Booth and Consequences: 2019 Canadian Election Results

26 OCTOBER 2019 MICHAEL J. PRINCE



The official campaign: not so long ago...



So, what was this election like?

"The election could have been worse. I suppose. A giant asteroid could have flattened the earth, though at certain points, an obliterating asteroid would have seemed like a mercy."

"Our election felt like a food fight at a toddler's birthday party. So much screaming; so many insults. We're all ready for a nap – just when the real work of cleaning up has to begin." *Elizabeth Renzetti*

"The story of this election – nearly all the parties can claim to be winners and losers simultaneously." *Lori Turnbull*

Political attack and spin

"I think many of us regret the tone and divisiveness and the disinformation that were all too present features of this past election campaign.

I recognize that much of this campaign tended to be around me and I do hold a bit of responsibility for that.

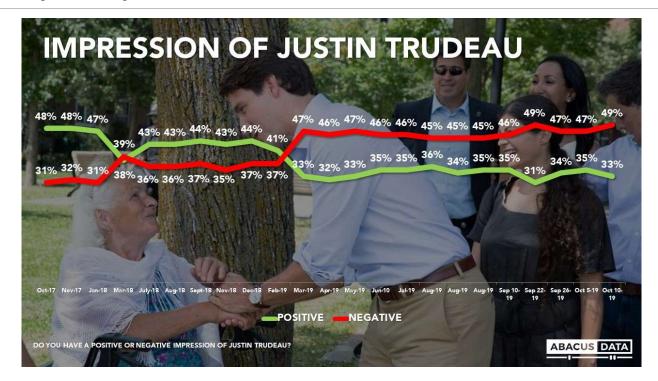
But this Parliament and this government will be, and needs to be, focused on Canadians. It's going to take all Canadians sticking together, helping out folks who are struggling in places like Alberta and Saskatchewan."

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, October 23, 2019

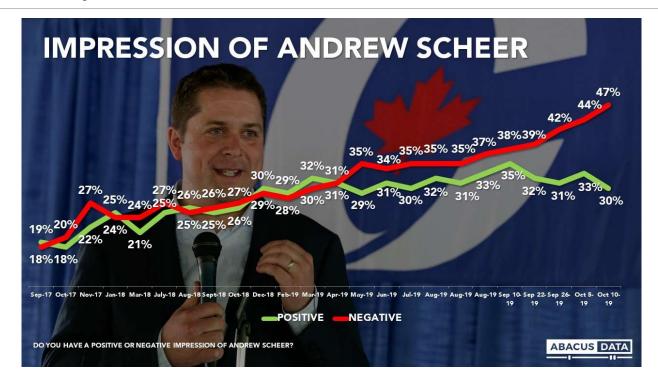
"We have a strong mandate."

Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer, October 23, 2019

A sticky impression?



Harsh exposure?



A campaign of mixed signals and directions



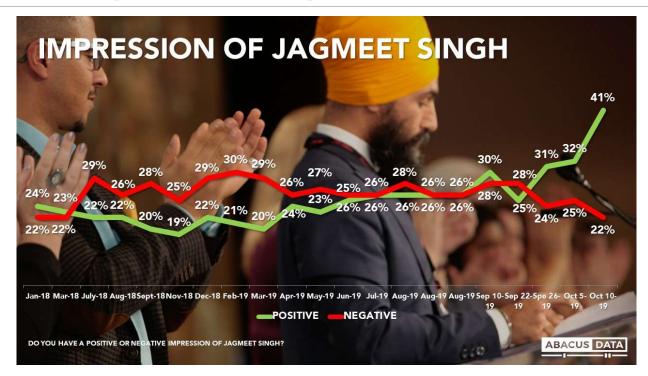
Leaving many voters to ponder...



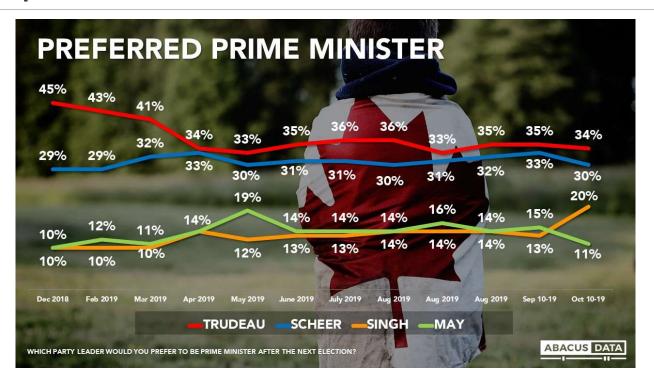
Campaigns do matter

- Electoral volatility feature the importance of short-term factors over the 2019 campaign
- Leaders' debates and performances:
 - Boost for BQ leader Yves-Francois Blanchet after French language debates
 - Rise in popular ratings for NDP leader Jagmeet Singh after English debate
 - No bounce for Green leader Elizabeth May or for PPC leader Maxime Bernier

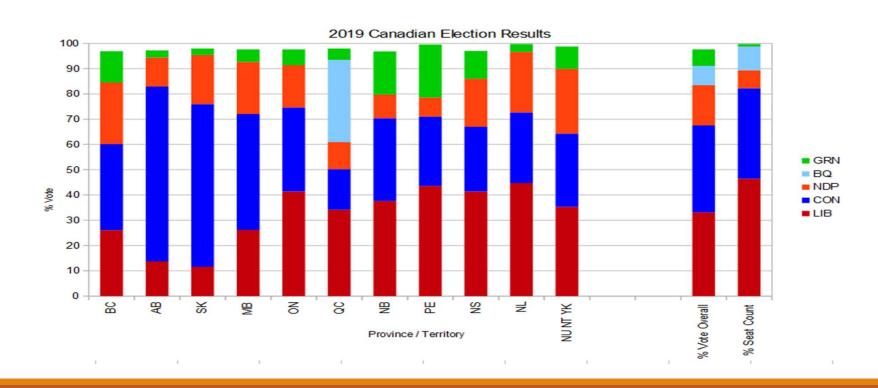
The 'Singh swing'



