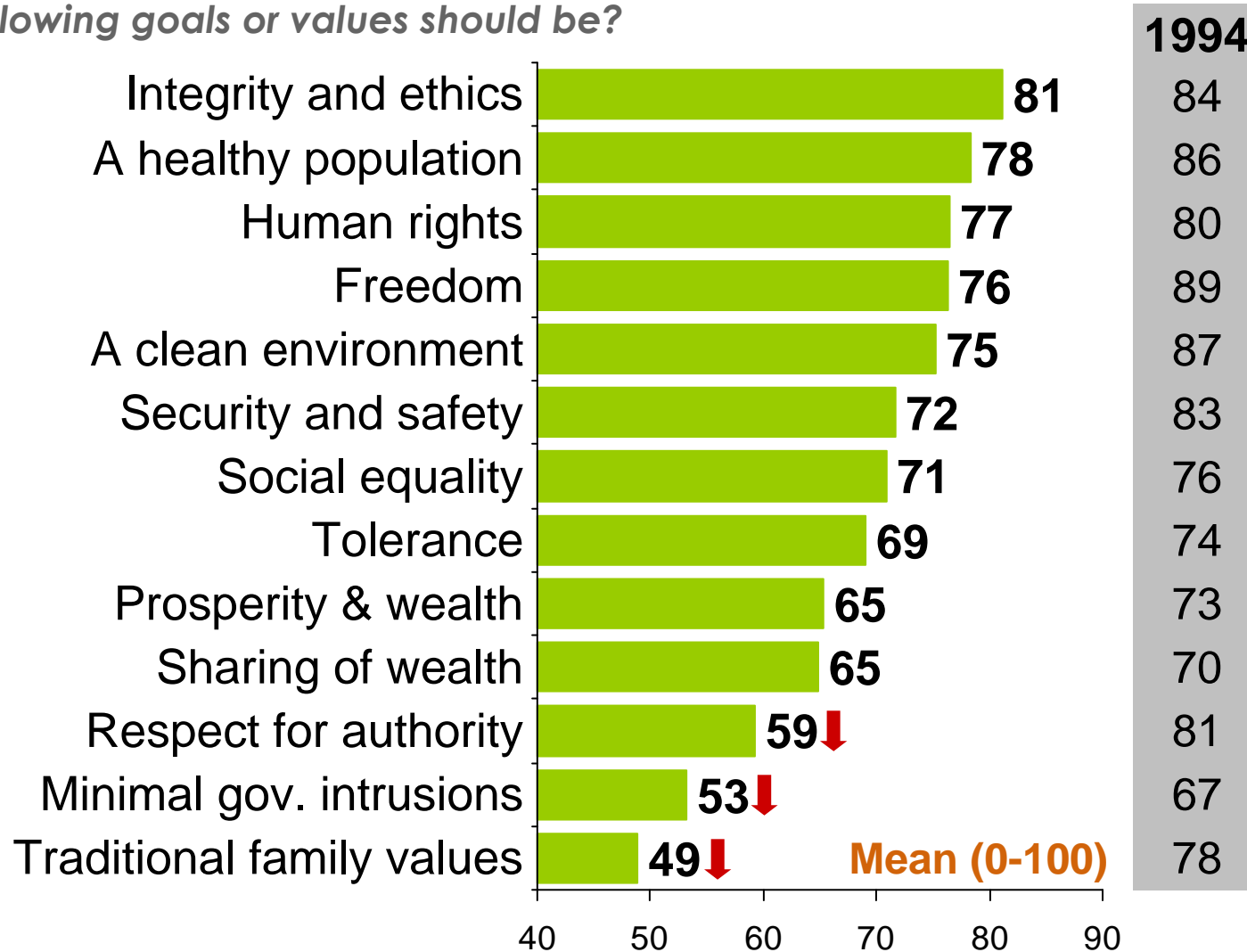
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Why values?

- » Ultimate yardsticks of societal preference; normative indicators of right/wrong, good/bad
 - Glacial, not mercurial
- » No monolithic consensus possible in increasingly pluralistic society
- » Long-term trends showing some profound declines in traditional values (traditional family values, respect for authority, minimal government, etc.)

