



# THE EVOLUTION OF GLOBAL VALUES

by American Environics





# **THE EVOLUTION OF GLOBAL VALUES**

Produced for dropping knowledge

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# I. INTRODUCTION

Values define the possible in society, culture, politics and human relations. The world we live in and aspire to is limited to that which we are capable of imagining and believing in. As such, the long-term evolution of values in human societies largely defines, or at least constrains, the kinds of social change that are possible. Social change strategies that ignore or swim against those trends simply will not succeed.

Values research tells us that traditional social institutions start to lose their grip in societies around the world as social, geographic, economic and cultural mobility increase. In virtually every society, values are evolving away from orientations toward authority and towards individuality. With that mobility and individuality, along with increasing affluence and the rise of mass consumer cultures, people begin to construct complicated new identities for themselves that are inextricably tied up in patterns of consumption, fantasies and aspirations that would have been unimaginable to their parents and grandparents.

For those attempting to develop social change strategies, there is both good news and bad news. The bad news is that there are real constraints. If a social change strategy is inconsistent with these long-term trends in human societies and human consciousness, no amount of savvy marketing, impassioned persuasion, rational argument, public education or catchy slogans will succeed in advancing that strategy.

The good news is that values today are in an extraordinary period of flux and dynamism. New values and identities are constantly being created, worldwide, in varying and complex ways. Old values are being destroyed and reconstituted as well. The ferment of values creation, destruction and reconstruction is extraordinary, and in it lies opportunities to help humankind construct new values and identities that hold

tremendous promise for a just, sustainable, loving and hopeful future.

The first step towards that future is to understand what is driving the evolution of values. Today's world is in the midst of a dramatic values evolution, a complex phenomenon of trends and counter-trends. Modernization is happening in every society to some degree, and we can observe its similar impacts on very different societies. There are simultaneously universal qualities to modernization and profound differences, and we need to understand both in order to sense where societies are heading. So-called "objective" conditions, such as political, geographic, economic and technological developments, provide the setting in which new evolutions become possible. But it is subjective factors, i.e. the people, their values and aspirations, which decide, if — and what kind of — possibilities become real.

## WHAT ARE VALUES?

While the popular understanding of "values" remains vague, social scientists have defined values quite specifically. Psychologist Milton Rokeach first defined values in the 1960s as having the following properties. They are:

- Beliefs;
- Conceptions of, preferences for and prescriptions about desirable modes of conduct or established orientations toward living and existence;
- Conceptions of, preferences for and prescriptions about desirable end-states of existence and social ideals.

We think of values as a representation of our unique moral compass. But our values are as much a manifestation of the social, political and cultural environments in which we live as they are a reflection of our unique selves. Sometimes we are able to predict a person's values based on their nationality, region, social class and age. Other times we find two individuals who are what researchers call "socio-

demographic twins” but who have very different values—and thus belong to different social milieus.

Our values encompass our expectations, perceptions, judgments, justifications, intentions, tendencies and actions. They are the lens through which we view our understanding about the world and determine our place within it. Such formative and fundamental beliefs are largely molded by the age of fifteen by our families, social networks, institutions such as the church and state, our socio-historical environment and many other factors. Major societal events (e.g., war, terrorist attacks, economic depressions) and major life events (e.g., marriage, the birth of a child, the death of a parent) *can* result in changing values. Somewhat surprisingly, however, this seems to be the case rather rarely. More often than not, people stick to the values they formed by age fifteen all their lives. Their *behavior* may change in reaction to major events but only in ways that are consistent with their basic values and beliefs. Consider the following:

- Very autonomous and individualistic people tend to maintain their autonomy after getting married. Both partners have their own networks of friends and their own interests, and they try to find a balance between their independent lives and their life as a couple.
- People who loved to explore foreign countries by being on the road when they were young still love to spend their holidays moving from one place to another as they become older but will invest in a nice hotel room and a good—*local style!*—dinner.
- After the 9/11 attacks many progressive-minded people tried to better understand the Islamic world in order to find out how tolerance and multiculturalism could be preserved in the face of what many are saying is a looming “clash of civilizations.”

As a general rule, people do not change their milieu (or set of basic values) over the course of their lives. However, groups of “like-minded people” (which is one definition of social milieus) change in similar ways. *Behavior* (i.e. reactions towards changing circumstances) changes while basic *values* do not.<sup>1</sup>



## II. METHODOLOGY

This report summarizes the different research efforts into human values being done worldwide by social scientists, researchers and corporate marketing firms. The main research efforts summarized in this paper are the following:

**World Values Survey**—The World Values Survey builds on the European Values Survey, which was first conducted in 1981. A second wave of surveys, designed for global use, was completed in 1990-1991, a third wave was conducted in 1995-1996, a fourth wave carried out in 1999-2001 and a fifth wave is currently underway.

A network of social scientists from leading universities worldwide carries out the surveys. They measure the beliefs and values in more than 80 societies with a representative national sample of at least 1,000 people from each society. The project is coordinated and distributed by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan under the direction of Professor Ronald Inglehart.

**Environics**—As one of the largest marketing research firms in Canada, Environics offers analytically rigorous research tools for understanding the values landscape and crafting innovative social change and marketing strategies. In the early 1980s, Environics began conducting a yearly evaluation of social change in Canada known as the 3SC Social Values Monitor. This study was expanded to the U.S. in the early 1990s. The extensive survey is one of the largest ongoing studies of social values in the world and is overlaid with geo-demographic data from the U.S. and Canadian Census. In the U.S., the survey has been given to between 1,500-2,500 Americans aged 15 and over every four years. It is one of the few large-scale home surveys still done in the U.S. and takes over three hours to complete.

Environics currently measures over 100 distinct social values, ranging from those with enduring sociological stature, such as trends called the *Need for Status Recognition*<sup>a</sup>, *Obedience to Authority*<sup>b</sup> and *Sexism*<sup>c</sup>, to those that describe the subtle phenomenology of everyday life, such as *Concern for Appearance*<sup>d</sup>, *Meaningful Moments*<sup>e</sup> and *Discerning Hedonism*<sup>f</sup>. All Environics values referenced in this report are italicized.

**Sociovision Glocal Consult**—Sociovision's socio-cultural monitors provide in-depth and precise analyses of people's attitudes toward social issues. These include the environment, healthcare, politics, housing, urban planning and public responsibility. The company draws on methodologies currently used in sociology and anthropology, such as in-depth interviews, groups meetings, fieldwork and lexical analysis. It also uses a few original techniques of its own, such as "Socratic interviews" (interviews with management). Sociovision launched in 2000 a permanent international program entitled Glocal Consult™, which analyzes the 3SC research to advise businesses. Their 2002 report, *The Drivers of Change in a Cross-Cultural World*, analyzes the implications of the values systems of 12 countries.

Glocal Consult aims at identifying and describing basic "Drivers of Change" that are relevant (more or less) overall in the world. Their empirical measurement uses a very robust questionnaire that traces basic orientations (as much as possible) independently from local cultural conditions. It provides a useful framework for structuring and making comparable the manifold (local) observations and findings on current trends, fashions and other socio-cultural phenomena.

In addition to Environics and Sociovision, the 3SC Social Values system has been ongoing in France since 1974, in Germany since 1990 and in the UK since 1994.

**VALS Research** — VALS (Values and Lifestyle Survey) was created by SRI International, in conjunction with researchers at Stanford University and UC Berkeley, in 1978 as a way of identifying consumer behavior by recognizing and predicting personality traits.

a *Need for Status Recognition* Desire to be held in esteem and respect by others, and to express one's social standing or aspired status, through a display of fine manners, good taste, style or "chic."

b *Obedience to Authority* A belief in playing by the rules. The belief that persons or organizations in positions of authority should be deferred to at all times. There are rules in society and everyone should follow them. Feeling that young people in particular should be taught to obey authority rather than question it.

c *Sexism* Belief that "the father of the family must be the master in his own home." Believing in traditional, male-dominated views on the division of gender roles – that men are naturally superior to women. These views carry into economic issues such as the belief that, when both partners are working, the husband should be the main breadwinner.

d *Concern for Appearance* Placing a great deal of importance on appearing "attractive," and concerned about the image projected by one's appearance. People who are strong on this trend are image-driven.

VALS uses psychology to segment individuals according to their distinct personality traits, which are the internal motivation for all consumer choices. While they were one of the early players in commercially available values measurement and interpretation for consumer segmentation, they have moved on somewhat in their focus in recent years.

**Pew Global Research** — The Pew Global Attitudes Project is a series of worldwide public opinion surveys that encompasses a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. More than 90,000 interviews in 50 countries have been conducted as part of the project's work.

The Pew Global Attitudes Project is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently Principal, the Albright Group LLC in Washington, DC, and former Senator John C. Danforth, currently Partner, Bryan Cave LLP in St. Louis, MO. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan “fact tank” in Washington, DC, that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

The Project is a unique, comprehensive, internationally comparable series of surveys available to journalists, academics, policymakers and the public. It aims to gauge attitudes in every region toward globalization, trade and an increasingly connected world; to measure changes in attitudes toward democracy and other key issues among some of the European populations surveyed in the 13-nation 1991 benchmark survey, the Pulse of Europe (also directed by Dr. Albright and Mr. Kohut); to measure attitudes about terrorism; to examine the intersection between the Islamic faith and public policy in countries with significant Muslim populations; and to more deeply probe attitudes toward the United States in all countries. Recent Global Attitudes surveys have gauged worldwide opinion about international news developments.

*e Meaningful Moments* Cherishing the ordinary moments in everyday life over once-in-a-lifetime, grand-scale events. Taking time to indulge in individual pleasures. The sense of impermanence that accompanies momentary connections with others does not diminish the value of the moment.

*f Discerning Hedonism* The capacity to savor pleasures; the appreciation of complex emotions and the ability to link enjoyment to other realms of experience in everyday life.





### III. THE VALUES FRAMEWORK

#### A. MODERNIZATION THEORY

##### THE HIERARCHY OF NEEDS

Throughout most of human history, cultural, technological and spiritual change happened slowly — think agriculture, iron and the industrial revolution. Paradigm shifts led by scientific revolutionaries — Copernicus, Newton, Darwin, Freud, Einstein — also occurred rarely. But in today’s increasingly integrated, complex and global world, paradigms are shifting and societies are transforming faster than ever before.

Although global values are changing at a faster pace, each society’s values evolution is unique. Social scientists have a general hypothesis that explains the evolution of values based on a trajectory of social development, known as modernization theory. The central argument of *modernization theory* is that economic, political and cultural changes occur together in coherent patterns. Developed societies (e.g., the U.S., Europe, Japan) show very different characteristics from developing societies. There are simultaneously near-universal qualities of modernization, such as urbanization, secularization, female empowerment and declining fertility, and striking differences in modernization that are often the result of powerful national ideologies and religion, from Protestantism, Islamism and Confucianism, to fascism, communism and market fundamentalism.

While there are still some researchers who attempt to identify a single driver of modernization, like “the economy” or “religion,” most social scientists recognize that a society’s development is multi-causal and complex, driven by a range of changing values, growing prosperity, increasing freedom, educational access, technological change and other factors.

Modernization theory is, on the one hand, quite old, dating back to the mid-19th century ideas of Hegel, Marx and Weber. But in the mid-20th century modernization theory became integrated with a paradigm shift in psychology, which modified it in important ways, bringing out its highly complex and contingent nature.

In the 1950s the psychologist Abraham Maslow argued that humans have a “hierarchy of needs,” beginning with *material needs* (food and shelter) and *security needs* (freedom from violence and personal freedom) and progressing to *postmaterial needs*, namely the pursuit of happiness, a sense of purpose and fulfillment. He saw each stage as simultaneously solving the needs of the past *while creating new needs*. So, for example, we need to eat and achieve physical security before we will crave and fight for our freedom. Likewise, we need our freedom before we can aspire to happiness and fulfillment. Maslow identified the highest human needs as well-being, fulfillment, happiness and even mystical “peak experiences,” and he described humans seeking to satisfy their higher postmaterial needs as “self-actualizers.” (Note how Sociovision’s “Key Drivers of Global Social Change” reflect Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, Table G.)

Maslow’s theory that there is a hierarchy of needs was, in the 1950s and 60s, considered bold and original as well as strikingly intuitive. It met the scientific requirements of simplicity, elegance and great explanatory or predictive power. The hierarchy of needs view of human nature quickly triggered a paradigm shift within psychology, one that is still underway.

Humans are constantly striving to satisfy their higher needs and aspirations. Consider the American civil rights movement. Historical analyses confirm that it was rising prosperity — and rising expectations of continued prosperity — that helped birth both the civil rights and youth protest movements of the 1950s and 60s. African Americans had finally begun to satisfy their basic material needs when they started demanding their freedom. As would be predicted by Maslow’s theory, it was those middle class, young and educated black Americans who were on the forefront of the civil rights movement. Certainly poor black Southerners were involved in the movement, but it was overwhelmingly led by highly educated intellectuals (preachers predominant among them). This was also the case with the white supporters of the civil rights movement, who tended to be more highly educated and more affluent than the general American population.

Similarly, it is China’s youth, who were raised without material want and didn’t live through the famines and violence of the Cultural Revolution, rather than China’s elders, who are demanding greater

personal, political and economic freedoms. Many of China's youth are rejecting the authoritarian "religion" of communism and embracing modern and materialist Western values. The Chinese youth who are making these demands tend to be better educated, urban, and middle class — much like the African American youth who led the U.S. civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s.

Some of this still comes as a surprise to social change activists, who tend to believe that the poor are the agents of history. But the notion that the poor drive social change is not borne out by social values research or most mainstream readings of history.

Maslow's claim that the highest human needs are spiritual remains controversial, but his notion that humans have a hierarchy of needs remains the overwhelming consensus view of social scientists. Researchers around the world have repeatedly documented the strong correlation between solving lower needs and craving higher ones.

Social scientists include in the category of "material needs" food, shelter and security. But it may also include personal and political freedom. The young African Americans who broke the law to sit with young whites at segregated soda counters in the 1950s, and the young Chinese who led the Tiananmen Square uprising in 1989, were materialists, albeit materialists of a qualitatively different kind than their parents, many of whom had accommodated themselves with food, shelter and security and objected to striving beyond that for the freedom to engage in politics or commerce. As we think about modernization and the climb up Maslow's hierarchy of needs, it is imperative that we keep in mind the profoundly different sets of values and aspirations that exist among those individuals whom scientists categorize as "materialists." Such differences foreshadow equally profound differences that are beginning to emerge among those individuals considered "postmaterialists."

## **SLOUCHING TOWARD FULFILLMENT**

For much of human history our values have been shaped by our struggle to simply survive. Each major societal transformation — from hunter-gather to agricultural, from agricultural to industrial, and from industrial to postindustrial — is accompanied by an equally major values transformation. Each of these transformations, from premodern to modern to postmodern, is underway around the globe, albeit in a number of highly complex ways.

With industrialization came the need for skilled workers and universal education. (Causality flows both ways here: social elites saw universal education as a moral good and required it by law, and

increasingly educated workers fed the process of industrialization and postindustrialization.) With the ever-increasing specialization of workers there has been an increasing emphasis on consumer, romantic and political choice, as well as individual economic achievement. These forces feed and are fed by urbanization, which alters traditionally close-knit communities, encourages greater physical and social mobility and creates the desire, demand and opportunity for increasing amounts of personal freedom.

The period from the industrial revolution of the mid-1700s to World War II is often called modernity or “First Modernity.”<sup>g</sup> In this period, especially in the developed world, people increasingly looked not just to religious authorities but also to science to inform both what to believe in and how to live. In agricultural societies, life’s meaning was determined mostly by traditional religion and traditional family structures. In industrial societies, life’s meaning was still partly determined by religion and the family but also by science, nationalism, and new political ideologies, from capitalism to socialism to fascism. (See Table A.)

In addition to national ideologies and religion, historical and geographical conditions shaped modernization and — sometimes — contributed to making certain ideologies virulent. For example, both Germany and Italy were late industrializing countries and therefore entered into global competition for markets and raw materials at a later stage than other developed countries, which may have contributed to producing authoritarian dictatorships with aggressively chauvinistic ideologies.

The period after World War II marked the beginning of an era variously called postindustrial, postmodern, postmaterialist or the “Second Modernity.”<sup>h</sup> In many ways this period represents a deepening — and not rejection — of modernity. In the developed world, the postmodern period brought with it a majority middle class, the deepening of commercialization and privatization, and increasing specialization and access to higher education.

Wealth and prosperity became so widespread that sociologists began referring to the comparatively rich countries of Europe, Japan and North America as “postscarcity” societies. Flush with new wealth, the state vastly expanded the services it provided to its citizens, from higher education to universal health care to social security. The

<sup>g</sup>“First Modernity” is Sociovision’s term. These are useful if arbitrary titles; some people see the 16th century as the beginning of the modern period and others say Socrates birthed the modern (see Table F). <sup>h</sup>“Second Modernity” is also a Sociovision term.

welfare state was born. Tellingly, 50 years after World War II, obesity, diabetes and depression — “diseases” of material affluence — are more prevalent than hunger.

The vast majority of people born into postscarcity societies take their survival for granted. This is more strongly the case in Western European countries, which have a robust social safety net, than in the U.S., which has been cutting its social safety net. Never before in human history have so many humans craved the fulfillment of their postmaterial needs than they do today in postscarcity societies. This phenomenon stands in marked contrast both to most humans throughout human history and to about half of the world’s 6.5 billion people who still struggle to meet their basic material, security or freedom needs.

Because they need not worry about their basic needs, many citizens living in postscarcity societies are pursuing their fulfillment, which often manifests itself as the desire for meaningful work, new communities, intellectual stimulation and creative expression. When people fail to get their postmaterial needs met they feel alienated and depressed and seek to satisfy their longings through overconsumption, drugs, thrill-seeking, sexual promiscuity and real or simulated violence. Many scientists believe that individuals try to meet their new needs in old ways that they are used to because they don’t recognize that they are dealing with postmaterial rather than material needs.<sup>i</sup>

Postmaterialism is emphatically *not* a rejection of materialism but rather an acceptance that one’s survival is guaranteed. It reflects a shifting of priorities from survival to fulfillment. In the words of Ronald Inglehart, the University of Michigan sociologist who directs the World Values Survey, “Postmaterialists do not place a negative value on economic and physical security — they value it positively, like everyone else; but unlike Materialists, they give an even higher priority to self-expression and the quality of life.”<sup>2</sup>

The future is built from the past. Just as new languages emerge from old ones and new species evolve from the old, human societies are built from materials handed down from the past. Humans retain their reptilian and mammalian brains even as we evolved the mental organs for language, which is a large part of what distinguishes us from other primates.

