Like Father, Like Son:
Justin Trudeau and Valence Voting in Canada's 2015 Federal Election

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Abstract

Canada's 2015 federal election was an exiting, as well as a nostalgia provoking, contest. After nine years in office, Prime Minister Stephen Harper and the governing Conservatives were defeated by the resurgent Liberals led by Justin Trudeau. Trudeau is the son of Pierre Trudeau, perhaps Canada's best known prime minister. Analyses of national survey data demonstrate that party leader images—a major component of the "valence politics" model of electoral choice—were important in both cases. Unlike his father, Justin Trudeau was castigated as a "lightweight" and "just not ready." However, articulating plausible policies to jump-start Canada's sluggish economy and espousing "sunny ways," the younger Trudeau was warmly received by many voters. In contrast, Harper's image of managerial competence was tarnished by bad economic news, and his attempt to refocus the campaign on emotionally charged cultural issues failed. The result was a Liberal majority government and a prime minister named Trudeau.

Key Words: economic evaluations, leader images, Justin Trudeau, Pierre Trudeau, valence politics

Canada's 2015 federal election was an exiting and consequential contest. After nearly a decade in office, Prime Minister Stephen Harper and his Conservative Party of Canada went down to defeat at the hands of a resurgent Liberal Party led by Justin Trudeau. Trudeau is the son of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, one of Canada's longest serving and most famous prime ministers. Like his father, Justin Trudeau had no executive experience in either the private or the public sectors prior to becoming prime minister. But, again like his father, this did not matter to the electorate, despite attempts by the Conservatives to make it a defining issue in the 2015 campaign.

In this paper we use national survey data[1] to study the electoral forces that propelled Justin Trudeau and his party to power. We also employ data gathered in the 1968 Canadian Election Study[2] to demonstrate that these forces were similar to those that had done much to help his father win power nearly a half century ago. The factors that were crucial for Liberal success in both elections are key components in the valence politics model of electoral choice, a model that was strongly influenced by early research on Canadian voting behavior.[3] In the next section, we discuss key valence politics forces at work in the 2015 federal election.[4]

Valence Voting in 2015

A. Issues

In 2015, the economy—a quintessential valence issue—dwarfed all other concerns.[5] When asked about the most important issue facing the country, fully 47% of the Abacus survey respondents chose unemployment or the economy more generally, with an additional 7% referring to taxes or government debt. No other issue was cited by

as many as one person in ten, with those two hardy perennials of contemporary Canadian political discourse—health care and the environment—mentioned by only 6% and 4%, respectively. Similarly, while the circumstances in which Muslim women could wear a veil (niqab) were hotly debated by the parties and press during the latter part of the campaign, only 4% mentioned this issue or other cultural concerns.

The emphasis on the economy does not surprise. Canada had escaped the worst effects of the 2008 financial crisis and ensuing economic meltdown, but growth had been sluggish and the economy slipped into recession as the 2015 campaign began. Although the negative growth statistics were less than one-half of 1%, the fact of recession was definitely not good news for Canadians or a federal government seeking a renewed mandate. Adding to the gloom, the price of oil on world markets had crashed, thereby sharply reducing the flow of petro-dollars that had bolstered Canada's prosperity in recent decades. Also, the value of the Canadian dollar (the "Loonie")—always closely watched as a sign of national economic well-being—had fallen sharply. When the campaign began in August 2015, the Loonie was trading at only 76 cents U.S., down fully 24 cents from its value at the time of the 2011 federal election.

Public evaluations of the economy reflected the downturn. As Figure 1 shows, 40% of those surveyed judged that the economy was doing "very" or "fairly" well, but a clear majority (54%) believed that it was doing "very" or "fairly" badly. Just before the 2011 election, the comparable figures had been very different—fully 68% thought that the economy was doing well and only 26% thought that it was doing poorly. The country's economic mood had darkened considerably since Prime Minister Harper and

the governing Conservative Party of Canada (CPC) last had gone to the people, and escaping the attendant negative political consequences would not be easy.

(Figure 1 about here)

Decades of research on Canadian voting behavior testify that favorable party performance judgments on major valence issues such as the economy is a key to electoral success (e.g., Clarke et al. 1979, 1996; Clarke, Kornberg and Scotto 2009, 2012). In this regard, Canadian's evaluations of the federal parties had changed markedly between 2011 and 2015. In 2011, the CPC dominated the performance sweepstakes, with fully 40% of those surveyed judging that it was best able to handle important issues confronting the country (see Figure 2). No other party was judged favorably by as much as one-quarter of the electorate, with the New Democratic Party (NDP) endorsed by 24% and the Liberals by an abysmal 11%. Three percent chose the Greens, another 3% selected the Bloc Québécois (BQ), and 19% thought no party could do a good job or said they "didn't know."

Four years later, much had changed, with the Conservatives' 2015 "best able" number falling by 14 points, to 26%. Similarly, the NDP was down on 2011 by 8 points, to 26%. In sharp contrast, the Liberals now were seen as most competent on important issues by 28%, fully a 17% increase. The Liberals' 28% showing as best on most important issue was sufficient to put them slightly ahead of the governing Conservatives and well ahead of their main opposition rival, the NDP. Competitive again on the issues

that mattered most to Canadians, the Liberals were positioned to make major gains on Election Day.

(Figure 2 about here)

B. Partisanship

A sizable proportion of the Canadian electorate lacks the durable psychological attachments to political parties seen in the United States. Contradicting what had been hypothesized in the influential "Michigan model" (e.g., Campbell et al. 1960), many voters identify only weakly with a party, sizable numbers identify with different parties in federal (national) and provincial politics, and large minorities have changed their party identifications at one or both levels of government over time. Weak, inconsistent, and unstable party identifications long have been a hallmark of Canadian political psychology (e.g., Meisel 1972; Clarke et al. 1979; Clarke and McCutcheon 2009; Clarke, Kornberg, and Scotto 2009, 2012).

