

“Sunny Ways, my friends, Sunny Ways”



Valence Voting in the 2015 Federal Election

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Making Political Choices: The Canadian Voter?

- 1st Canadian National Election Study – 1965
- National post-election survey of the Canadian electorate
- Heavily influenced *methodologically* & *theoretically* by the American National Election Studies (ANES) at University of Michigan
- PI's – John Meisel, Mildred Schwartz, Maurice Pinard & Phil Converse of ANES

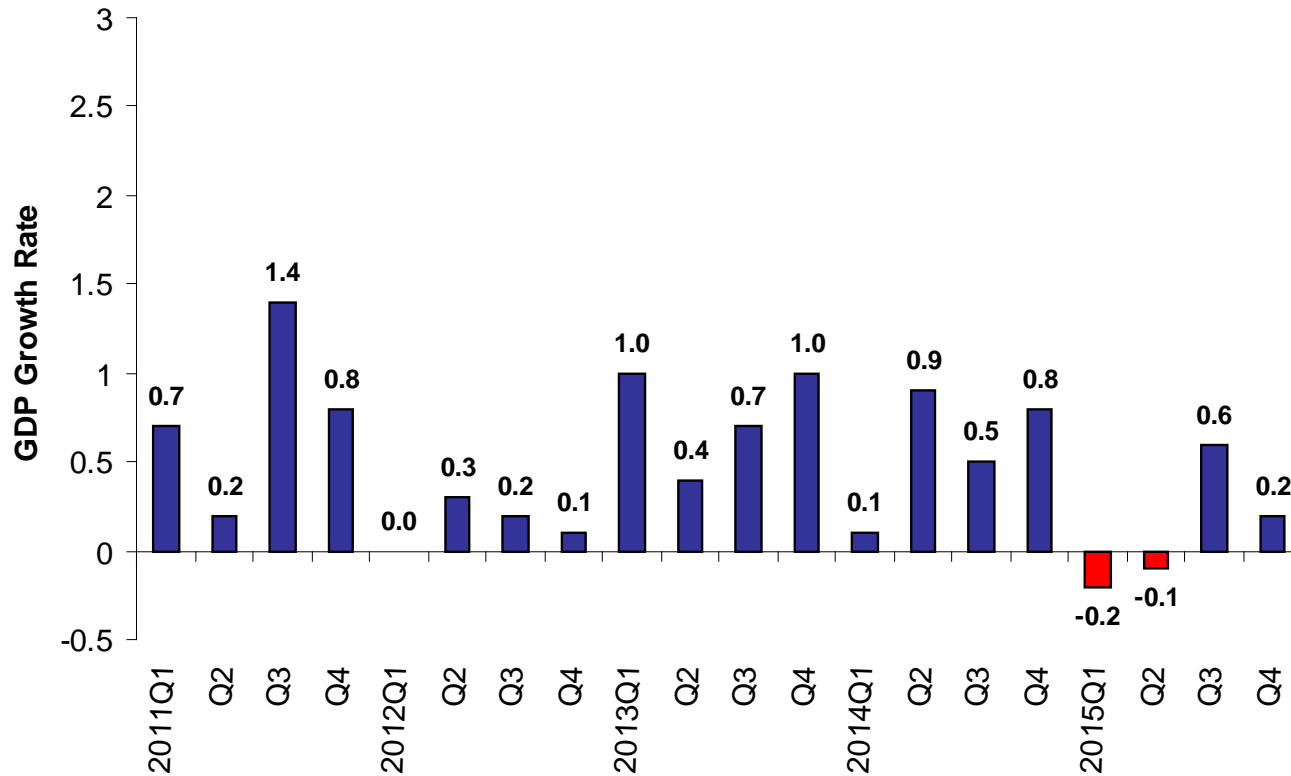
Theories of Electoral Choice – Across the Ambassador Bridge From Ann Arbor

- Puzzle of '52 & the Michigan Model
- From Sociology to Political Psychology
- Long-term Forces – Stable Party Identifications
- Short-term Forces – Issue & Candidate/Leader Orientations
- John Meisel – party Identification – long-term force? recalled instability high – 35% in 1965, 38% in 1968);
- leader images important
- Clarke et al. – 1974 onwards – panel surveys – party identification – frequently unstable, inconsistent and weak – flexible partisanship
- leader images & valence issues – strong effects

Making Electoral Choices: The Valence Politics Model

- Which issues? – Spatial Model of Party Competition?
- Stokes (1963) – **valence issues** typically dominate political agenda
- Skewed opinion distributions, party performance
- Prime example – economy
- Also health care, education, national & personal security
- **Heuristics** – Cues – **partisanship, leader images**
- **Valence Politics Model** – party performance on valence issues, flexible partisanship, leader images
- Powerful & parsimonious explanation – Canada, USA, UK, Germany, Taiwan
- **Valence Politics Drives Electoral Choice in 2015**

Mr. Harper's Misfortune – Quarterly GDP Growth 2011 - 2015



Leader Images: Like Father, Like Son?