<sup>i</sup> Measuring the level at which someone has satisfied their basic material needs is tricky. One often quoted study on happiness (Ed Diener, “Index of ‘Very Happy Responses’ in U.S. National Surveys of GDP Per Capita”) finds that there is a big jump in a person’s reported happiness until their income reaches \$10,000 per year, and then it stabilizes. (Cited in Robert Lane, *Loss of Happiness in Market Democracies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

However, the reliance on such a number is plainly constrained. It’s hard to imagine someone living in Los Angeles making the equivalent of \$5.00 per hour being able to meet his or her basic materials needs. Still, the science behind the finding is sound: after one’s basic material, security and freedom needs are met, additional money is correlated with only strikingly small gains in happiness.

Postmaterialists still have the same survival needs as materialists. Postmaterialists exist in society alongside materialists, modernists and even, arguably, premodern peoples (e.g., the Amish) in postscarcity, postmaterialist societies. Materialist values like *Ostentatious Consumption*<sup>j</sup> and the *Need for Status Recognition* are still widely held and, in the U.S., increasing among youth. Premodern values like *Patriarchy*<sup>k</sup> and *Religiosity*<sup>l</sup> exist and are, in some societies, including the U.S., increasing.

Some historians argue that the defining aspect of the Industrial Age was production and the defining aspect of the postindustrial age is consumption. Postscarcity societies are thus often also called “consumer societies.” The so-called “commodification of everything” led the literary critic Frederic Jameson to famously argue in a 1984 essay that photography and artists like Andy Warhol represent the apotheosis of “late capitalist” (i.e., postmodern) art.

Andy Warhol’s work in fact turns centrally around commodification, and the great billboard images of the Coca-Cola bottle or the Campbell’s soup can... [confer] a new kind of flatness or depthlessness. [In Warhol’s “Diamond Dust Shoes”] it is as though the external and colored surface of things—debased and contaminated in advance by their assimilation to glossy advertising images—has been stripped away to reveal the deathly black-and-white substratum of the photographic negative which subtends them.<sup>3</sup>

Hyperconsumption and other ills peculiar to postscarcity societies inspired many prominent sociologists, such as Christopher Lasch, to suggest that in the 1970s and 80s postscarcity societies were breeding grounds for narcissism, which they defined not as excessive self-love but rather as a confusion over the boundaries between the self and the society — a boundary confusion fed by the consumer capitalism’s relentless cultivation of internal desires. Your cravings for the Cooper Mini or desire to see *King Kong* are certainly internal, coming from “your self,” and yet weren’t they also shaped, if not created entirely, by commercial interests and advertisers?

The narcissism argument implies that there were once cravings (perhaps during the good old farm or factory days) that were wholly internal and not created or at least managed by the family or the church. Even so, Lasch and other theorists pointed to something important, namely the shifting of boundaries between society and the individual that occurred in decades following World War II.

j *Ostentatious Consumption* Desire to impress others and express one’s social standing through the display of objects that symbolize affluence.

k *Patriarchy* Belief that “the father of the family must be the master in his own home.”

l *Religiosity* Placing great importance on religion as a construct which guides one’s life. Also, placing great significance on having an affiliation with an organized religious faith. Tendency to consider that religion represents the essential values and education that should be transmitted to the next generation.

In addition to self-fulfillment, postmodern affluent societies also produce a desire for fun, entertainment, distraction and thrill-seeking. Today, we see these orientations being very powerful among certain segments, particularly among the young and lower class, in Europe and the United States alike.

Confusion over boundaries — and the seeking of new ones — is a driving force behind changing social values in the developed world. If postmodernism was characterized by an “anything goes” attitude, namely the blurring and eventual loss of all boundaries, then the *post*-post-modernist reaction realizes that the complexity is no longer manageable. We find people searching for new rules, new commitments and new boundaries to help them to reduce complexity but still maintain their autonomy. In this context, Sociovision has identified the socio-cultural current “Rules for Autonomy,” which proves to be one of the most relevant currents in Germany (and other European countries) today. Moreover, when describing today’s social climate, Sociovision refers to the emergent need for “Re-grounding,” which explains the renaissance of (some) traditional values — in particular among the younger generation.

### **“ALL THAT IS SOLID SELTS INTO AIR”**

Most people only hear glee in Nietzsche’s famous quote, “God is dead.” But his declaration was as much a lament as it was an aspiration. He was speaking to the increasingly powerful role that scientific rationalism was having in shaping how humans experience the world. On the one hand, Nietzsche was glad that scientific rationality had challenged Christianity, which he considered to be both a “slave” (or “herd”) morality as well as a values system critical to protecting “the underprivileged from nihilism”<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, Nietzsche worried that “Apollonian” rationalism of the modern world would obliterate its emotional, mystical and sexual counterweight, the “Dionysian” spirit.

This long plenitude and sequence of breakdown, destruction, ruin, and cataclysm that is now impending — who could guess enough of it today to be compelled to play the teacher and advance proclaimer of this monstrous logic of terror, the prophet of a gloom and an eclipse of the sun whose like has probably never yet occurred on earth?<sup>5</sup>

Just as most people miss the ambiguity Nietzsche was expressing about modernity, most people see Marx and Engels as simply anti-

capitalist. In fact the two sang the praises of modern capitalism as progress against premodern religions and societies, including feudalism. They believed capitalism held within it the seeds of its own destruction and was thus a necessary precursor to communism. Their *Communist Manifesto* promoted the modern notion that humans could remake our natures by entirely remaking society, the economy and politics. It was in that call-to-arms where Marx and Engles elegantly described modern capitalism as a process whereby “all that is solid melts into air” — a similar dynamism to the one Nietzsche saw resulting from the death of God.

One need not embrace either the perspectives of either Nietzsche or Marx and Engles to appreciate that, depending on one’s values and worldview, there are positive and negative aspects of modernization. Many today would count on the positive side an increasing concern for nonhuman nature, greater rights for women, minorities and youth, lower birth rates, greater sexual freedom, lower infant mortality rates and higher life expectancy, and more democracy and participation in political issues. With secularization, neighbors are less likely to shun each other for missing weekly church services and agnostics, atheists and religious minorities are free to express themselves without persecution.

In postmodern societies, workers on the assembly line and in cubicles are increasingly empowered — indeed, expected — to use their minds, creativity and other strengths on the job. Corporations move away from hierarchical management structures and increasingly recognize and manage for multiple intelligences. Women and men increasingly share familial duties. Suburban girls mobilize using the Internet to come to the aid of Nike factory workers in Vietnam and China. And military leaders today make an effort to reduce rather than inflict civilian casualties when waging war.

On the other hand, more Americans are today “bowling alone.” Americans are today far less likely to discuss community issues with their neighbors, much less participate in local politics, than they were 75, 30 and even 10 years ago. Children play outdoors less and exercise less. Television watching is up and newspaper reading is down. Fundamentalism and religious extremism are increasing around the world. Attempting to satisfy postmaterialist needs through materialist ends can result in increasing social alienation, depression, drug and alcohol abuse, overspending and overeating.

The bottom line is that values, technology, economy and science are always shaping each other. There is no one-way relationship between any of these forces. It is imperative for social change strategists to understand and recognize the complex and “overdetermined”

relationship between the various drivers of social transformation. The question is thus not whether modernization is “good or bad.” Like globalization, modernization is composed of multiple and contradictory phenomena. Rather, the question is which values, practices and processes of modernization and postmodernization should we take forward and which should we leave behind?

## EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

The **World Values Survey** Country Map represents the strong correlation between prosperity and postmaterial values. The map represents the values and socio-economic status of 65 countries along two dimensions. The first dimension runs from “traditional” to “secular-rational” values; the second dimension from “survival” to “self-expression” values. Societies more oriented toward traditional values emphasize the importance of religion and traditional family structure. These traditional societies tend to have strong nationalistic outlooks and high levels of national pride.

Wealthier countries tend to be higher on secular-rational values and self-expression values than poorer countries. As countries develop, they fairly consistently move from the lower left to the upper right on the World Values Survey Country Map. However, religion and ideology complicate the seemingly simple relationship between values and prosperity. For example, Protestant countries form a distinctive cluster separate from historically Roman Catholic societies — a trend first predicted by Max Weber in his landmark 1904 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, which argued that Protestant values better facilitated the progressive force of capitalism than did the conservative force of Catholicism.

Social scientists often examine the way that a country’s values shape the development of the economy, which in turn shapes values in highly complex cycles. Chinese Confucianism, a powerful political ideology that emphasizes self-control, adherence to hierarchy and order, has many similarities to Western rationalism and has thus been better able to advance modernization than Maoist communism — even though many Confucian values are passed off as communist. Arguably, Confucianism has been crucial to China’s rapid (if ecologically precarious) economic development for its post-Mao governments.

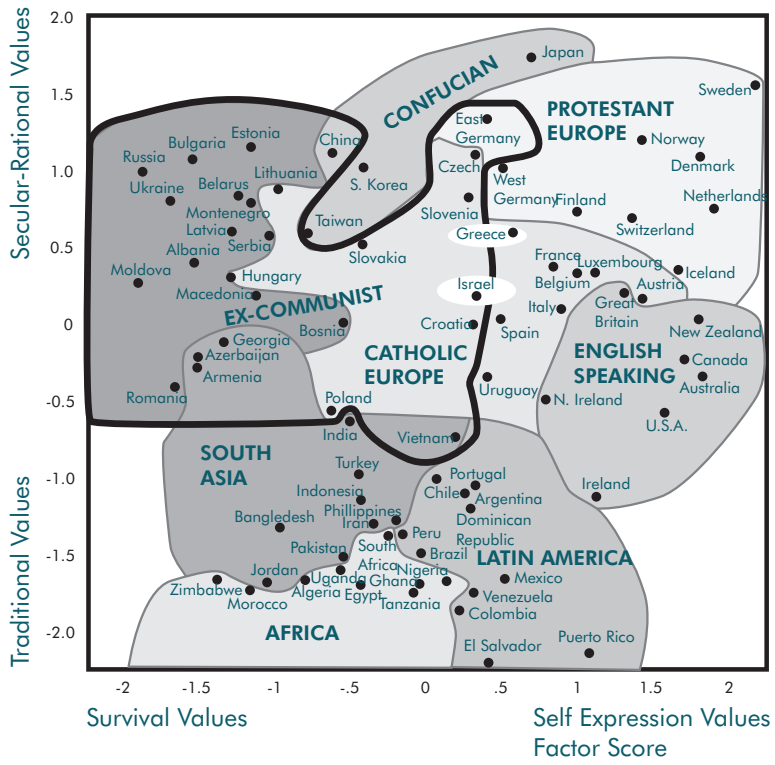
**Environics** tracks over 100 social values through a 350-question, in-home survey. Through a series of sophisticated statistical methods Environics can see how the values relate to one another and cluster. Environics has found seven distinct dimensions running through the values, and tends to focus on two dimensions that run from survival

TABLE A. “THE GLOBAL VALUES TRAJECTORY”



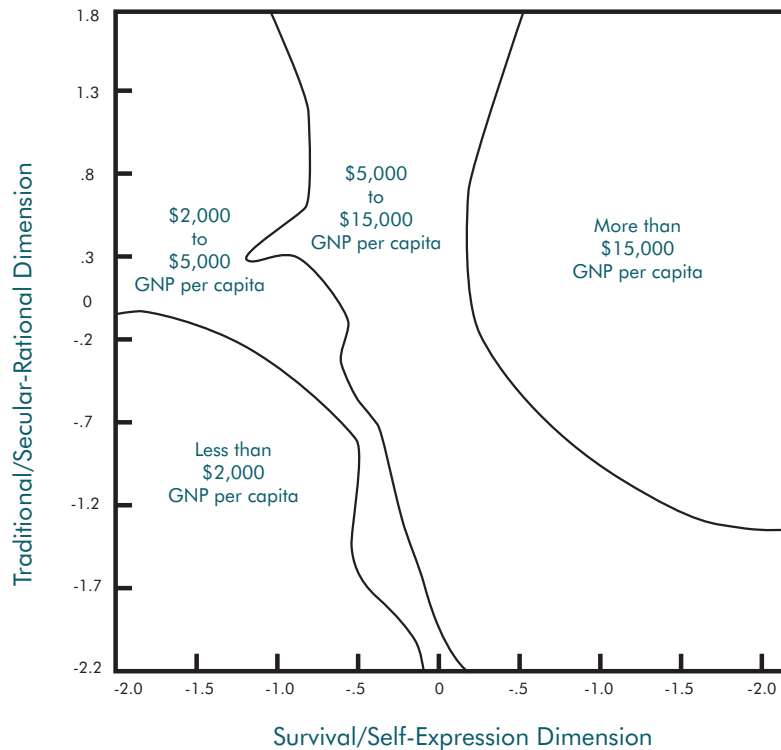
Source: American Environics, 2006.

TABLE B. WORLD VALUES SURVEY COUNTRY MAP



Source: World Values Survey, 2006

TABLE C. WORLD VALUES SURVEY GNP MAP



to fulfillment and authority to individuality that offer the most explanatory power. Though arrived at independently, these two dimensions are strikingly consistent with the two dimensions tracked by Inglehart's World Values Survey.

The top of the Environics map represents deference to authority, characterized by such values such as *Obedience to Authority*, *Duty*<sup>m</sup> and *Traditional Family*.<sup>n</sup> The bottom of the map represents an orientation to individuality, characterized by values such as *Rejection of Authority*<sup>o</sup>, *Flexible Families*<sup>p</sup> and *Equal Relationship with Youth*.<sup>q</sup>

The left-hand side of the Environics map represents an orientation to survival values, such as *Fatalism*, *Sexism and Xenophobia*.<sup>r</sup> The right-hand side of the map represents an orientation to fulfillment values, such as *Spiritual Quest*, *Introspection and Empathy*<sup>u</sup> and *Ecological Concern*.<sup>v</sup>

The map thus divides into four distinct quadrants, each representing a particular worldview. The lower right-hand quadrant (Idealism & Autonomy) is home to what Inglehart and others would call postmaterialist values. Though America is one of the richest countries in the world, *the society as a whole is moving away from fulfillment and toward survival* — from the upper right quadrant to the lower left quadrant — in contrast to Canada and Europe, which are moving toward individuality and fulfillment, the lower right quadrant. American Environics and other social scientists believe this shift is due in part to America's longstanding "exceptionalism" (discussed more in depth shortly) as well as 20 years of federal government cuts to the social safety net, which have increased feelings of vulnerability.

m *Duty* Belief that duties and obligations to others should be fulfilled before turning to one's personal pleasures and interests.

n *Traditional Family* Defining "family" in traditional terms as a man and a woman, married with children. Unwilling to expand the traditional concept of "family" beyond the legal formality of a marriage license to include same-sex couples or unmarried couples.

o *Rejection of Order* Living with a certain amount of disorder as an expression of oneself. Also, a desire to distance oneself from society's traditional moral code governing good manners and the golden rule in favor of a more informal and relaxed approach to life.

p *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 links rather than by legal formalities or institutions. The belief that society should be open to new definitions of what constitutes a "family."

q *Equal Relationship with Youth* Breaking down traditional hierarchical and patriarchal relationships by giving the youth equal freedoms as those of adults. Discipline, as that issued by adults over young people, is therefore replaced by freedom and increased individualism.

r *Fatalism* The tendency to believe that one's life is shaped by forces beyond one's control. Feeling unconcerned with trying to change the inevitable direction of one's life.

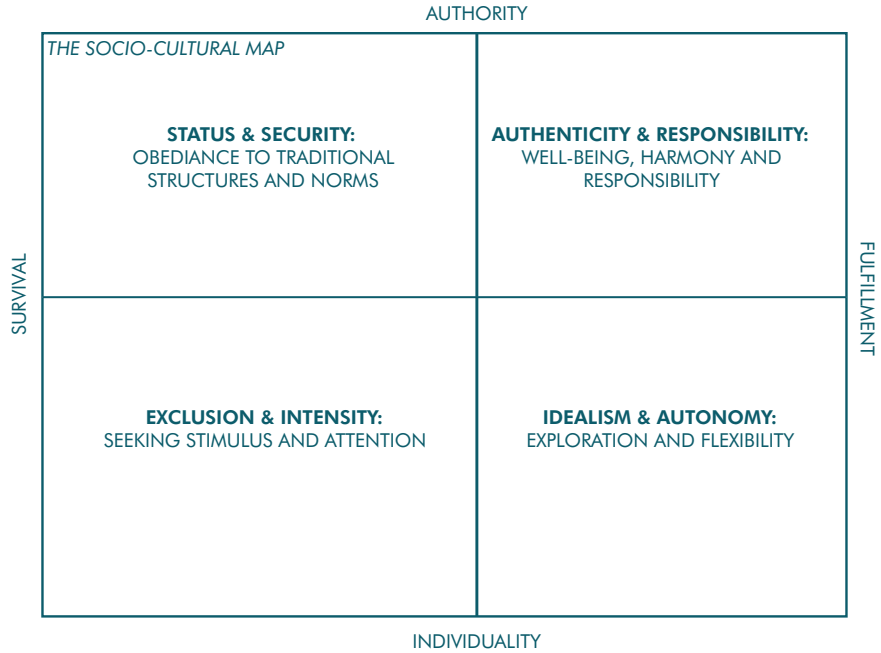
s *Xenophobia* The sense that too much immigration threatens the purity of the country. The belief that immigrants who have made their new home in the United States should set aside their cultural backgrounds and blend into "the American melting pot."

t *Spiritual Quest* A desire for an intense spiritual life, contemplating questions of existence and meaning.

u *Introspection & Empathy* Tendency to analyze and examine one's actions and those of others, rather than being judgmental about variances from the norm or from one's own way of doing things. An interest in understanding life rather than taking sides.