Goals and values

Q. *If you were to direct the federal government as to which goals or values should be most important in shaping its direction, how important would you say each of the following goals or values should be?*



BASE: Canadians; January 11-18, 2016 (n=1,283), MOE +/- 2.7%, 19 times out of 20

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Changes in identity

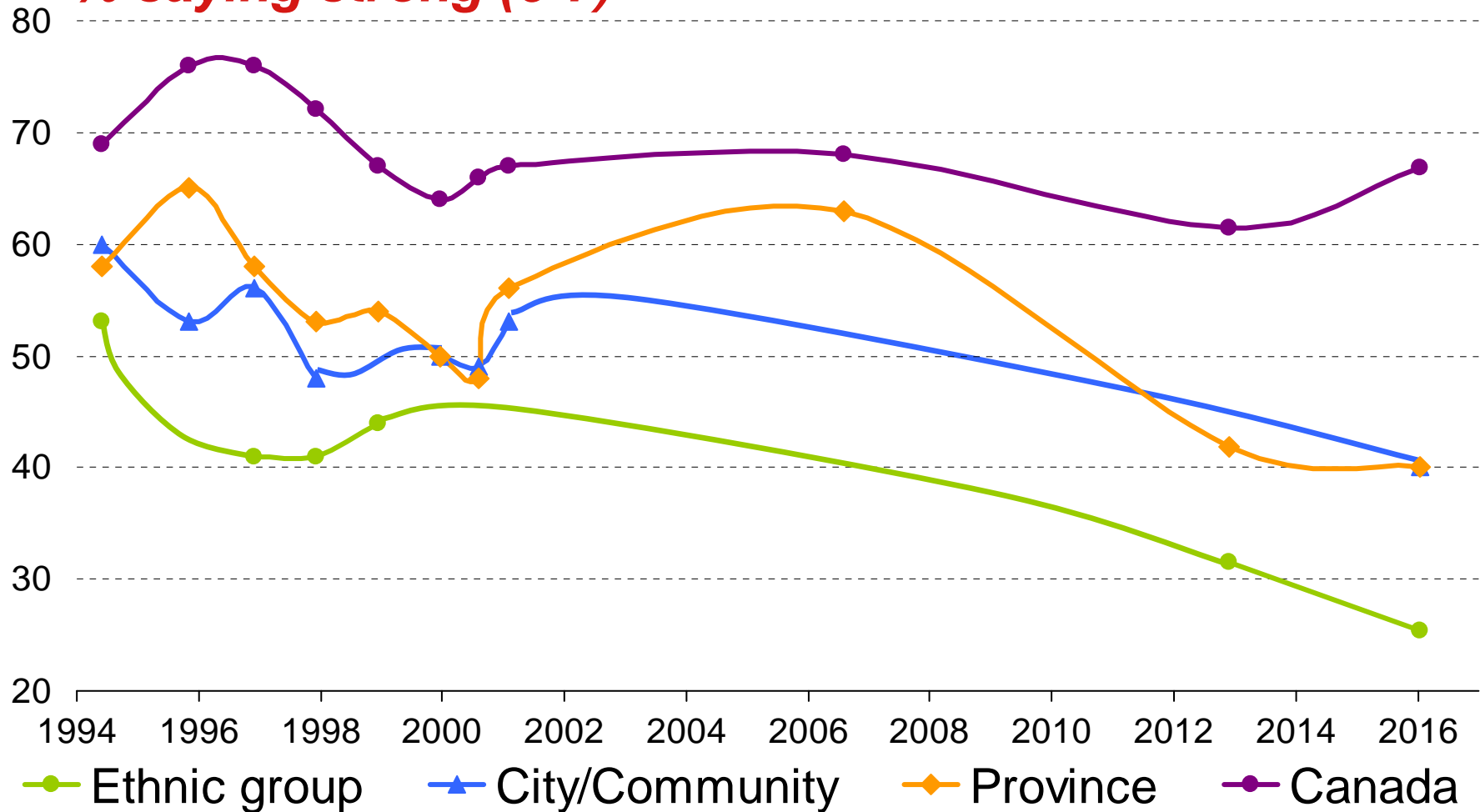
- » National attachment has remained high in Canada⁽¹⁾
- » Importantly, identification with ethnic group declined profoundly over the last 20 years
- » Despite warnings about 'selling illusions' and ethnic enclaves, it appears the reverse is true (more recently: Maxime Bernier)

(1): Graves, Frank, Jeff Smith, and Michael Valpy. "Being Canadian Today : Images in a Fractured Mirror." In *Canada The State of the Federation 2012, Regions, Resources, and Resiliency*, p. [211]-243. Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 2015.

