

Immigration, Culture and Populist Backlash Is Canada Exceptional?

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International Image



Sources of populist backlash elsewhere

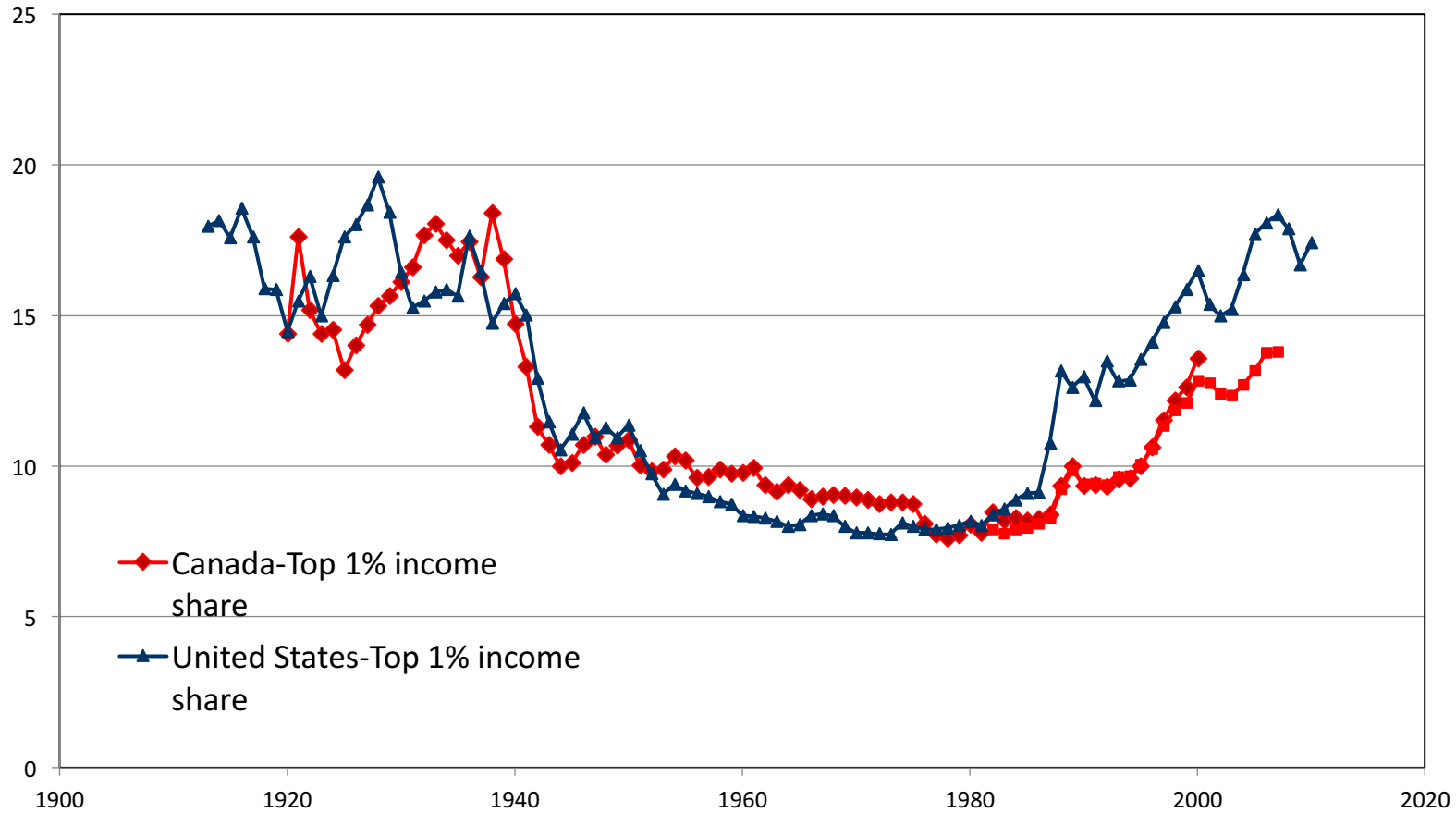
- Economic insecurity
 - Inequality, precarious employment, economic anxiety
- Cultural insecurity
 - Diversity and cultural change
 - ‘I don’t recognize my country any more’
- Political incentives
 - Political incentives to mobilize anti-immigrant backlash

“The groundswell of support for populists ultimately reflects economic insecurity, but its immediate cause is a backlash against rapid cultural change” (Inglehart and Norris, June 2017).

