

The Coming Transformation: Open or ordered?

By Frank Graves

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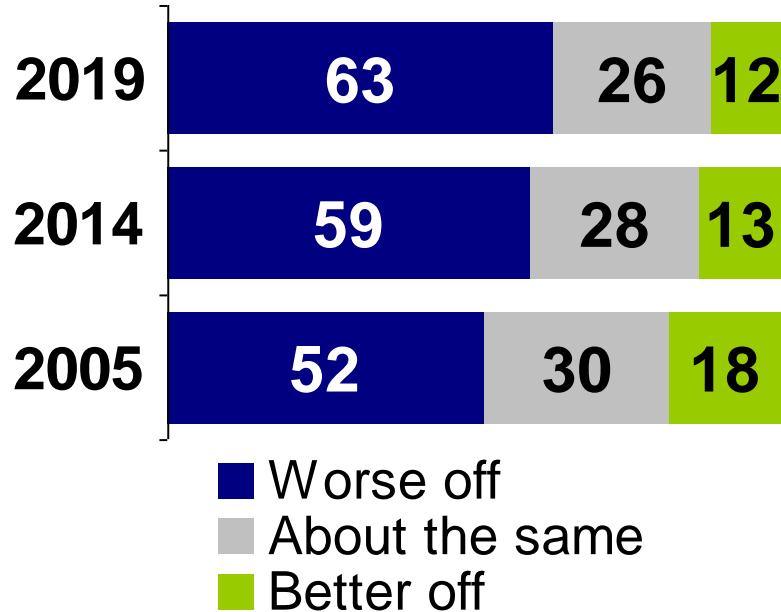


Generational outlook & social class

- » 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
- » It appears that we have at least temporarily reached the end of progress, the defining achievement of liberal capitalism

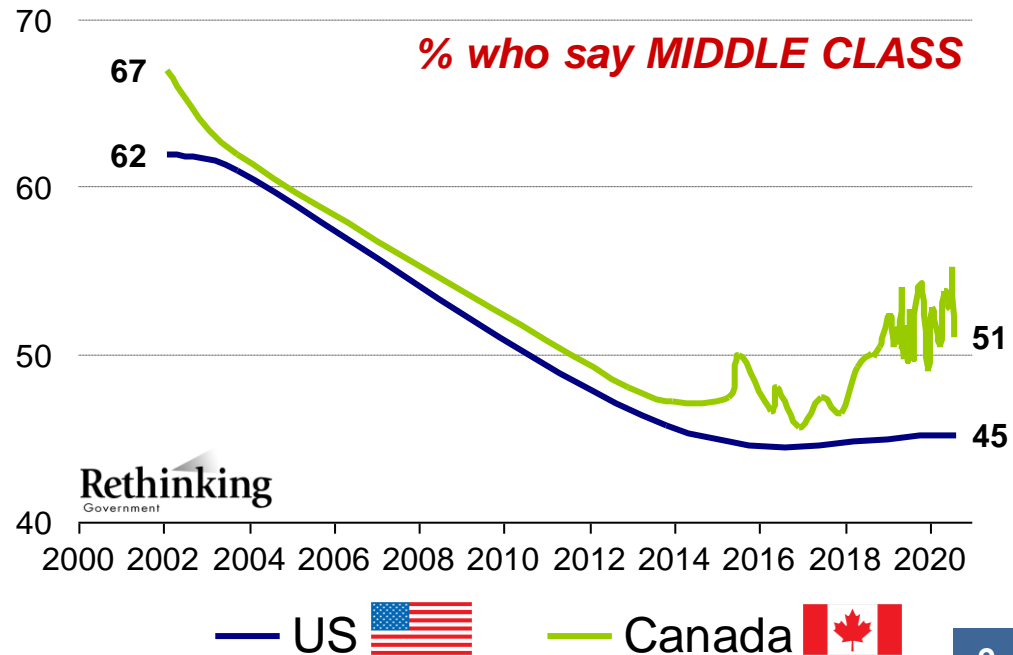
Generational Outlook

“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); January 10-15, 2019, n=978, MOE +/- 3.1%, 19 times out of 20

BASE (right): Canadians; April 14-15, 2016, n=611, MOE +/- 4.0%, 19 times out of 20

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
- » Economics, culture, or both?
- » Understanding causal sequencing essential to effective policy response
- » This force is underestimated/misunderstood by progressives
- » Moral certainty, not reason and evidence

Left-right vs. open-ordered

How is the new ordered outlook different from the traditional right?

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 are authors of social problems» Punishment
Open	Ordered
<ul style="list-style-type: none">» Cosmopolitan» Anywheres» Pro-diversity and immigration» Optimistic about the future» Reason and evidence» Creativity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">» Parochial altruism» Somewheres» Deep reservations about diversity/Anti-immigrant» Deeply pessimistic about future/public institutions» Moral certainty» Good behaviour

