

### Assignment 3: Thinking About Cause and Effect...and Correlation

Events do not occur in a vacuum. Every event or historical development has at least one **cause** or reason why it happened; and every event or development has at least one **effect** (or consequence). With that said, it is difficult if not impossible to predict with anything resembling accuracy what types of effects will follow causes. For example, the Internet was developed in 1971 linking military institutions, universities and healthcare centers. The ability to share files and communicate over vast distances in virtually real-time was obviously quite useful; however, no one anticipated how greatly the World Wide Web would not only allow people around the world to eventually share information and communicate with one another in the present day but how it would revolutionize economics (bitcoin), protest movements (Arab Spring), technological developments (artificial intelligence) and even human thinking itself.

Predicting the future is obviously problematic. Nevertheless, looking back at history we can appeal to evidence, events, personalities, influences, etc. to put together a picture or story of why history took the shape it did. Again, though, some humility is required: even if we restarted history from a certain point—say, William the Conqueror’s invasion of England in 1066 CE—there is no guarantee history would repeat itself and unfold exactly as it did; it is entirely possible England’s King Harold could have won the Battle of Hastings or William could have fallen ill while crossing the English Channel with his army.

Yet, there are some things we can **correlate** together when we study the past. Correlations are mutual relationships or connections between two or more things. Unlike causation where one event is directly a result of the occurrence of another identifiable event, e.g. B came right after A, etc. when it comes to a correlation—or relationship between two things—it does not automatically mean the one thing necessarily caused the other. For example, you can correlate the death of David Bowie with the election of Donald Trump to the American presidency. You could also correlate the increase in the debt of the average Canadian household with the global increase in temperature due to climate change; however, despite the fact you can correlate these things does not mean they are the cause of one another. For our purposes, we will try to correlate causes and effects in a more deliberate and meaningful way. For example:

- The history of democracy begins with the city-states of the ancient Greeks and Romans leading eventually to liberal-minded societies like Canada’s and the United States’ developing
- The Roman concept of *natural law*<sup>1</sup> in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE made the later development of a concept like *human rights* possible by Western civilizations like England of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and France of the 18<sup>th</sup>
- Human rights eventually led to both men and women—particularly during the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century—to push for greater recognition of the rights of women leading eventually to the emergence of feminism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in the West

For this assignment students will apply their understanding of cause, effect and correlation to complete a brief inquiry into the differences between Canada and the United States. Specifically, students will try to answer questions like:

- Why are Canada and the United States so politically different?
- Why do Canadians and Americans hold such different values and beliefs despite sharing a common heritage?

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<sup>1</sup> The theory of natural law maintains that certain moral laws transcend time, culture, and government. There are universal standards that apply to all humankind throughout all time. These universal moral standards are inherent in and discoverable by all of us and form the basis of a just society. In both Greece and Rome, the concept of natural law was an essential element in creating societies governed by the rule of law rather than by the whim and will of kings and dictators; it is to natural law that modern countries like Canada appeal to as the basis of the authority of their constitution, e.g. *Canada Act* (1982).

- What are the future prospects for democracy and tolerance in both countries?
- Could a leader like Donald Trump ever be elected as prime minister of Canada?

These questions are intriguing because the United States and Canada share many things in common: they share a continent and similar geographic reality; a language and a common history; and each country can trace the evolution of their political and legal institutions directly to the influence of Great Britain. For this assignment students will increase their knowledge and awareness around the differences between Canada's and America's political cultures.

**Procedure:**

- 1). Read the introduction as a whole class (see above).
- 2). Read the excerpt from Michael Adams' book *Could it Happen Here? Canada in the Age of Trump and Brexit*.
- 3). Then record your answers through *Google Docs* to the following questions:
  - a. According to Matthew MacWilliams what type of person was more likely to vote for and support Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton?
  - b. What factors make the idea of patriarchy so much weaker in Canada compared to the United States?
  - c. According to a 2016 poll (quoted in Adams' article) the largest support for patriarchy is found in Alberta. Why is Alberta's population more conservative than say either Atlantic Canada's or Quebec's?
  - d. In 1992, 42% of Americans believed the father must be the master of the house-hold. This number increased to 48% by the late 1990s and remained essentially the same until the election of Barack Obama as president in 2008. However, as American Republicans and Democrats were in the process of selecting Trump and Clinton as their presidential candidates, the proportion of Americans who said the father must be the master reached a historic high (50%). What historical (economic, political, cultural) event caused an increase in support of patriarchal attitudes? Consider the role of the Great Recession (2008) and Obama (an African-American) being elected to office.
  - e. According to Michael Adams' patriarchy as a social value is meaningful because it says something about the way we organize and govern our societies. Why do you think America—a country with strong patriarchal values compared to Canada—does not generally support the idea of maternity leave, women having exclusive control over their reproductive rights, and publicly funded healthcare?
  - f. Canadians are more accepting of non-traditional families and marriage compared to Americans. Why? Consider the relative role religion plays in the decision-making of Americans and Canadians.
  - g. What exactly is Adams' concluding when he says "we've [Canada has] had our flings with polarizing populists, but when the buzz wears off, we always seem to muddle our way back to the middle"?