This is not to say that Canadians' psychological attachments to political parties are inconsequential for the electoral choices they make at particular points in time. Indeed, as in other mature democracies, partisanship functions as a major heuristic that helps to guide political choice (e.g., Clarke, Kornberg and Scotto 2009; Gigendil et al. 2012). Similar to judgments about party performance, the pattern of aggregate partisan change between 2011 and 2015 was favorable to the Liberals (see Figure 3). In 2011, 30% reported that they were CPC identifiers and only 18% said that they were Liberal identifiers. Four years later, the share of Conservative partisans had dropped by 4

percentage points and the Liberal group had grown by a healthy 8 percentage points. This meant that both parties had exactly the same percentage of partisans—26%. This figure is not especially large but it was substantially greater than that for the New Democrat Party. In 2011, 17% of the electorate reported an NDP identification; by 2015, 14% did so. The latter number is only slightly above the 11% NDP partisan share reported in the first Canadian national election study conducted in 1965, a half century earlier. The numbers of Conservative and Liberal partisans were much higher then—in 1965, 37% said they were Conservatives and an impressive 47% reported that they were Liberals. Other things being equal, the latter number certainly would be, and the latter could be, sufficient to produce a majority government. By contrast, the 26% partisan shares the Liberals and Conservatives had in 2015 were clearly insufficient to do so.

(Figure 3 about here)

C. Leader Images

Tied with their CPC rivals on partisanship and only marginally ahead on party performance judgments, the Liberals needed a strong boost from the third major valence politics variable—leader image—to deliver victory in 2015. The new Liberal Leader, Justin Trudeau, accomplished that task. Eldest son of former long-time Liberal prime minister Pierre Trudeau, Justin Trudeau was elected leader of the federal Liberals in April 2013. Although his famous surname might generate a nostalgic appeal to older segments of the electorate, commentators expressed doubts that he would be able to come anywhere close to matching the performance his father had delivered a half century

earlier. Indeed, some critics opined that Justin Trudeau was an inexperienced, intellectual "light weight." Trudeau senior had suffered his share of criticisms, but a lack of brains was not a charge easily leveled against him. A prolific author, journal editor, and high profile public intellectual known for his incisive criticisms of Quebec's provincial political establishment, Pierre Trudeau clearly had the cognitive wherewithal to be prime minister.

Preparing for the 2015 election, CPC strategists attempted to capitalize on the doubts voiced about Justin Trudeau's capacity to be an effective prime minister. Following a game plan they had used successfully before the 2008 and 2011 federal elections, the Conservatives ran pre-campaign attack ads against him. In 2008, they had successfully characterized former Liberal Leader, Stéphane Dion, as "Not a Leader." In 2011, they had charged that his successor, Michael Ignatieff, was "Just Visiting." In 2015, they attempted to capitalize on Justin Trudeau's lack of significant public or private sector experience and his youthful looks by framing him as "Just Not Ready." Using a setting purporting to be a meeting of a committee evaluating job candidates, actors took turns explaining why Trudeau was manifestly unsuited for a major position—charging that his policy positions were unclear or non-existent and opining that "being prime minister is not an entry-level job." After "just not ready" was scribbled in large red letters on Trudeau's resume, a member of the committee quipped "nice hair, though!"

The ad did not work. Running neck-and-neck with their rivals in public opinion polls and wishing to give Trudeau ample opportunity to demonstrate his unsuitability to be prime minister, the Conservatives had scheduled a two-and one-half month campaign (long by Canadian standards) and agreed to five leader debates. To their surprise,

Trudeau used the debates and the long campaign to introduce himself to the electorate and advocate policies that appealed to many Canadians. Explicitly rejecting the CPC claim that he was not ready to govern, Trudeau argued that Canadians were not ready for four more years of Conservative mismanagement of the country's economy. If elected, a Trudeau-led Liberal Government would adopt a neo-Keynesian approach, running "modest" deficits to put unemployed Canadians to work, jump-start growth, and expand public infrastructure. With the Conservatives burdened by a stream of bad news about the economy[6] and the NDP desperate to demonstrate that they would be sound stewards of the nation's business who would eschew reckless "tax and spend" policies, Trudeau and the Liberals had the economic policy-innovation field to themselves. Trudeau seized the opportunity, and his ability to articulate a reasoned plan to revitalize the Canadian economy did much to negate charges that he was not up to the job of leading the country. Trudeau was able to generate an image as an energetic, youthful leader of a party determined to bring "real change," which resonated with large numbers of voters.[7]

Figures 4 and 5 document the extent of his appeal. In 2011, his predecessor, erstwhile Harvard professor Michael Ignatieff, had recorded a dismal mean score of 3.0 on a 0 (dislike) to 10 (like) scale. This was one of the lowest affect ratings ever recorded for any leader of any Canadian political party. Four years later, Trudeau's mean score was a very healthy 5.2. This put him slightly ahead of NDP Leader Thomas Mulcair and well ahead of CPC Leader Stephen Harper. Harper's 2015 mean like-dislike score was only 3.7, a full point below what he had recorded in 2011. The conclusion that Trudeau was more warmly received than his competitors is reinforced by the data in Figure 5, which show that 44% of those surveyed had a positive impression of him, whereas 30%

had a negative impression. While Mulcair's numbers also were favorable on balance

(35% positive versus 28% negative), those for Harper were massively unfavorable, with

only 27% saying they had a positive impression of him and a clear majority (54%)

indicating a negative impression.