Survey Evidence

- National survey data – high quality internet surveys
- 2011 and 2015
- Earlier data for trend in federal party identifications since 1988
- Distributions for issue concerns, party performance, leader images
- Multivariate (binomial logit) models of voting
- Detailed analyses in Clarke et al. “It’s Spring Again!” (Pammett & Dornan, 2016)

Figure 1. Canadians' Economic Mood, 2011 and 2015

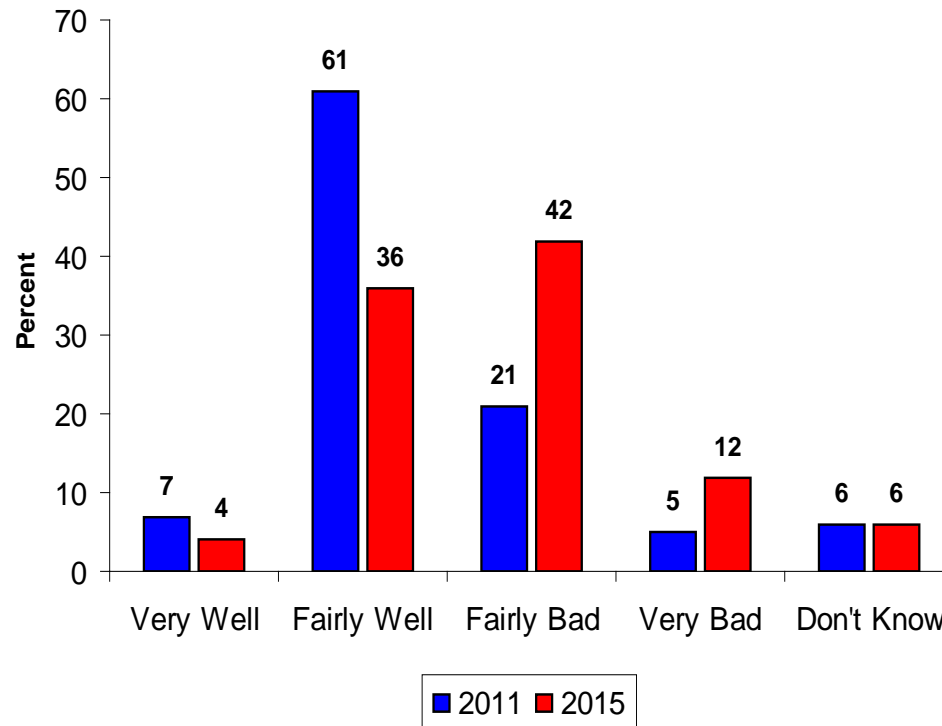


Figure 2. Government Performance on the Economy, 2011 & 2015

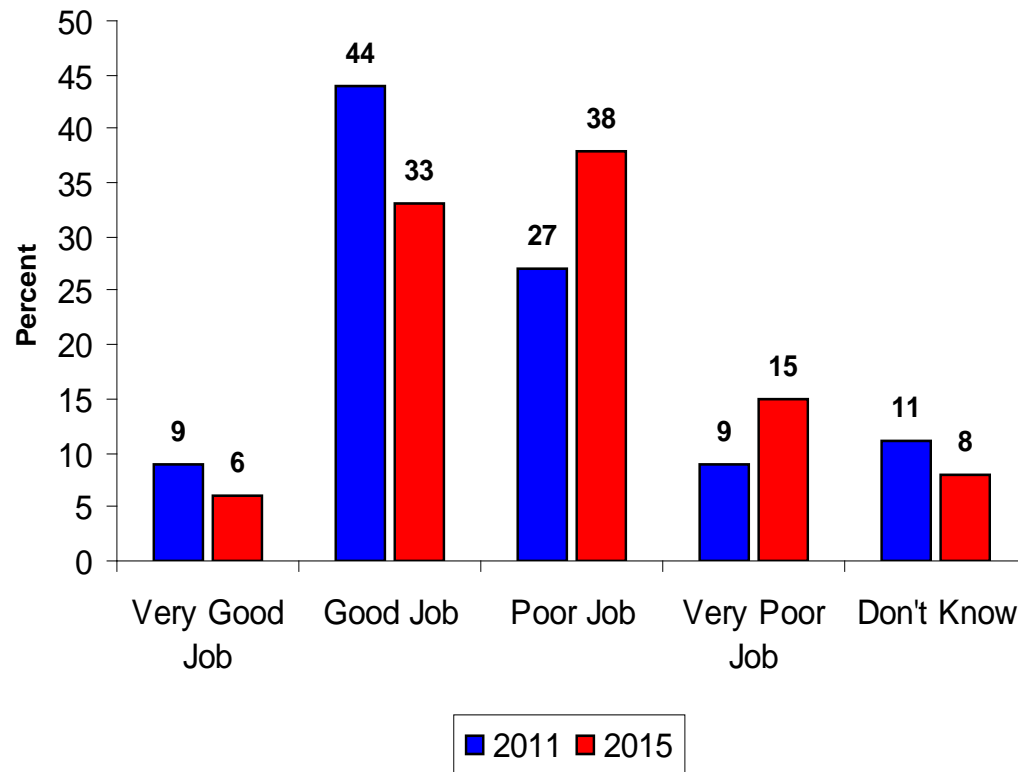