Sense of belonging

Q. How strong is your own personal sense of belonging to...

% saying strong (6-7)



BASE: Canadians; January 11-18, 2016, n=2,312, MOE +/- 2.0%, 19 times out of 20

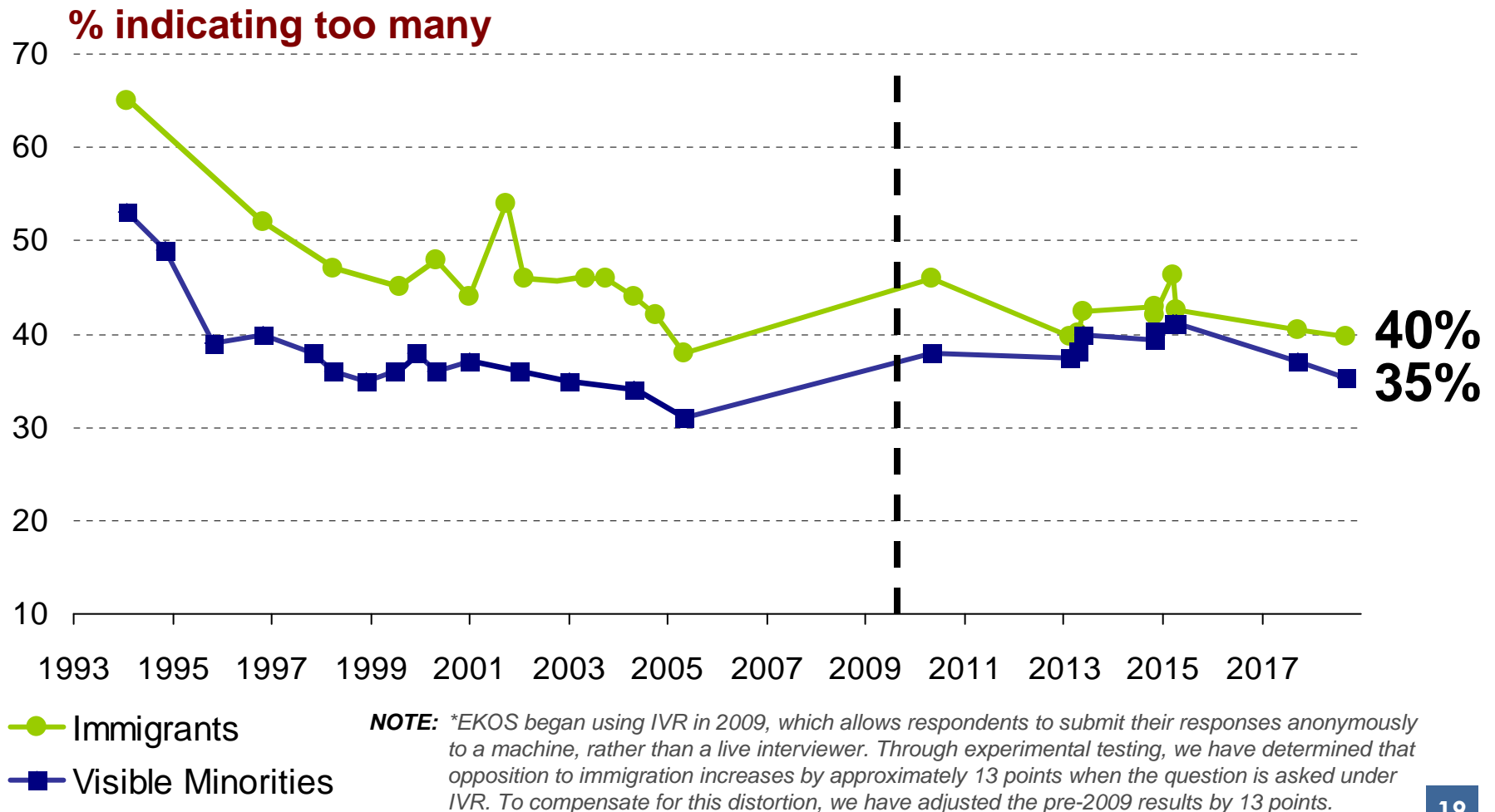
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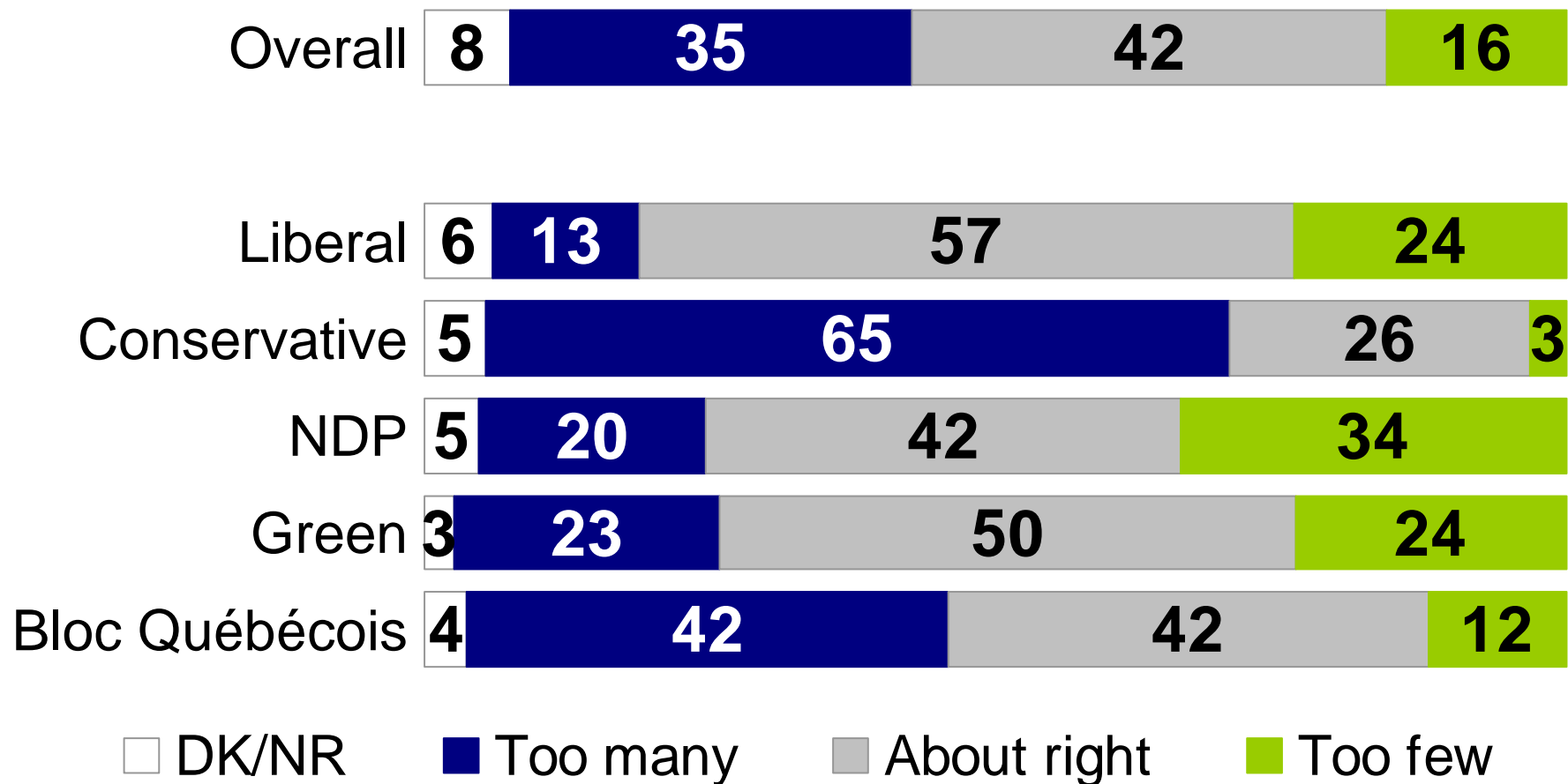
Attitudes to immigration/minorities (adjusted)

