Fire and Ice Revisited: American and Canadian Social Values in the Age of Trump and Trudeau

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2017 Conference
In 2003...

*Bush in the White House*  *Chretien at 24 Sussex*
At the turn of the Millennium, most Canadians held the view that Canadian and US cultures were converging...

*Source: EKOS, May 2002*
...but our social values research was telling a different story

Agree: Father of the family must be master in his own house
In fact, US and Canada were/are distinct cultures, with unique socio-cultural trajectories

**Religious**
- Risk-taking
- Aspiration
- Money is everything
- Winner takes all
- Highest standard of living
- Will win the lottery
- Capricious philanthropy
- Put down humor
- Government is the problem

**Secular**
- Risk-averse
- Accommodation
- Money is suspect
- Income redistribution
- Best quality of life
- Have won the lottery
- Compulsory philanthropy
- Self-effacing irony
- Government is the solution

In fact, US and Canada were/are distinct cultures, with unique socio-cultural trajectories
Which led to a book. And a Donner Prize later, what seemed counter-intuitive became increasingly obvious.
Now in 2017…

Trump in the White House  

Trudeau at 24 Sussex
So how have American and Canadian social values evolved over the past 14 years?
Survey Methodology

The Environics program tracks peoples personal values, motivations and mindsets

Multiple statements are used to ensure the robust measurement of several facets of each social value


In 2016, we tracked over 50 values dimensions using more than 150 items in each country and increased the sample in Canada to 4,000 and in the US to 8,000
Beyond the Morality of Good and Evil

Examples of the values we track:

- Acceptance of Violence
- Adaptability to Complexity
- American Dream
- Attraction for Crowds
- Concern for Appearance
- Duty
- Flexible Families
- Global Consciousness
- Joy of Consumption
- Just Deserts

- Obedience to Authority
- Patriarchy
- Penchant for Risk
- Personal Challenge
- Questioning Authority
- Religiosity
- Sexism
- Sexual Permissiveness
- Spiritual Quest
- Xenophobia
Specific examples of Social Values we track...
Patriarchy

Belief in traditional patriarchal authority

The father of the family must be the master in his own house
Religiosity

Placing great importance on religion as a construct that guides one's life. Also, placing great significance on having an affiliation with an organized religious faith. A tendency to hold that religion represents the essential values.

- My religious beliefs are important to me
- I consider myself to be a member of a religious faith
- I would like to have a religious service at my funeral
- It is important for children to receive a religious upbringing
Setting difficult goals, even just to prove to oneself that they can be accomplished. People strong on this construct finish what they start, persevering until their self-assigned task is completed to their satisfaction.

I often do something simply to prove to myself that I am able

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When I really want to do something, I almost always do it

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Once I start something, I stick with it until I am satisfied with the results

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Acceptance of Violence

People highest on this construct believe that violence is an inevitable fact of life that must be accepted with a certain degree of indifference. Belief that violence can be hedonic, cathartic and persuasive.

- Violence can sometimes be exciting
  - When a person can’t take it anymore and feels like he/she is about to explode, a little violent behavior can relieve the tension
- Violence is a part of life. It’s no big deal
- It's acceptable to use physical force to get something you really want. The important thing is to get what you want
Just Deserts

Confidence that, in the end, people get what they deserve (and deserve what they get) as a result of the decisions they make, both positively and negatively.

- People get what they are entitled to have
- People get what they deserve
- Rewards and punishments are fairly given
- People who meet with misfortune have brought it on themselves
Flexible Families

Willingness to accept non-traditional definitions of "family", such as common law and same-sex marriages. The belief that "family" should be defined by emotional connections rather than by legal formalities or institutions.

- Society should regard people of the same sex who live together as being the same as a married couple
- Society should regard people who live together without being married as being a family
Mental Postures of the Quadrants

**Status & Security:**
Obedience to Traditional Structures and Norms

**Authenticity & Responsibility:**
Well-being, Harmony, and Responsibility

**Exclusion & Intensity:**
Seeking Stimulus and Attention

**Idealism & Autonomy:**
Exploration and Flexibility
Status & Security – Everyday Life Symbols
Pursuing the American dream by following accepted rules and norms

Strong work ethic

Desire for achieving material success and demonstrating social standing

Belief in traditional institutions and identities
Authenticity & Responsibility – Everyday Life Symbols
Authenticity & Responsibility – Values

- Strong sense of duty and responsibility to others
- Care deeply about ethics and fair-mindedness
- Take care of mind, body and spirituality in the face of daily challenges
The Idealism & Autonomy Quadrant