**Note:** name your file StudentName\_Assignment\_3 and share it with your teacher at [rdelainey@lcbi.sk.ca](mailto:rdelainey@lcbi.sk.ca). You might also find it useful to access the following article to gain some additional perspective on the differences between Canada and America's political cultures (<https://pandesite.wordpress.com/2016/04/24/part-3-where-it-all-going/>).

**Biographical Information on Michael Adams**

Mr. Adams is also the author of six books, including: *Sex in the Snow: Canadian Social Values at the End of the Millennium* (1997); *Fire and Ice: The United States, Canada and the Myth of Converging Values*, (2003); and *Unlikely Utopia: The Surprising Triumph of Canadian Pluralism* (2007). *Fire and Ice* won the prestigious 2003/04 Donner Prize for the best book on Canadian public policy and was selected in the fall of 2005 by the Literary Review of Canada as one of the 100 most important books ever published in the country.

Michael Adams is a noted commentator on social values and social change in North America. He is a popular public speaker, offering topical, entertaining talks elaborating the data presented in his books. Michael's speaking repertoire includes a long-range look at the evolution of Canadian public opinion on a range of issues from public policy to national identity and diversity.

Michael holds an Honours B.A. in Political Science from Queen's University (1969) and a M.A. in Sociology from the University of Toronto (1970) and was named as one of the 100 most influential people in Canadian communications according to *Marketing Magazine's* Power List 2005. In 2008 Michael Adams was appointed to the Ontario Premier's Climate Change Advisory Panel and was made a Fellow of the Marketing Research and Intelligence Association, the highest honour which can be bestowed upon a member, for his contribution to marketing and survey research in Canada. In the spring of 2009, he received an honorary Doctor of Letters from Ryerson University in Toronto. In 2016 he was awarded the Order of Canada for his contributions in public opinion research.

**Source:** <https://www.environicsinstitute.org/michael-adams>

### **Could It Happen Here? Canada in the Age of Trump and Brexit** by Michael Adams

Months before Donald Trump won the Republican nomination and then the U.S. Presidency, Matthew MacWilliams, a University of Massachusetts postdoctoral candidate, stumbled across a striking way of looking at a candidate who seemed to defy all the rules of politics.<sup>2</sup> His polling research had revealed that parenting styles were a powerful predictor of voter attitudes towards Trump. In particular, McWilliams discovered that those who preferred authoritarian child-rearing approaches—who valued traits such as obedience and good behavior in their children over curiosity or independence—were much more likely to back Trump. Moreover, their support wasn't strictly contingent on traditional party preferences. As MacWilliams's polls showed, authoritarian parenting preferences can be found among both Republicans and Democrats.<sup>3</sup>

To further confirm his hypothesis, he also looked at correlations between those with authoritarian outlooks and more specific political views, such as attitudes towards the protection of minorities, terrorism and immigration. The results further confirmed the distinct alignment of values and politics that allowed Trump to win over working-class Midwesterners, religious Southerners and even some affluent younger people, among

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<sup>2</sup> Max Ehrenfreund, "A Strange but Accurate Predictor of Whether Someone Supports Donald Trump," *Washington Post*, February 1, 2016, [www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/02/01/how-your-parenting-style-predicts-whether-you-support-donald-trump/?utm\\_term=.541f7bScc882](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/02/01/how-your-parenting-style-predicts-whether-you-support-donald-trump/?utm_term=.541f7bScc882).

<sup>3</sup> The United States has developed over time a two-party system: Republicans (also known as the "Grand Old Party" (GOP)) and the Democrats. Two-party systems in principle are supposed to encourage governments to govern from the "center" (because any party that wants to win an election must appeal to liberals and conservatives; however, in the context of the United States we have seen growing polarization where political parties only develop policies appealing to their respective leftist or rightist bases. This hyper-partisanship, along with several other factors, has encouraged Congress to become increasingly dysfunctional and unresponsive to the needs of the majority of Americans.

them voters who might have balked at his positions on LGBTQ+ rights or looked askance at his behavior. Upon taking office, the contrast between President Trump and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau came into stark relief. The two men offer vivid—even startling—opposites in terms of the way they present their masculinity. Trump is status obsessed, dominant in voice and manner, bullying and narcissistic. He boasted during the campaign about sexually assaulting women and made not-so-subtle allusions to his prowess in bed. Trudeau offers a metrosexual public persona—trim and handsome but courteous, attentive, upbeat and conspicuous in his assertions about gender equality. It's little wonder that Trudeau and Barack Obama got along so well—in every way, the forty-fourth president and the forty-fifth could scarcely be more different, not just politically and intellectually but also in the way they present themselves as men.

