

WEBVTT

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<v SPEAKER_1>In this episode, which we recorded July 17th, I'm talking to David Coletto, the CEO of Abacus Data, to discuss some of his recent research on public opinions towards Canadian Defence, and some of the initiatives the current government is taking in this respect.

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<v SPEAKER_1>We also situate how Canadians are thinking about defence against how they're thinking about the Prime Minister and his government so far, and the national horse race between the parties.

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<v SPEAKER_1>David, welcome back to Defence Deconstructed.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Thanks for having me, David.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Great to be back.

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<v SPEAKER_1>So we want to have you on to chat because you've got some new survey data with some extra defence related questions, I guess a little bit more so than just your rolling survey that you're doing.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Walk us through some of what you're finding that Canadians are thinking about their national defence.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Yeah, so just for context, the survey was done in middle of June after Mark Carney's big announcement on what he describes as this hinge moment and the investments that Canada is going to make and meeting the NATO targets and going beyond.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And I think what we see just at the broad level is a few things.

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<v SPEAKER_2>One is, interestingly, rising trust and favourability towards the Canadian Armed Forces more generally compared to the beginning of the year.

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<v SPEAKER_2>We've seen a seven point increase in those who say they have a positive view, which I think is an expression of the conversation that we're having about this.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And there's even a larger increase in, even though I don't think you would argue nothing materially has changed in the Canadian Forces in that period, people are feeling more confident in its ability to defend the country.

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<v SPEAKER_2>So I think, again, everything's about perception.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And the more we're talking about it, the more it seems that, you know, Defence and the Armed Forces are in people's, are on people's minds.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And that I think is benefiting public attitudes towards it, which then leads them to, you know, showing overwhelming support, I would say.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Solid majority, 62%, say they support the government's decision to increase defence spending.

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<v SPEAKER_2>That's highest among liberal supporters, not surprising given it's a liberal party and liberal government decision, but fairly cross-partisan support.

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<v SPEAKER_2>60% of conservatives, even half of New Democrat supporters, there's not many of them these days, but even half of them say they favor that.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And I think that's a reflection of two things we've seen more broadly.

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<v SPEAKER_2>We have seen, you know, a growing recognition that the world is not in a great place, that it's more dangerous.

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<v SPEAKER_2>At the same time, because of Trump, Canadians recognize that we can't rely on the US for security protection, for a range of things.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And the result has been, I think, a foundation or an environment in which the public is now far more open to this

conversation than they've been for many years.

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<v SPEAKER_2>We've been talking about this for years, David.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And, you know, every time you talk about defense spending, it was never high up on the agenda.

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<v SPEAKER_2>It was never something people really were willing to sort of back.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Overwhelmingly, I think that's changed.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And the world is a very different place in people's minds.

00:03:16.760 --> 00:03:20.560

<v SPEAKER_2>And so when you ask them questions like, what's keeping you up at night?

00:03:20.560 --> 00:03:25.280

<v SPEAKER_2>It's not as much of the, my cost of living is too expensive.

00:03:25.280 --> 00:03:26.260

<v SPEAKER_2>I can't afford my home.

00:03:26.260 --> 00:03:29.020

<v SPEAKER_2>Those are still real issues for people.

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<v SPEAKER_2>But it's words like war.

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<v SPEAKER_2>It's words like uncertainty.

00:03:33.140 --> 00:03:34.040

<v SPEAKER_2>It's Trump.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And that, I think, has created this environment for, for at least for now, public support for where the government wants to take it.

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<v SPEAKER_2>In part, I think, my last point, and it's something we've

also talked about in the past, is how important leadership actually is on this.

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<v SPEAKER_2>That I think for almost 10 years, you had a government that, and prime minister in particular, who didn't really want to talk about this stuff, didn't lead the country there.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And I think Mark Carney in the short time he's been in office, in part because of the environment, but in part because of his consistency around this, has brought the public with them.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And so, I think that's why we are where we are.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And I think the polling, largely at this point, backs what the government wants to do, or at least intending to do.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Yeah, I mean, I would just emphasize that last point you made.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Mr.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Carney so far has made his defense announcements basically in a way to attract attention rather than to avoid it, which was how I would largely characterize Mr.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Trudeau's approach, at least in execution, even if that wasn't the intent when Mr.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Carney made the announcement earlier in June about significant additional spending.

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<v SPEAKER_1>He did it on a Monday.

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<v SPEAKER_1>He made a media availability.

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<v SPEAKER_1>It was in the morning.

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<v SPEAKER_1>It was at the front of the weekly news cycle.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Whereas a lot of what Mr.