(Figures 4 and 5 about here)

Harper's image problem was not simply that voters did not like him. Never

widely popular, he had relied heavily on perceptions that he was the most competent

leader to manage the country's economy. Perhaps impressed by the fact that Harper held

a graduate degree in economics from the University of Calgary or his serious demeanor,

many voters had accepted his claim. For example, in 2011, 37% of those surveyed said

that Harper was best able to handle the economy, whereas only 21% and 11%,

respectively, chose his NDP or Liberal competitors. Four years later, Harper's reputation

for sound economic management had been seriously eroded—only 28% believed he was

most capable on the issue. This was only slightly more than the 26% who favored Justin

Trudeau, while Thomas Mulcair trailing badly at 14%. With the competence gap

between himself and his Conservative rival closed, Trudeau had the public image needed

to help his party attract large numbers of voters.

As the campaign progressed, with Conservative support stalled and the Liberals

starting to surge, Prime Minister Harper and his advisors realized they were in trouble.

Seizing on a Quebec Supreme Court decision that would allow Muslim women to wear

the niqab (veil) during the Canadian citizenship ceremony, they tried to direct the

narrative of the campaign away from the economy and towards cultural issues with potential to divide the Liberal vote. It was announced that a new Conservative government would take steps to make sure women did not wear a niqab during the citizen ceremony and, furthermore, the government would set up a hotline where tipsters could call in to report people perpetrating "barbaric cultural practices." The strategy failed. Analyses of the Abacus survey data show that although over two-thirds of those concerned with the niqab and related cultural issues such as immigration and treatment of refugees favored the Conservatives, only 4% accorded high priority to these issues. Moreover, in Quebec, where the niqab controversy played most strongly, the chief effect seemed to be to move voters from the NDP to the Liberals, thus augmenting rather than eroding the latter party's support in a key province and propelling its' momentum in national polls.

With the niqab ploy failing, in the closing days of the campaign the Conservatives turned to Rob Ford, the former mayor of Toronto who had gained international notoriety for substance abuse. With Ford at his side, Prime Minister Harper tried desperately to rally Conservative support in hotly contested suburban Toronto ridings. It was to no avail. Burdened with a spluttering economy and an unpopular leader, the CPC campaign ground to a halt far short of Parliament Hill.

At the Polls: 2015 and 1968

As the elections returns came in on the evening of October 19th, it quickly became obvious that the Liberals were in for a big night. Sweeping every seat in Atlantic Canada, the party also won the majority of seats in Quebec and Ontario, as well as

pluralities in Manitoba and British Columbia. The result was a massive majority

government, with the Liberals winning 184 of 338 seats in Parliament. It was a total

turnaround for the Liberals who four years earlier won only 34 of 308 seats, their worst

performance in history.[8] In 2011, both the Conservatives and the NDP had celebrated,

with the CPC winning a majority government and the NDP becoming the official

opposition. However, both parties were big losers in 2015, with the Conservatives

capturing only 99 seats and the NDP only 44. These totals were 67 and 59 seats fewer

than the two parties had gained in 2011. Popular vote swings were massive as well, with

the Liberals increasing their vote share from 18.9% to fully 39.5%. In contrast, the CPC

and NDP vote totals fell sharply. The CPC was down nearly 8% (from 39.6% to 31.9%)

and the NDP nearly 11% (from 30.6% to 19.7%).

As in many previous elections, valence politics considerations did much to shape

the choices votes made in 2015. The point can be illustrated by multivariate analyses of

Liberal voting that employ party performance judgments, partisanship, and leader images

as featured predictor variables.[9] To provide intuition, the results of these analyses are

used to construct scenarios where the probability of voting Liberal is computed as

predictor variables are moved from their minimum to maximum values, holding other

predictors at their means. The results are summarized in Figure 6.

(Figure 6 about here)

As shown, party performance judgments, partisan identifications, and leader

images all had substantial effects on Liberal voting in 2015. Regarding performance

judgments, the probability of voting Liberal increased by .32 points if a voter went from thinking no party is best on an important issue to believing that the Liberals were best. If a voter moved from the Conservatives to the Liberals as best on most important issue, the probability of voting Liberal went up by an impressive .66 points. Partisan effects were large as well, with the likelihood of a Liberal vote moving upward by .35 points if someone changed from an NDP to a Liberal identification. Simply abandoning a CPC identification and becoming a non-identifier was enough to boost the probability of voting Liberal by .27 points. Partisan switching involving other parties had substantial effects as well. For example, if someone abandoned a Green identification in favor of a Liberal one, the probability of casting a Liberal ballot climbed by .44 points.

Leader images were very much in evidence. As feelings about Justin Trudeau increased from very negative to very positive, the probability of voting Liberal increased by .68 points. This impressive effect is consonant with evidence presented above regarding the favorable reception much of the electorate gave the new Liberal leader. Impressions of the other party leaders mattered for Liberal voting as well and, as expected, as feelings about them became more sanguine the probability of a Liberal ballot decreased. These negative effects were not as large as the positive impact of feelings about Trudeau, but they were nonetheless sizable, averaging -.30 points. The strength of leader effects in 2015 is typical for Canadian federal elections, a point that can be appreciated by taking a brief trip back in time—to 1968 when Justin Trudeau's father, Pierre Trudeau, propelled the Liberals to a large majority in his first campaign as party leader.

D. Trudeaumania

As observed above, Justin was not the first Trudeau to lead the Liberal Party to victory over the Conservatives in a federal election. Nearly a half century earlier, in 1968, his father, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, had accomplished the same mission. At that time, the economy was in reasonably good health, with unemployment at a modest 4.5% and GDP growth at a healthy 5.3%. However, a major issue concerned growing nationalist sentiments in Quebec, sentiments that were accompanied by increasingly strident calls for the province to separate from the rest of Canada. Indeed, Pierre Trudeau had been recruited by the federal Liberals in 1965 as one of "three wise men" from Quebec[10] to address the separatist threat. Subsequently, perceptions that he could appeal to the restive Quebec electorate had helped him become Liberal leader in April 1968.

