

Their true (political) colours . . .

A new study has identified eight types of Torontonians. Here are the notable Canadians, past and present, who best represent each group

JENNIFER BILL
SPECIAL TO THE STAR

Do you think more like Sir John A. Macdonald, William Lyon Mackenzie, Doug Ford or Jack Layton?

A new tool at thestar.com/sentimeter provides a snapshot of the city's ideological landscape. The goal is to explore the divisions that have come to define Toronto and to prompt a conversation about how to work together despite them.

Based on a scientific study commissioned by the Star, the Political Sentimeter asks readers a series of questions and then places them in one of eight ideological groups, from the Post-materialist Left to the Steadfast Right.

To help explain what it means to be a part of these groups, we asked historians and political scientists to suggest Canadian figures, past or present, who best represent the eight types of Torontonians. Here are their picks:



>DAVID SUZUKI POST-MATERIALIST LEFT

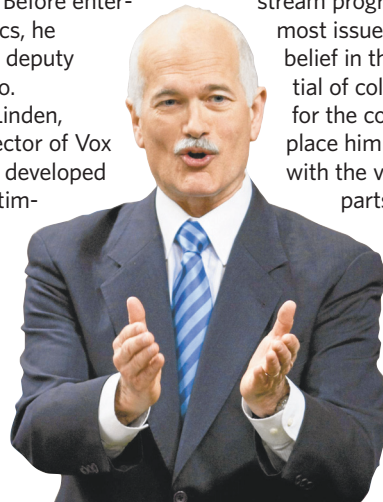
Suzuki, the world-renowned environmentalist and broadcaster, is emblematic of the Post-materialist Left, says Christopher Dummitt, chair of the Department of Canadian Studies at Trent University. The leftmost ideological type, Post-materialists are distinguished by their commitment to global justice and environmental issues. Suzuki began his career as a biologist, but now promotes environmental sustainability globally. "Post-materialist is a newish cate-

gory and there haven't been Canadian politicians with these kinds of ideas," wrote Dummitt in an email. "Suzuki, with his cosmopolitan, man of science and nature ethos, best represents this important recent political identification." Contacted by the Star through an intermediary, Suzuki said he identifies with several of the left-leaning categories and was comfortable with the Post-materialist designation. He declined to take the test by deadline.

>JACK LAYTON SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEFT

Layton was leader of the New Democratic Party from 2003 to 2011, leading the Dippers to their best-ever result — and official Opposition status — in the last federal election. Before entering federal politics, he served as acting deputy mayor of Toronto. Clifton van der Linden, founder and director of Vox Pop Labs, which developed the Political Sentimeter tool, and a PhD student in political science at the University of Toronto, picked Layton as a symbol of the Social Democratic

Left — a group that, among other things, believes in the power of government to rein in social and economic inequality. "He espoused moderate, mainstream progressive positions on most issues. I suspect that his belief in the power and potential of collective responsibility for the common good would place him very much in line with the views of his counterparts in the Social Democratic Left." Dummitt says of Layton and this group: "They have rarely held public office but they have had a significant impact on Canadian policy."



>SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD HERITAGE RIGHT

The chief engineer of Confederation and Canada's first prime minister, Macdonald spent 19 years in office.

Political historians Christopher Dummitt and Dmitry Anastakis both see Sir John A. as typical of the Heritage Right, a traditionally conservative, nationalistic group concerned with order and stability.

Anastakis wrote: "Heritage Right is the closest thing to a traditional Tory. The most obvious and greatest example is Macdonald, who was very much in keeping with this idea, though he would have been even more interested in government intervention. But he also was comfortable with utilizing the state for security purposes, and had a strong sense of ethnic connection while also welcoming immigrants."



>WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT LEFT

Mackenzie became the first mayor of Toronto in 1834, lasting less than a year in the post. He launched a rebellion against the oligarchic government of Upper Canada in 1837.

Penny Bryden, a political historian at the University of Victoria, says Mackenzie "would probably have identified himself on the Anti-establishment Left." These are radical progressives who believe the political system can't address the issues they care about without undergoing change. Dmitry Anastakis, a Trent historian, agrees: "Mackenzie was an anti-establishment progressive (heck, a republican) who launched a rebellion against the colonial government. If that isn't anti-establishment, I don't know what is."



>HAZEL MCCALLION LAISSEZ-FAIRE LEFT

McCallion retired last month after serving as mayor of Mississauga for 36 years, the longest tenure in the city's history. First elected in 1978, she was nicknamed "Hurricane Hazel" because of her aggressive candour. Historian Penny Bryden

says McCallion is "a classic laissez-faire lefty."

"Although she defies pigeonholing, her oversight of the city as it tripled in size on the strength of its economic growth, combined with her own obvious rugged individualism, suggest



an affinity with the laissez-faire side of this ideological cluster. Meanwhile, McCallion's public support for Kathleen Wynne and the Ontario Liberals suggests she sees herself as centre-left." McCallion did not respond to a request to take the survey by deadline.

>DOUG FORD STEADFAST RIGHT

Brother of former Toronto mayor Rob Ford, Doug campaigned unsuccessfully for mayor in October's election and recently ended speculation he



would run for the leadership of Ontario's PC party. Political scientist Clifton Van

der Linden believes Ford fits neatly into the Steadfast Right, the right-most of all the groups.

"Ford subscribes to a populist brand of conservatism which places considerable emphasis on personal responsibility."

Contacted by the Star for his reaction, Doug Ford rejected the label, saying he and his brother are simply "populists."

"People always try to put labels on us, but we're populists — fiscal conservatives with a huge social conscience." He declined to take the test before deadline.

>WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING FAITH AND FAMILY RIGHT

King became Canada's 10th prime minister in 1921, and went on to lead a succession of Liberal governments for a total of 22 years. He is still the longest-serving PM in Canadian history. Christopher Dummitt says King perfectly represents Faith and Family Right, a centrist group with conservative views on family values.

"The Faith and Family Right is the home of what the Liberal party was before the '60s. Think of King or Wilfrid Laurier, those leaders who were liberal and Liberal in an age when so-called 'family values' and Christianity could be taken for granted as being the values of most Canadians."



>MAXIME BERNIER LIBERTARIAN RIGHT

Currently minister of state for small business and tourism, Bernier previously headed Industry and Foreign Affairs.

Tom Flanagan, a former Stephen Harper adviser and University of Calgary political scientist, says Bernier is "a typical libertarian conservative," a relatively new, post-'60s brand of right-winger. "He's a proponent of property rights and free markets as well as personal choice on moral issues," says Flanagan. "He has a Quebec flair that you don't often see elsewhere in Canada."



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