00:04:50.180 --> 00:04:53.640

<v SPEAKER_1>Trudeau did, even if it was, and to be clear so far, Mr.

00:04:53.640 --> 00:04:56.620

<v SPEAKER_1>Trudeau committed much, much more money than Mr.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Carney has so far, in terms of actually committing dollars, not making pledges to hit targets, which is just that's a difference that matters.

00:05:05.620 --> 00:05:05.840

<v SPEAKER_1>Mr.

00:05:05.840 --> 00:05:21.280

<v SPEAKER_1>Trudeau made those commitments in a way that largely, if it wasn't intentional, was sure by accident, a whole set of mechanics that maximized the opportunity to not have people notice what he was saying or what he was doing.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Yeah.

00:05:21.720 --> 00:05:24.680

<v SPEAKER_2>And I think we're in a different world now, right?

00:05:24.680 --> 00:05:31.160

<v SPEAKER_2>And in fact, the public opinion is requiring, I think, answers from political leaders.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And so you can't put this on a Friday afternoon, you know, dump the trash out kind of thing.

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<v SPEAKER_2>It's got to be front and center because it's on people's minds.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And they're asking government and their leaders to respond to these anxieties that they now feel and think exist.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Right.

00:05:47.960 --> 00:05:50.180

<v SPEAKER_1>So you touched on this briefly, I guess.

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<v SPEAKER_1>So notwithstanding increasing levels of support for these different defense initiatives that you discussed, you do rolling systematic research on basically what issues are top of mind for Canadians.

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<v SPEAKER_1>And previously you framed that in terms of a precarity mindset.

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<v SPEAKER_1>You touched on that a little bit.

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<v SPEAKER_1>And amongst that sort of sampling, you would get, if I recall correctly from your last couple of surveys that I looked at, either medium or low single digits of Canadians that identified things we had tied to defence considerations like concern about China and Russia as top considerations.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Have you seen any movement in terms of that overall issue set or is that largely staying the same?

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<v SPEAKER_2>It's largely staying the same.

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<v SPEAKER_2>So these specific issues don't seem to be, again, in the way we ask the question, we're asking people to pick the top three.

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<v SPEAKER_2>So it's not rising to the level where they're willing to say, look, it's more important than my ability to access health care or pay for food or even my broader concerns around Trump.

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<v SPEAKER_2>But that Trump factor is high up.

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<v SPEAKER_2>It's number two on the list.

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<v SPEAKER_2>We're going to have new data out on the weekend that shows 43% of Canadians put Donald Trump in his administration in their top three issues, which is holding steady.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And that's mixed in with a whole bunch of things, whether it's tariffs and 51st state and the general chaos that he creates.

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<v SPEAKER_2>But it's tied to, I think, an understanding that the world isn't the way it is.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And I think it's been a number of months now that that has crystallized in people's minds.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I have no data to validate this.

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<v SPEAKER_2>But as an observer of what's been going on and seeing these trends, I do think that that meeting between Trump and Zelensky in the Oval Office was also one of those catalyzing moments for people that said like, this isn't normal, the world isn't the way it was.

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<v SPEAKER_2>We can't assume, and a lot of times most people just didn't think about this stuff.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Canada has never really had this outward view of what our role might be in the world.

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<v SPEAKER_2>We never saw ourselves as necessarily needing a strong military, and that's changed.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Whether it's general support or interest in looking at other partnerships, Carney going over to Europe and talking about that work, I think reflects and aligns with where the public is.

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<v SPEAKER_2>We saw lots of support for general re-engagement and increased engagement with Europe on some of these things, and I think it's both economic and defence and security.

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<v SPEAKER_2>So yeah, I think the moment has just fundamentally changed.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Does it sustain itself?

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<v SPEAKER_2>Who knows?

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<v SPEAKER_2>But I think, David, you're much more attuned to these things.

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<v SPEAKER_2>This world is not going to get safer and more stable very quickly.

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<v SPEAKER_2>In fact, it may go the other way, and that I think is going to continue to create the environment by which leaders can bring the public to where they are.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I also think it's important to note that what Mark Carney is trying to do as well is not just make this only about defense and security.

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<v SPEAKER_2>He talks a lot about the economic benefits of this reinvestment and this re-arming and rebuilding of the Canadian Armed Forces and our capacity there.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I think that is also tying back to his grand mission, which is to build the strongest G7 economy possible.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And so, he is very much, you know, if there's anything you can say so far about Mr.

00:09:27.720 --> 00:09:32.060

<v SPEAKER_2>Carney and his government in these early days, is that it's incredibly focused.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And so everything he's doing is also tying it back to the economic upside of the kind of investment that he's saying they're going to do over the next number of years.