Figure 3. Most Important Issue, 2015

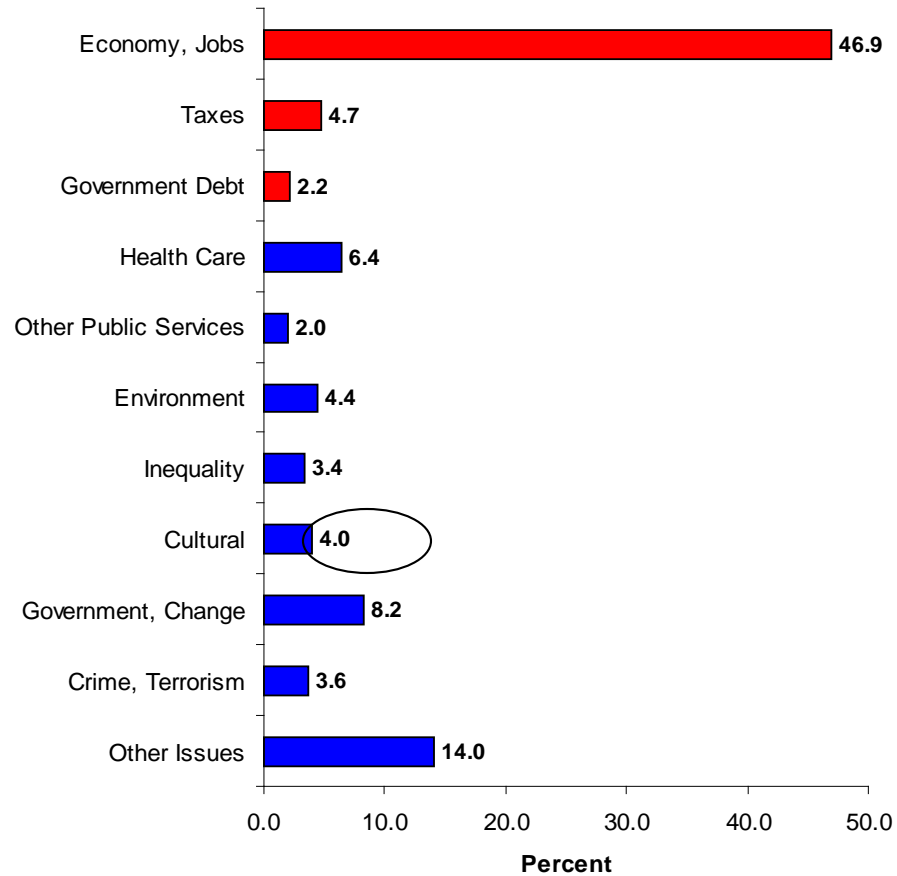


Figure 4. CPC Loses Its' Issue Edge: Party Best on Most Important Issue, 2011 & 2015

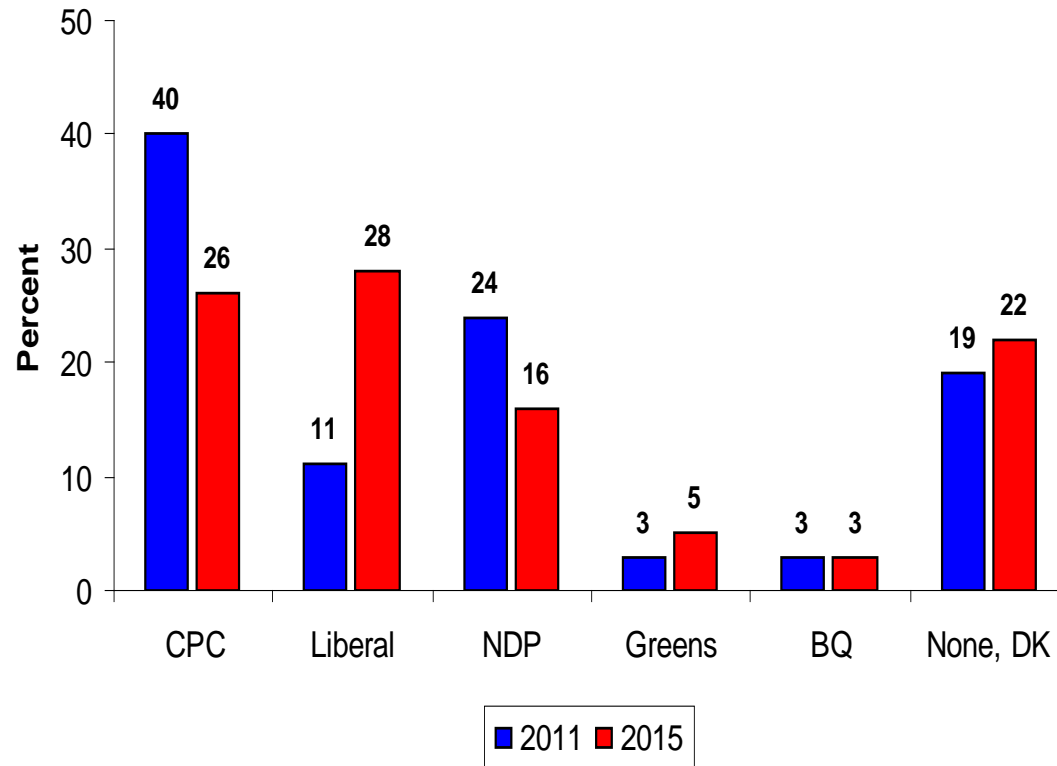
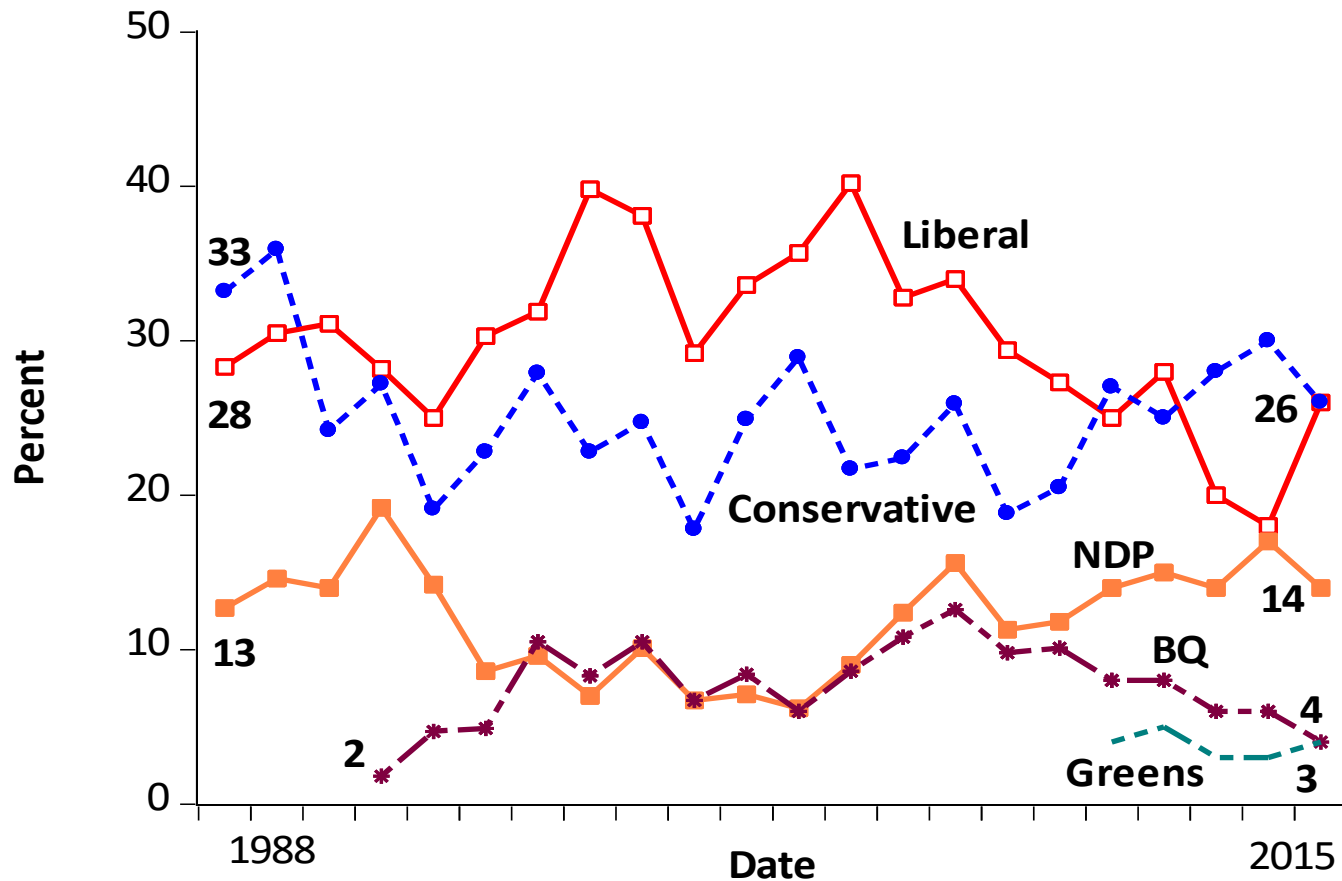