With the Liberals in power as a minority government, Trudeau called an election shortly after winning his party's leadership. Espousing a variety of progressive views and advantaged by a "cool" media savvy presence (McLuhan 1964), the youthful, fluently bilingual, and comfortably bicultural prime minister quickly became a popular figure throughout much of the country and "Trudeaumania" gripped press and public alike. Indicative of his appeal, his affect score in the 1968 Canadian Election Study survey was 6.9 on a 1-10 scale. Adjusted to 6.3 on a 0-10 scale, his rating remains the highest ever recorded for a leader of one Canada's federal parties. Although the rival party leaders, Robert Stanfield for the Conservatives and Tommy Douglas for the NDP, also were quite well regarded, they could not match the charisma of their Liberal counterpart. Campaigning with the strikingly simple (and very late 1960s) slogan "It's

Spring!," Trudeau engaged his competitors in the first-ever Canadian federal party leader debate. The election was held on June 25th.

To calibrate the impact of Trudeau's image on voting in the 1968 federal election, we again perform a multivariate analysis of Liberal voting using a model that contains variables measuring feelings about party leaders, partisanship, and party preferences on various issues,[11] together with controls for economic evaluations and socio-demographic characteristics. The results resemble those for 2015, with leader images, partisanship and party-issue preferences all having predictable and statistically significant effects on the likelihood of voting Liberal.

Particularly noteworthy is the impact of Pierre Trudeau's image. With other predictor variables set at their means, the probability of voting Liberal in 1968 climbs from .06 to .75 as feelings about Trudeau become increasingly sanguine (see Figure 7). The large increase is nearly identical in magnitude to that estimated for his son, Justin Trudeau, in 2015. Since many voters had been favorably disposed towards Pierre Trudeau in 1968, his powerful leader image effect helped the Liberals to reap a bountiful harvest at the polls. When the votes were counted, the Liberals had won 45.4% as compared to only 31.4% for the Conservatives and 17.0% for the NDP. Those numbers were sufficient to give the Liberals a comfortable majority (154 of 264 seats) in Parliament. The first Trudeau era had begun.

Conclusion: Like Father, Like Son

For longtime followers of Canadian politics, the 2015 federal election had a number of familiar elements. Featuring sizable campaign dynamics, the contest resulted
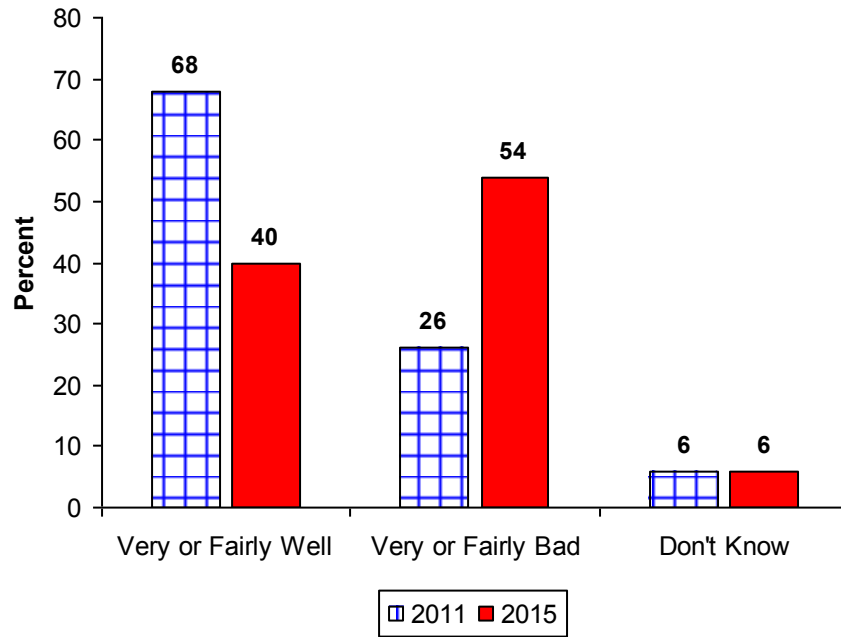
in large swings in both votes and seats and the installation of a Liberal government. And, conjuring abundant political nostalgia, the new prime minister was named Trudeau. As argued above, the Liberal victory in 2015 was the product of a number of factors. The economy was in the doldrums and the governing Conservatives were unpopular throughout much of the country. Although the CPC Leader, Prime Minister Harper, reiterated his familiar argument that he was most competent to manage the country's affairs, many voters rejected the claim. With a slow-growing economy recently sliding into recession, the Canadian dollar at 76 cents U.S., and unemployment at 7%, Harper's assertion lacked *prima facie* credibility. Never particularly popular, the stern Harper had relied heavily on his image of managerial competence. In 2015, voter coolness towards him had turned to outright hostility across much of the electorate and his image as a "safe pair of hands" was badly tarnished.

In sharp contrast, the new Liberal Leader, Justin Trudeau, was warmly received throughout much of the country. Employing a strategy they had used successfully in previous elections, the Conservatives attempted to portray Trudeau as manifestly ill-prepared to lead the country. The strategy backfired; it set a very low bar for Trudeau and he proceeded to demonstrate that he could easily jump over it by articulating a variety of reasonable policies designed to advance the national interest. On the campaign trail, he proved to be an energetic, optimistic, and personable campaigner. Rejecting the "wedge issues" and negative campaigning of his opponents, Trudeau echoed 19th century Liberal Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier and attributed his political success to espousing "sunny ways."