INDIVIDUALITY

Ethical Consumerism
Personal Creativity
Scepticism of Advertising
Global Consciousness
Rejection of Authority
Equal Relationship with Youth

FULFILMENT

Personal Control
Ecological Concern
Flexible Families
Idealism & Autonomy – Everyday Life Symbols
Authenticity & Responsibility – Values

- Self-reliant and in control of their own destiny
- Idealistic and open-minded
- Rejecting what they believe are “out-dated” norms and institutions
The Exclusion & Intensity Quadrant

Sexism  Attraction for Crowds  Adaptability to Complexity
  Joy of Consumption
  Need for Status Recognition
  Ostentatious Consumption
  Enthusiasm for Technology
  Pursuit of Intensity
  Penchant for Risk
  Multiculturalism

Acceptance of Violence

Sexual Permissiveness

INDIVIDUALITY
Exclusion & Intensity – Everyday Life Symbols
Exclusion & Intensity – Values

- Taking risks and challenges for the thrill or for personal gain
- Flaunting one’s success and material possessions
- Craving constant attention, excitement and distraction
- Living on the edge with risky, anti-conformist behaviour
Change Story over the past quarter century

An even more surprising move to secular idealism and personal autonomy
2012 – 2016 US Evolution
Decline in traditional values including religiosity and support for institutions plus increasing influence of youth-centered values

- AUTHORITY
  - Traditional Family
  - Religiosity
  - Obedience to Authority
  - Duty

- INDIVIDUALITY
  - Idealism & Autonomy
  - Authenticity & Responsibility

- SURVIVAL
  - Exclusion & Intensity
  - Status & Security

- FULFILMENT
  - Sexual Permissiveness
  - Flexible Families

- Penchant for Risk

- Year: 2012, 2016

- Decrease → Red
  - Increase → Green
Pew is also finding a decline in religiosity

% who identify as...

- **Religious and spiritual**: 59% (2012) vs. 48% (2017)
- **Spiritual but not religious**: 19% (2012) vs. 27% (2017)
- **Neither religious nor spiritual**: 16% (2012) vs. 18% (2017)
- **Religious but not spiritual**: 6% (2012) vs. 6% (2017)

Source: Pew Research Centre
A post ‘great recession’ rise in financial security, producing a moderate return to consumption.

![Graph showing changes in personal values and behaviors]

- **Survival** vs. **Fulfilment**
- **Individuality** vs. **Authority**

Key Changes:
- **Joy of Consumption**
- **Financial Security**
- **Penchant for Risk**

2012 to 2016:
- **Increase** in Financial Security

Values:
- **Status & Security**
- **Exclusion & Intensity**
- **Idealism & Autonomy**
- **Authenticity & Responsibility**
But still a time for self-restraint
Finally, a turn inward with Patriarchy making a comeback.
1992-2016: Where’s Canada going?

- Status & Security
- Exclusion & Intensity
- Authenticity & Responsibility
- Idealism & Autonomy

- 1992 - 2016
Canadians continue to question traditional authority, but have increasing concerns about social cohesion at home in a more dangerous world.

An evolution away from traditional values: Traditional Family, Primacy of the Family, Sexism, Religiosity, Duty; meanwhile, increasing Sexual Permissiveness.

More expectation of Cultural Assimilation over Multiculturalism. Global Consciousness and community involvement are increasing, but Xenophobia is also up.
On which values do Canadians and Americans differ the most in 2016?

- Patriarchy
- Religiosity
- Traditional Family
- Financial Security
- Personal Optimism
- Joy of Consumption
- Confidence in Advertising
- Confidence in Big Business
- Importance of Aesthetics
- Penchant for Risk

Flexible Families
Active Government
Technology Anxiety
As for father, we have seen that Americans are more patriarchal; the gap narrowing under Obama but has resurged of late.

*Father of the family must be master in his own house*
Gender

Status & Security

Exclusion & Intensity

Idealism & Autonomy

Survival

Individuality

Authority

US

Canada

‘Father must be master’
Region

Fulfilment

Authority

Individuality

Status & Security

Exclusion & Intensity

Survival

US

Canada

New England

Ontario

Atlantic

B.C.