Figure 5. Liberal Rebound: Dynamics of Federal Party Identification, 1988 -2015



Note: Conservative = PC + Reform + Alliance + CPC.

Figure 6. Not Quite 1968 - Feelings About Party Leaders, 2011 & 2015

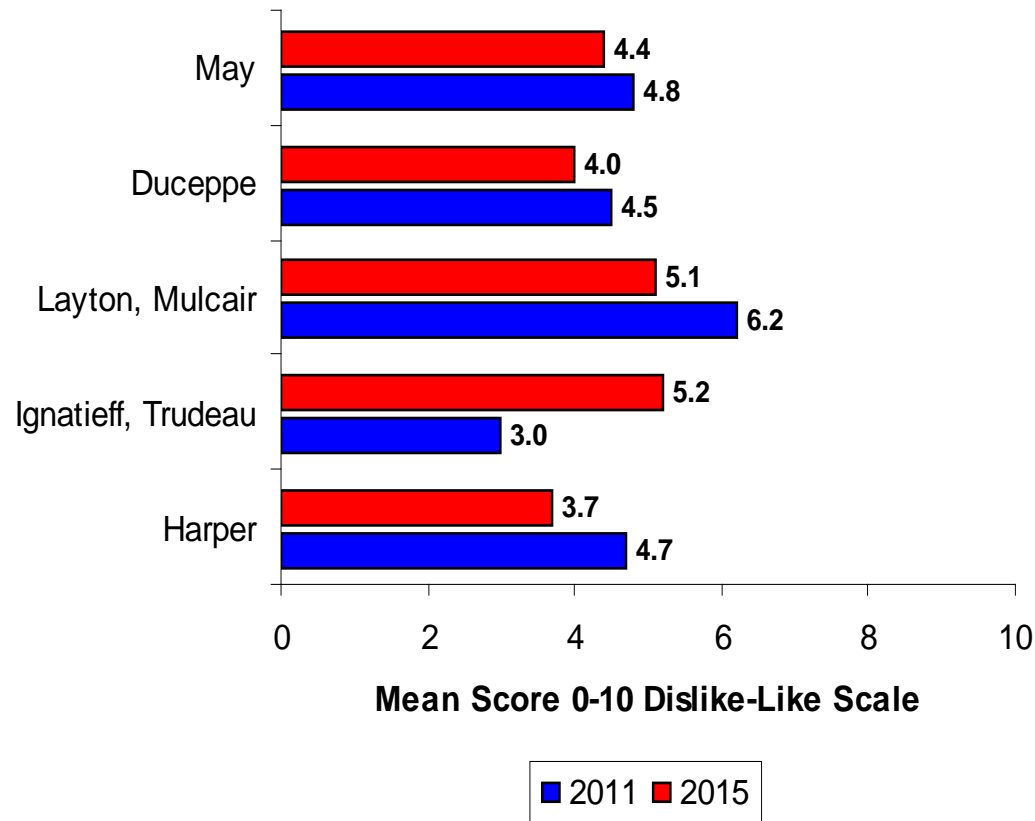


Figure 7. Impressions of Party Leaders, 2015

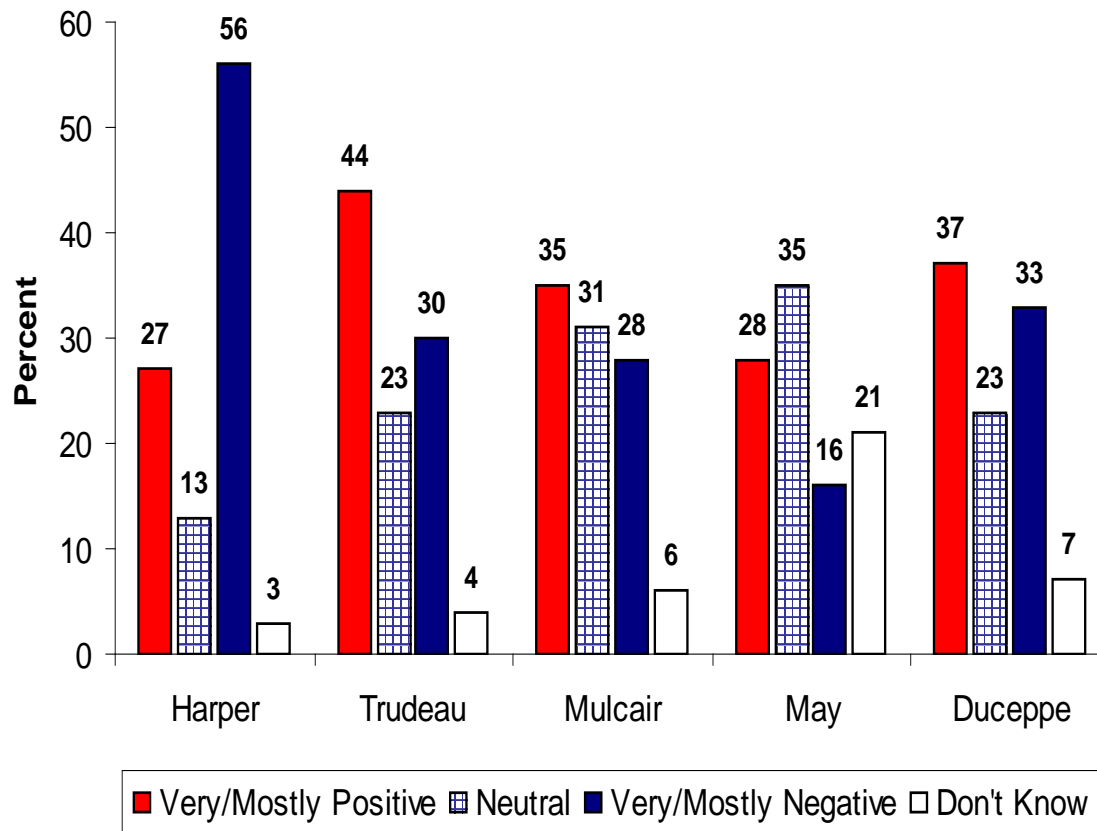