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currently available, please visit www.shipsforcanada.ca.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Just one more thing on the breadth of the support.

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<v SPEAKER_1>I'm curious whether or not you've seen any interesting regional variation.

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<v SPEAKER_1>So you mentioned that there's a kind of a broad party consensus.

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<v SPEAKER_1>I don't think you mentioned what the level of Bloc Quebecois supporters support for these defence initiatives is.

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<v SPEAKER_1>I guess historically, you'd find a lot of variation in national level data.

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<v SPEAKER_1>If you had enough detail to get into regional breakdowns, basically Quebec would be an outlier on what you could loosely sort of call, to oversimplify more of a pacifist kind of view.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Alberta would be an outlier the other way, being more hawkish.

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<v SPEAKER_1>And then the rest of the country on a lot of things would tend to kind of even out and be, you know, or at least roughly comparable.

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<v SPEAKER_1>I'm just not sure whether or not you had samples big enough to tease anything out of there, but are you seeing anything in terms of regional breakdown that's of interest?

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<v SPEAKER_2>Yeah, I mean, there is some here.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I think what's interesting about Quebec over the last number of months is those historic differences, as you point, were real.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I don't see them as much today.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I think there's less enthusiasm in Quebec, so they're not as, you know, we think of research polling, you know, you have scales and you go from strongly support to strongly dis-oppose.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Quebecers are less likely to strongly support these kinds of things, but they're not as, they're not more likely to say I'm opposed to it.

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<v SPEAKER_2>There's just less, I think, enthusiasm.

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<v SPEAKER_2>So it's almost as if they've come to accept that this is the new reality.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And I think, you know, whether it's defence spending, whether it's rearming and reinvesting in the military, or more broadly, I think other nationalist kind of things has surprised a lot of people about Quebec, that they are as much uncomfortable with being so close to the United States these days as the rest of the country is.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And that, I think, has shaped a lot of their thinking.

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<v SPEAKER_2>We see it on energy projects.

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<v SPEAKER_2>You see it on a range of other things that for forever, we would say Quebec was never going to accept some of those things.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I don't think we can, I think we've got to throw some of those assumptions out these days because it's an entirely new world right now.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Okay.

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<v SPEAKER_1>That's really interesting.

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<v SPEAKER_1>I guess just to get you to tie these specific defence-focused public attitudes and what your research is showing.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Situating for listeners that might have not had a chance to pay as close attention to some of your recent data and polling.

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<v SPEAKER_1>How are people thinking about the Carney government in particular?

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<v SPEAKER_1>Are they happy with what they've seen so far?

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<v SPEAKER_1>How do you see the political landscape?

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<v SPEAKER_1>How are the Liberals doing compared to the alternatives?

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<v SPEAKER_1>Which all kind of ties back to the likelihood, at least in the short term, because we do have a minority government.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Technically, if not by most appearances, I guess in my observation.

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<v SPEAKER_1>What is the public's attitude suggesting to you about the likelihood that Mr.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Carney can have a reasonable amount of time to stay in office and try and move forward on some of these things?

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<v SPEAKER_2>We continue to see and I hesitate to use the word honeymoon because honeymoon lasts as long as it does.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I think we are obviously in one.

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<v SPEAKER_2>We're past 100 days of Carney getting sworn in in March and post-election.

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<v SPEAKER_2>There remains lots of goodwill.

00:13:26.260 --> 00:13:30.260

<v SPEAKER_2>Majority of the country approve of the job the federal

government is doing.

00:13:30.260 --> 00:13:30.540

<v SPEAKER_2>Mr.

00:13:30.540 --> 00:13:35.800

<v SPEAKER_2>Carney personally has great favorability, like he's plus 21.

00:13:36.560 --> 00:13:51.020

<v SPEAKER_2>And so just to give you context, Poliev's minus four, not bad, but not anywhere near the general goodwill, and I think willingness of the public to give this new government space to do what it wants to do.

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<v SPEAKER_2>So it has both, I think, the political capital and also the public's largely backing on it.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Now, that's not universal and it's not everywhere.

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<v SPEAKER_2>But I think the public is still in that moment of wanting to see him, giving him space to deliver on what he's promised.

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<v SPEAKER_2>There's a recognition, I think, that this government is different.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I've been saying and the data backs it up, the more someone thinks that Mark Carney is different from Justin Trudeau, the more they like him.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And so continually being seen as different in the way that not just the policy choices the government's making, but also the way he is acting and behaving, I think, is a refreshing change for people, right?