- Q. In your opinion do you feel that there are too few, too many or about the right number of immigrants coming to Canada?
- 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**?



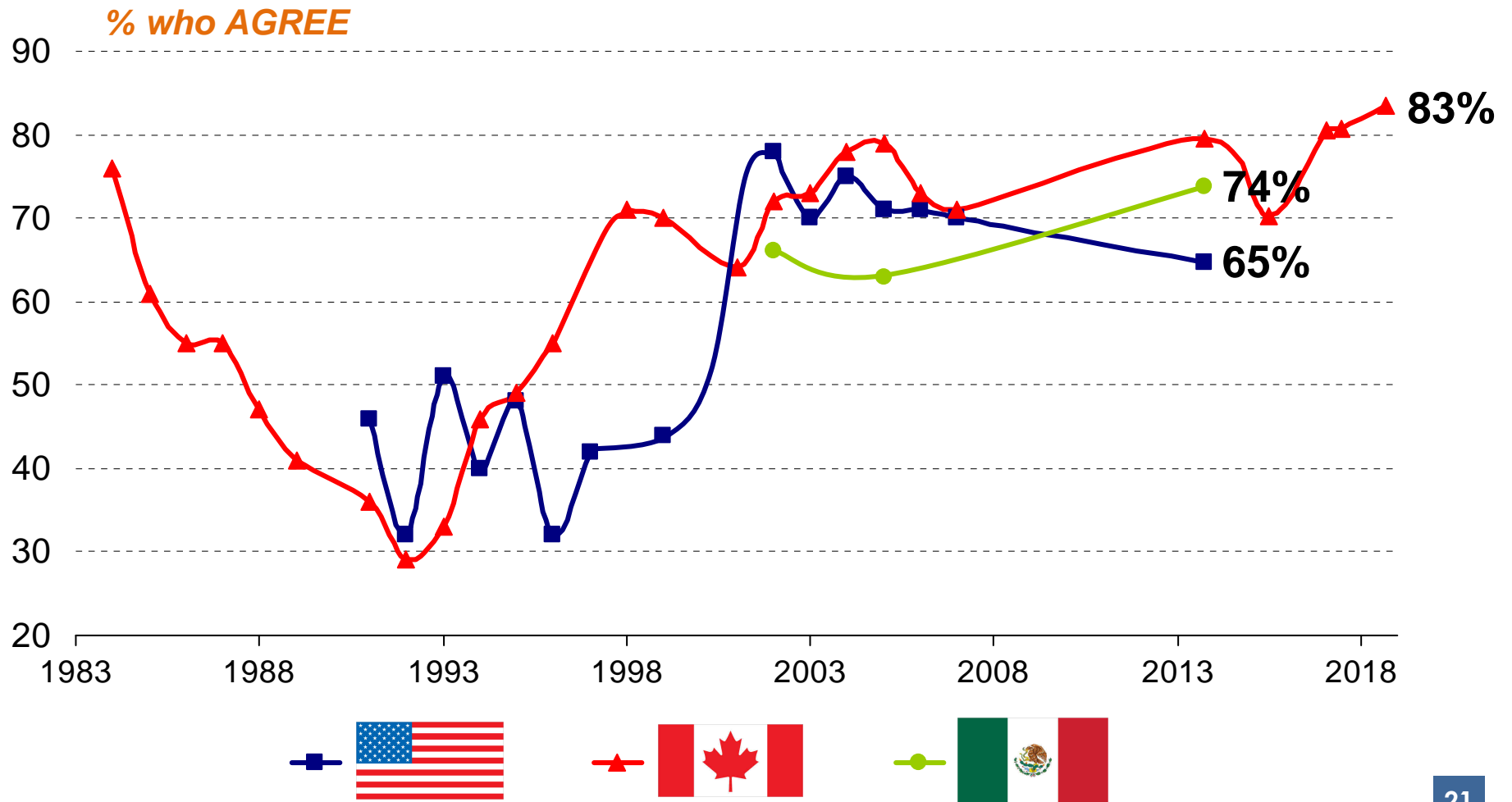
Attitudes to minorities by party support

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?



Support for tri-lateral trade

Q. Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: **There should be free trade between the U.S., Canada and Mexico**



BASE: Canadians (half-sample); August 15-September 10, n=3,472, MOE +/- 1.7%, 19 times out of 20

