



La Coalition Avenir Québec: Une idéologie à la recherche du pouvoir

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Yuval Levin's *The Fractured Republic* (2016) and F.H. Buckley's *The Way Back* (2016) have addressed these issues in greater depth. However, Harper's greatest intellectual debt is to British commentator David Goodhart (*The Road to Somewhere* [2017]). Harper adopts Goodhart's contrast of the social situations and attitudes of place-based "Somewheres," where lives have often been disrupted by the broader economic and social forces of globalization, and cosmopolitan "Anywheres" who have been the greatest beneficiaries of these changes. These ideas are echoed numerous studies that demonstrate the sizeable gaps between economic and social outcomes in major American, British, and French metropolitan areas, and those in smaller industrial cities, towns and rural areas. Harper's central thesis is that to be politically successful, contemporary American conservatives must work to ensure that their policies benefit the "Somewheres"—or risk losing them politically to the next generation of left populist and socialist politicians following the paths of Bernie Sanders and British Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn.

The simultaneous strength and weakness of Harper's book is that he pitches it largely as an intramural discussion among conservatives of different sorts, rather than pursuing a wider audience. This approach reflects the contemporary dialogue of the deaf—one largely dismissive of opponents—which characterizes much of American politics. Given his target audience, Harper treads carefully in his assessment of Donald Trump and his administration. He views the emergence of the Trump phenomenon as a reflection of the "growing gap between how the political, bureaucratic, and corporate establishment talk and think about markets and capitalism, and how the rest of the population does" (19). As a foreign policy realist, Harper views assertion of the national interest—an "enlightened self-interest" (127)—as a normal objective of foreign policy, even if his identification of this approach with Trump's "America First" slogan appears more than a little disingenuous. Harper clearly, if tactfully, disagrees with Trump's simplistic attitude towards trade deficits (on economic grounds), his priority on renegotiating NAFTA (rather than focusing mainly on China's trade practices), and his tax policies (on distributive grounds), while acknowledging the administration's "internal dysfunction" (167). However, his most cutting comments are reserved for both the academic and ideological left and what he describes as the "alienism" of a "wealthy and disconnected global elite" (133).

Overall, *Right Here, Right Now* attempts to walk a fine line between acknowledging the validity of many populist grievances against the contemporary liberal (and American conservative) political and economic order, while addressing the concerns of ordinary citizens resulting from the continuing disruptions of globalization. While providing a more nuanced approach to the bombastic, polarized spectacle of Trump-era politics, it reads more convincingly as a pragmatic rationale for the evolution of a politically viable Canadian conservatism.

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La Coalition Avenir Québec: Une idéologie à la recherche du pouvoir, by Frédéric Boily, Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2018, 173 pp., CAN \$19.95 (paper), ISBN 978-2-76373-810-9

The Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ) is a relatively new political phenomenon, founded only in 2011. It took the party only seven years to win a general election and form a majority government, hardly enough time for social scientists to build a base of literature on the party. Little is understood about the party, even after its election win, and there remains a strong sense of surprise that a new party starting from scratch could rise to government so quickly. Frédéric Boily, a specialist on Québec intellectual history and conservative thought, attempts to address the shortcomings in the literature of Québec politics with this four-chapter monograph on the party, largely charting the steps in its founding and rise, but also giving some consideration to its ideological background and alleged populist nature.

Three of the book's chapters are devoted to describing the party's emergence and growth, with each of them covering a period between two elections (2011–2012, 2012–2014, and 2014–2018). As Boily writes in the introduction, the main purpose of the book is to describe the CAQ's route to power. The narrative emphasizes the role of CAQ leader and now-Premier François Legault, the former Parti Québécois cabinet minister who co-founded the party. Boily strongly implies that the party would not have thrived without Legault's personal efforts. The discussion goes beyond Legault, though, and includes candidate selection, the youth wing, and the party's relations with millennial voters. There is also a theoretical discussion about how new parties replace incumbents in a two-party system, arguing that the CAQ took advantage of the Parti Québécois' weakness as support for sovereignty declined over the past decade. Boily also discusses the role that falling support for Québec independence had in bringing about the return of a conventional left-right political spectrum.