Multivariate analyses demonstrate that valence politics considerations—leader images, party performance judgments, and partisan identifications—were important for understanding the electoral choices Canadians made in 2015. Controlling for several other factors, leader images had statistically significant and substantively consequential effects on the likelihood of Liberal voting, with variations in feelings about Trudeau being particularly powerful. Performance judgments and partisanship had strong effects as well, with widespread perceptions of Conservative shortcomings on the dominant issue—the economy—doing much to erode the strength the Conservatives had enjoyed on that issue in earlier elections.
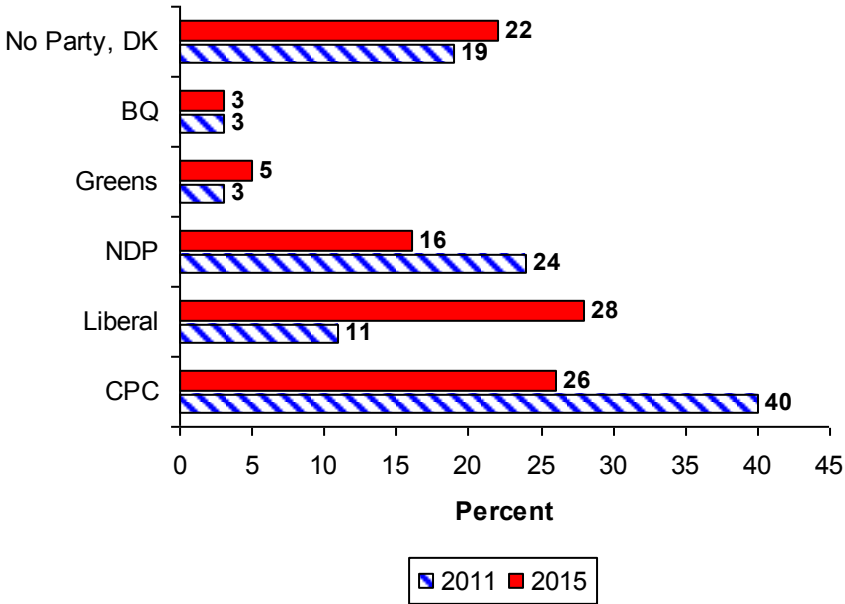
The power of these valence politics forces should not surprise. As shown above, voters' favorable reactions to Justin Trudeau's father, Pierre Trudeau, did much to propel him to power in 1968. Strong leader image effects like these are not attributable to some sort of "Trudeau magic." Rather, beginning with the very early national election studies, decades of research on voting behavior in Canada have repeatedly demonstrated that leader images are highly influential heuristics, cues that voters rely on when making their electoral decisions. Together with partisan identifications and judgments about party performance on the economy and other key valence issues, leader images work to shape political choice in Canada and elsewhere. Like his father before him, Justin Trudeau emphasized this point in the 2015 federal election.

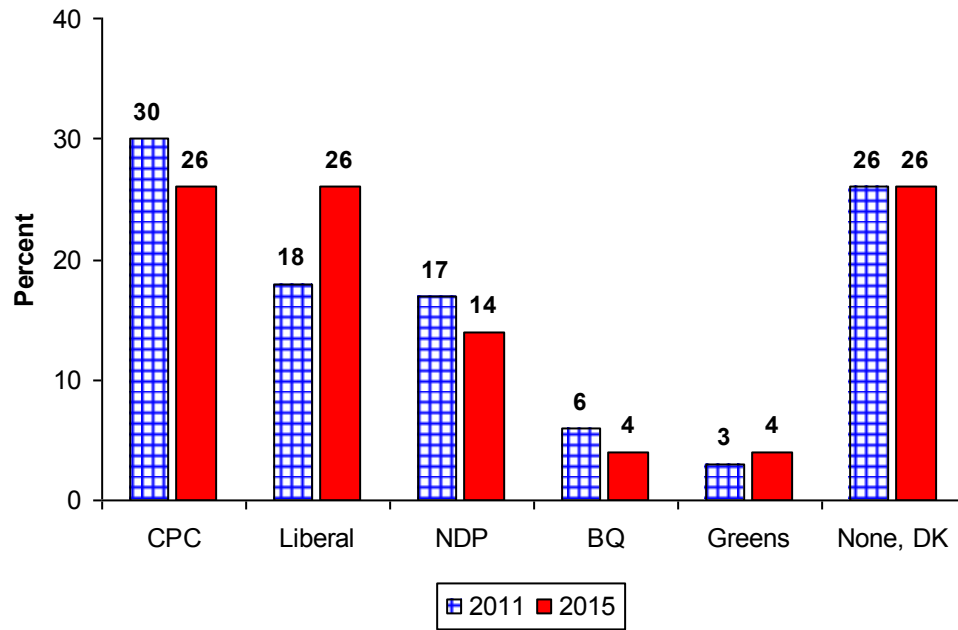Figure 1: Evaluations of the Economy, 2011 and 2015

Source: 2011 Political Support in Canada pre-election survey, 2015 Abacus pre-election survey.