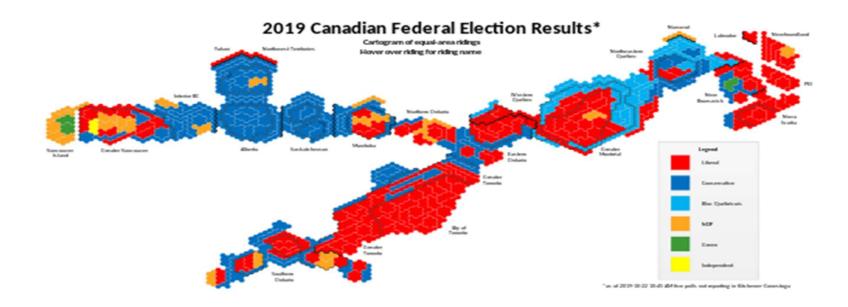
Voter preferences of leaders



2019 Election results: % vote by provinces and nationally



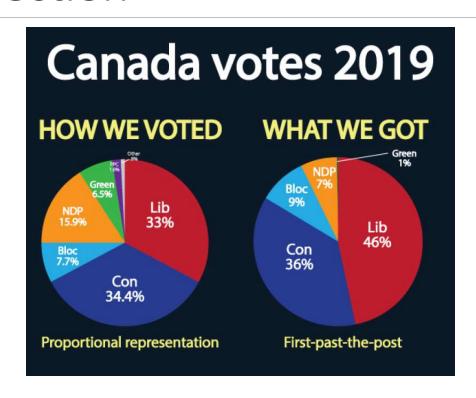
Another portrait of the election results



Composition of the next House of Commons



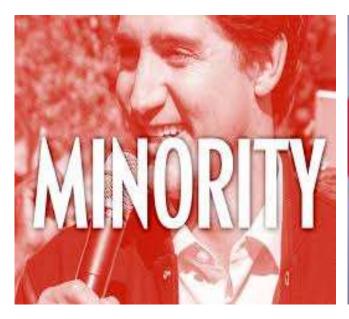
Popular vote & seats by party in the federal election



2019 election result in context

Federal Election	Overall Turnout	Vote % of winning party	Majority Government	Minority Government
1988	75.3	42.9	Mulroney (PC)	
1993	69.6	41.3	Chrétien (L)	
1997	67.0	38.4	Chrétien (L)	
2000	61.2	40.8	Chrétien (L)	
2004	60.9	36.7		Martin (L)
2006	64.7	36.3		Harper (C)
2008	58.8	37.6		Harper (C)
2011	61.1	39.6	Harper (C)	
2015	68.3	39.5	Trudeau (L)	
2019	66.0	33.0		Trudeau (L)

A minority government: so what? now what?







Minority governments in Ottawa

- Government formed by party which holds only a minority of seats, less than half, in the House of Commons
- Survival in power depends on support from one or more main parties on matters of confidence and supply (budgets)
- Not an unknown world: minority federal governments in 2004-06, 2006-08, and 2008-11
- Trudeau has a substantial (vs slender) minority with 157 of 338 seats
- Yet a historically low popular vote base and notable regional gaps in representation

"Canadians gave me a lot to think about on Monday night."

- Trudeau has ruled out a formal or informal coalition with other parties
- Means an issue-by-issue approach to governing and legislating
- Cabinet with gender parity among ministers to be announced November 20
- How, if at all, will Alberta and Saskatchewan be represented in the cabinet?
- Parliament to begin early in 2020, with <u>Speech from the Throne</u>, then <u>Budget 2020-21</u>, both of which could be tests of the confidence of the government party
- Trudeau will be seeking "a positive consensus from progressive parties"
- •First bill put forward will be on "lower taxes for the middle class"

Minority government: governing with the House and Senate

After 2015 election, Trudeau said, "government by cabinet is back."

After 2019 election, with no obvious electoral momentum for the Liberals, need to make parliament work for some time

Role of party house leaders are critical positions in a minority

Standing committees no longer controlled by government

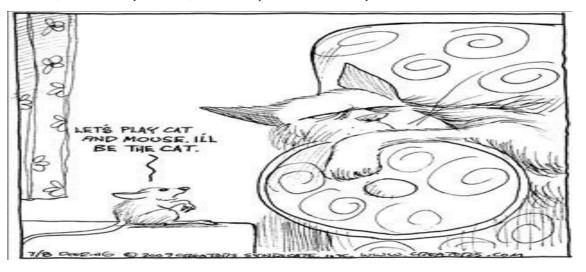
House of Commons could become more of a forum for:

- Substantive and heated policy debates on national issues, e.g., climate action, medical assistance with dying
- Political accommodation and amendments on legislative bills, e.g., pharmacare, post-secondary education
- Sharp political tensions, e.g., Trans Mountain pipeline expansion project

Political cat-and-mouse

Behaviour like that of a cat with a mouse:

- toying with or tormenting something before destroying it
- action involving constant pursuit, near captures, and repeated escapes



See you all again in 2021 or 2022 or ???

Thank you.