Quebec

Prairies

Mountain

Mid Atlantic

Mid West

Texarkana

South Atlantic

Deep South

Pacific

Author & Autonomy
Political Party Identification

- Republican
- Conservative
- Did not vote
- Libertarian
- Democrat
- Did not vote
- Bloc Quebecois
- Green
- NDP
- Liberal

Status & Security
- Exclusion & Intensity
- AUTHORITY
- AUTHORITY
- INDIVIDUALITY
- INDIVIDUALITY
- FULFILMENT
- FULFILMENT
- SURVIVAL
- SURVIVAL
- US
- Canada
Top values of Republicans and Democrats

AUTHORITY
- Traditional Family
- Religiosity
- National Pride
- Obedience to Authority
- Duty
- Cultural Assimilation
- Parochialism
- Concern for Appearance

Survival
- Xenophobia
- Joy of Consumption
- Active Government

Individuality
- Authenticity & Responsibility
- Idealism & Autonomy
- Exclusion & Intensity
- Flexible Families

Fulfilment
- Religiosity
- National Pride
- Obedience to Authority
- Duty
- Cultural Assimilation
- Parochialism
- Concern for Appearance

Values
- Religiosity
- National Pride
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Active Government
- Multiculturalism
- Global Consciousness
- Ethical Consumerism
- Ecological Concern

Joy of Consumption
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- Global Consciousness
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Global Consciousness
Democratic Primary Support

AUTHORITY

FULFILMENT

SURVIVAL

INDIVIDUALITY

Status & Security

Exclusion & Intensity

Authenticity & Responsibility

Idealism & Autonomy

Clinton
Democrat

Sanders
Top values for Clinton and Sanders supporters

- **Authority**
  - Status & Security
  - Authenticity & Responsibility

- **Individuality**
  - Status & Security
  - Authenticity & Responsibility

- **Survival**
  - Exclusion & Intensity
  - Global Consciousness

- **Fulfilment**
  - Attraction for Crowds
  - Personal Challenge

Values:
- Multiculturalism
- Global Consciousness
- Ecological Concern
- Flexible Families
- Rejection of Authority
- Equal Relationship with Youth
- Pursuit of Intensity
- Concern for Appearance
- Personal Challenge
GOP Primary Support

- Carson
- Bush
- Cruz
- Kasich
- Trump
Top values for Cruz and Trump supporters

- **AUTHORITY**
  - Traditional Family
  - Religiosity
  - National Pride
  - Obedience to Authority
  - Duty
  - Emotional Control

- **FULFILMENT**
  - Idealism & Autonomy
  - Status & Security
  - Authenticity & Responsibility
  - Exclusion & Intensity

- **SURVIVAL**
  - Xenophobia
  - Parochialism
  - Cultural Assimilation

- **INDIVIDUALITY**
  - Religiosity
  - National Pride
  - Obedience to Authority
  - Duty
  - Emotional Control

- **Cruz**
- **Trump**
Voter Intention 2016

- Donald Trump (Authority & Authenticity)
- Clinton (Status & Security)
- Stein (Exclusion & Intensity)
- Johnson (Idealism & Autonomy)
- DNK (authority & Authenticity)
Top values of Trump versus Clinton supporters

- **Status & Security**
  - Traditional Family
  - Cultural Assimilation
  - Pursuit of Intensity
  - Personal Challenge

- **Exclusion & Intensity**
  - Xenophobia
  - Attraction for Crowds
  - Parochialism
  - Multiculturalism

- **Authority**
  - Obedience to Authority
  - National Pride

- **Idealism & Autonomy**
  - Authenticity & Responsibility
  - Ecological Concern

- **Survival**
  - Concern for Appearance

- **Fulfilment**
The silent minority of 45% of voting age citizens who did not intend to vote were probably not too upset by Trump’s victory.
And what do the people of Canada think of all of this?
If you think some Canadian regions are indistinguishable from the United States, you may want to reconsider.

Agree: Father of the family must be master in his own house, 2016

[Bar chart showing percentage agreement for different regions, with Deep South at 50% and Atlantic at 19%.]
And by the way, Canadians no longer believe that Canada is becoming more like the US, and 26% have apparently read Fire and Ice.

Over the past ten years, do you think Canada has become ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More like the U.S.</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less like the U.S.</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No change</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*EKOS Research Associates, 2002*
Furthermore, Canadians’ opinion of the USA is now at its lowest level in more than 35 years.

*Overall opinion of the United States. 1982 – 2017.*
And in the age of Trudeau and Trump: Canadians wish their leaders to be compromisers while Americans want men who will stick to their guns.

Which statement is closest to your own view?

- I like elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with
- I like elected officials who stick to their positions

* Pew Research Center, Feb. 2011