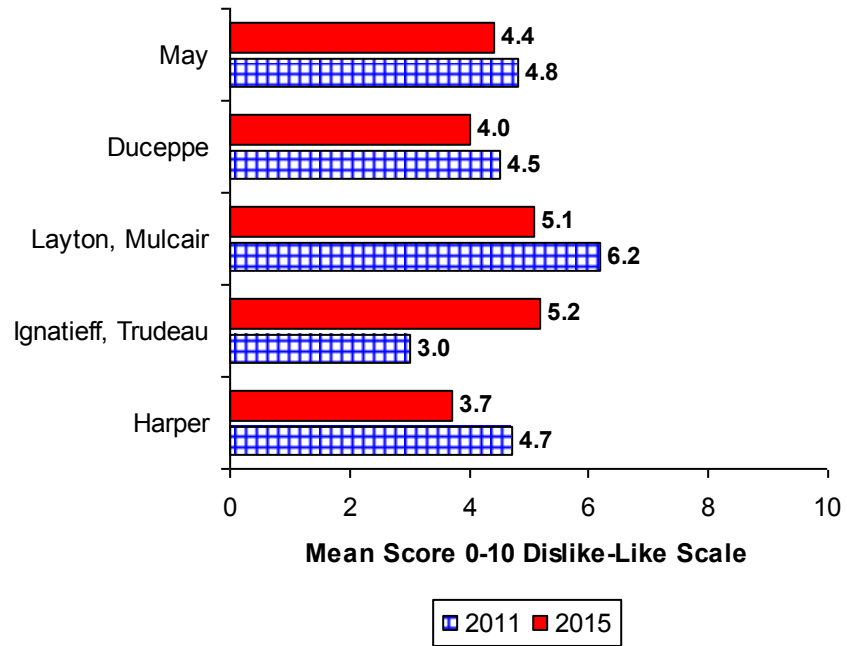Figure 2: Party Best Able to Handle Most Important Issue, 2011 and 2015

Party	2011	2015
No Party, DK	19	22
BQ	3	3
Greens	3	5
NDP	24	16
Liberal	11	28
CPC	40	26

Source: 2015 Abacus pre-election survey.

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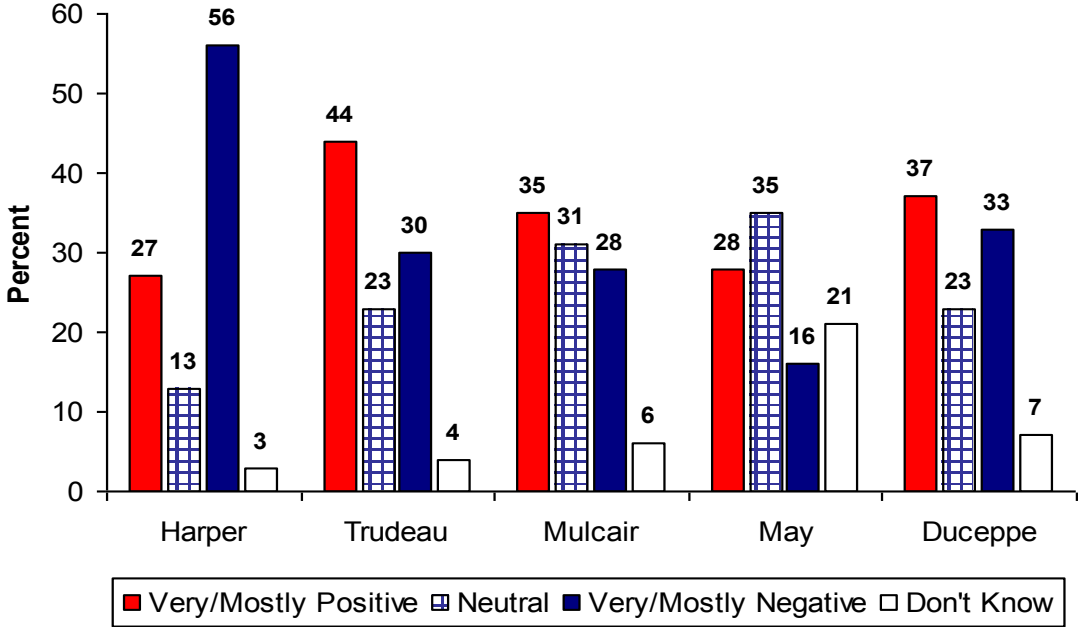Figure 3: Federal Party Identification, 2011 and 2015

Source: 2011 Political Support in Canada pre-election survey, 2015 Abacus pre-election survey.

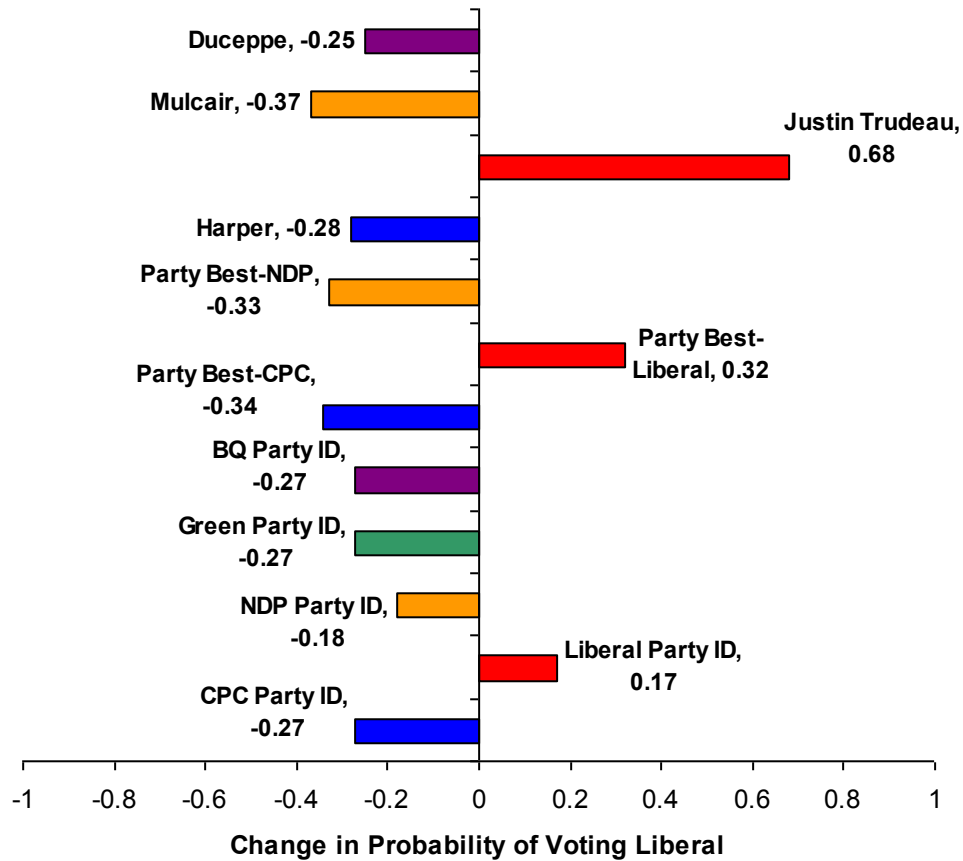Figure 4: Feelings About Party Leaders, 2011 and 2015