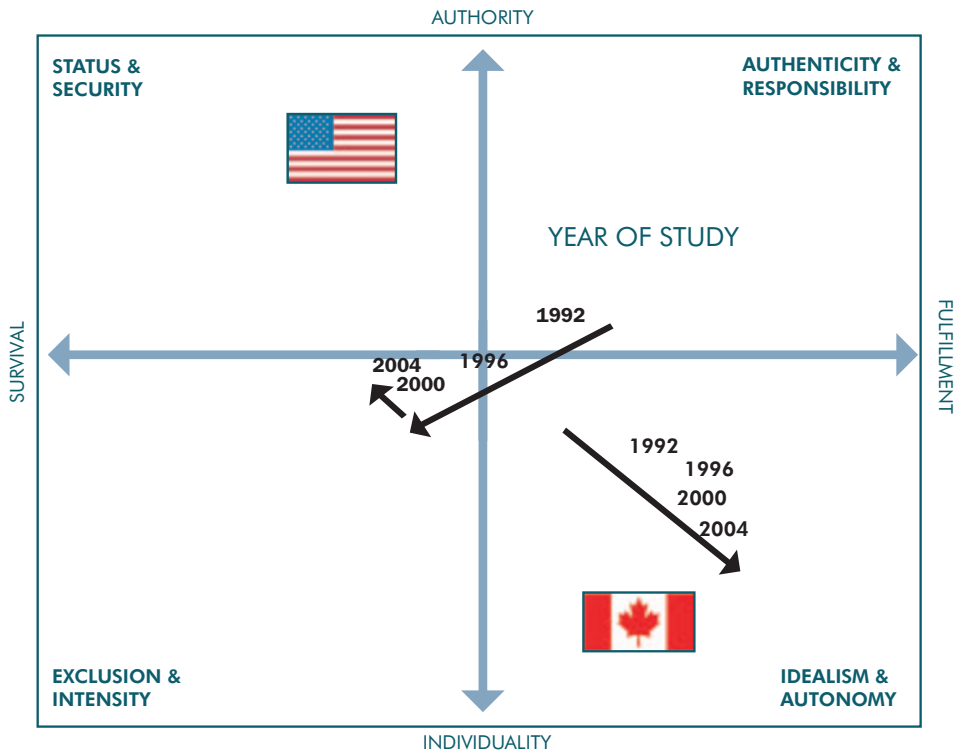
v *Ecological Concern* A tendency to believe that today's environmental problems are a result of industrial and personal disregard for the environment. These people feel that the trend towards environmental destruction is unacceptable and reject the notion that job protection or economic advancement should be allowed at the expense of environmental protection.

TABLE D. AMERICAN ENVIRONICS SOCIO-CULTURAL MAP



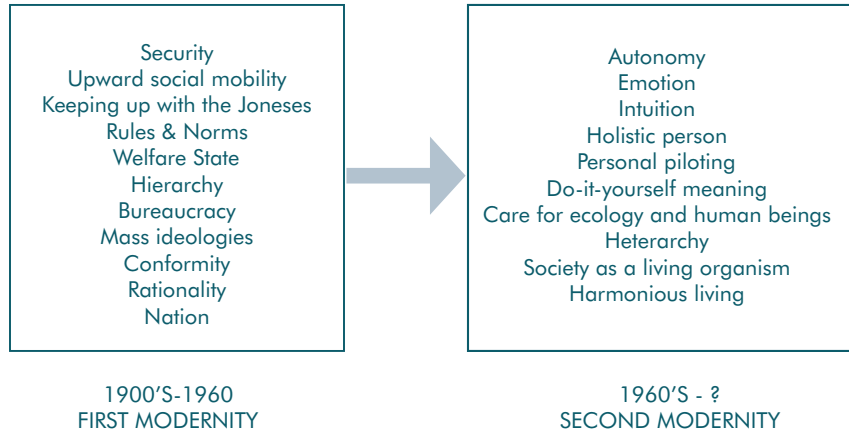
Source: American Environics, 2006.

TABLE E. AMERICAN ENVIRONICS MAP OF NORTH AMERICAN SOCIAL CHANGE



Source: American Environics, 2006.

TABLE F. SOCIOVISION'S FIRST AND SECOND MODERNITY



Source: Sociovision Global Consult, The Drivers of Change in a Cross-Cultural World. 2002.

**Sociovision** researchers, who describe the post-1960 era as the Second Modernity, believe the forces of changes (i.e. “drivers”) are very different today from those that prevailed during the First Modernity from 1900 to 1960. Like Environics and World Values Survey researchers, Sociovision scientists argue that the First Modernity was defined by hierarchy, conformity and tradition, while the Second Modernity is defined by autonomy, feminization, pleasure, emotions and the need for meaning.

Based upon dominating-value-scenarios Sociovision arrived at a (very provisional) segmentation of countries / regions:

- China / South East Asia: “Free is fair,” i.e. optimism with regard to globalization and economic liberalism, assertive newcomer and forthcoming superpower.
- U.S.: “Free is fair,” i.e. optimism with regard to globalization and economic liberalism, established superpower and now defending (or questioning) its status.
- Latin America: Rediscovering the “Shared Destiny,” redefining their identity and (possibly) developing an alternative vision.
- Middle East / Islamic countries: Frustration about a “modernization gap,” developing a strong ideology (which combines regressive traits with very modern aspects) and aiming at developing a vision for their own future.
- Europe: Ambivalent between “Free is fair” (in which the elite believe or at least pay lip service to) and “Shared Destiny” (for which the majority of the population yearns for, even if many have doubts about its feasibility).

TABLE G. SOCIOVISION'S 12 KEY DRIVERS OF GLOBAL SOCIAL CHANGE

**FIRST MODERNITY**

*Driver 1: Traditional Role Model:* A belief that society should be governed by the norms of the family, conformity, duty and obedience to authority in general.

*Driver 2: Status Quest:* A need for social recognition and the desire for material possessions as evidence of status.

*Driver 3: Safety Needs:* In a world of growing complexity, uncertainty and change, people seek reference points, stability and guarantees of security.

**SECOND MODERNITY**

**A. Autonomy**

*Driver 4: Learning Individual:* An orientation toward life as a means to learn, grow, develop and expand one's horizons.

*Driver 5: Disintegrating Hierarchy:* Rejection of established hierarchies coupled with a preference for self-determination and more transparent chains of interaction and influence.

*Driver 6: Feminization:* Better integration of women and feminine motivations (intuition vs. rationality, influence vs. authority, exchange vs. competitiveness), supported by the blurring of gender roles.

**B. Pleasure and Emotions**

*Driver 7: Thrill Pleasure:* The awakening of individual desire and the active search for instant gratification, intense sensations and at times a touch of transgression.

*Driver 8: Culture of Emotions:* The increasing reliance on feeling and desire to cultivate emotional and sensory experiences.

**C. Need for Meaning**

*Driver 9: Life Harmony:* A holistic sense of self with a search for balance between mind, body, soul and one's surroundings.

*Driver 10: Personal Meaning:* The movement whereby people question their priorities in life and seek meaningful moments and activities in their daily existence.

**D. Interactive Society**

*Driver 11: Network Culture:* The predisposition to create interpersonal ties and fluid communication as a key to rapid and effective action.

*Driver 12: Taste for Technology:* An openness to technologies as a way to enhance the quality of life and extend oneself and to have enriching new experiences.

*Sociovision is currently discussing a 13th driver: "Sustainability": to consider the long term effects of lifestyles and consumption with regard to ecological balance and global social justice.*

Source: Sociovision Glocal Consult, *The Drivers of Change in a Cross-Cultural World*. 2002.

TABLE H. WHAT IS MODERNITY?

PREMODERN	MODERN	POSTMODERN	POST-POST
<b>SOCIETY</b>			
Pre – 1750	1750 – 1945	1945 –	
Hunter-Gatherer/Agriculture	Industrial Revolution	Consumer Society	
Countryside	Cities	Suburbs	Megalopolis
God	God vs. Science	The Sciences	
Renaissance Man	One-Dimensional Man	New Man	
	Femininity	Feminism	Lipstick Feminism
Landed Gentry	Bourgeoisie	Middle Class	
Farms	Factories	Office Buildings	
Hunger	Sustenance	Obesity	Wellness
Tribes	Nations	Trade Blocs (e.g., EU, NAFTA)	
Paternalism	Meritocracy	Multiple Intelligences	
Marketplace	General Store	The Strip Mall	Internet Shopping
	Hierarchy	Heterarchy	Network
Town Crier	Newspapers	Walter Cronkite	Jon Stewart
<b>ART</b>			
Pre-1900	1900 -	1945 -	
Michelangelo	Picasso	Andy Warhol	
Cave Drawings - Renaissance	Le Corbusier	Portman	
Stonehenge	Empire State Building	Westin Bonaventure (L.A.)	
	Realism	Magical Realism	
Shakespeare	Joyce	García Márquez	
	John Wayne	James Dean	Heath Ledger
Gospel	Blues	Elvis	Coldplay
Theater	Movies	Television	
Harvest Faire	Mozart	John Cage	
<b>ECONOMY</b>			
Pre-1500s	1500 -	1973 -	
Wood	Coal	Oil	Hydrogen
	Smog	Climate Change	Global Warming Preparedness
	Work to Live	Work for the Weekend	Work from Home
Barter	General store	Wal-Mart	
	Commodity Fetishism	Brand Fetishism	
<b>POLITICS</b>			
Jefferson	FDR	Clinton	
Attila the Hun	Hitler	Bin Laden	
Precolonialism	Colonialism	Postcolonialism	
	Karl Marx	Ralph Nader	
	<i>Monthly Review</i>	<i>Adbusters</i>	
	Rallies	Squats	
	Lenin	Castro	
	Apartheid	President Mandela	
	Holocaust	Rwanda	
	World Wars I & II	Vietnam & Iraq	
<b>RELIGION</b>			
Animism	Romantics	New Age	
God	Nature is God	Environmentalism	Post-Environmentalism
Bartolomé de Las Casas	Muir	Brower	
Mohammed	Arab Nationalism	Al Qaeda	
Catholicism	Protestantism	Megachurches	
John the Baptist	Billy Graham	Rick Warren	
<b>PHILOSOPHY</b>			
Pre-1750's	1750s – 1930s	1930s -	1968
Greeks	Kant - Nietzsche	Heidegger – Sartre	Foucault-Derrida
	Freud	Seligman	
	Creationism	Natural Selection	Intelligent Design
	Psychoanalysis	Positive Psychology	
Aristotle	Bacon	Kuhn	

Source: American Envirionics, 2006.

**VALS** research is more focused on individual rather than on society-wide change. In the *Need-Driven* stage, lives are driven by survival rather than choice. Once survival is secured, individuals move to an *Outer-Directed* lifestyle — what others would call materialist — where *the individual's key motivation is to fit in* as a Belonger. Once the individual achieves greater security, she or he will seek deeper meaning, purposefulness, and fulfillment, potentially moving from being Outer-Directed to being Inner-Directed.

Inner-Directed people operate according to their internal values and are concerned with inner growth rather than outside acceptance. This framework seems to track with the move from modernity and materialism to postmodernity and postmaterialism.

As with the other values research, VALS researchers believe that lifestyle groups are formed by the historical moment and individual level of prosperity. Thus, if any individual is facing hard times, she may turn to the safety and familiarity of being a Belonger — just as Americans embraced traditional authority after the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

## **B. COMPLEXITIES WITHIN MODERNIZATION**

As we have discussed, there are complex religious, political, ideological and other values formations that complicate the seemingly straightforward transition from survival to fulfillment and authority to individuality. In this section we shine a light on these important complexities in order to reveal opportunities and threats for progressive social change strategists.

### **ANTI-MODERN BACKLASHES — OR CONTRADICTIONARY MODERNITIES?**

Some of the most complex aspects of modernity are, apparently, anti-modern backlashes. These have taken diverse forms, from fascism to religious fundamentalism to environmentalism.

- **Environmentalism.** The popular understanding of environmentalism is that it is a political movement that emerged to solve the “new” problems of pollution. In fact, much of the air and water pollution that environmentalism emerged to address was quite old. Perhaps the most important factor that led to the emergence of environmentalism was the nascent value of *Ecological Concern*, which started to become strongly felt in the 1960s and 70s as more and more people in the middle and upper classes of the developed world sought a higher quality of life.

Much of the conservation movement could be considered conservative in that it resists the economic development of nonhuman nature, which it has long imagined to be pure, primeval and separate from human agency. Does this make the environmental movement anti-modern?

In the 1960s, many environmental leaders, from Rachel Carson to Barry Commoner to Paul Ehrlich, were scientists. Today, environmentalists continue to put science and rationalism at the center of their politics. Does that make environmentalism modern?

- **Genocide.** Sometimes countries that seem to be progressing toward becoming postscarcity societies descend into warfare and barbarism that erase much of their progress. Think of Germany under Hitler and Yugoslavia after the fall of communism. Was the Holocaust — which killed six million European Jews as well as political dissidents, sexual minorities and gypsies — a premodern or a modern phenomenon? Was the Holocaust's motivation (i.e., the aspiration for racial "purity") premodern — but its means (i.e., bureaucratic efficiency) modern?
- **Radical Fundamentalism.** Strikingly, most of the 9-11 terrorists were relatively well educated, affluent and modern. In killing themselves and thousands of others were they aiming for postmaterial fulfillment? The tools Al Qaeda uses are plainly modern: sophisticated intelligence and communications using the latest technology. The strategies it employs are, arguably, postmodern: the network cell model; strategic immersion into Western culture (e.g., universities and flight schools); and its use of symbolic warfare, (e.g., attacking the World Trade Center, icon of capitalism modernity). Is Al Qaeda terrorism the dying gasp of those clinging to a premodern world? Or is it a distinctly modern — even postmodern — phenomenon?

British philosopher John Gray provocatively argues that Muslim extremism is as Western and modern as the ideologies of capitalism, fascism and communism. All extremists, he argues, share the modern view that human society can and should be remade, and consequently are willing to do whatever it takes to realize their utopian visions. "Al Qaeda sees itself as an alternative to the modern world, but the ideas on which it draws are quintessentially modern. As Karl Kraus said of psychoanalysis: radical Islam is a symptom of the disease of which it pretends to be the cure."<sup>6</sup>

Others believe that the core philosophical difference between religious fundamentalists and postmaterialists is the postmodern

acceptance of uncertainty. As New York Times columnist David Brooks noted, most in the West “enter a variety of modes of understanding the world and ourselves and are not disconcerted by the differences or dismayed by the inconclusiveness of it all.”<sup>7</sup>

The abundance of possible analyses raises several questions. To what extent do the categories around modernity help or hinder our understanding of such a complex phenomenon? Have there really been different eras in human history e.g., premodern, modern and postmodern? Do these refer to periods of time or simply social values and customs? Do such categories help or hinder our understanding of the world?



## CULTURAL CONTAMINATION

Muslim and Christian fundamentalists, neo-Nazis and nationalists of various political stripes often claim to oppose the “contamination” of their religions or societies from “external” influences. But there is no such thing as a “pure” religion or society. All religions and societies (as well as languages) are constructed from the past. All are the result of “contamination.”<sup>w</sup> All cultures are constructed *à la carte*, not *ex nibilo*.

A growing number of people are aware that they are consciously creating their culture. These people are often considered postmodern and hold the values *Culture Sampling*<sup>x</sup> and *Religion à la Carte*<sup>y</sup> strongly.

Postmodern African Americans do not enjoy the December holiday of “Kwanzaa” any less just because it is a relatively recent invention. There is little doubt that Kwanzaa will be taken increasingly seriously as time goes on — perhaps 100 years from now few will remember that it was such a recent invention.

Though increasing numbers of people acknowledge that they consciously choose which values to carry forward and which to leave behind, far more people believe that they are following age-old traditions that have been the same from the time of their creation.

Everything we call tradition today was once an innovation. Bolivia’s Aymara women look strange to us in what we think of as their “British” bowler (or derby) hats; to them, those hats are as Bolivian as their brightly colored dresses. In his new book, *Cosmopolitanism*, the Princeton philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah notes that bagpipes arrived in Scotland through Egypt via the Romans. As he says,

w Even contamination is a problematic concept in that it implies that there are cultures that aren’t the result of contamination and mixing.

x *Culture Sampling* This trend identifies the view that other cultures have a great deal to teach us, and measures people’s inclination to incorporate some

of these cultural influences into their own lives.

y *Religion à la Carte* A selective, personal, adaptive and eclectic approach to the adoption of religious beliefs. Spiritually questing, seeking personal fulfillment through learning about other faiths.

Trying to find some primordially authentic culture can be like peeling an onion...Cultures are made of communities and changes, and the identity of a society can survive through these changes. Societies without change aren't authentic; they're just dead.<sup>8</sup>

## **THE HOMOGENIZATION ASSUMPTION**

One of the great complaints of the anti-globalization movement is that modern, Western culture — in particular, American movies, music and television — is obliterating cultural diversity worldwide. But every society's existing values and worldviews shape the way we consume and interpret new cultural products in ways that are highly complex. Appiah cites research showing that the moral lessons Africans draw from watching the 1970s American soap opera "Dallas" are strikingly different from the moral lessons Americans drew from the same episodes.

To be sure, modern Western cultural products are today complicating local political realities. Appiah wryly notes, "In Saudi Arabia, people can watch 'Will and Grace' on satellite TV — officially proscribed, but available all the same — knowing that, under Saudi law, Will could be beheaded in a public square."<sup>9</sup> Some Muslims react to shows like "Will and Grace" by embracing religious fundamentalism even more strongly. Others, such as Iran's increasingly postmaterialist youth, are embracing many Western values — even while supporting the nationalist project of building a nuclear bomb. Are young Iranians moving toward fulfillment at the personal level and toward survival at the geopolitical level?

Consider America's neighbor to the North. Most Canadians believed that after NAFTA, Canada would become increasingly similar to the U.S. at a values level. In fact, in the late 1990s, Environics surprised many Canadians by revealing that the two countries continued to diverge in the years after NAFTA. Canadians looked increasingly like Western Europeans, moving further into the lower right quadrant (Idealism & Autonomy), and Americans looked increasingly alienated, moving further into the lower left quadrant (Exclusion & Intensity).



## AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

The French traveler, Alexis de Tocqueville, coined the term “American exceptionalism” in his landmark book, *Democracy in America*. Tocqueville thought American values were largely formed by the fact that the country had never undergone a class-based revolution. Today, Americans overwhelmingly tend to identify as “middle class” — even if they are relatively wealthy or relatively poor. This may be, in part, a consequence of America’s founding and westward expansion by middle class property owners. Both geographical factors (the “frontier”) and the rather late but then very dynamic industrialization (the “freedom to accumulate”), in addition to a specific kind of Protestantism, also contributed to American “exceptionalism”.

Two centuries after de Tocqueville, the Canadian sociologist Seymour Lipset identified the American creed as consisting of five distinct social values: individualism, freedom, populism, laissez-faire and egalitarianism. In contrast to Europeans, Americans from both the left and right have viewed centralized authority with suspicion. Populist religions have long thrived alongside populist political movements, from agrarian populism of the early 20th century to the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 70s to the rise of the religious right in the 1980s and 90s.

As we described earlier, survival values, including *Fatalism*, *Ecological Fatalism*,<sup>z</sup> *Patriarchy*, *Sexism* and *Acceptance of Violence*<sup>aa</sup> are on the rise in the U.S. This “return of the repressed,” as Environics CEO and President Michael Adams argues in his 2006 book, *American Backlash*, is causing two distinct and unequal reactions, one from conservatives and the other from liberals. Conservatives, he argues, have done a better job than liberals in taking political advantage of the backlash. While both liberals and conservatives cultivate resentment against social change, the American right creates majoritarian resentments while the left creates minoritarian ones.