The most interesting part of the book is its third chapter, where Boily interrupts the CAQ's chronology to consider its ideological stance. He does this to underline the point that the CAQ was primarily a pragmatic party at the outset, turning to a form of right-wing populism after the 2014 election not out of conviction, but from a perceived need to carve out an ideological space that was underrepresented within the two dominant Québec parties. Boily thus questions the notion that the CAQ represents the reemergence of unvarnished pre-Quiet Revolution conservatism in Québec politics. Instead, it is a pale imitation of the defunct Action démocratique du Québec (ADQ), which folded into the CAQ in 2012. Boily views the CAQ foremost as an "entrepreneurial" party whose main purpose is advancing economic policy, and he devotes considerable space to analyzing the party's "St. Lawrence Project," originally developed in 2013. This itself was a shift for the party, which primarily campaigned on the promise of clean government in the 2012 election. The embrace of populist rhetoric and identity politics became a marketing ploy that the CAQ cultivated after 2015.

This chapter also addresses the CAQ's adoption of populist and identitarian rhetoric and situates it in the context of a theory of populism that Boily developed in his 2010 book on conservatism in Québec. In its early days, the CAQ's policy on federalism and the Constitution sought a middle way between federalism and sovereignty. It rejected both new constitutional talks (which continue to be the goal of the Québec Liberal Party) and a third sovereignty referendum, focusing largely on protecting the existing jurisdiction of the Québec government. The populist turn came after the 2014 election of the Liberal government of Philippe Couillard, which created space for a party to argue a nationalist position rooted more in identity politics than in a drive for independence.

Boily analyzes the CAQ's populism in two respects. The first is a "populism of protest" directed against elites whom it accuses of detachment from the non-elite public opinion. It is a familiar

argument, one seen in Trump's United States, in the Brexit movement in the United Kingdom, and in Ontario under the Doug Ford government. The CAQ directed this type of populism against the Liberals and the Parti Québécois, accusing them both of obsession with the Constitution and sovereignty referenda while ignoring the economic concerns that were most important to voters. In so doing, Boily argues that the CAQ laid the groundwork for the electorate to turn to a third party that would emphasize issues downplayed by the two main parties. The other form of populism is "national populism," one rooted in identity politics and one that traces social and economic problems not to self-interested elites, but to the presence of outsiders. National populism, in the case of the CAQ, translates into calls for reducing the number of immigrants coming to Quebec (though not by stopping immigration, as many European national populists urge), a more aggressive approach to assimilation—both linguistic (*francisation*) and cultural (a "values test")—and restrictions upon public servants' wearing of religious symbols. Boily is skeptical of the CAQ's turn to national populism, not on liberal grounds, but because he considers the shift more political than philosophical, one meant only to win votes at a single election. He considers it "slippery territory," and implies that the CAQ will shift its politics elsewhere if public opinion changes.

The CAQ is a new party, too new to have been the subject of a great deal of scholarly study or much in the way of political science literature. Boily's book is an important first step, a descriptive one documenting the essential history of the party. He also ventures into the subject of the party's view of Québécois identity, which will surely be the subject of further research as the party governs the province for four years and prepares to legislate on immigration and religious symbols early in its mandate (contrary to Boily's expectations). To be sure, the book leaves room for further research, particularly as to how the CAQ relates to earlier conservative movements such as the Union Nationale or Catholic conservatism articulated by thinkers such as Lionel Groulx. This research will be easier to carry out as the actions of the Legault government provide the raw material for social scientists.

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Delicious Mirth: The Life and Times of James McCarroll, by Michael A. Peterman, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018, 408 pp., CAN \$39.95 (cloth), ISBN 9780773554672

Irish emigrants came to Canada in very large numbers in the early decades of the nineteenth century. While most came before the Great Famine, these Irish flooded into colonies such as Upper Canada (Ontario), New Brunswick and Newfoundland, giving them strong Irish complexions before 1850. More Protestant than Catholic, more rural than urban, the Canadian Irish were quick to adapt to their new environment. They cut timber, cleared land, built canals and dominated domestic service. Soon, Irish Canadians with names like Ogle Gowan, Timothy Eaton, and Edward Blake were prominent in the world of politics, business and the law.

The history of the Irish in Canada has been told in word and song by many people. Now, thanks to Michael Peterman, Emeritus Professor of English at Trent University in Ontario, we