Figure 8. Harper Loses His “Cred” – Party Leader Best on Economy

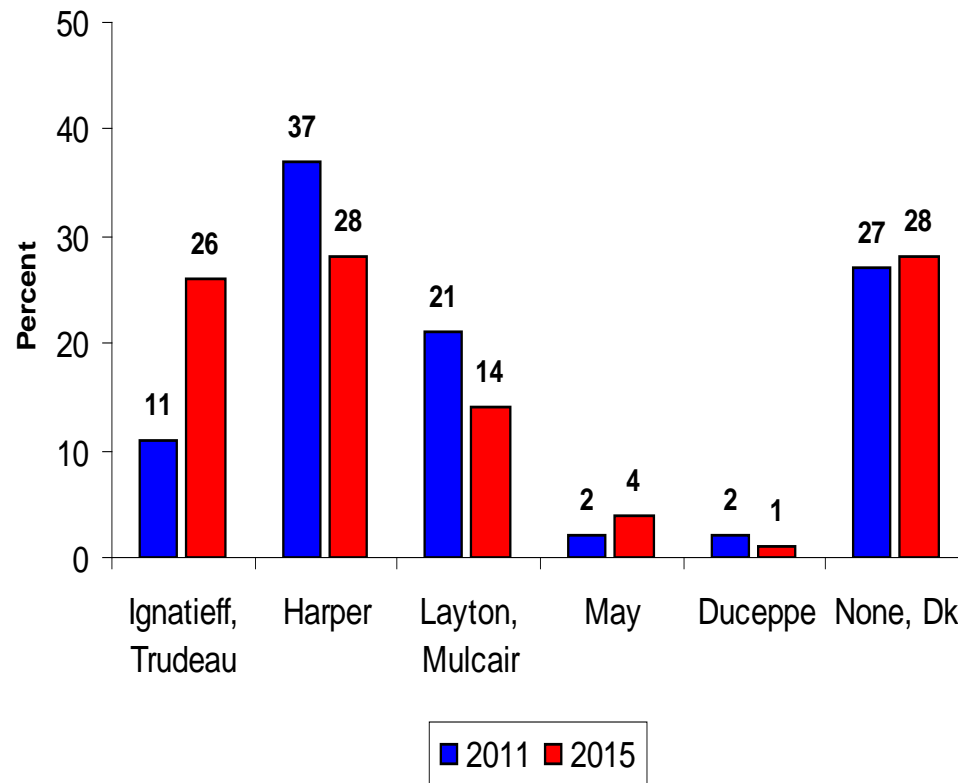
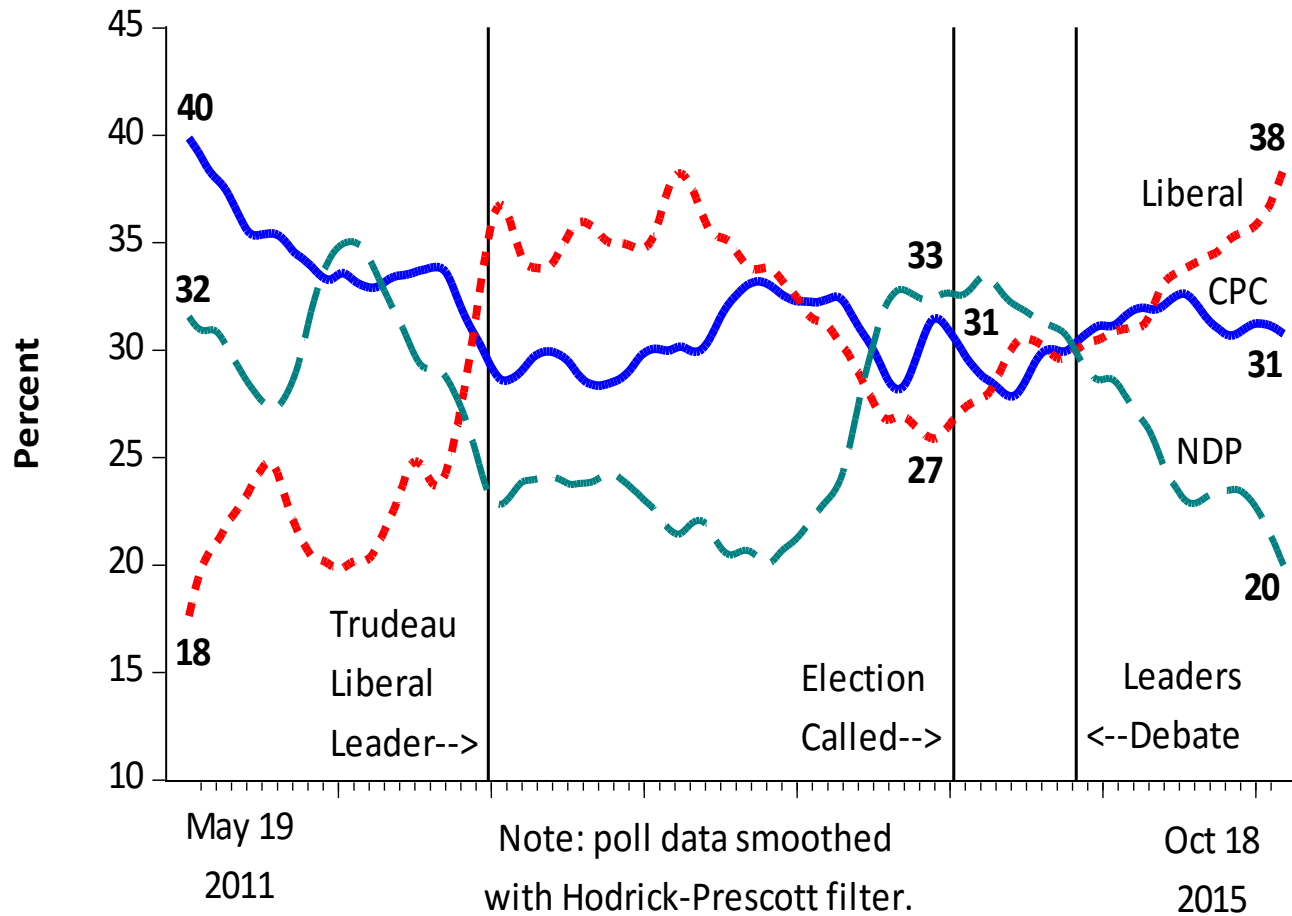


Figure 9. Vote Intention Dynamics, May 2011 – October 2015 Polls



Call Lynton!

Conservatives “Jump the Shark” (Twice)



Figure 10. A Dead Fish on the Table!

Opinion About the Niqab - Valenced ...Yes, Consequential ?