Liberals and conservatives alike are concerned by what they see as America’s moral decline. Liberals lament increasing alienation, violence and the rise of evangelical religion while conservatives lament gay marriage, sexual promiscuity and abortion. Liberals read books like Thomas Frank’s *What’s the Matter with Kansas?* and conservatives read books about the coming Rapture and Apocalypse from the *Left Behind* series. This trend indicates that growing economic and social insecurity is behind America’s move back toward survival values and away from fulfillment.

<sup>z</sup> *Ecological Fatalism* People highest on this trend believe that some amount of pollution is unavoidable in industrial societies and accept it as a part of life. They feel that there is little they can do to change this fact.

<sup>aa</sup> *Acceptance of Violence* People highest on this trend believe that violence is an inevitable fact of life that must be accepted with a certain degree of indifference. Belief that violence can be both cathartic and persuasive.

This hypothesis is buttressed by economist Benjamin Friedman's recent book, *The Moral Consequences of Growth*, which argues that increasing insecurity in the U.S. is the result of the slowing of standard of living improvements from 1973-1993 — slower than in any previous twenty-year period since the Civil War.<sup>10</sup> Others have pointed to the September 11th terrorist attacks as the reason Americans allow (and in some cases encourage) greater authoritarianism, from unilateral military action to unauthorized wiretapping to *de facto* torture.

Many social scientists believe America's move back toward survival is in large part a consequence of the U.S. having made 20 years of cuts to its social safety net while other developed countries have not. But is this a case of "American exceptionalism" — or a harbinger of times to come for Europe? Europe, in cutting back its own social safety guarantees and adapting to global competition, may be following the United States' lead, albeit two decades later. Do the youth protests that rocked France in March 2006 reflect a progressive assertion of fulfillment values against social insecurity? Or are they a conservative defense of traditional national identity and industrial age workplaces in the face of economic transformations wrought by the shift to a postindustrial economy? Is Western European rejection of EU integration and expansion a progressive resistance to globalization or a conservative reaction to immigration and multiculturalism? Or, all of the above?

Even as insecurity drives Americans in general toward survival and away from fulfillment, American progressives are increasingly orienting toward fulfillment and individuality.<sup>bb</sup> More affluent and better educated than the average American, progressives hold a set of values that are far more postmaterialist than materialist — a finding that cuts against the assumption held by many liberal interest group leaders who tend to believe their Base supports progressive taxation, regulation and bigger government out of "material self-interest." Many of the defining values of the Progressive Base are not so much

bb In 2005, American Environics conducted the first-ever empirical analysis of the U.S. progressive and conservative political bases at a values level. What we discovered was that while conservatives cohere around Republican or conservative identity (i.e., survey respondents self-identified as "Republican" or "conservative"), progressives cohere around issue positions (i.e., the liberal position on policy questions like health care, social security, taxes, death penalty, abortion and others). We found this after having analyzed the segmentation of voters who self-identify as Democratic and finding that many of its commonly held values could simply not be considered progressive, such as Everyday Rage, Acceptance of Violence and Sexism. We also didn't find a coherent set of progressive values among those who defined themselves as "liberal" or "very liberal" (an increasingly small number of Americans identify

themselves as "progressive"). Where we did find a coherent set of progressive values was through segmentation from the issue questions, a finding that is consistent with the progressive movement's reliance on single-issue interest groups (e.g., environment, health, reproductive rights, labor, etc.) to define it. Likewise, we went through several iterations to define the Conservative Base, including defining it through issue positions as we had done with the Progressive Base, and found none of them to provide as coherent a set of conservative values as the identification segmentation did. American Environics identified the Progressive Base in the Strategic Values Project's Road Map for a Progressive Majority, funded by the Nathan Cummings Foundation, 2005.

European as they are postmaterialist: *Personal Control*<sup>dd</sup>, *Flexible Gender Identity*<sup>ee</sup>, *Global Consciousness*<sup>ff</sup>, *Culture Sampling*, *Introspection and Empathy*, *Personal Creativity*<sup>gg</sup>, *Religion à la Carte*, *Brand Apathy*<sup>hh</sup>, *Ecological Concern*, *Ethical Consumerism*<sup>ii</sup> and *Racial Fusion*<sup>jj</sup>.

Another American anomaly is that while modernization theory predicts that individuals increasingly orient toward fulfillment as they become more prosperous, this is not always the case in the U.S. For example, the Environics research reveals an interesting phenomenon: American women earning between \$35,000 to \$49,000 annually are more oriented to survival than women earning less than \$35,000. (A similar though less dramatic phenomenon exists for American men as well.) This is a striking anomaly in modernization theory.

This points to a unique American pattern as well as to the complexities of social class. Many social scientists are today challenging the notion of economic class. Is class simply income? If so, are non-college educated autoworkers who make over six figures in a higher class than university professors with Ph.D.s? Is the Harvard graduate school student who makes just \$35,000 a year more likely to hold materialist values than a truck driver who makes \$50,000? Unlikely. Though there is clearly a relationship between economic class, prosperity and values, the relationship is a highly complex one that resists easy generalization.

In modern and postmodern societies, education is often the most relevant aspect of social stratification. Sociovision's Sinus-Milieu positioning model uses two dimensions to display the structure of a given society. The first dimension runs from traditional to modern and postmodern values. The second dimension is social class, which integrates income, professional status and education — three kinds of "capital" described by the French anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu: economic, social and cultural capital. Cultural capital, or education level, is increasingly important in postindustrial, post-Fordist, knowledge-based economies.

dd *Personal Control* Striving to organize and control the direction of one's future, even when it feels that there are forces beyond one's immediate control.

ee *Flexible Gender Identity* The feeling that one has both a feminine and masculine side to one's personality. The desire to actively explore and express these different facets of one's personality. Having a feeling of being more masculine at times and more feminine at others.

ff *Global Consciousness* Considering oneself a "citizen of the world" first and foremost, over a "citizen of one's community and country." Non-ethnocentricity, feeling affinity to peoples in all countries.

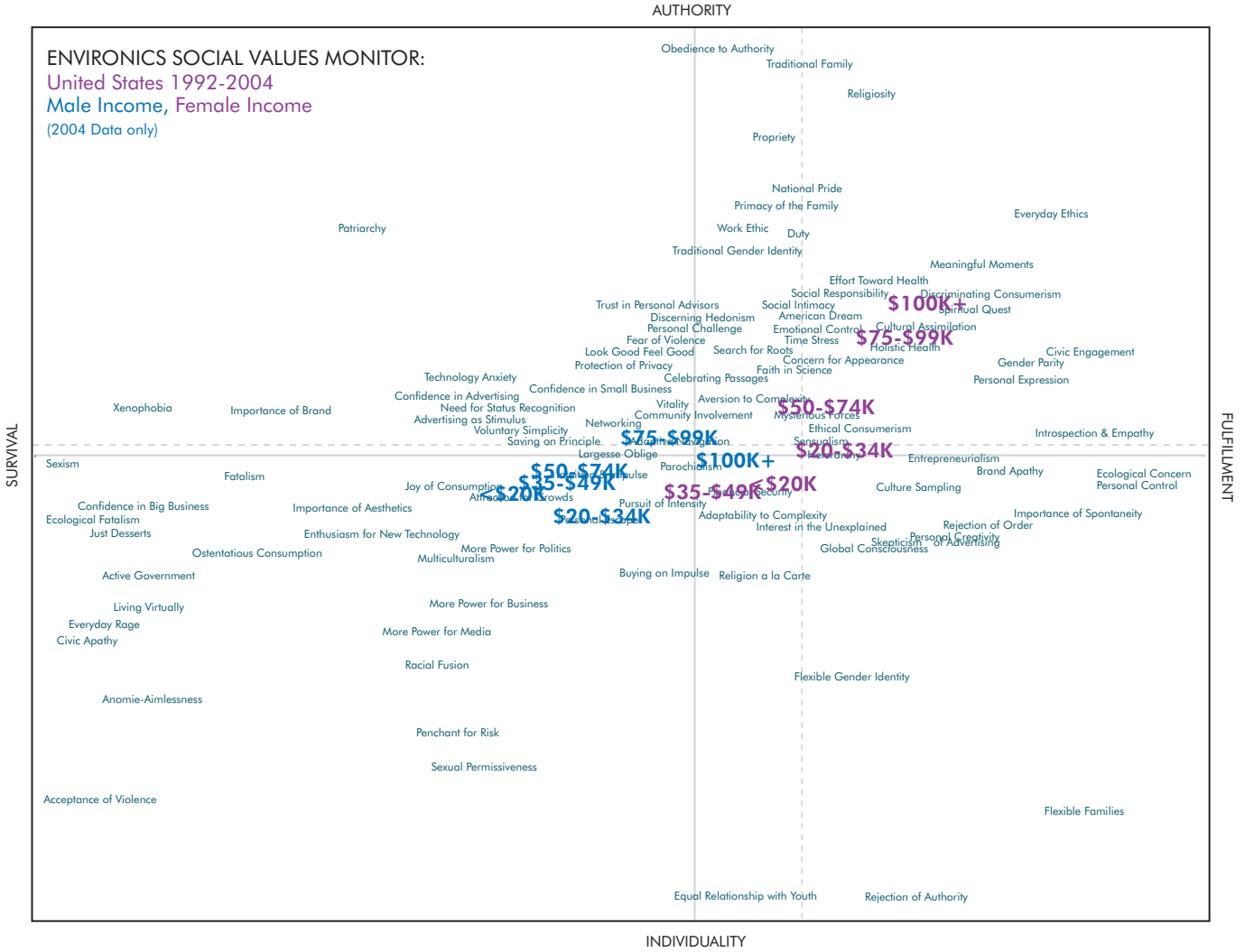
gg *Personal Creativity* Desire to use one's imagination and creative talents in daily life, both at work and at play.

hh *Brand Apathy* Placing little importance on the brand name of a product.

ii *Ethical Consumerism* A focus on the perceived ethical and social responsibility policies and practices of the companies from which they buy. Consideration of labor policies, mistreatment of animals, etc. Desire to see companies be good corporate citizens in terms of these social concerns.

jj *Racial Fusion* People who are strongest on this trend are accepting of ethnic diversity within families, such as interracial marriage, believing that it enriches people's lives.

TABLE I. AMERICAN ENVIRONICS SOCIO-CULTURAL MAP BY INCOME



Source: American Environics, 2006.



## THE IDEA OF EUROPE

The average American is so much more oriented toward survival than the average European that she literally cannot be plotted on the European social values map. And while Europe and America are both moving away from traditional forms of authority, Europeans and Americans have long imagined of their personal freedom and autonomy differently. In his 2004 book, *The European Dream*, Jeremy Rifkin sums up the widespread thinking about the differences between the way Europeans and Americans think about freedom:

For Americans, freedom has long been associated with autonomy. An autonomous person is not dependent on others or vulnerable to circumstances beyond his or her control. To be autonomous one needs to be propertied. The more wealth one amasses, the more independent one is in the world. One is free by becoming self-reliant and an island unto oneself. With wealth comes exclusivity, and with exclusivity comes security.<sup>11</sup>

For Europeans, Rifkin argues, freedom is found not in autonomy but in embeddedness. To be free is to be in many interdependent relationships. The more communities one can access, the more options one has for living a full and meaningful life. Inclusivity brings security. Europeans seek *belonging*, Rifkin claims, not *belongings*.<sup>12</sup>

The philosopher Isaiah Berlin distinguished between negative and positive definitions of liberty. America has traditionally been more oriented toward negative liberty, such as freedom from state intrusion on personal privacy, speech and religion, whereas Europe has been more oriented toward freedom to material survival and security.

Notions of economic opportunity were, from America's first years as a country, bounded inextricably to the mythology of the frontier. Through its songs, stories and images, Americans constantly refer back to frontier identities like the lumberjack, the farmer, the railroad worker and the miner. By contrast, Europe's development was anchored in centralized religious and political authority. While both American and European revolutions overthrew monarchical rule, America's revolution had a far stronger anti-statist character. There remains today far greater support in Europe for strong federal action to redistribute wealth and regulate the economy than in the U.S.

Whereas American values and its political system tend to frustrate federal power, Europe's values and its political system mostly facilitate it. These contrasting political systems emerge from and reinforce social values oriented toward *laissez-faire* populism and individualism in the U.S., and more communal values in Europe. European governments are thus empowered to implement a wide range of

ecological programs, for example, that many Americans would see as restricting their personal freedom, from energy efficiency to waste reduction to progressive taxation to land use regulations. On the other hand, America's winner-take-all political system, and its reluctance to restrict the influence of money in politics, reflects deeply held values of laissez-faire and individualism. Europeans seem to believe this emphasis on the self may have made America powerful, but it also contributed to America's vulgarity. As Irishman Oscar Wilde quipped, "America is the only country that went from barbarism to decadence without civilization in between."<sup>13</sup>

Europe's tightly packed yet livable cities also serve to strengthen communal values and grow popular appreciation of open spaces. Moreover, densely populated cities make it far easier for EU countries to mandate and achieve greater energy efficiency and waste reduction than is possible in the U.S., where homes are larger and spread out across a much larger geographic area. This density makes increasing efficiency, reducing waste and protecting open space far easier to achieve, which also serves to reduce resistance to these efforts.

Europe's communal social values were further strengthened after World War II when European leaders reflected on three decades of bloody warfare rooted in nationalism and began to embrace the vision articulated by Winston Churchill in 1946 of a "United States of Europe." Churchill's idea — an old one imbued with new urgency — was to achieve peace and prosperity through greater economic and political integration across borders. This global integration, though hotly opposed, has served to create a set of new postnational cultural and political identities on the Continent.

Secular, successful, postmaterialist Europe — understood not just as a place but as a practice, a way of living and a set of ideas about how to live — has much to offer its neighbors, the near east, and the world. How far can the EU's expansion go? If Turkey becomes part of the EU then why not other Middle Eastern or northern African countries, if not today, then at some point in the not-too-distant future? The answer to these questions could shape economic development, democratic governance, and social policy — as well as social values — not only across Europe but also around the world.





## IV. THE DEFINING AND CHANGING VALUES OF OUR TIME



### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Countries like China and India that are becoming increasingly prosperous are moving from survival to fulfillment. Those countries whose social safety nets are being cut, or whose economies have stagnated — such as the U.S., many ex-communist countries, many African countries and Latin America — are moving from fulfillment and back to survival.

Despite all the media attention around the European malaise, and the recent rejection of further integration, Europeans more than any other people on earth are strongly oriented toward fulfillment and individuality and away from survival and authority. The majority of Europeans agree that “pleasant life surroundings are more important than economic growth” while fewer than half of all Chinese believe this.<sup>14</sup>

The U.S. is again the exception when compared to Europe and Canada, as the number of Americans who believe that environmental protection impedes economic growth is growing, while those numbers decline for all other developed countries. The percentage of Americans who agree with the statement, “Pollution is necessary to preserve jobs,” has increased from 17 percent in 1992 to 29 percent in 2004.<sup>15</sup>

A large percentage of the Chinese people say they are satisfied with “national conditions,” perhaps due to the country’s phenomenal economic growth of the past decade. Seventy-two percent of Chinese say they are satisfied in contrast to 39 percent of Americans, 28 percent of French and 13 percent of Poles.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, 76 percent of Chinese are optimistic about their future, in comparison to 48 percent of Americans.<sup>17</sup>

**"IT IS BETTER TO HAVE PLEASANT LIFE SURROUNDINGS THAN ECONOMIC GROWTH."**

Spain	74%
Italy	72%
France	71%
Sweden	65%
Germany	63%
UK	59%
Japan	59%
U.S.	58%
Urban South Korea	53%
Urban Brazil	50%
Urban China	45%
Urban Argentina	29%

Source: Sociovision Glocal Consult, The Drivers of Change in a Cross-Cultural World. 2002.

Plainly, one's optimism and level of satisfaction with national conditions are relative to past circumstances. For example, in countries like China, where peasants suffered mass starvation just 40 years ago, making \$200 a month working 60 hours a week in a factory is considered a great job. According to one Pew survey, the French are much less satisfied with national conditions than the Chinese — even though the French are far more affluent and materially comfortable. Indeed, the situations are so different that many researchers question the utility of asking the Chinese and the French the exact same question about life satisfaction. Is the same social value really being measured? We know, for example, that some cultures are generally more optimistic than others. Does "satisfaction" mean the same thing in France as it does in China? "Satisfied" in comparison to what? These are questions worth asking as we ponder the various sources of data.

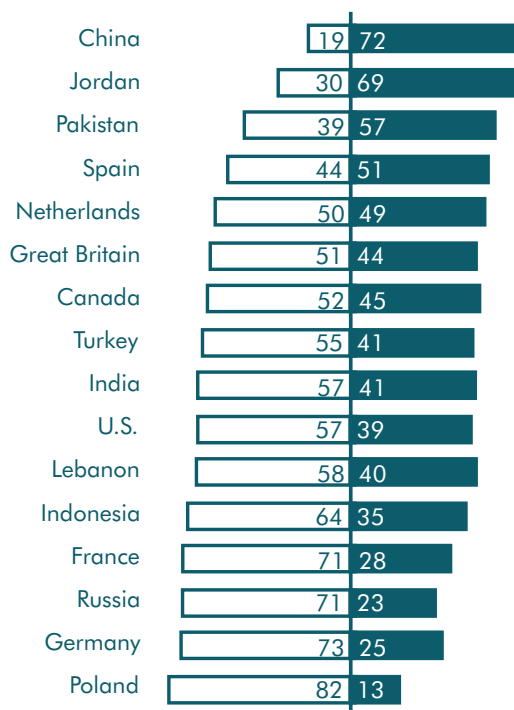
Recently, left-wing presidents campaigning against the predominant "neoliberal" model have been elected across Latin America. Even so, there are striking differences among these left-wing leaders. The current presidents of Bolivia, Venezuela and Argentina are mostly rejecting the neoliberal economic policy recommendations of the IMF and the U.S. government of cutting social spending and raising interest rates, while the presidents of Brazil, Chile and Uruguay have mostly accepted them. But even Venezuela's president, who claims to be a socialist, hasn't privatized any privately owned industries and, in fact, embraces a whole range of capitalist values and practices, from selling the country's oil on the world market to supporting small businesses and encouraging micro-lending. Governments pick and choose their economic practices just as societies pick and choose their values.

Surveys show widely differing views of globalization. But globalization is not a single phenomenon but rather a moniker that attempts to explain a set of highly complex and contradictory trends. The social values research to date on globalization is thus understandably constrained; asking somebody their opinion on "globalization" or "global trade" implies that these categories have a fixed and universal meaning, when they plainly do not.