Economic insecurity in Canada?



Inequality: Top 1% in Canada and U.S.



Drivers of economic insecurity

- Growth of 'precarious' employment
 - 1/3 of jobs are non-standard; bit below OECD average
 - Risk of unstable incomes, unemployment
 - Less access to benefits, EI, training
- Pressures on the middle class
 - Polarization and shrinkage of middle-income earners
 - Low growth in average real wages
 - Young adults: loans, low starting incomes, delayed adulthood
 - Retirement: Inadequate savings among lower middle class
 - Personal economic situation vs direction of the economy
 - IPSOS Survey (May 2017): weakening of economic optimism

Public Attitudes: Sense of Being Middle Class

EKOS 2014

How important are the following aspects to your definition of what it means to be middle class?

Being able to retire on a secure income	70%
Having a secure job	68%
Being financially secure	68%

Would you describe you and your household as poor, working class, middle class, or upper class? *% responding middle class*

2002	68%
2014	47%

Public Attitudes: Weakening of Middle Class

EKOS 2104

Moved ahead, fallen behind, or stayed the same in the last 25 years?

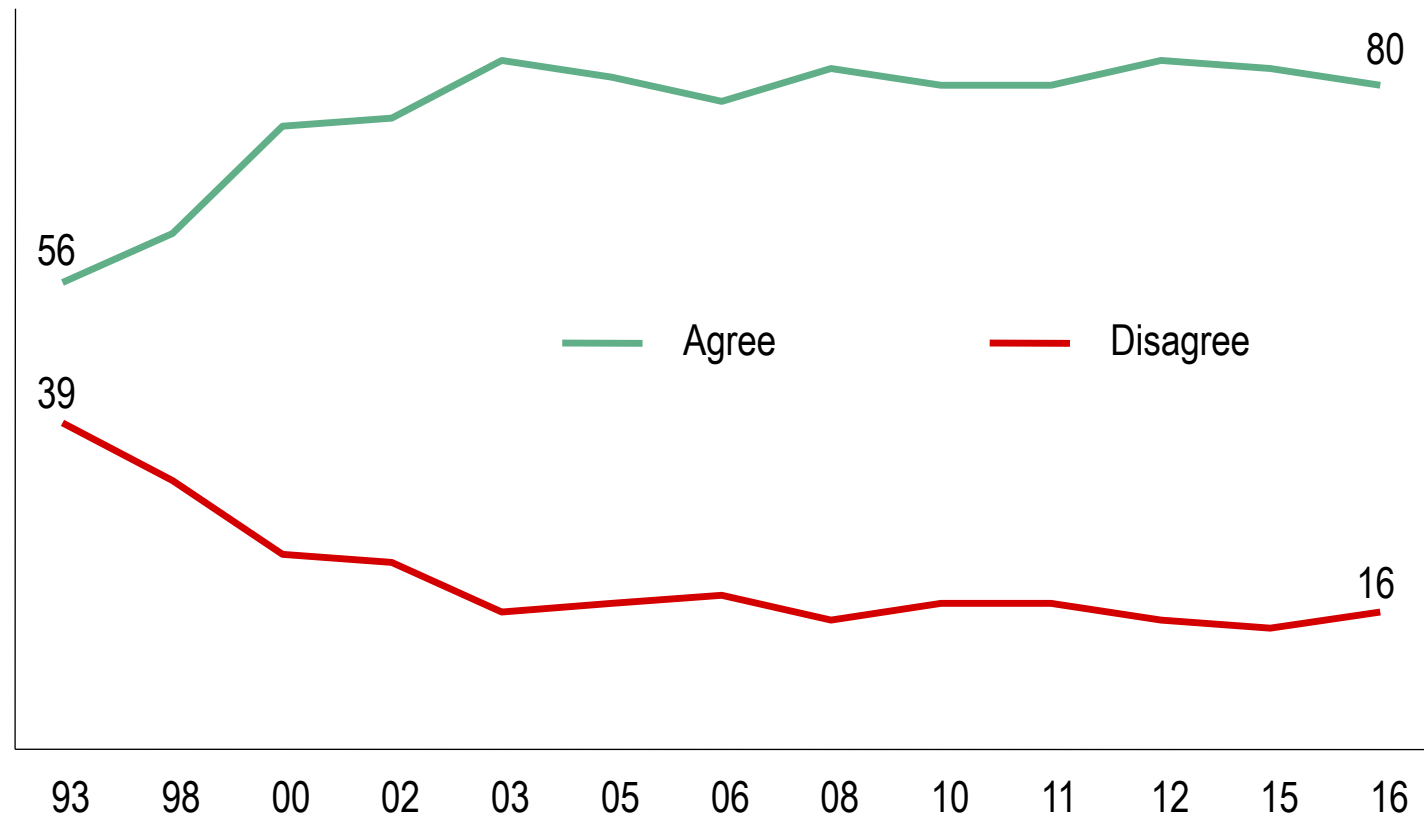
Moved ahead	CEOs of large companies	89%
	Banking/financial employees	63%
Fallen behind	Manual collar workers	56%
	Middle class	70%