Source: 2011 Political Support in Canada post-election survey, 2015 Local Parliament Project pre-election survey.

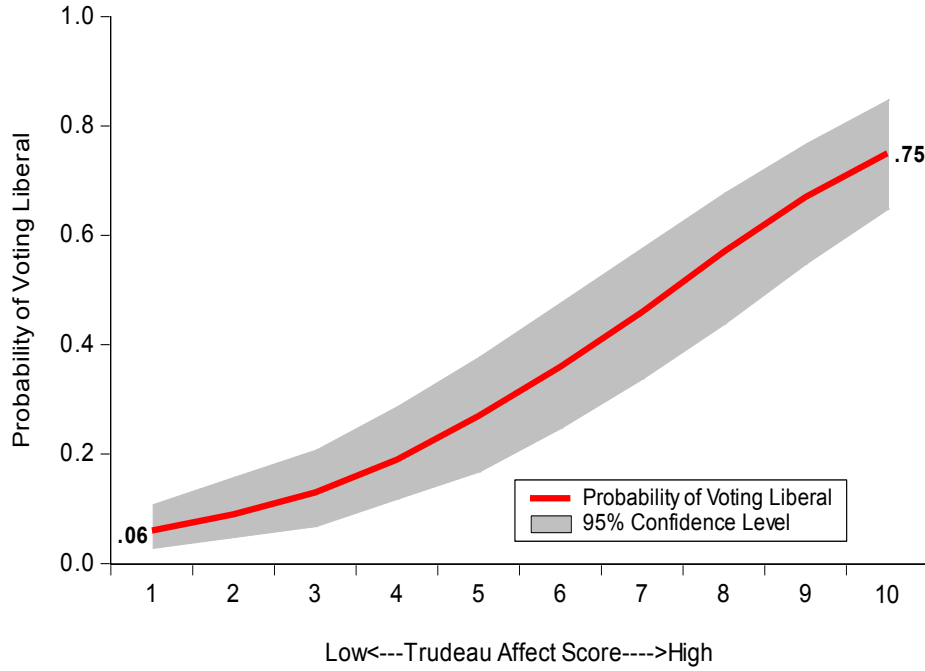Figure 5: Impressions of Party Leaders in 2015

Source: 2015 Abacus survey.

Figure 6: Effects of Valence Politics Variables on Probability of Voting Liberal in 2015 Federal Election

Source: Calculations based on binomial logit analysis of Liberal voting in 2015 federal election.

Figure 7: Effects of Feelings About Pierre Trudeau on Probability of Voting Liberal in the 1968 Federal Election

Source: Calculations based on binomial logit analysis of Liberal voting in 1968 federal election.

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Appendix

Description of 2015 Abacus Survey Variables

Impressions of Party Leaders: Respondents were asked "Do you have a positive or a negative impression of the following people?" The people were: "Prime Minister Stephen Harper," "Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau," "NDP Leader Thomas Mulcair," "Green Leader Elizabeth May," "BQ Leader Gilles Duceppe." For purposes of the multivariate analysis, the response categories were coded: "very positive" = 5, "mostly positive" = 4, "neutral/don't know" = 3, "mostly negative" = 2, "very negative" = 1.

Prime Minister Harper's Handling the Economy: Respondents were asked: "Has the Federal Government led by Stephen Harper done a very good job, a good job, a poor job, or a very poor job <u>managing the economy</u>?"

Most Important Issue: Respondents were asked an open-ended question: "As far as you're concerned, what is the SINGLE MOST important issue facing the country at the present time?" Answers were coded by the survey firm (Abacus).

Party Best Able to Handle Most Important Issue: The question was: "Which party is best able to handle this issue? For purposes of the multivariate analysis responses were coded into 0-1 dummy variables, e.g., CPC = 1, other party = 0, with "no party" and "don't know" as the reference category.

Party Identification: "The question was: Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Conservative, Liberal, NDP, or what? For the multivariate analysis responses were coded into 0-1 dummy variables, e.g., CPC = 1, other party = 0, with "no party" and "don't know" as the reference category.

State of the Economy: Respondents were asked: "How would you rate the current state of the economy in Canada?" For the multivariate analysis response categories were scored: "very good=4," "good=3," "bad=2," "very bad=1."