Even so, two charts included here from the Pew Global Attitudes Project representing opinions toward trade and globalization are fascinating. Majorities in the developing countries of Pakistan, Senegal, Nigeria, Uzbekistan, Uganda and Vietnam believe global trade has been beneficial. The U.S., Canada, Western Europe and Japan, by contrast, believe globalization has exacerbated social inequality.<sup>18</sup> But there is no easy divide here, either. Some countries like India and Nigeria are more likely to blame globalization for worsening the gap between the rich and the poor.<sup>19</sup>

### SATISFACTION WITH NATIONAL CONDITIONS

□ DISSATISFIED ■ SATISFIED



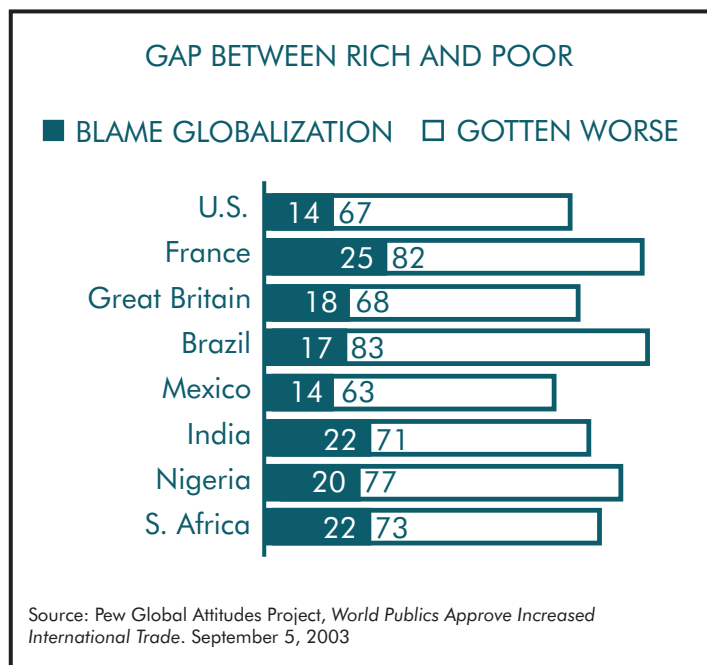
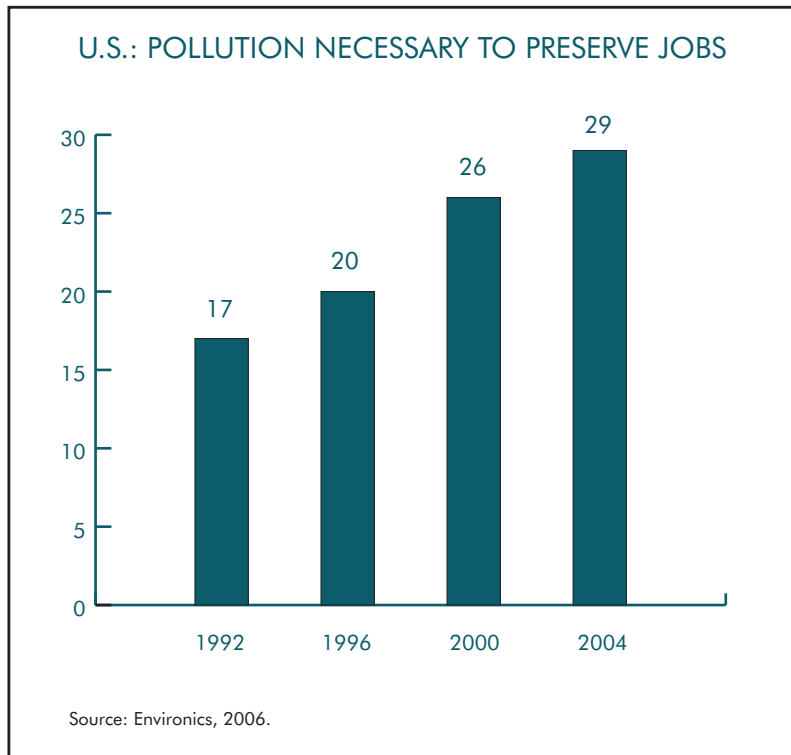
Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project, *China's Optimism: Prosperity Brings Satisfaction—and Hope*. November 16, 2005

### PERSONAL OPTIMISM

	Optimist	No Change	Pessimist	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%
China	76	14	6	5=100
Summer 2002	65	22	8	5=100
India	75	15	3	7=100
Summer 2002	57	17	7	19=100
United States	48	29	12	11=100
Summer 2002	61	23	7	9=100
Turkey	48	20	16	16=100
Summer 2002	44	20	19	17=100
Russia	45	22	16	17=100
Summer 2002	43	23	13	21=100
1991	39	16	24	20=99
Pakistan	40	15	9	36=100
Summer 2002	46	12	6	36=100

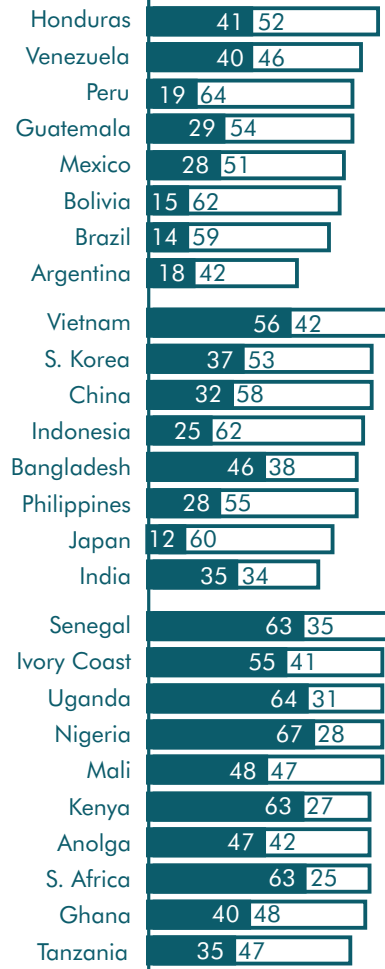
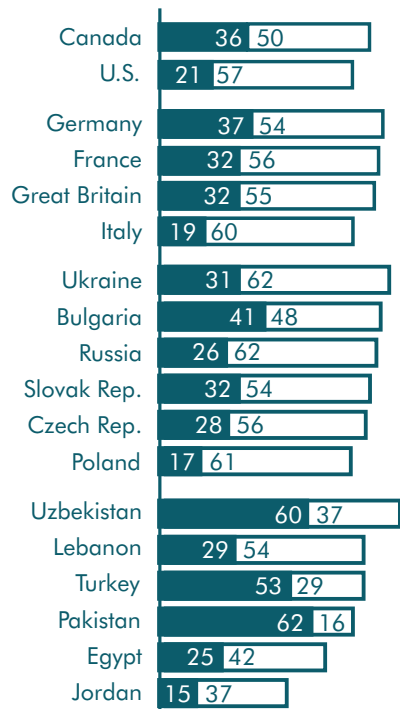
Optimism calculated by subtracting a respondent's current position on the ladder of life from his/her expected position five years from now. "Don't know" includes respondents answering don't know to either question.

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project, *China's Optimism: Prosperity Brings Satisfaction – and Hope*. November 16, 2005.



GLOBAL TRADE'S IMPACT ON COUNTRY

■ VERY GOOD □ SOMEWHAT GOOD



Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project, Views of a Changing World 2003. June 3, 2003.



## WORK

Humans have long constructed their identities around their religion, their nationality and their work. The work ethic of immigrant workers tends to increase as the rewards for their work grows in their host countries. As individuals and societies become increasingly prosperous, and increasingly orient toward fulfillment and away from survival values, the work ethic diminishes greatly.<sup>20</sup> (In ex-communist countries the work ethic declined as people became poorer. Under both Soviet communism and the crony/mafia capitalism that followed, personal connections were rewarded above work.)

Young North Americans are as a whole rejecting *Work Ethic*<sup>oo</sup> and *Duty* while embracing *Personal Expression*<sup>qq</sup>, *Personal Creativity*<sup>rr</sup>, *Personal Challenge*<sup>ss</sup>, *Need for Uniqueness*<sup>tt</sup> and *Entrepreneurialism*<sup>uu</sup>. Less than half of Harvard and Stanford MBA graduates plan to work for large corporations, while over 80 percent did just ten years ago.<sup>21</sup> More autonomous individuals equal more autonomous workers. Hierarchy is less pronounced than ever before even within corporations.

Work is increasingly viewed as an extension of identity and self-worth, and this relationship between work and identity is becoming more complex among postmaterialist “creative workers,” as described by Richard Florida in his 2002 book *The Rise of the Creative Class*.

In the past, people often literally “identified” themselves through several basic social categories: occupation, employer and family status (husband, wife, father, mother). Today, the people in my interviews identify themselves through a tangle of connections to myriad creative activities.<sup>22</sup>

For “creative workers,” a job is part of one’s quest for self-discovery, enhancement and fulfillment. Think of Sociovision’s “Learning Individuals” and “Disintegrating Hierarchies,” typified by ad agencies and tech companies.

Creative workers increasingly want meaningful work that speaks to their desires to realize their full potential, as Florida describes.

### PERCENTAGE RESPONDING “WORK IS VERY IMPORTANT IN MY LIFE.”

Nigeria	94%
India	86%
Brazil	82%
South Africa	79%
China	64%
United States	62%
France	61%
Canada	59%
Switzerland	52%
Britain	51%
Russia	46%
Lithuania	42%
Japan	41%
Portugal	35%

Source: Ronald Inglehart, Miguel Basanez and Alejandro Moreno, *Human Values and Beliefs: A Cross-Cultural Sourcebook* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1998).

oo *Work Ethic* Following the “golden rule” and guiding one’s life according to the principles of deferring pleasure in order to realize greater gains in the future. Individuals who score high on this trend believe that children should be taught to work hard in order to get ahead.

qq *Personal Expression* The desire to develop and express one’s personality, combined with a desire to communicate in an authentic and sincere manner with others.

rr *Personal Creativity* Desire to use one’s imagination and creative talents in daily life, both at work and at play.

ss *Personal Challenge* Setting difficult goals, even if just to prove to themselves that they can do it. People strong on this trend finish what they start,

persevering until their self-assigned task is completed to their satisfaction. Rejecting personal failure.

tt *Need for Uniqueness* A desire to be individualistic and stand out in the crowd. People strongest on this trend do not worry about what others might think about them but tailor their appearance, behavior and activities to be different.

uu *Entrepreneurialism* Taking steps to fulfill the dream of becoming self-employed, rather than a 9 to 5 employee. Feeling that the freedom and opportunity that comes with owning one’s own business is more rewarding than working for someone else.

Some 38 million Americans, 30 percent of all employed people, belong to this new class. I define the core of the Creative Class to include people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content. Around the core, the Creative Class also includes a broader group of creative professionals in business and finance, law, health care and related fields... [They] share a common creative ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference and merit.<sup>23</sup>

The human potential movement launched by Maslow in the 1960s — often caricatured as the movement of California sunsets, hot tubs and EST — never died; rather, it was absorbed by corporate America. Like many postmodern academics, Florida combines hard social science with raw boosterism. “We live in a time of great promise. The great dilemma of our time is that having generated such incredible creative potential, we lack the broader social and economic system to fully harness it and put it to use. No one is going to do this for us. It’s up to us — all of us — to complete the transformation to a society that taps and rewards our full creative potential.”<sup>24</sup>

## CONSUMERISM

One of the most basic ways to establish or assert status is through the things we own. What is true at the individual level here was also true at the societal level. Humans have always been consuming products, but it wasn’t until the 1800s that the consumption of mass-produced goods took off — and it wasn’t until post-World War II that hyper-consumption became the norm.

Maslow observed that once our basic material needs are met, we turn our attention to what others think of us, what Environics and VALS refers to as “outer-directedness” and Sociovision refer to as “Status Quest.” Notes Sociovision, “we would become concerned if our neighbor bought a beautiful new refrigerator and not us. The deep down psychology in action here is simply that material objects suddenly become an extension of our self worth.”<sup>25</sup>

Consumerism is one of the most convenient and visible ways to establish identity; indeed, it is unavoidable. Baby Boomers bought VW bugs in the 1960s because the little cars made a big statement about their chosen lifestyle: “small is beautiful.” VW Bugs also signified that having fun — “zipping around” — is a centrally important part of life. The Bug was still used to convey status, albeit a different kind. Today many of those former Bug drivers are now



PERCENTAGE RESPONDING,  
 "I MEASURE SUCCESS BY THE  
 THINGS I OWN."

Urban Brazil	73%
Urban China	66%
France	48%
Urban Argentina	47%
Japan	47%
Urban South Korea	45%
Germany	43%
Spain	42%
UK	36%
Italy	29%
U.S.	17%
Sweden	12%

Source: Sociovision Glocal Consult,  
 The Drivers of Change in a Cross-Cultural World. 2002.

driving around in Toyota Priuses, which offer far more status in places like Cambridge, Berkeley and Hollywood than a Cadillac Escalade.

Perceived status thus depends on one's values. *Discriminating Consumerism*<sup>vv</sup> and *Ethical Consumerism* are not anti-materialist values but rather postmaterialist ones. When someone buys organic foods, they are expressing the postmaterialist values of *Effort Towards Health*<sup>xx</sup>, *Ecological Concern* and *Discriminating Consumerism*. They are proud of only buying organic foods because of what they believe it says about who they are and what they stand for. Sociovision describes postmaterialists as looking for "meaning in consumption" and "brands whose ultimate consumer benefit is to provide meaning."<sup>26</sup>

What counts as consumerism? Technically, anything that is bought and sold. Consider postmaterialist forms of consumption, such as massage or psychotherapy, which can confer the status benefits of being self-actualized, happy, healthy and compassionate.

Yet Europeans and Latin Americans, more than U.S. citizens, tend to believe that consumerism results in a net cultural loss.<sup>27</sup> Africans are the most likely people to express this feeling — even as many of them show great enthusiasm for new consumer choices. It's unclear whether this is a generational divide. Is this the result of older people expressing concern for cultural loss and younger people embracing consumer options? How much of this reflects mixed feelings within the same individual?

Despite the widespread publicity of the pharmaceutical industry's failure to provide low-cost AIDS and other drugs to the poor, most Africans continue to have favorable opinions of foreign corporations, including pharmaceutical companies. Dislike and distrust of foreign corporations, researchers find, is much more strongly felt in Western Europe, the U.S. and Canada than in the developing world.<sup>28</sup>

vv *Discriminating Consumerism* Seeking objective, comparative product information and carefully evaluating one's needs before making purchases. Preference for practical and functional products, satisfying real needs.

ww *Ethical Consumerism* A focus on the perceived ethical and social responsibility policies and practices of the companies from which they buy.

Consideration of labor policies, mistreatment of animals, etc. Desire to see companies be good corporate citizens in terms of these social concerns.

xx *Effort Toward Health* The commitment to focus on diet and exercise in order to feel better and have a healthy, wholesome lifestyle. A willingness to transform one's lifestyle through exercise and radical changes to diet.

## FAMILY

The definition of family has been evolving ever since humans lived with large extended families in small tribes. Families used to be economic units first and emotional units second. Or more correctly, there were few bright lines between the family's economic and emotional functions. For much of human history, individuals didn't choose whom they married. Marriage for love is a recent phenomenon that has spread with the rise of market capitalism.

The rise of agriculture brought with it the breaking off into so-called "nuclear families." Industrialization brought with it increasing flexibility into what defines a family. The attitudes toward family mirror the general shift toward fulfillment values. Families are valued as a critical part of well-being, instead of a necessary part of survival.

Increasing female empowerment and education is strongly correlated with decreasing fertility. Parenting is, in most developed countries, viewed not as a means to create new workers for the family but simply as something one does to realize one's potential for fulfillment. Parents in postindustrial societies tend to hold the value of *Equal Relationship with Youth* far more strongly than parents under agrarian or industrial societies.

The focus on autonomy in postmaterialist societies also means that individuals are more open to change and personal choice. Divorce, single parenthood, the choice to not have children and same-sex parenthood are more accepted in postmaterialist societies than in materialist ones. Today, in some postmaterialist cultures, "family" can refer to everything from a single couple with no children to a gay couple with children to close personal friends who choose to live under the same roof.

For less-developed countries, two-parent households remain the norm and tend to follow the traditional gender roles. Given this, it's unsurprising that 74 percent of Brazilians and 62 percent of Argentines embrace the traditional familial hierarchy, while just 10 percent of Swedes and 19 percent of Germans do.

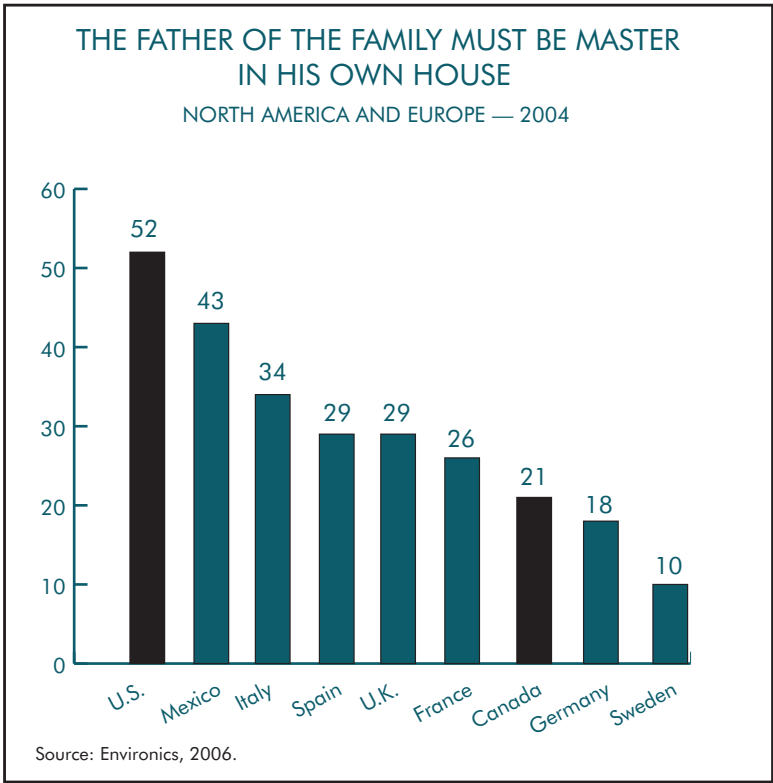
Here again the U.S. is exceptional in comparison to other countries of similar economic standing. While non-traditional families are being increasingly accepted in the U.S. — as can be seen through the sudden rise of *Flexible Families* in the Environics data — there remains a strong idealization of traditional family roles. While just 26 percent of Canadians and 19 percent of Europeans say the husband should be the sole provider, 37 percent of Americans believe



### PERCENTAGE SUPPORTING "TRADITIONAL HIERARCHY IN THE HOME."

Urban Brazil	74%
Urban Argentina	62%
Japan	52%
Urban China	51%
U.S.	45%
Spain	40%
UK	34%
Urban South Korea	30%
Italy	27%
France	26%
Germany	19%
Sweden	10%

Source: Sociovision Glocal Consult,  
The Drivers of Change in a Cross-Cultural World. 2002.



this.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, Environics’ research shows that a growing majority of Americans — 54 percent — believe that “The father of the family should be master in his own house,” in contrast to just 10 percent of Swedes.