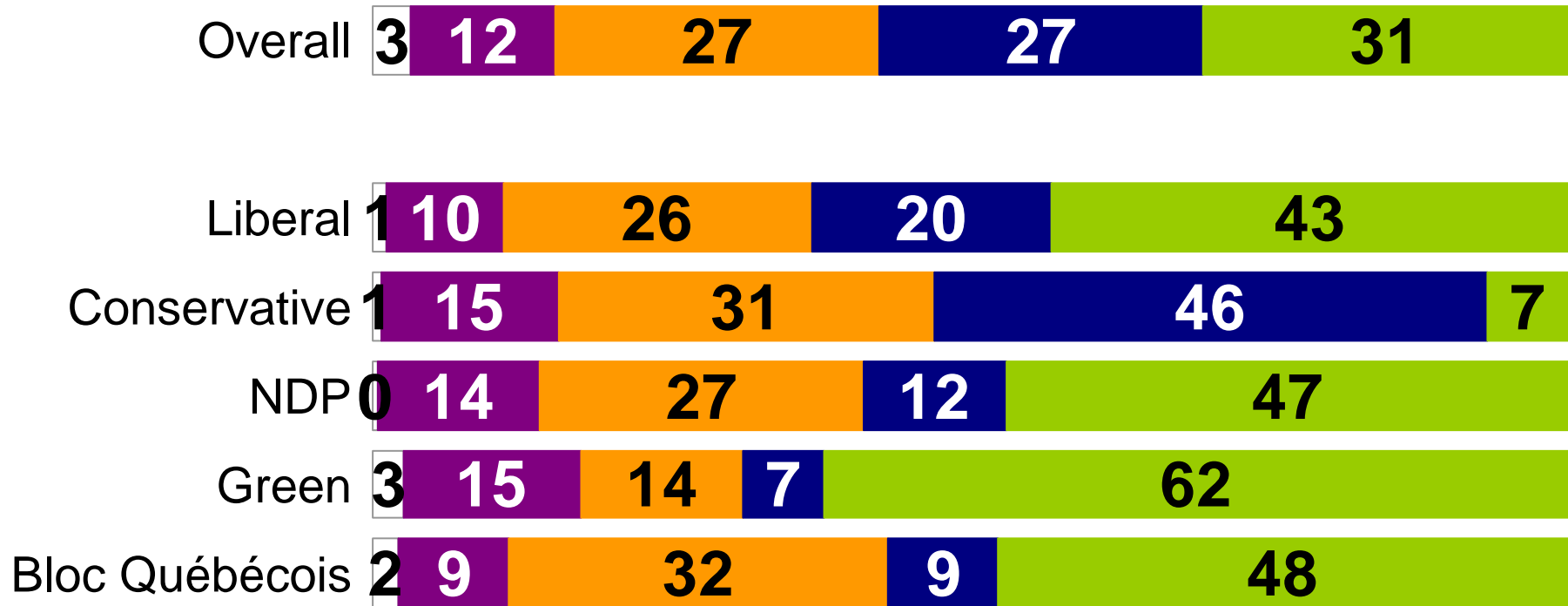
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Most important issue by party support