00:14:37.500 --> 00:14:42.520

<v SPEAKER_2>There is a clear sense he's a steady and calming presence in this moment.

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<v SPEAKER_2>He doesn't just give us talking points endlessly, right?

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<v SPEAKER_2>He's willing to engage in conversations.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Sometimes political strategists say, well, that doesn't make good political sense.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Just keep on message.

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<v SPEAKER_2>But I think the public, given the complexity of the world, is looking for complex answers.

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<v SPEAKER_1>And also, in my observation, it's a manifestation of change, that he actually talks much more like a regular person.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Totally.

00:15:10.320 --> 00:15:24.980

<v SPEAKER_2>Even though people would say he's less like one, because he is this elite, well, has all this experience, a global perspective, but he's able to not treat people like children, I think.

00:15:24.980 --> 00:15:35.600

<v SPEAKER_2>And that is a refreshing, you're right, change from politics, not just, and it's not just a criticism of the Trudeau government, it's just politics over the last number of years.

00:15:35.600 --> 00:15:44.340

<v SPEAKER_2>And is a sharp contrast with Polyev, which is why I think he's feeling some of the conservatives are feeling that pressure is that, you know, what worked in 2024 for Mr.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Polyev in sort of litigating the case against Trudeau worked because people didn't like Trudeau, people wanted him gone.

00:15:51.320 --> 00:15:52.380

<v SPEAKER_2>That's not the case today.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And so I think there's there's genuine interest in in hearing what he has in store.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And, you know, when you ask people what do you what do you most want to see from a prime minister?

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<v SPEAKER_2>It's like I want somebody who kind of understands what I'm going through.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I want somebody who has a plan and a strategy.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I mean, it was something that I'd argued for years.

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<v SPEAKER_2>People didn't think Trudeau had after the pandemic.

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<v SPEAKER_2>It was like, what is this government about?

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<v SPEAKER_2>I don't think anyone can doubt that Mark Carney has a very clear plan in his mind about where he wants to take the country.

00:16:26.620 --> 00:16:32.740

<v SPEAKER_2>Whether he can do it, whether it's going to be easy, all difficult things, including on the defense question.

00:16:32.740 --> 00:16:36.440

<v SPEAKER_2>But I think right now people are giving him the benefit of the doubt.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And you see it even in the negotiation with Trump around trade.

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<v SPEAKER_2>He backs down on the digital services tax, the elbows up, elbows down, all this debate.

00:16:48.540 --> 00:16:53.380

<v SPEAKER_2>We're seeing no evidence that that's having a negative effect on how people view him right now.

00:16:53.380 --> 00:17:07.060

<v SPEAKER_2>They remain, you know, among the people who think that Trump and his administration is one of the top issues facing the country, the liberals have like a 25 point lead over who they think would be best handled at.

00:17:07.060 --> 00:17:17.180

<v SPEAKER_2>And so even if there's all this other pressures, affordability, housing, health care, these are not going away and there are going to remain liabilities to any incoming government.

00:17:17.600 --> 00:17:24.920

<v SPEAKER_2>But in this moment, I think the people who voted liberal did so because they thought he could best handle the moment.

00:17:24.920 --> 00:17:26.980

<v SPEAKER_2>And that moment hasn't changed.

00:17:26.980 --> 00:17:30.760

<v SPEAKER_2>And in fact, it's getting more dicey, not less over time.

00:17:30.760 --> 00:17:34.080

<v SPEAKER_1>And how do you see that as a last question substantively to you?

00:17:34.080 --> 00:17:40.040

<v SPEAKER_1>How do you see that manifesting in terms of the national poll in between the parties if there were an election held right now?

00:17:40.040 --> 00:17:42.800

<v SPEAKER_2>Yeah, I mean, we're still seeing a tight race.

00:17:42.800 --> 00:17:49.480

<v SPEAKER_2>It's not as we're seeing a different story than some of the other polls that are showing the liberals with big leads.

00:17:49.480 --> 00:17:55.640

<v SPEAKER_2>We've always been more competitive in how we see the environment.

00:17:55.640 --> 00:17:58.420

<v SPEAKER_2>Basically, we're only a few months since the election.

00:17:58.420 --> 00:18:03.540

<v SPEAKER_2>The coalitions that voted for each of these parties has largely remained intact, right?

00:18:03.540 --> 00:18:09.220

<v SPEAKER_2>You have one in four conservative voters who say, I like what Mark Carney is doing, but I'm not going to vote liberal.

00:18:09.220 --> 00:18:12.440

<v SPEAKER_2>And I think that makes a lot of sense in the kind of world that we live in.