Even so, family roles are also changing in progressive direction in the U.S. Consider this description of one of the Constituencies of Opportunity — “Compassionate Christians” — identified by American Environics in our *Road Map for a Progressive Majority*:

Perhaps most emblematic of this group’s fulfillment orientation is its embrace of Flexible Gender Identity, which it holds more strongly than any other value. One suspects that this reflects a feminization of traditional male archetypes in this particular world — where it is okay for men to be vulnerable before a compassionate God, where fathers are allowed, and indeed expected, to be tender and emotional with their sons and daughters, and where husbands are expected to be not just

breadwinners and disciplinarians but gentle and passionate lovers to their wives, involved and nurturing fathers to their children, and open and vulnerable friends to the other fathers in their Christian men’s group.<sup>30</sup>

The group overwhelmingly identifies as religious, conservative and Republican even as it redefines traditionally masculine and feminine roles around child rearing and work.

<sup>29</sup> *Flexible Gender Identity* The feeling that one has both a feminine and masculine side to one’s personality. The desire to actively explore and express

these different facets of one’s personality. Having a feeling of being more masculine at times and more feminine at others.

## GENDER ROLES

Changing gender roles are driving much of the transformation of family. Sociovision goes so far as to argue that “Feminisation is the strongest driver in the world today.”<sup>31</sup>

Just a few decades ago, strong gender boundaries existed for every society. Men were the breadwinners and women oversaw the household and rearing of children. Those roles changed significantly as more and more women entered the workforce. Today the line between gender roles is more blurred than ever. We see this in the sharing of household tasks, the rise of metrosexuals, the rising popularity of women’s sports and the decline of gender-specific occupations (e.g., female teachers and nurses, male doctors and businessmen).

As women enter the workforce they decide to have fewer children and seek identities for themselves outside of the family. But even this is prone to change. As American women have experienced more professional success (despite the continued lack of representation in the highest corporate and governmental positions), a backlash is apparent as well. More and more women are choosing to stay home; indeed, it is a sign of status in American society. And even the number of women choosing to keep their maiden name when married has dropped. Consider that between just two and four percent of college-educated American women kept their name in 1975; five years later, 44 percent of Harvard graduates kept their own name — only to drop to 32 percent in 1990.<sup>32</sup>

Susan Faludi argued in her 1991 *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*, that the 1980s saw a backlash against feminism in the form of politics and popular culture. A more subtle form of backlash was seen in the 1990s by Sociovision, who found that as traditional roles blurred, there was simultaneously a “re-gendering” in the form of “women wanting to feel more ‘womanly’ and men wanting to feel more ‘manly.’” This does not herald a return to Traditional Role Model,” the scientists noted, “but has more to do with finding meaning and a sense of identity.” The researchers also found evidence that “gender moods” — various expressions of femininity and masculinity — are exercised in different settings, in shopping, sports, work and entertainment.<sup>33</sup>

In developing countries such as India, China, Brazil, Pakistan, Nigeria and Egypt, 50 to 90 percent believe that men make better political leaders than women.<sup>34</sup> As countries prosper they generally let go of this idea. Yet consider that a traditional and patriarchal culture like India elected a woman president, Indira Gandhi, over two decades ago, while such a development seems questionable for the U.S.



### WOMEN SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME

	Men %	Women %	Diff.
Bangladesh	36	57	+21
Lebanon	58	75	+17
Pakistan	24	41	+17
Uzbekistan	64	77	+13
Turkey	60	72	+12
Senegal	60	68	+8
Nigeria	32	38	+6
Mali	51	56	+5
Indonesia	20	24	+4
Jordan	13	16	+3
Tanzania	47	47	0

Percent “completely agree” within each category.

Question not permitted in Egypt.

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project, *Global Gender Gaps*. May 13, 2004

University of Michigan scientist Ronald Inglehart and his colleague Pippa Norris argue that the greatest divide between the Western world and Islam is around gender equality and sexual liberation. They point to this as one of the reasons democracy has failed to take hold in Islamic societies: a society's commitment to gender equality is a reliable indicator of how strongly a society supports the democratic principles of tolerance and egalitarianism.

Views about the role of women vary dramatically within Islamic countries. More industrialized Islamic countries, such as Turkey, have relatively similar views on gender equality and sexual liberalization to those of the West. Within the countries with more restricted views on women, younger generations continue to hold traditional beliefs and researchers believe this will change only with economic advancement.<sup>35</sup>

But again, these are complex dynamics resistant to generalization. Consider the phenomenally rich oil-exporting countries of the Middle East. Women can neither drive nor vote in many of them. Often they are forced to cloak all of their bodies everywhere except in the bathroom and bedroom. Even so, it would likely be incorrect to say that gender roles are unchanged. Women in these societies may be experiencing greater freedom in their relationships with their friends, children and even their husbands; the challenge is measuring and understanding these changing roles given the closed nature of these societies. Sociovision did one such study, summarized here:

For example, in a recent study on young Arab women who have adopted the “shador” (head scarf), we have tried to elucidate underlying motivations. First, for many, it is an autonomous decision. Most women said they had the choice and they did so because they were seeking a deeper meaning in their religion. The Muslim women in the study also claim to feel extremely at ease with this traditional attire... [M]any women were very ironic and said that the “shador” alleviated all the little worries such as “how should I wear my hair today.” This touch of irony reveals that *what appears as conservative tradition on the outside, may not necessarily be so on the inside* [emphasis added].<sup>36</sup>

And, just to make things even more complicated, Sociovision's Michael Schipperges believes that the “touch of irony” points to the fact that, psychologically, the statements of the interviews are not to be taken at face value. He believes that the “irony” may be a case of “sour grapes” — a kind of resentment against the *shador*.

## RELIGION

Religion once had a near monopoly on defining social values. But over the last four hundred years the influence of the church has declined enormously. Humans still look to their religions for guidance, but religious beliefs have changed dramatically. The rejection of traditional religious authority by some and the clinging to it by others is one of the most striking divides of our time. Social scientists have long believed that many of the individuals who continue to hold the value *Religiosity* in modern societies do so, in part, to seek greater security and stability in a changing world.

Even so, most of the world remains highly religious. The majority of people in most countries believe that one must believe in God to be a moral person. Only in Europe and Canada do a minority agree with such a statement.<sup>37</sup> Two fifths of the U.S. public agreed that a politician who does not believe in God is unfit for office (and one imagines this would be even higher among voters). The responses are higher in the developing world: 88 percent in Egypt, 83 percent in Iran, 71 percent in Bangladesh and 71 percent in the Philippines.<sup>38</sup>

Traditional religion exerts a stronger influence in developing countries than in developed ones. Over 90 percent of individuals in India, Senegal, Indonesia and Nigeria continue to believe that religion is very important.<sup>39</sup> By contrast, Canada, France and Japan have only small minorities of citizens who believe that religion remains very important.<sup>40</sup> Even in Italy, where most of the population continues to identify as Catholic, fewer than three in ten respondents say religion is “very important” to them personally. As values change, so do identities. Plainly, what it means to be Catholic no longer means the same thing today as it did 100 or even 20 years ago.

In another example of its exceptionalism, the U.S. stands out among other wealthy countries in its religious faith. Six in ten Americans say religion plays a very important role in their lives – about twice the percentage of Canadians and other developed nations.<sup>41</sup> Only 12 percent of Americans believe in Darwin’s theory of evolution by natural selection and that God had no part in this process; the rest believe in creationism or intelligent design.<sup>42</sup> The attitudes of Americans about religion more closely represent the views of people in developing countries than developed societies. Philosopher John Gray notes:

According to the standard, social-scientific theory of advanced, knowledge-based societies, America should be following Europe in becoming steadily more secular; but there is not the slightest evidence for any such trend. Quite to the contrary, America’s peculiar religiosity is becoming strikingly more pronounced. It has

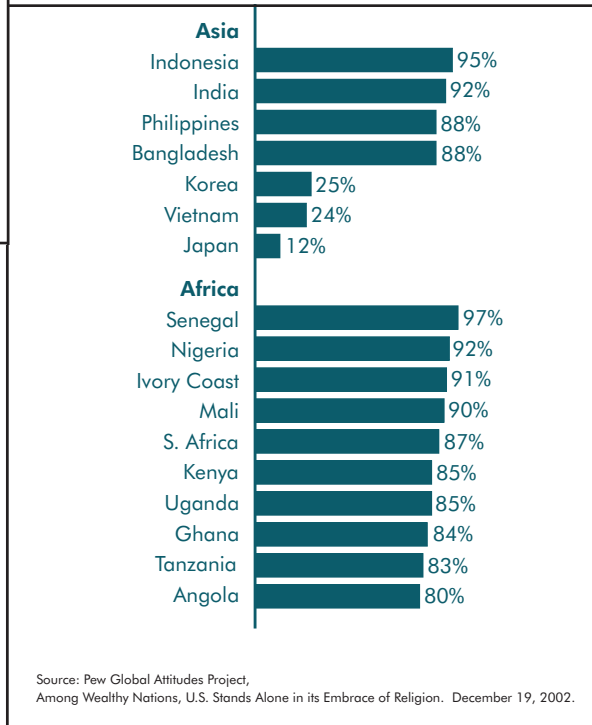
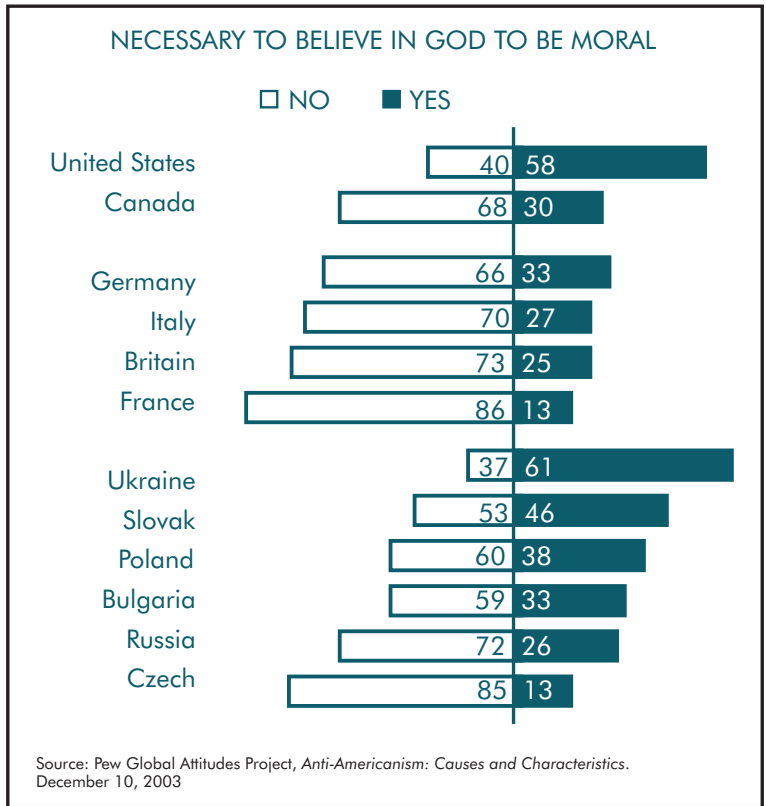
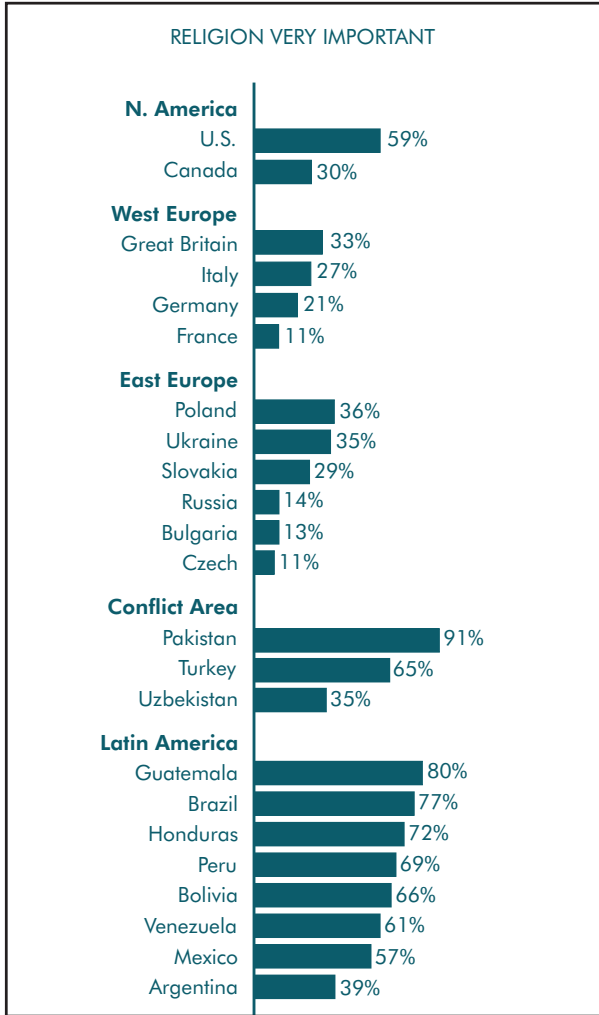


### SUICIDE BOMBING IN DEFENSE OF ISLAM

	JUSTIFIABLE?		
	Yes %	No %	DK/Ref %
Lebanon	73	21	6
Ivory Coast	56	44	*
Nigeria	47	45	8
Bangladesh	44	37	19
Jordan	43	48	8
Pakistan	33	43	23
Mali	32	57	11
Ghana	30	57	12
Uganda	29	63	8
Senegal	28	69	3
Indonesia	27	70	3
Tanzania	18	70	12
Turkey	13	71	14
Uzbekistan	7	84	9

Asked of Muslim respondents only.  
This question not permitted in Egypt.

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project,  
*What the World Thinks in 2002*. December 4, 2002.



by far the most powerful fundamentalist movement of any advanced country. In no otherwise comparable land do politicians regularly invoke the name of Jesus. Nowhere else are there movements to expel Darwinism from public schools.... To see America as a godless society is extremely curious.<sup>43</sup>

But here the situation is more complicated than Gray describes it. The meaning of “religion” is evolving as much for Americans as the meaning of “Catholic” is for Italians. More than two decades ago, social scientists discovered that *Religiosity* had split into three distinct value concepts: *Religiosity*, *Religion à la Carte* and *Spiritual Quest*.

Likewise, the meaning of the word “evangelical” is undergoing a transformation. Today’s fastest growing evangelical churches are more oriented toward fulfillment than survival. Consider Rick Warren’s Saddleback church in a suburb of San Diego, California. It rejects many of the authoritarian values associated with Christian evangelicalism, from *Patriarchy to Propriety*. Warren is famous for playing soft rock during services and wearing Hawaiian shirts when he preaches — a rejection of *Propriety*<sup>aaa</sup> and an embrace of the postmodern value, *Rejection of Order*.<sup>bbb</sup> And in sponsoring large humanitarian programs in Rwanda, and homeless programs in San Diego, Warren embraces many seemingly progressive values, from *Ecological Concern* to *Global Consciousness*.

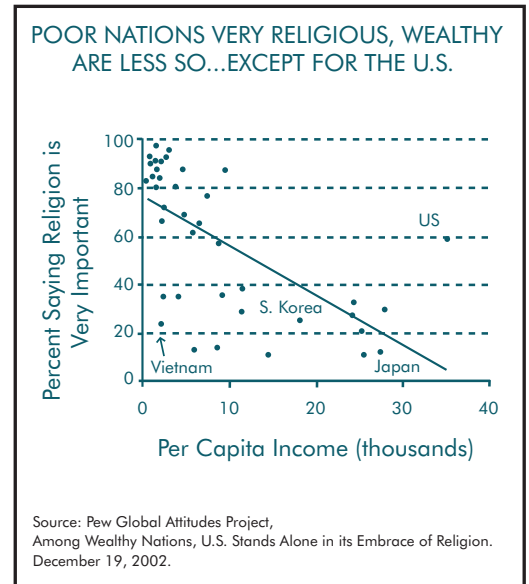
Warren is perhaps the most successful pastor in America because he has wrapped his message of Christianity in postmaterialist values of fulfillment. What’s new here is the emphasis on personal happiness — not simply realizing God’s will. *New Yorker* writer Malcolm Gladwell makes the following observation about Warren’s best-selling book, *The Purpose Driven Life*:

The book begins with an inscription: “This book is dedicated to you. Before you were born, God planned this moment in your life. It is no accident that you are holding this book. God longs for you to discover the life he created you to live — here on earth, and forever in eternity.” Five sections follow, each detailing one of God’s purposes in our lives — “You Were Planned for God’s Pleasure”; “You Were Formed for God’s Family”; “You Were Created to Become Like Christ”; “You Were Shaped for Serving God”; “You Were Made for a Mission”— and each of the sections, in turn, is divided into short chapters (“Understanding Your Shape” or “Using What God Gave You” or “How Real Servants Act”).<sup>44</sup>

zz *Patriarchy* Belief that “the father of the family must be the master in his own home.”

aaa *Propriety* The importance of dressing so as not to give offence, but rather to elicit and communicate respect in more formal relationships, in public, and at work. Behaving in a way that respects oneself and others. A preference for the formal over the casual.

bbb *Rejection of Order* Living with a certain amount of disorder as an expression of oneself. Also, a desire to distance oneself from society’s traditional moral code governing good manners and the golden rule in favor of a more informal and relaxed approach to life.





## THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The last century witnessed the spread of market capitalism, electoral democracies and the rise of the welfare state. A majority of citizens in every country, even those under non-democratic governments, now say they believe democracy is the best form of government. It is a remarkable transformation that corresponds with the shifting values orientation from authority to individuality.