Open-ordered: 2016 vs. 2020

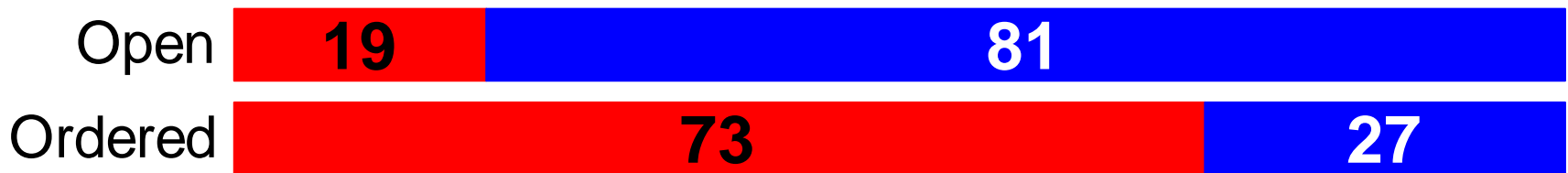
2016 election

Q. Which candidate did you vote for in the 2016 presidential election?



2020 election

Q. If the 2020 presidential election were held tomorrow, which candidate would you vote for?



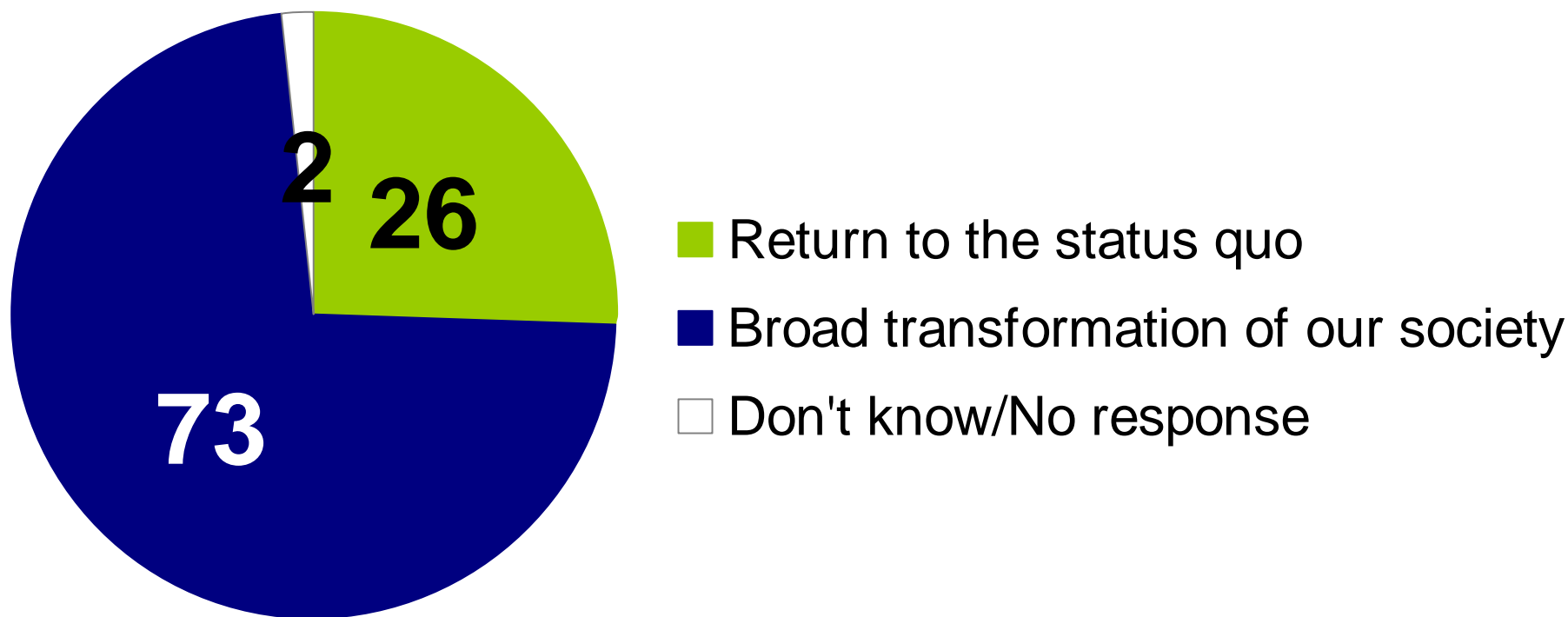
■ Donald Trump

■ Joe Biden/Hillary Clinton

Note: Figures adjusted to exclude responses other than "Donald Trump" or "Joe Biden"/"Hillary Clinton"

Outlook on post-COVID-19 world

Q. *When the COVID-19 crisis ends, do you expect Canadian society to return to the status quo or do you expect a broad transformation of our society?*



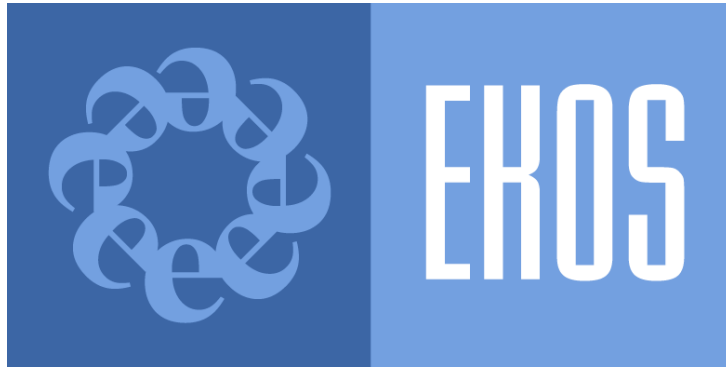
Conclusions

- » Different outlooks manifest themselves in alternate versions of what a post-COVID-19 world will look like:
 - The **open side** stresses openness, health, education, sustainable environmental, and measures such as wealth taxes and a four-day work week, with heavy emphasis on science and expertise
 - The **ordered side** stresses retreat from globalization, less porous borders, and a new emphasis on economic nationalism and security



*“Nothing about ordered populism serves the public interest... Solving it requires understanding **its roots**. And if its origins lie in the collapse of the middle-class dream, then policy-makers will need to focus on creating a new **economics of hope**.”*

-Frank Graves, Northern Populism



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