Causes of stagnation or decline of the middle class?

Excessive concentration of wealth at top	69%
Wage and income stagnation	57%
Diminished universal social programs	39%
Reduced individual and corporate taxes	34%

Economic threat?

The economic impact of immigrants is positive, 1985-2016



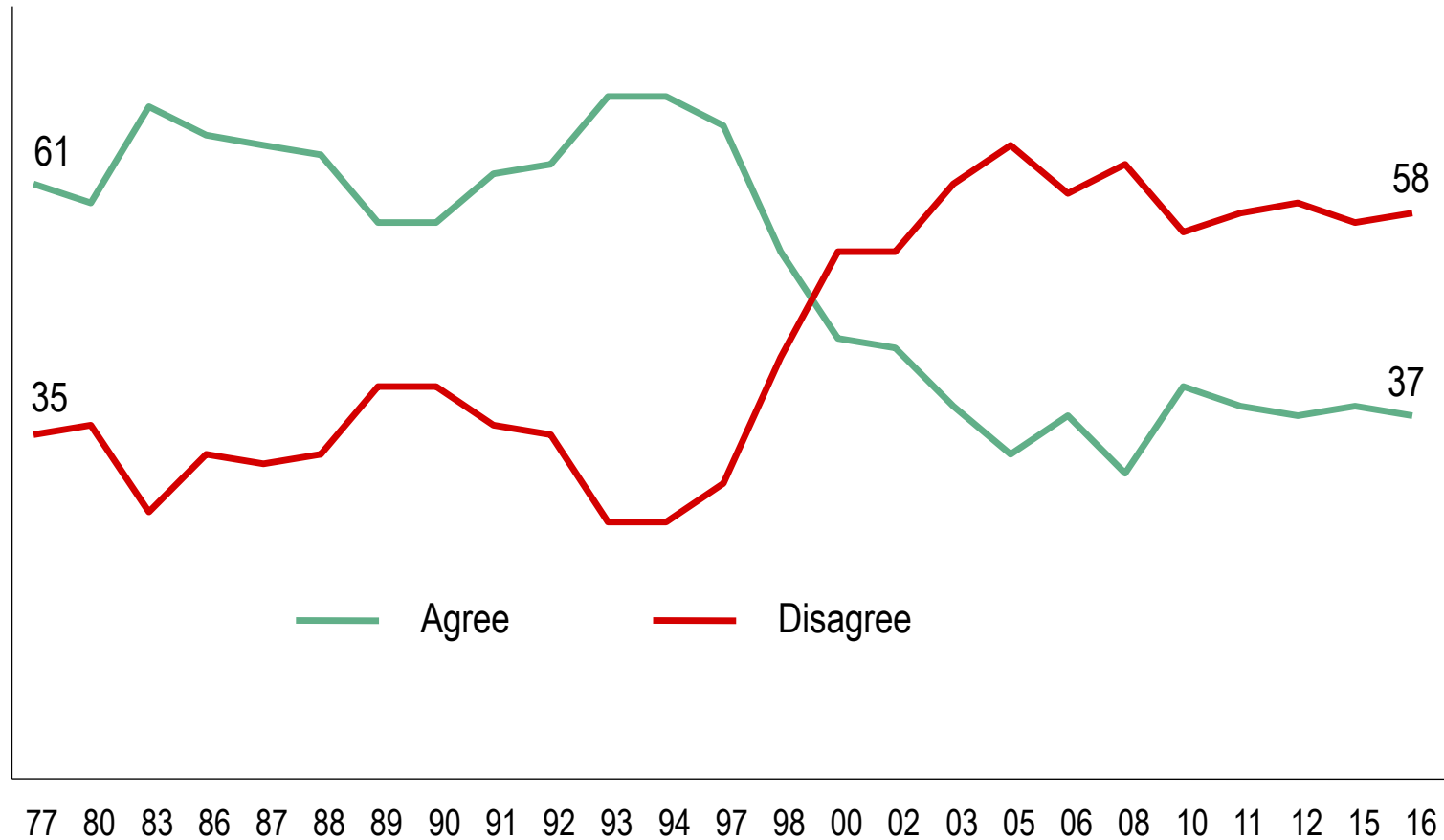
Focus Canada (2016)