Almost two thirds of the 192 countries worldwide are electoral democracies.<sup>45</sup> Democracy retains its positive image throughout the world, even in Islamic societies. In Albania, Egypt, Bangladesh, Azerbaijan, Indonesia, Morocco and Turkey, 92 to 99 percent of the public endorse democratic institutions — a higher percentage than in the U.S. (89 percent).<sup>46</sup> Yet among the 47 countries with an Islamic majority, only one fourth are electoral democracies.<sup>47</sup> Here again it's obvious that what people mean by “democracy” varies dramatically between countries.

Of course, there is a big difference between affirming one's support for an electoral democracy in principal and being truly committed to democracy in practice, regardless of its outcomes. Many of these same individuals who express support for democracy also believe homosexuality should be punished, religious practices should be regulated by the state, and women's rights should be restricted. The Middle Eastern countries that supposedly support democracy erupted in violent protests when an offensive religious cartoon was published in another country. The cartoon protests dramatized the modern clash of belief systems and political agendas. As Law Professor Stanley Fish commented in the *New York Times*, the protests pitted Muslim fundamentalists against those adherents to the “religion we call liberalism.” While liberal adherents believe that “what is important is not the content of what is expressed but that it be expressed,” much of the world continues to value faith above freedom. As Fish says, “a firm adherent of a comprehensive religion doesn't want dialogue about his beliefs; he wants those beliefs to prevail. Dialogue is not a tenet in his creed.”<sup>48</sup> So while researchers measure high support for democracy worldwide, that support is always conditional. It's difficult to believe that liberal democracy will be embraced globally unless a country reaches a specific level of material prosperity.

Even as democracy has become the norm, there are some indications that traditional forms of liberal democratic citizen engagement are eroding. Trust in government institutions is declining, representing a growing emphasis on individual autonomy and a growing respect for market forces. This is especially true in the U.S., as Americans favor a less active government than Europeans.

### WESTERN-STYLE DEMOCRACY CAN WORK WELL HERE

	2002 %	2003 %
Nigeria	79	75
Lebanon	75	71
Jordan	63	69
Pakistan	44	57
Turkey	43	50
Indonesia	64	41
Kuwait	--	83
Morocco	--	64
Palestinian Auth.		54
Ivory Coast	89	--
Senegal	88	--
Uzbekistan	81	--
Uganda	81	--
Ghana	76	--
Mali	76	--
Tanzania	64	--
Bangladesh	57	--

Based on those saying “homosexuality should be a way of life that should be accepted in society.”

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project,  
*Views of a Changing World 2003*. June 3, 2003.

## NORTH AMERICANS SAY THEY CONTROL PERSONAL DESTINY

	Feel Personally Empowered	Personal Freedom
United States	65%	58%
Canada	63%	43%
Britain	48%	33%
France	44%	36%
Italy	31%	24%
Germany	31%	39%

Feel personally empowered: Do you disagree that success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control?

Personal freedom: What's more important in society today – that everyone be free to pursue their life's goals without interference from the government, or that the government play an active role so as to guarantee that nobody is in need?

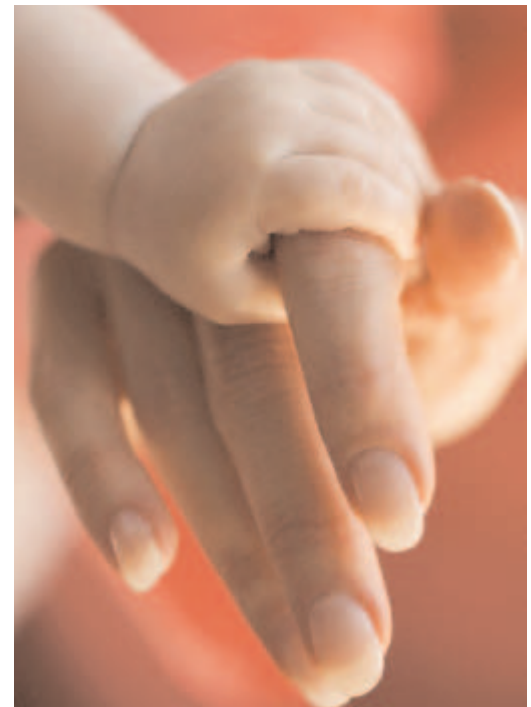
Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project,  
Americans and Canadians. January 14, 2004.

## GENERATION GAP

With social change happening so quickly in today's modern and postmodern worlds, every generation brings with it at least one, and often more than just one, values revolution. The research by Pew shows that generational divides are most pronounced in Western Europe and the U.S., much less pronounced in Eastern Europe, and virtually nonexistent in Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

One area where the generational divide is very pronounced is around cultural and national pride. The older generation is far more protective and proud of their traditional way of life — and far more worried about the impacts of globalization and “foreign” influences. For example, over half of all French respondents 65 or older completely agreed with the statement that immigration should be restricted. By contrast, only 24 percent of French youth shared these views.<sup>49</sup>

The U.S. is home to one of the more pronounced generational divides. Americans of the age 60 and older are far more deferential to authority, far more religious and far more attached to traditional values than younger Americans. On the Environics map, Americans over 60 are located near the top of the map, toward Authority, while Americans between the ages of 15 and 30 are at the bottom of the



## OLDER CITIZENS SEE CULTURE AS SUPERIOR

	AGE			
	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
<b>North America</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>68</b>
United States	49	56	71	68
Canada	46	42	56	57
<b>Western Europe</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>53</b>
France	21	22	50	56
Germany	33	36	45	46
Italy	46	57	55	64
Britain	36	31	39	51
<b>Eastern Europe</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>58</b>
Bulgaria	75	75	75	78
Czech Rep.	47	47	53	68
Poland	53	49	68	60
Russia	58	63	62	59
Slovak Rep.	53	47	51	65
Ukraine	49	52	54	50

Percent who agree "our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior."

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project, *A Global Generation Gaps*.  
February 24, 2004

map, oriented toward Individuality. They reject religiosity, traditional values, institutions and authority figures. They want to make their own path, but feel frustration at times about their difficulties in navigating the world around them.

Against the modernization hypothesis and in contrast to Europe and Canada, American youth are far more oriented toward survival values than American seniors, who are oriented slightly toward fulfillment. This may be a reflection of the absence of a robust social safety net for youth combined with the continued existence of Social Security which, along with pensions and retirement funds, has made life for America's elders far more comfortable today than it was just 30 years ago. Unsurprisingly, American youth are reacting with frustration to their situation. Values like *Acceptance of Violence*, *Everyday Rage* and *Xenophobia* are emerging among American youth.

This social Darwinism has combined with what Environics scientists label "thrill-seeking" and Sociovision scientists term "thrill pleasure": the search for intense sensations, instant gratification and the occasional transgression, epitomized by *Pursuit of Intensity*. This thrill-seeking can be seen in gambling, extreme sports, entrepreneurialism, rave culture, punk rock, the films of Almodovar, MTV and adventure vacations. It can also take dangerous forms: risky sex,

binge drinking, crystal meth, STDs, "hooking up" and crime. Sociovision concludes that, in America, "the deep spirit of Puritanism and its more recent expression of political correctness are declining."<sup>50</sup>

While these trends can be found worldwide, from the slums of Rio de Janeiro to the clubs of Tehran, they are increasingly pronounced in postscarcity societies like the U.S. Thrill-seeking is reflective of the postmaterialist rejection of authority through breaking established norms. It is also motivated by frustration among those who cannot find their place in society. The emphasis on thrill-seeking is accompanied by a rise in the value *Acceptance of Violence*. While youth are the most visible manifestation of this growing trend, thrill-seeking practices are increasing amongst middle aged Americans whom are also seeking to escape the frustrations of daily life.<sup>51</sup>

ccc *Global Consciousness* Considering oneself a "citizen of the world" first and foremost, over a "citizen of one's community and country." Non-ethnocentricity, feeling affinity to peoples in all countries.

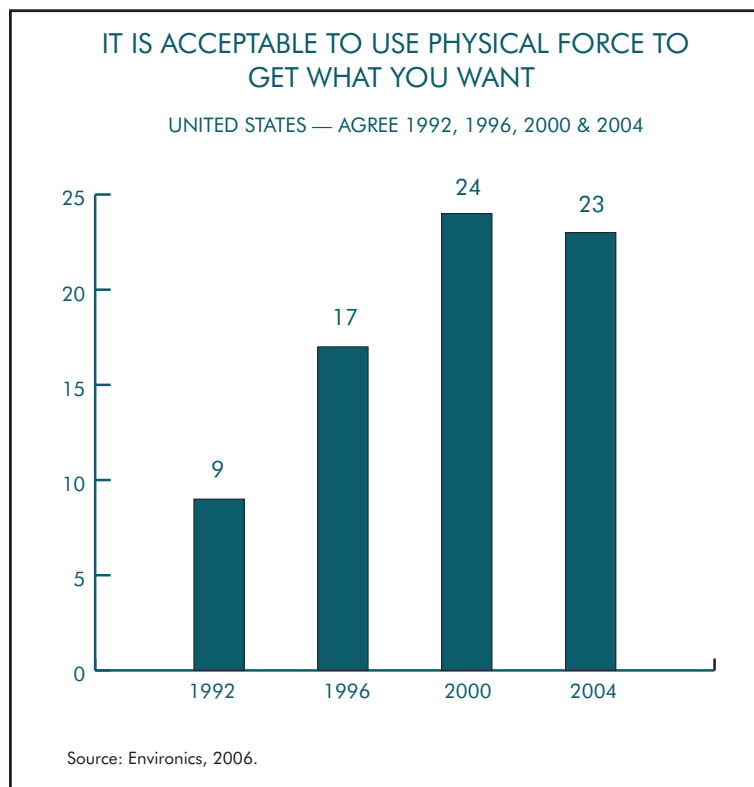
While the younger generations in Western societies have become progressively more egalitarian than older generations, younger generations in Islamic societies have remained roughly as traditional as their parents and grandparents — with some important, paradoxical, exceptions.<sup>52</sup> For example, while Iranian youth are becoming increasingly more progressive, demanding more personal, political and consumer freedoms, young Muslim radicals are pouring into Iraq to help Al Qaeda. Many of the relatively youthful 9-11 hijackers were notably more conservative than their middle class professional parents back home in Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

The recent movie *Syriana*, whose screenwriter and director did extensive field and sociological research, aptly represented the complexity of generational values changes in the Islamic world by portraying two sons of an oil sheik, one a progressive modernizer and populist nationalist in the mold of Iran's Mossadegh, who was ousted by the CIA in 1953, and the other a vapid, narcissist son who aimed to do the bidding of foreign interests. The movie also portrayed a working class father and son who toiled together for a pittance in the oil fields before being abruptly fired. The son turned to radical Islam, and eventually ends his life in a dramatic act of terrorism against oil executives.

PERCENTAGE RESPONDING,  
"SOMETIMES I LIKE TO HAVE  
FORBIDDEN THRILLS."

Sweden	44%
France	40%
UK	36%
U.S.	34%
Urban Brazil	34%
Urban Argentina	28%
Spain	23%
Italy	22%
Japan	20%
Urban South Korea	19%
Germany	18%
Urban China	17%

Source: Sociovision Glocal Consult,  
The Drivers of Change in a Cross-Cultural World. 2002.





## SEXUALITY

Sexual freedom, changing gender roles, greater education and economic independence for women are all inextricably linked. The web of relations between each is so complex that it is impossible to guess which factor “causes” which. With industrialization came greater education for women, along with greater reproductive and sexual freedom. Marriage becomes an increasing personal choice rather than an economic and social obligation. This change has in turn been accompanied by far more sexual activity before marriage, which in turn fueled, and was made possible by, the spread of birth control. All of this has resulted in declining fertility and more power for women.

Given all of this, it’s unsurprising that the citizens of developed countries have far more liberal views of sexuality (and stronger levels of the value Envrionics measures called *Sexual Permissiveness*<sup>fff</sup>). Almost all of the values research identifies homosexuality as one of the most significant values divides between the developed world and the developing world. While homosexuality is not completely accepted or treated equally even in Western countries, individuals in developing countries, especially Islamic countries, strongly reject it. Ninety-nine percent of Egyptians and Bangladeshis and 71 percent of Chinese say society should reject homosexuality. By contrast, only 32 percent of Americans and 19 percent in Germans believe this.<sup>53</sup> In almost every country, women are more accepting of homosexuality than men.

<sup>fff</sup> Sexual Permissiveness A tendency to be sexually permissive regarding oneself and others. Fidelity within marriage or between partners and the prohibition of premarital sex are of little importance.



### GENDER GAPS ON HOMOSEXUALITY

	Men %	Women %	Diff.
United States	44	55	+9
Canada	64	74	+10
Britain	68	80	+12
Germany	79	87	+10
France	73	81	+8
Italy	73	71	-2
Muslims in...			
Pakistan	4	14	+10
Turkey	17	25	+8
Bangladesh	2	9	+7
Lebanon	12	17	+5
Nigeria	5	7	+2
Jordan	12	12	0
Uzbekistan	8	7	-1
Indonesia	6	4	-2

Based on those saying “homosexuality should be a way of life that should be accepted in society.”

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project, *Global Gender Gaps*.  
May 13, 2004



PERCENTAGE RESPONDING,  
“DUTY IS MORE IMPORTANT  
THAN PERSONAL FULFILLMENT.”

Urban China	70%
Urban Brazil	68%
Japan	65%
Urban South Korea	63%
Urban Argentina	50%
Germany	49%
Italy	44%
U.S.	43%
Spain	43%
France	36%
Sweden	30%
UK	29%

Source: Sociovision Glocal Consult,  
The Drivers of Change in a Cross-Cultural World. 2002.

### HAPPINESS, FULFILLMENT AND WELL-BEING

As societies become more prosperous, people generally put less emphasis on *Duty* and more on personal fulfillment. Developed countries report higher rates of happiness than developing countries — but not uniformly so. The two countries reporting the highest levels of happiness are the developing countries of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. The least happy countries are the ex-communist countries of the Eastern bloc.

SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING RANKINGS OF 82 SOCIETIES  
(BASED ON COMBINED HAPPINESS AND LIFE SATISFACTION SCORES)

High	Medium High	Medium-Low	Low
<i>Puerto Rico</i> 4.67	<b>Saudi Arabia</b> 3.01	S. Africa 1.86	<u>Estonia</u> 0.24
<i>Mexico</i> 4.32	<b>Singapore</b> 3.00	<u>Croatia</u> 1.55	<u>Serbia</u> 0.21
<b>Denmark</b> 4.24	<b>Britain</b> 2.92	Greece 1.45	Tanzania 0.13
<b>Ireland</b> 4.16	<b>W. Germany</b> 2.67	<i>Peru</i> 1.32	<u>Azerbaijan</u> 0.13
<b>Iceland</b> 4.15	<b>France</b> 2.61	<u>China</u> 1.20	<u>Montenegro</u> 0.06
<b>Switzerland</b> 4.00	<i>Argentina</i> 2.61	S. Korea 1.12	India 0.03
<b>N. Ireland</b> 3.97	<u>Vietnam</u> 2.59	Iran 0.93	<u>Lithuania</u> -0.07
<i>Colombia</i> 3.94	<i>Chile</i> 2.53	Poland 0.84	<u>Macedonia</u> -0.14
<b>Netherlands</b> 3.86	Philippines 2.32	Turkey 0.84	Pakistan -0.30
<b>Canada</b> 3.76	Taiwan 2.25	<u>Bosnia</u> 0.82	<u>Latvia</u> -0.70
<b>Austria</b> 3.69	<u>Domin.Rep.</u> 2.25	Morocco 0.74	<u>Albania</u> -0.86
<i>El Salvador</i> 3.67	<i>Brazil</i> 2.23	Uganda 0.67	<u>Bulgaria</u> -0.87
<i>Venezuela</i> 3.58	Spain 2.13	Algeria 0.57	<u>Belarus</u> -0.92
<b>Luxembourg</b> 3.52	<b>Israel</b> 2.08	Bangladesh 0.54	<u>Georgia</u> -1.11
<b>U.S.</b> 3.47	<b>Italy</b> 2.06	Egypt 0.52	Romania -1.30
<b>Australia</b> 3.46	<b>E. Germany</b> 2.02	<u>Hungary</u> 0.41	Moldova -1.63
<b>New Zealand</b> 3.39	<u>Slovenia</u> 2.02	Slovakia 0.40	<u>Russia</u> -1.75
<b>Sweden</b> 3.36	<i>Uruguay</i> 2.02	Jordan 0.39	<u>Armenia</u> -1.80
Nigeria 3.32	<b>Portugal</b> 1.99		<u>Ukraine</u> -1.81
<b>Norway</b> 3.25	<b>Japan</b> 1.96		Zimbabwe -1.88
<b>Belgium</b> 3.23	<u>Czech Rep</u> 1.94		Indonesia -2.40
<b>Finland</b> 3.23			

High-income countries are shown in bold face type. All 28 high-income countries (in bold type) rank high or medium-high on subjective well-being; and all 10 Latin American countries (in italics) except Peru also rank high or medium-high. All 25 ex-communist countries (names underlined) except Vietnam, Slovenia and Czech Republic are low or medium-low (the median ex-communist country has a negative score); and all ten ex-Soviet countries are Low (eight of the ten have negative scores).

Source: Ronald Inglehart, World Values Survey, Subjective Well-Being Index. November 9, 2004.



## APPENDIX

### GLOSSARY OF ENVIRONICS SOCIAL VALUES TRENDS

#### *Acceptance of Violence*

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

#### *Acknowledgement of Racism*

Acknowledging that racism not only exists, but that Americans should make amends to African Americans and other minorities who have been discriminated against in the past. Belief that systemic racism has held African Americans back.

#### *Active Government*

Tendency to believe that government efficaciously performs socially beneficial functions. A desire for more government involvement in resolving social issues.

#### *Adaptability to Complexity*

Tendency to adapt easily to the uncertainties of modern life, and not to feel threatened by the changes and complexities of society today. A desire to explore this complexity as a learning experience and a source of opportunity.

#### *Adaptive Navigation*

Having the flexibility to adapt to unforeseen events that interfere with the realization of one's goals. Being flexible in defining one's expectations and ways of meeting one's objectives.

#### *Advertising as Stimulus*

Tendency to enjoy viewing advertising for its aesthetic properties; to enjoy advertising in a wide range of venues, from magazines to television to outdoor signs and billboards.

#### *American Dream*

The belief that the United States is the “land of opportunity” and that anyone can make it, and make it big, if they try hard enough. The belief that even in

middle age, one can start anew, launching new initiatives or changing one's way of life.

#### *American Entitlement*

A belief that all Americans deserve the ample material wealth they enjoy and should not feel guilty about it. Believing that Americans should not have to compromise their nation's interests or their standard of living for the benefit of others in the world.