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



DK/NR

Issues like ethics and accountability

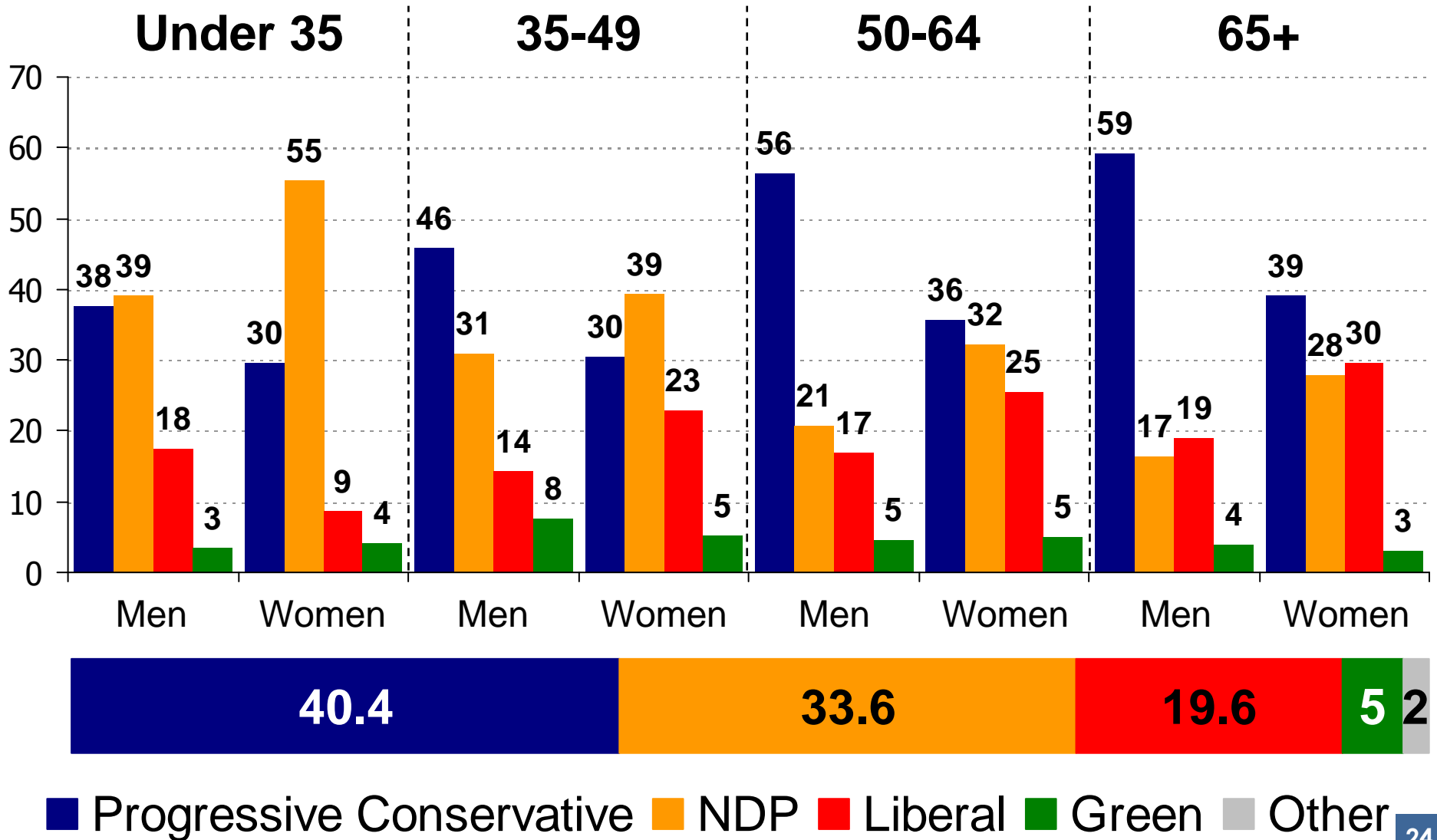
Restoring middle class progress

Fiscal issues like taxes and debt

Issues related to the environment and climate change

Ontario vote behaviour

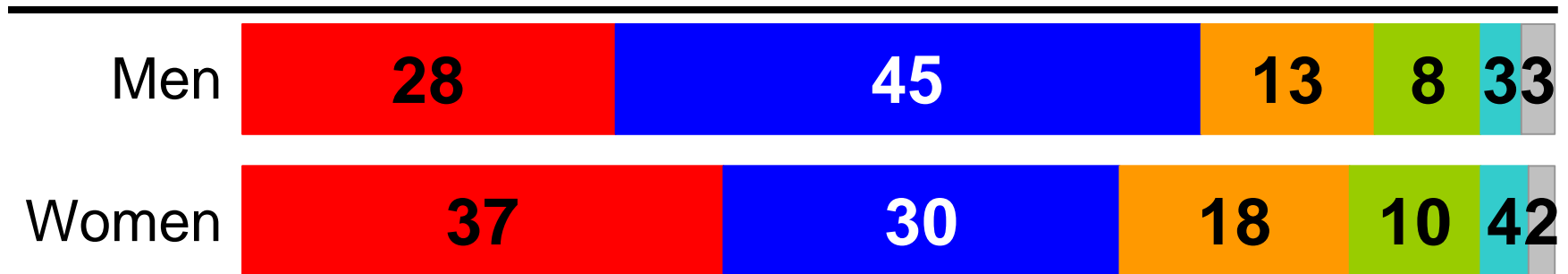
Q. How did you vote in this election?



A net 22-point erosion of male Liberal vote

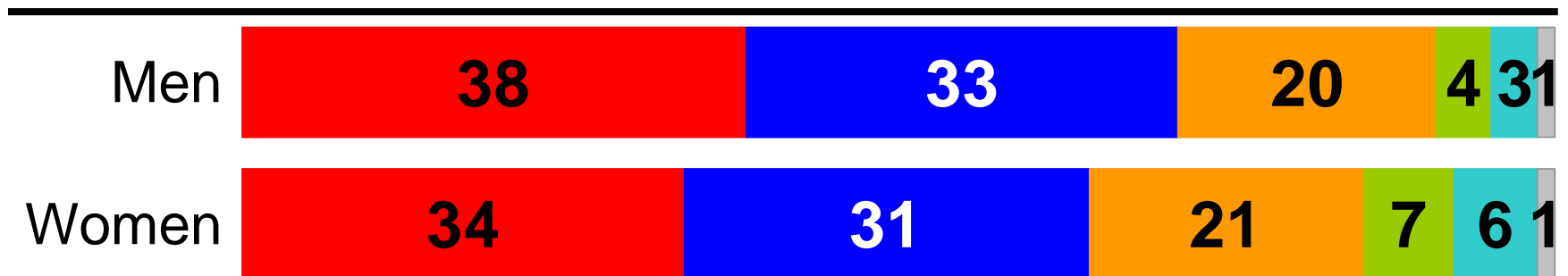
Q. If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