Cultural insecurity in Canada?



Cultural Insecurity? Immigration

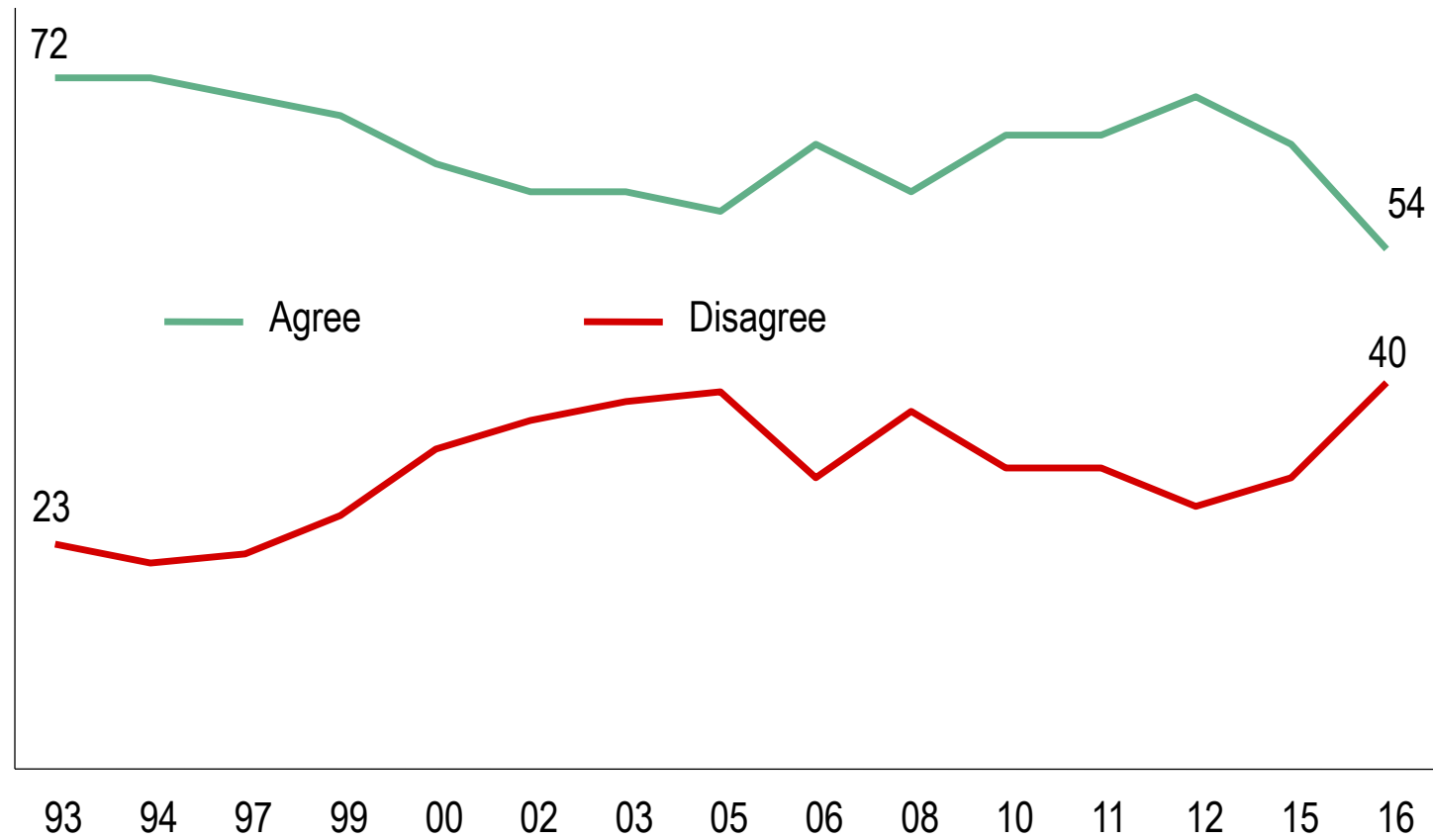
Immigration levels are too high, 1977-2016



Focus Canada (2016)

Cultural insecurity? Canadian values

Too many immigrants do not adopt Canadian values, 1993-2016



Focus Canada (2016)

Cultural Insecurity? Canadian Identity

How important is each of the following to being truly [American / Canadian]?