00:18:13.900 --> 00:18:20.660

<v SPEAKER_2>So it's not as if there was an election tomorrow, it would lead to a massive liberal majority.

00:18:20.660 --> 00:18:23.360

<v SPEAKER_2>It could because the underlying factors are there.

00:18:23.360 --> 00:18:28.320

<v SPEAKER_2>But right now, people are still saying, look, I voted the way I did for a number of different reasons.

00:18:28.320 --> 00:18:39.220

<v SPEAKER_2>And if you voted conservative, you might begrudgingly think, okay, well, maybe Carney is doing some good things, but I'd still rather have the party that I support there.

00:18:40.460 --> 00:18:48.460

<v SPEAKER_2>But that being said, it's the personal numbers that I really focus on.

00:18:48.460 --> 00:18:57.240

<v SPEAKER_2>And also, interestingly, although we're not overly optimistic about the direction of the country, that optimism number has hit a high we haven't seen in four years.

00:18:57.240 --> 00:19:02.180

<v SPEAKER_2>So about four in 10 Canadians say they feel the country's head in the right direction.

00:19:02.180 --> 00:19:05.460

<v SPEAKER_2>That's a huge change from what we had seen the last two years.

00:19:05.460 --> 00:19:06.760

<v SPEAKER_2>It's not 60%.

00:19:07.340 --> 00:19:09.780

<v SPEAKER_2>It's not like everybody's like, I love what's happening.

00:19:09.780 --> 00:19:19.900

<v SPEAKER_2>But I do think that at right now at this moment, people feel that at least enough of the ingredients of what they feel should be happening is happening.

00:19:19.900 --> 00:19:33.560

<v SPEAKER_2>And I think if you're the Carney government, you feel safe knowing that there's no indicators that would give any of the opposition party's reasons to not let this government continue to govern into the fall, spring and maybe beyond.

00:19:34.900 --> 00:19:35.560

<v SPEAKER_1>Okay.

00:19:35.560 --> 00:19:40.620

<v SPEAKER_1>Well, David, thanks very much for coming on to talk about some of your latest research.

00:19:40.620 --> 00:19:41.540

<v SPEAKER_1>Last question to you.

00:19:41.540 --> 00:19:43.080

<v SPEAKER_1>We're in the midst of summer now.

00:19:43.080 --> 00:19:44.720

<v SPEAKER_1>It's stinking hot in Ottawa.

00:19:44.720 --> 00:19:46.560

<v SPEAKER_1>What's on your summer reading list?

00:19:46.560 --> 00:19:49.040

<v SPEAKER_2>So I am reading a bunch of things.

00:19:49.220 --> 00:19:50.860

<v SPEAKER_2>It's July, so it's Tour de France.

00:19:50.860 --> 00:19:54.220

<v SPEAKER_2>So I always have like a cycling book on my go.

00:19:54.220 --> 00:20:00.400

<v SPEAKER_2>But I'm actually in a book called Abundance, Ezra Klein, Derek Thompson.

00:20:00.700 --> 00:20:04.400

<v SPEAKER_2>I've spent the last few years talking about scarcity mindset.

00:20:04.400 --> 00:20:22.220

<v SPEAKER_2>And so it's a really interesting book talking about how do we talk about rebuilding this idea both actually but also perceptually that there's lots in this world and people don't need to be fighting over scarcer and scarcer resources, which I think is what drives our politics to the worst place.

00:20:22.220 --> 00:20:27.080

<v SPEAKER_2>So I'm only about a third into it, but it's been a pretty interesting read so far.

00:20:28.040 --> 00:20:29.300

<v SPEAKER_1>Okay, super.

00:20:29.300 --> 00:20:30.500

<v SPEAKER_1>Thanks again for joining us.

00:20:30.500 --> 00:20:31.940

<v SPEAKER_1>Enjoy your summer.

00:20:31.940 --> 00:20:32.500

<v SPEAKER_2>You too, Dave.

00:20:32.500 --> 00:20:33.680

<v SPEAKER_2>Thank you.

00:20:35.740 --> 00:20:37.940

<v SPEAKER_1>Thanks for listening to Defence Deconstructed.

00:20:37.940 --> 00:20:43.400

<v SPEAKER_1>For more of our work, go to cgai.ca or follow us on LinkedIn, Twitter, Instagram or Facebook.

00:20:43.400 --> 00:20:52.620

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00:20:52.680 --> 00:20:53.980

<v SPEAKER_1>Use of credits go to Drew Phillips.

00:20:53.980 --> 00:20:56.260

<v SPEAKER_1>And this episode was produced by Jordyn Carroll.