2018



BASE: Canadians; August 15-September 10, 2018, n=7,006, MOE +/- 1.2%, 19 times out of 20

2015



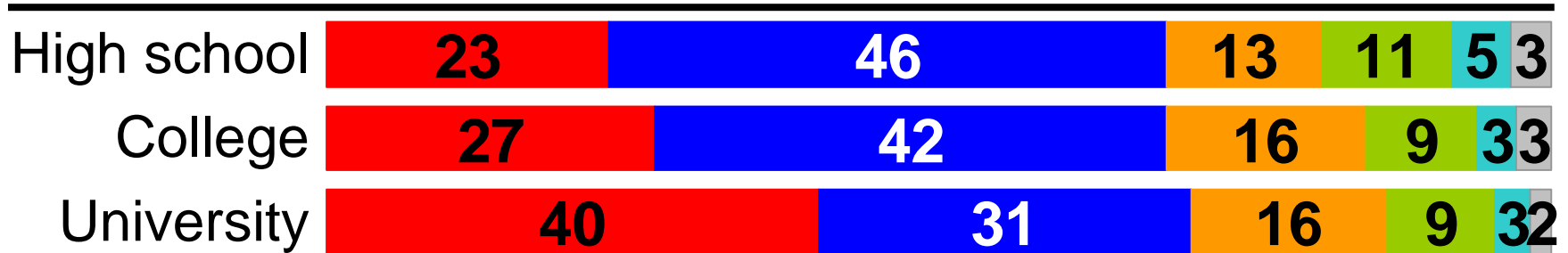
BASE: Canadians; October 16-18, 2015 (n=2,122), MOE +/- 2.1%, 19 times out of 20

■ Liberal
 ■ Conservative
 ■ NDP
 ■ Green
 ■ Bloc Québécois
 ■ Other

A net 19-point erosion of non-university Liberal support

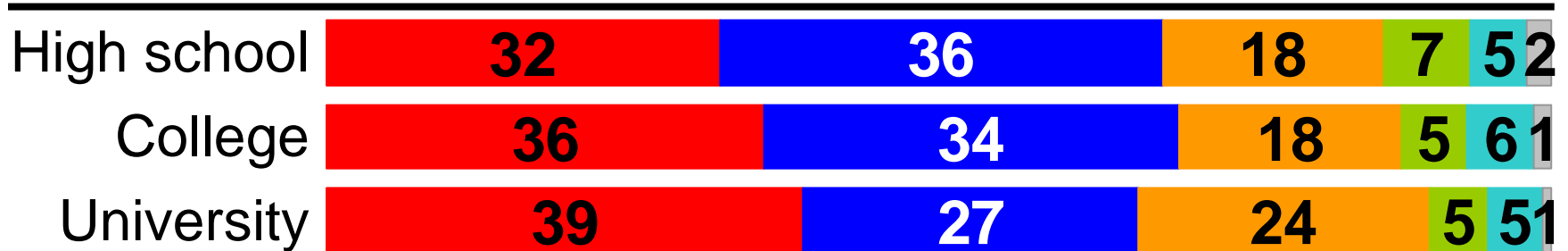
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■ Liberal
 ■ Conservative
 ■ NDP
 ■ Green
 ■ Bloc Québécois
 ■ Other



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Conclusions (i)

- » A new variant of populism – ordered-populism – has taken root in Canada and other countries
- » In order to confront this force, it is important to understand its roots
 - Brought about by “end of progress”, fears of a more dangerous world
 - Mutated into cultural factors (insecurities about loss of privilege, nativism, xenophobia, racial intolerance)

Conclusions (ii)

- » Fundamental shifts in fault lines underpinning political choices
 - Oscillations across promiscuous progressive voters transformed into defection to ordered-populist camp
 - Huge fault lines have opened up along social class, education, and gender
- » Yet overall attitudinal shifts suggest Canada is pivoting *open*
- » There are now two Canadas
 - Huge gaps on fundamental choices for the future (e.g., climate change, social issues, immigration)

Conclusions (iii)

- » It is clear that these forces were initiated by economic and class changes
- » Treating the symptoms is unlikely to make things better
- » Collapse of middle-class bargain needs focus (not cultural symptoms of that failure)
- » Note boldness of measures that propelling era of middle class progress following Great Depression
 - Where is our new deal for the 21st century?
- » Will Laurier's dream for Canada come one century late?



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