Cultural Issues: *Niqab*: Some people believe that anyone taking the oath of Canadian citizenship should be required to have their face uncovered during the ceremony. Others believe that if some women, for religious reasons, choose to wear a face covering such as a niqab, they should be allowed to wear it during the ceremony. Which point of view is closer to yours? (1) "Anyone taking the oath of Canadian citizenship should be required to have their face uncovered during the ceremony;" (2) "If some women, for religious reasons, choose to wear a face covering such as a niqab, they should be allowed to wear it during the ceremony." Which would be your personal preference in terms of how this is handled? (1) "Women should be allowed to wear a face covering during the public ceremony and prove their identity to a citizenship officer before the ceremony begins," (2) "Women should be allowed to wear a face covering during the ceremony and should not be required to remove it to prove their identity before the ceremony," (3) "Women should not be allowed to wear a face covering during the ceremony regardless of whether

their identity has already been established." The latter 3 response categories are scored 2, 1 and 3 respectively for purposes of the multivariate analysis.

Minority Cultures: The question was: "Some people say that we should do more to help minorities keep their culture. Others say that the priority should be on Canadian culture and tradition. Should the federal government: (1) "do more to help minorities keep their culture," (2) "priority should be on Canadian culture and tradition," (3) "Keep the balance as it is now." For the multivariate analyses, these three categories were scored: 1, 3 and 2, respectively. *Refugees*: The question was: How many refugees do you think Canada should take in? Response categories are: (1) "a lot more than now," (2) "about the same as now," (3) "a lot less than now." For the multivariate analysis, these three categories are scores 1, 2, and 3, respectively.

An overall cultural issues index is created by added the scores for the three variables.

Ideological Orientation: Respondents were asked: Do you consider yourself to be on the right, the centre right, the centre, the centre left, or the left of the political spectrum? For the multivariate analysis response categories are scored: "left" = 1, "centre left" = 2, "center" = 3, "center right" = 4, "right" = 5.

Socio-Demographics: Age: age in years, with missing data recoded to the mean value; *Education*: a five-category ordinal scale variable ranging from less than high school = 1 to graduate school or higher =5, with missing data recoded to the median; *Gender*: a 0-1 dummy variable, with men scored 1 and women, 0; *Income*: a five-category ordinal variable ranging from $35,000 or less per year (scored 1) to $100,000 or more (scored 5), with missing data are recoded to the median; *Region-Ethnicity*: a series of 0-1 dummy variables: Atlantic (Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick), Quebec-Francophone, Quebec-non-Francophone, Prairies (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta), British Columbia. Ontario is the reference category.

Voting Behavior: Respondents were asked if they would vote/had voted in the 2015 federal election and, if so, which party they chose. For the multivariate analysis, those supporting the Liberals are scored 1 and those supporting another party are scored 0. Non-voters are not included in the analysis.

Endnotes

[1] The survey data were provided by Abacus Data and the Local Parliament Project. The Abacus survey was conducted just before the October 19, 2015 federal election. The Local Parliament surveys were conducted before and after the election. We thank David Coletto of Abacus Data for making the Abacus data available to us. We also thank Peter Loewen and Daniel Rubenson of the Local Parliament Project for enabling us to participate in the Local Parliament project. Survey questionnaires are available at: www.thomasjscotto.co.uk

[2] The 1968 Canadian Election Study data and accompanying documentation are available from the ICPSR Data Archive.

[3] See, e.g., Clarke et al. (1979, 1996) and Meisel (1972). Recent studies include Clarke, Kornberg, and Stewart (2009) and Gidengil et al. (2012). For a review, see Clarke, Kornberg, and Scotto (2012). The theoretical and methodological underpinnings of research on electoral choice in Canada owe much to work by Angus Campbell and his colleagues at the University of Michigan in the 1950s, e.g., Campbell et al. (1960). For a useful history of Canadian national elections, see LeDuc et al. (2010).

[4] For a detailed discussion of forces at work in the 2015 Canadian federal election, see Pammett and Dornan (2016). On the preceding 2011 federal election, see Pammett and Dornan (2012).

[5] Valence issues are ones for which there broad public consensus on the ends of public policy. A prime example is the economy—virtually everyone wants strong, sustainable economic growth coupled with low levels of inflation and unemployment. Affordable, readily available, high quality health care and education and national and personal security (protection from terrorists, rogue regimes and common criminals) are other prominent examples. On the importance of valence issues for understanding electoral choice, see Stokes (1963, 1992). For recent discussions, see Clarke, Kornberg, and Scotto (2012); Whiteley et al. (2013); Clarke et al. (2015).

[6] Prime Minister Harper and the Conservatives also were buffeted by a widely publicized scandal involving Conservative Senator Mike Duffy who was charged with 31 criminal charges including fraud and bribery. In April 2016, long after the election was over, Duffy was acquitted on all 31 counts.

[7] An analysis of public opinion polls shows sizable pro-Liberal dynamics over the course of the 2015 campaign. In contrast, NDP support moves downward through much of the period and Conservative support is largely stalled. The canonical study of campaign dynamics in Canadian federal elections is Johnston et al. (1992).

[8] Immediately after his party's disastrous performance, Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff resigned and took a position at Massey College, University of Toronto. He subsequently returned to Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

[9] The vote model includes controls for left-right ideology, attitudes towards various cultural issues debated in the campaign, economic evaluations, and socio-demographics (age, education, gender, income, region-ethnicity). Since the dependent variable in the model is a dichotomy (e.g., vote Liberal = 1, vote other party = 0), parameters are estimated by binomial logit analyses. See, e.g., Long and Freese (2014).

[10] The other two "wise men" accompanying Trudeau to Ottawa were prominent journalist Gérard Pelletier and trade union leader Jean Marchand.

[11] Although the 1968 election survey included leader image and party identification measures quite similar to those available in the 2015 surveys and several other Canadian election surveys, it did not include a question asking respondents which party was best on the issue they considered most important. A variable summarizing party preferences on several issues is employed as a substitute. Details on variables used for the 1968 analyses are available at www.thomasjscotto.co.uk