#### *Anomie & Aimlessness*

The feeling of having no goals in life. Experiencing a void of meaning with respect to life in general. A feeling of alienation from society, having the impression of being cut off from what's happening.

#### *Attraction to Crowds*

Enjoyment of being in large crowds as a means of deindividualization and connection-seeking.

#### *Aversion to Complexity*

A desire to keep one's life simple and predictable. People strong on this trend are intimidated and threatened by the changes in society and the complexities of modern life. They seek stability and simplicity.

#### *Brand Apathy*

Placing little importance on the brand name of a product.

#### *Buying on Impulse*

Tendency to purchase products on impulse, enticed by exciting advertising or packaging. Rarely seeking out information on products before buying.

#### *Celebrating Passages*

A need to perform certain rituals or small acts to demarcate the passing of various phases of one's life. A desire to celebrate traditional passages (e.g., birth, marriage, death), or invent new ones.

#### *Civic Apathy*

Reflects a disinterest in the political process and participation in the democratic process. Recognition of the division of society between the “haves” and the

“have nots,” and a willingness to accept the inevitability of the status quo.

### ***Civic Engagement***

A belief that active involvement in the political process can make a difference in society. People strongest on this trend reject the notion that inequities in society are inevitable and should be expected.

### ***Community Involvement***

Measure of the interest in what’s happening in one’s neighborhood, city, town, or region. Reflected in activities ranging from reading the weekly community newspaper to socio-political involvement in community organizations.

### ***Concern for Appearance***

Placing a great deal of importance on appearing “attractive,” and concerned about the image projected by one’s appearance. People who are strong on this trend are image-driven.

### ***Confidence in Advertising***

Tendency to trust and use advertising as a source of reliable information. Also, a tendency to identify with the fashions and the role models promoted by advertising and the consumer society.

### ***Confidence in Big Business***

The belief that big businesses strive to strike a fair balance between making profit and working in the public’s interest. Expressing a certain level of faith that what serves the interest of big business also serves the interest of society, and vice-versa. Associating good quality and service with big companies and well-known products.

### ***Confidence in Small Business***

Confidence in the commitment of small business-owners to the provision of quality goods and services. Belief that small business owners are not just profit-driven.

### ***Conformity to Norms***

A desire to conform to existing social norms. People strongest on this trend express concern about what

others might think of them and make efforts to avoid standing out from others.

### ***Consistent Self***

Remaining true to one’s own ideals and convictions, even in the face of social pressure. People who are strongest on this trend do not feel compelled to modify their beliefs, attitudes, or behavior to conform to different social situations.

### ***Crude Materialism***

Placing great importance on the accumulation of material possessions. Feeling a need to constantly buy new products and services.

### ***Cultural Assimilation***

E Pluribus Unum. Belief that people should adopt a culture that is “American” first and foremost. Believing that in coming to America, immigrants should let go of their languages and customs and embrace the American way of life.

### ***Culture Sampling***

This trend identifies the view that other cultures have a great deal to teach us, and measures people’s inclination to incorporate some of these cultural influences into their own lives.

### ***Deconsumption***

The willingness to adopt a lifestyle in which consumption plays a less dominant role. This attitude is expressed in a desire to limit or reduce one’s consumption of goods and to spend less than before.

### ***Discerning Hedonism***

The capacity to savor pleasures; the appreciation of complex emotions and the ability to link enjoyment to other realms of experience in everyday life.

### ***Discount Consumerism***

Preferring to buy discount or private label brands, often from wholesalers, discount outlet stores or the sale displays at national retailers.

### ***Discriminating Consumerism***

Seeking objective, comparative product information

and carefully evaluating one's needs before making purchases. Preference for practical and functional products, satisfying real needs.

#### ***Duty***

Belief that duties and obligations to others should be fulfilled before turning to one's personal pleasures and interests.

#### ***Ecological Concern***

A tendency to believe that today's environmental problems are a result of industrial and personal disregard for the environment. These people feel that the trend towards environmental destruction is unacceptable and reject the notion that job protection or economic advancement should be allowed at the expense of environmental protection.

#### ***Ecological Fatalism***

People highest on this trend believe that some amount of pollution is unavoidable in industrial societies and accept it as a part of life. They feel that there is little they can do to change this fact.

#### ***Effort Toward Health***

The commitment to focus on diet and exercise in order to feel better and have a healthy, wholesome lifestyle. A willingness to transform one's lifestyle through exercise and radical changes to diet.

#### ***Emotional Control***

A propensity to give priority to reason as the principal way of understanding life. A desire to keep one's emotional life "on an even keel," to use logic and reason to control one's feelings and emotions and to base day-to-day decisions on reason and logic. A reluctance to experience or express emotions.

#### ***Enthusiasm for Consumption***

Displaying an enthusiastic attitude toward consumption. Consumers strong on this trend intend to buy as much or more than they did before. They like to explore the marketplace and are always on the lookout for whatever is new on the market.

#### ***Enthusiasm for New Technology***

Fascination with the possibilities offered by modern technology. Seeks information about the latest products and innovations. Excitement about the ways technology can better their lives.

#### ***Entrepreneurialism***

Taking steps to fulfill the dream of becoming self-employed, rather than a 9 to 5 employee. Feeling that the freedom and opportunity that comes with owning one's own business is more rewarding than working for someone else.

#### ***Equal Relationship with Youth***

Breaking down traditional hierarchical and patriarchal relationships by giving the youth equal freedoms as those of adults. Discipline, as that issued by adults over young people, is therefore replaced by freedom and increased individualism.

#### ***Ethical Consumerism***

A focus on the perceived ethical and social responsibility policies and practices of the companies from which they buy. Consideration of labor policies, mistreatment of animals, etc. Desire to see companies be good corporate citizens in terms of these social concerns.

#### ***Everyday Ethics***

A measure of how individuals respond in situations that put their ethical beliefs to the test. When a person sees a way of turning a situation to his advantage at the expense of another person, institution or company, how does he respond? Will he report mistakes made in his favor by a waiter, a bank or the government?

#### ***Everyday Rage***

A willingness to express anger and dissatisfaction towards others. This ranges from a refusal to accept bad service, to arguing with others in public, or even engaging in "road rage." Implicit in this is a feeling that people can no longer expect fair treatment by being polite or quiet.

#### ***Faith in Science***

The belief that science and technology can work in a

positive way by expanding natural resources to meet future demand, and that new technologies can repair past damage to the natural world. Excitement in the possibilities offered by new technologies and modern medicine.

#### ***Fatalism***

The tendency to believe that one's life is shaped by forces beyond one's control. Feeling unconcerned with trying to change the inevitable direction of one's life.

#### ***Fear of Violence***

Fear of violence occurring in today's society. Feeling insecure about personal safety, feeling vulnerable to attack in the city or in one's neighborhood, especially at night. Tendency to believe that one must be on constant alert against gratuitous violence.

#### ***Financial Security***

A feeling of security and optimism about one's financial future. A sense of being personally responsible for and in control of one's financial situation.

#### ***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 links rather than by legal formalities or institutions. The belief that society should be open to new definitions of what constitutes a "family."

#### ***Flexible Gender Identity***

The feeling that one has both a feminine and masculine side to one's personality. The desire to actively explore and express these different facets of one's personality. Having a feeling of being more masculine at times and more feminine at others.

#### ***Gender Parity***

Seeking fairness and equal treatment for men and women in work roles. A desire to transcend sexual stereotypes and to see an end to discrimination, tempered by a belief that a job should go to the best candidate, man or woman, rather than employing

reverse-discrimination to achieve equal representation of men and women in all professions.

#### ***Global Consciousness***

Considering oneself a "citizen of the world" first and foremost, over a "citizen of one's community and country." Non-ethnocentricity, feeling affinity to peoples in all countries.

#### ***Heterarchy***

Tendency to think that leadership in organizations should be flexible and fluid, that a single leader should not take control of everything and that initiatives and leadership should emerge from different individuals as a function of their strengths. A belief that teamwork is more effective than autocracy.

#### ***Holistic Health***

Taking a holistic approach to health and well-being. Individuals who are high on this trend are sensitive to the linkage between their mental, spiritual, and physical well-being. They feel that they can exert control over their health, and feel that the choices they make today will pay off in later years.

#### ***Importance of Aesthetics***

Tendency to base purchase decisions on aesthetic rather than utilitarian considerations. Measures the attention given to the beauty of objects and products purchased. People strong on this trend often buy products purely for their appearance.

#### ***Importance of Brand***

Giving great weight to the brand name of a product or service, a tendency to have favorite brands.

#### ***Importance of Spontaneity***

Tendencies to enthusiastically embrace the unexpected and spontaneous events that temporarily interrupt daily routines.

#### ***Interest in the Unexplained***

Tendency to reject the assumption that all valid knowledge must be logical, rational or scientific in favor of an acceptance of beliefs or phenomena that remain mysterious or unexplained by modern science.

### ***Introspection & Empathy***

Tendency to analyze and examine one's actions and those of others, rather than being judgmental about variances from the norm or from one's own way of doing things. An interest in understanding life rather than taking sides.

### ***Intuition & Impulse***

A way of understanding and transacting with the world that largely leaves aside controlled and critical rational thought. A tendency to be guided less by reason and ideology than by one's own emotions and feelings. Impulsive and spontaneous, able to change one's opinions easily.

### ***Joy of Consumption***

Intense gratification through the purchase of consumer goods (rather than basic necessities). Enjoying consumption for the pleasure of consumption. People who are strong on this trend are often more excited by the act of buying than by the use of the products they buy.

### ***Just Deserts***

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

### ***Largesse Oblige***

Social conscience of the economic variety. The "haves" have a moral duty to help or share with the "have nots."

### ***Living Virtually***

People strong on this trend are spending an increasing amount of time watching TV, using computers, or at the movies. Reflects a more virtual than real connection to the world.

### ***Look Good Feel Good***

A belief that, by taking care to look their best, one will feel and project confidence, thereby helping to achieve one's goals in life.

### ***Malleable Self***

Social chameleonism, feeling the need to adapt to different social settings by modifying one's beliefs, attitudes and behaviors. Having few strongly held convictions that are maintained in the face of social pressure.

### ***Meaningful Moments***

Cherishing the ordinary moments in everyday life over once-in-a-lifetime, grand-scale events. Taking time to indulge in individual pleasures. The sense of impermanence that accompanies momentary connections with others does not diminish the value of the moment.

### ***Modern Racism***

A modern definition of racism based on the belief that racism is largely a thing of the past and that African Americans in particular have gained more than they deserve.

### ***More Power for Business***

Belief that business institutions (e.g., banks, foreign companies) should have a greater influence in society.

### ***More Power for Media***

Belief that celebrities and those in the media should have a greater influence in society.

### ***More Power for Politics***

Belief that government institutions and political parties should have a greater influence in society.

### ***Multiculturalism***

Openness toward the diverse cultures, ethnic communities and immigrants that make up America. A belief that ethnic groups should be encouraged to preserve their cultural identities, and that others should seek to learn about them.

### ***Mysterious Forces***

The impression that forces greater than ourselves control our destiny and that mysterious forces that we cannot understand affect our lives.

***National Pride***

Defining one's identity through national pride and believing that America should hold a strong position in the world.

***Need for Status Recognition***

Desire to be held in esteem and respect by others, and to express one's social standing or aspired status, through a display of fine manners, good taste, style or "chic."

***Need for Uniqueness***

A desire to be individualistic and stand out in the crowd. People strongest on this trend do not worry about what others might think about them but tailor their appearance, behavior and activities to be different.

***Networking***

The desire to assemble a diverse network of friends and associations based on one's own personal interests. Often these friends and associations will share little in common between each other, apart from the fact that they are all connected to person's own interests.

***Obedience to Authority***

A belief in playing by the rules. The belief that persons or organizations in positions of authority should be deferred to at all times. There are rules in society and everyone should follow them. Feeling that young people in particular should be taught to obey authority rather than question it.

***Ostentatious Consumption***

Desire to impress others and express one's social standing through the display of objects that symbolize affluence.

***Parochialism***

Feeling of connectedness with one's town, city, region or country. A disregard for what is happening in other countries, and a preference for seeing symbols of home, such as a McDonalds restaurant, when traveling abroad.

***Patriarchy***

Belief that "the father of the family must be the master in his own home."

***Penchant for Risk***

Desire to take risks in order to get what one wants out of life. Also, indulging in dangerous and forbidden activities for their associated emotional high.

***Personal Challenge***

Setting difficult goals, even if just to prove to themselves that they can do it. People strong on this trend finish what they start, persevering until their self-assigned task is completed to their satisfaction. Rejecting personal failure.

***Personal Control***

Striving to organize and control the direction of one's future, even when it feels that there are forces beyond one's immediate control.

***Personal Creativity***

Desire to use one's imagination and creative talents in daily life, both at work and at play.

***Personal Escape***

Interest in mystery, romanticism and adventure, as a means of distracting one's self from everyday challenges and burdens. People strongest on this trend feel that their dreams and imagination are important driving forces in their daily lives and long for that which is beyond the practical, and desire to experience beauty and pleasure in surprise and astonishment.

***Personal Expression***

The desire to develop and express one's personality, combined with a desire to communicate in an authentic and sincere manner with others.

***Primacy of the Family***

Centrality of family; making personal sacrifices and providing for one's children over all else.

***Propriety***

The importance of dressing so as not to give offence, but rather to elicit and communicate respect in more

formal relationships, in public, and at work. Behaving in a way that respects oneself and others. A preference for the formal over the casual.

***Protection of Privacy***

Great concern about the fact that in databases, among other ways, government and business are amassing increasingly large banks of information about people's private lives.

***Pursuit of Intensity***

Desire to live intensely. Also, a tendency to be guided less by reason and ideology than by one's own emotions, feelings and intuition. A need to constantly experience new sensations.

***Racial Fusion***

People who are strongest on this trend are accepting of ethnic diversity within families, such as interracial marriage, believing that it enriches people's lives.

***Rejection of Authority***

Desire to transcend the rigid framework of traditional authority. Possessing a questioning orientation, critical of and willing to look beyond the status quo.

***Rejection of Order***

Living with a certain amount of disorder as an expression of oneself. Also, a desire to distance oneself from society's traditional moral code governing good manners and the golden rule in favor of a more informal and relaxed approach to life.

***Religion à la Carte***

A selective, personal, adaptive and eclectic approach to the adoption of religious beliefs. Spiritually questing, seeking personal fulfillment through learning about other faiths.

***Religiosity***

Placing great importance on religion as a construct which guides one's life. Also, placing great significance on having an affiliation with an organized religious faith. Tendency to consider that religion represents the essential values and education that should be transmitted to the next generation.

***Reverse Sexism***

Belief that women, not men, are the superior gender. Feeling that women are more adaptable and intelligent than men, better equipped to function in the modern world.

***Saving on Principle***

The tendency to save and accumulate money, motivated by a moral impulse for future security. A preference for frugality and denial to self of "luxuries." Displaying tendencies towards inhibition.

***Search for Roots***

Desire to preserve and maintain one's cultural and ethnic roots and to live in accordance with one's own traditions and customs. Also, a yearning to return to one's cultural roots in order to rediscover, and participate in, the fundamental values that give meaning to one's life.

***Selective Use of Personal Services***

Deferring to experts for advice when needed, but maintaining contact with them. Those highest on this trend seek opportunities to learn from them or even play an active role in the decision making process.

***Sensualism***

Tendency to give priority to the sensorial perceptions aroused by the non-visual senses. A more sensual, intuitive, and affective approach to life.

***Sexism***

Belief that "the father of the family must be the master in his own home." Believing in traditional, male-dominated views on the division of gender roles — that men are naturally superior to women. These views carry into economic issues such as the belief that, when both partners are working, the husband should be the main breadwinner.

***Sexual Permissiveness***

A tendency to be sexually permissive regarding oneself and others. Fidelity within marriage or between partners and the prohibition of premarital sex are of little importance.

### ***Skepticism of Advertising***

Distrust that advertising messages are truthful or even helpful for making purchasing decisions.

### ***Social Intimacy***

A desire to be around and connect with smaller, closely knit groups of people. Feeling that smaller organizations are better than larger ones.

### ***Social Mobility***

Feeling that social advancement is both desirable and available to those with the skills and/or connections to make it happen. Reliance on ‘hard skills’ like education and training, as well as ‘soft skills’ like personal relations to advance.

### ***Social Responsibility***

A belief that society, and the individual, has a responsibility to help those less fortunate. Tendency to believe that quality of life can improve when people work together.

### ***Spiritual Quest***

A desire for an intense spiritual life, contemplating questions of existence and meaning.

### ***Status via Home***

Feeling a strong sense that one’s home represents an extension of one’s image. People strongest on this trend make great efforts to decorate and equip their homes in a manner that will impress others, and pay particular attention to the way they entertain in the home.

### ***Strategic Consumption***

An attitude adopted by consumers to get the best price for whatever they buy. The methods vary and can include, for example, making a better assessment of their needs in order to be more selective in their purchases, hunting for special promotions, discounts, bargains or other forms of price reduction, switching to cheaper brands, or postponing purchases.

### ***Technology Anxiety***

People strong on this trend are intimidated and threatened by technological changes and express high

concern regarding the ethical and moral dimensions towards which science is advancing.

### ***Time Stress***

Feeling overwhelmed by the demands on one’s time. A desire to obtain better control of one’s life stress, particularly as it applies to better time management.

### ***Traditional Family***

Defining “family” in traditional terms as a man and a woman, married with children. Unwilling to expand the traditional concept of “family” beyond the legal formality of a marriage license to include same-sex couples or unmarried couples.

### ***Traditional Gender Identity***

The belief that normal gender behavior is clearly delineated — men are masculine and women are feminine. That men and women have particular characteristics inherent in gender. The rejection of the notion that masculine and feminine behavior and roles can, or should, cross the traditional gender line.

### ***Upscale Consumerism***

Preferring to buy mostly exclusive or prestigious brands that are more expensive and often only available from higher-end stores and boutiques.

### ***Vitality***

The sense that one has a great deal of energy and is in contact with this energy. Measures an energetic, lively approach to life, a feeling that one has more vigor and initiative than most other people.

### ***Voluntary Simplicity***

Balancing quality vs. quantity in life. The desire to achieve a sense of quality of life combined with the willingness to scale back one’s material expectations or concentrate on those things that are truly important in life.

### ***Work Ethic***

Following the “golden rule” and guiding one’s life according to the principles of deferring pleasure in order to realized greater gains in the future. Individuals who score high on this trend believe that

children should be taught to work hard in order to get ahead.

***Xenophobia***

The sense that too much immigration threatens the purity of the country. The belief that immigrants who have made their new home in the United States should set aside their cultural backgrounds and blend into “the American melting pot.”

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