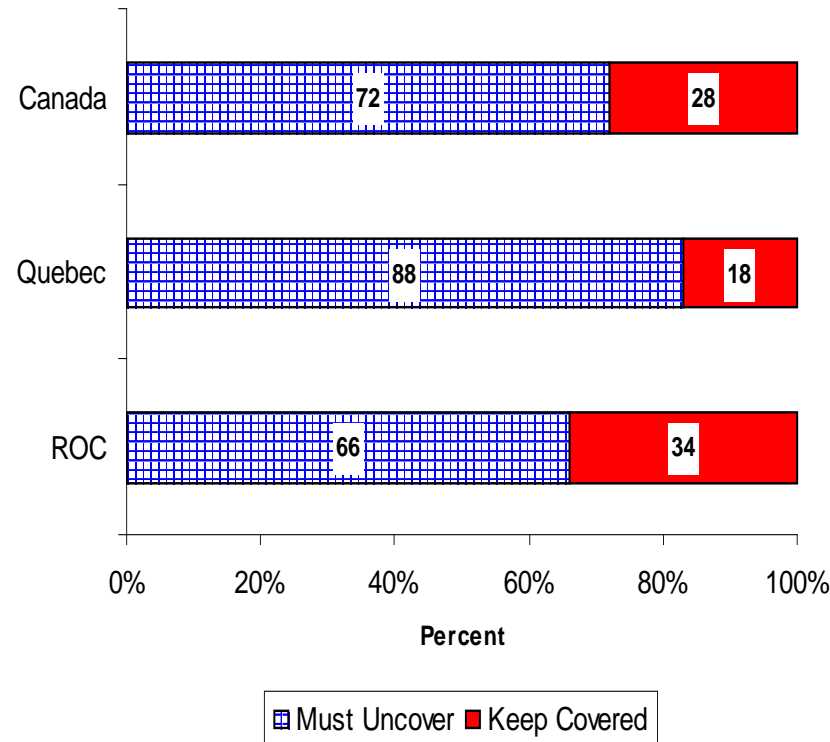


Figure 11A. How Valence Variables Affected Probability of Voting CPC

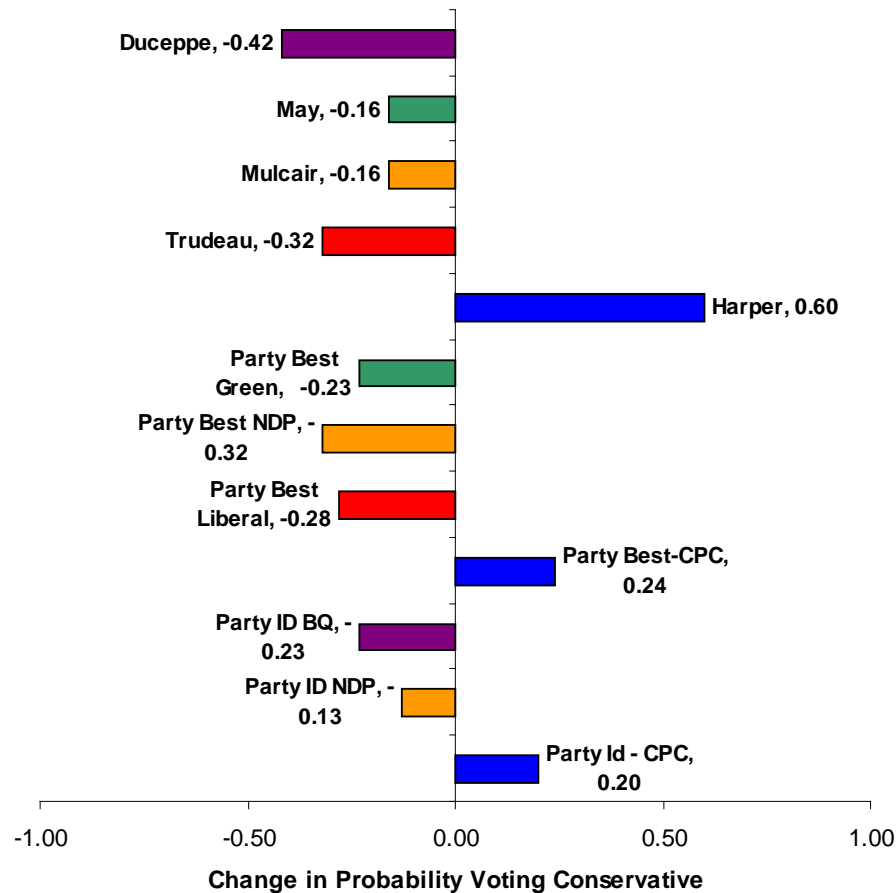


Figure 11B. How Valence Variables Affected Probability of Voting Liberal

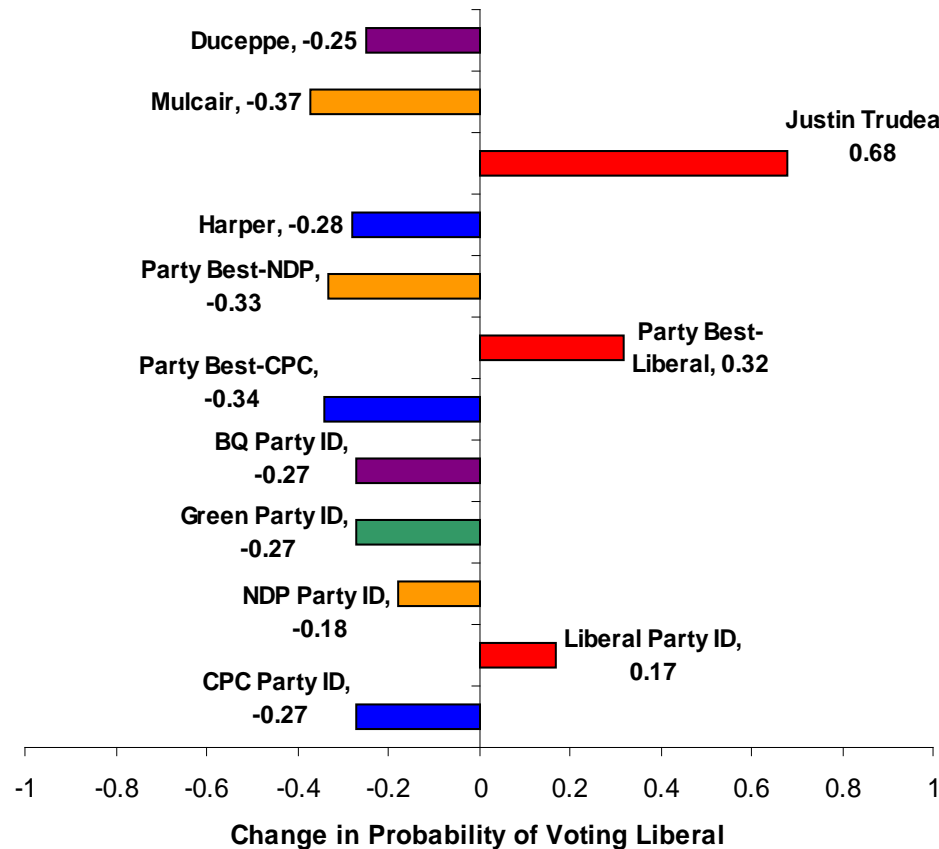
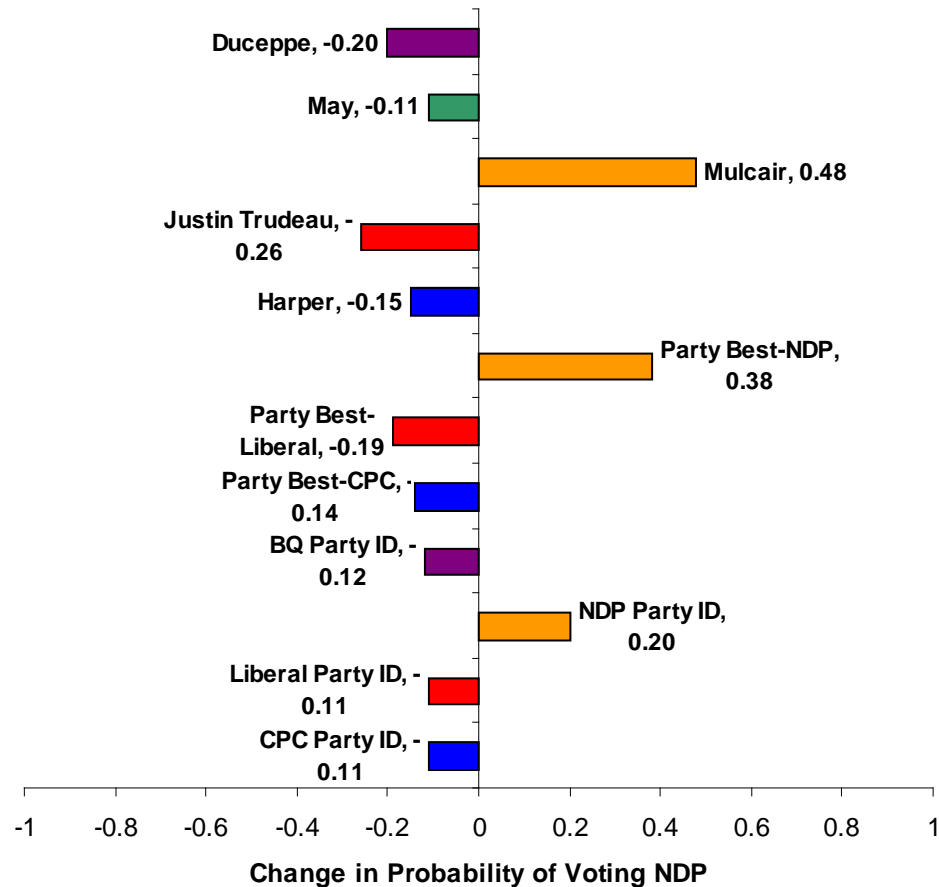
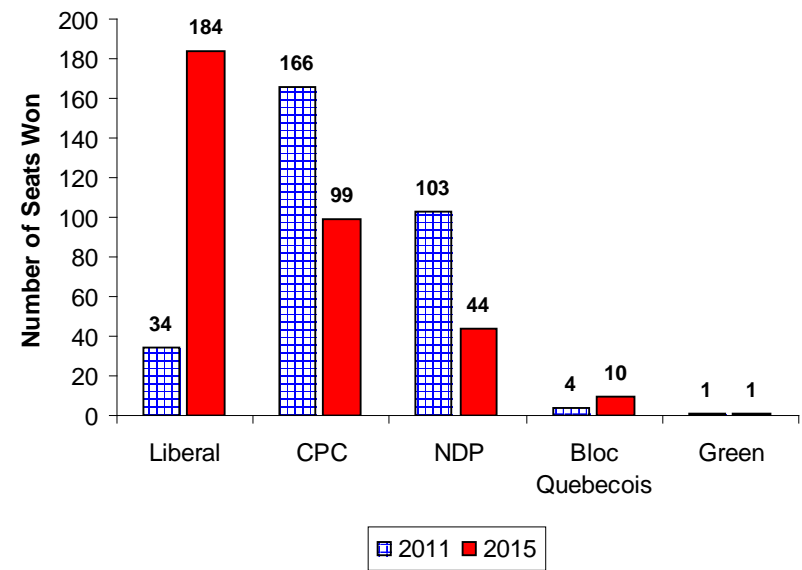
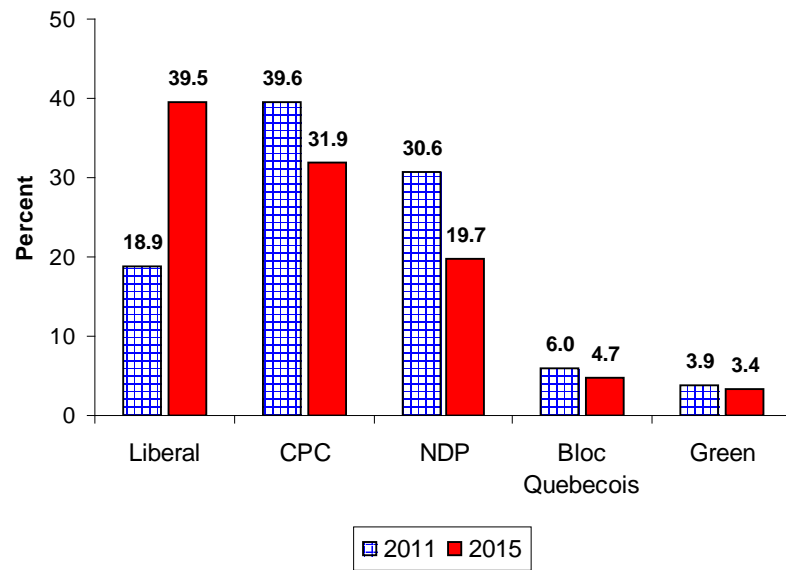


Figure 11C. How Valence Variables Affected Probability of Voting NDP



Liberal Sweep!

Votes and Seats in 2015 Federal Election



Conclusions

- Two parts to story of 2015 federal election
- Economy - recession just before election (unlike Britain)
- Economy key valence issue - voters make negative judgments about governing party performance
- Game over?
- Can't beat somebody with nobody
- Trudeau – exceeds expectations – CPC set very low bar - Just(in) not ready! – Incompetent!
- **However** -Justin has name & fame, but political game too!
- Economic policy – “modest deficits” – in fact, may not know Maynard Keynes from Milton Keynes – but it didn't matter
- **Counterfactual** – Trudeau's Competence Not Challenged Hard Enough During Campaign?

Questions?



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