Percent

	To have been born in [the US / Canada]			To have [American / Canadian] ancestry			To be Christian		
	US	ROC	Que	US	ROC	Que	US	ROC	Que
Very	40	34	37	29	21	24	35	20	10
Some	29	30	31	29	34	30	20	21	19
Not very	21	23	22	27	26	31	21	23	34
Not at all	10	14	9	14	19	14	24	35	37

Canadian attitudes to diversity

- Three attitudinal clusters
 - Multicultural enthusiasts
 - Conditional multiculturalists
 - Canadian who are uncomfortable with the new Canada
- Survey of attitudes towards multiculturalism policies*
 - *Recognition*: symbolic affirmations of diversity, fairness to immigrants
 - *Accommodation*: room for difference (e.g., exemptions from dress codes)
 - *Support*: targeted benefits (e.g., grants to ethnic groups; affirmative action)

*See supplementary slides for details of survey results.

Political Incentives: the Populist's Paradox



Clusters of attitudes: 2015 election

	Pro-immigration	Anti-Immigration
Pro-trade	39% Lib: 45% Con: 36% NDP: 36%	22% Lib: 17% Con: 32% NDP: 17%
Anti-trade	19% Lib: 22% Con: 10% NDP: 25%	20% Lib: 17% Con: 22% NDP: 22%

Source: Peter Loewen, Presentation to the CPSA, May 2017. (Canadian Election Survey, 2015)

Populist's Paradox

- Electoral weight of immigrant votes
 - High level of naturalization; similar turnout to full electorate
 - First and second generation immigrants: large electorate
 - Concentration in electorally salient regions
- Electoral system
 - Barrier to smaller parties with diffuse support
 - Raises level of discontent for breakthrough
- Populist's paradox
 - Need to appeal to both immigrants and conservative base

Policy Implications

- Economic policy
 - Key agenda: inclusive economic growth
 - Legitimate but controversial policy levers
- Immigration policy
 - Protecting the divide between economic insecurity and immigration
 - Temporary foreign workers
 - Secure borders
- Multicultural policy
 - Importance of political discourse and symbolic politics
 - Creating ways for immigrants to demonstrate their contributions

SUPPLEMENTARY SLIDES

Public attitudes to multiculturalism policies

Recognition

	Pass law declaring ethnic & cultural diversity to be fundamental to national identity			Ensuring schools teach about the role of minorities & immigrants			Requiring that the media represent minorities fairly		
	US	ROC	Que	US	ROC	Que	US	ROC	Que
Str. support	18	14	15	26	27	15	30	26	13
Support	23	24	21	34	33	32	26	30	31
Neither	37	35	31	28	27	36	31	34	40
Oppose	11	13	17	7	8	8	7	7	9
Str. oppose	11	15	16	4	5	10	6	3	6

Public attitudes to multiculturalism policies

Accommodation

	Allowing police & armed forces to wear religious headgear while on duty			Allowing immigrants to keep their citizenship after becoming citizens			Requiring public schools to offer classes in immigrant language		
	US	ROC	Que	US	ROC	Que	US	ROC	Que
Str. support	8	10	3	12	16	10	8	5	3
Support	12	17	3	17	17	18	14	10	4
Neither	19	18	9	29	26	30	20	17	10
Oppose	19	17	18	16	16	17	20	25	23
Str. oppose	42	38	68	26	25	25	37	44	61

Public attitudes to multiculturalism policies

Support

	Requiring employers to make a special effort to hire minorities & immigrants			Requiring employers to give special preference in hiring minorities & immigrants		
	US	ROC	Que	US	ROC	Que
Str. support	11	9	8	7	4	3
Support	22	21	24	12	13	8
Neither	32	33	39	25	23	25
Oppose	18	17	17	21	24	33
Str. oppose	17	20	12	35	36	31