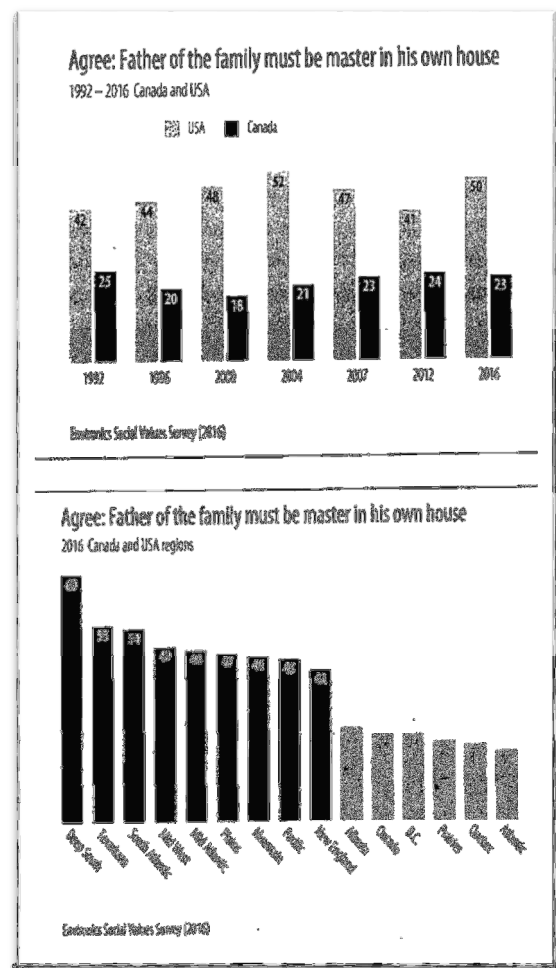
These three leaders are unique individuals, of course. But they express—and reflect—something important about the values of the societies that produced them. This, indeed, is one of the most obvious conclusions from the analysis of the evolving American and Canadian social values that Environics has been tracking since 1992.

Our research has looked at a broad range of attitudes—everything from outlooks on advertising and consumption to violence, authority and nontraditional families.

Anticipating MacWilliams's findings, we have long tracked attitudes towards the role of the father in American and Canadian families, and the results tell an important tale about why these two countries are on diverging paths despite a common border and extensive trade ties.

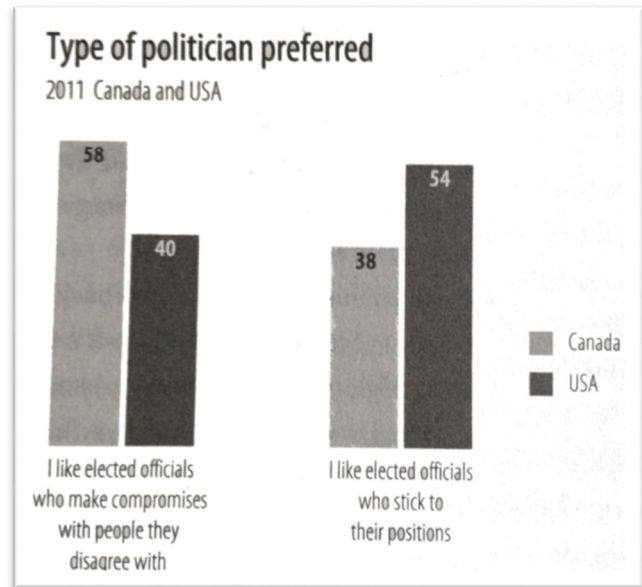
In order to understand the orientation to the structure of authority in the family in each country, we asked those age fifteen and over for their response to this statement: "The father of the family must be master in his own house." In 2016, fifty per cent of the eight thousand-plus Americans surveyed strongly or somewhat agreed with that statement. In Canada, by contrast, only 23 per cent of our sample of four thousand respondents agreed.

When we first asked this question, back in 1992, 42 per cent of American respondents agreed that the father must be master. That proportion rose to 44 per cent in 1996 and



nosed up again, to 48 per cent in 2000. It remained at that level throughout the post-9/11 George W. Bush years, and then declined somewhat during the Obama era to 41 per cent in 2012. However, as American Republicans and Democrats were in the process of selecting Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton as their presidential candidates, the proportion of Americans who said the father must be the master reached a historic high.

No one should be surprised that support for Donald Trump is highly correlated with support for patriarchy<sup>4</sup>, and, conversely, support for gender equality is highly correlated with support for Hillary Clinton. And Canada? The proportion of patriarchy supporters has been hovering in the low 20s, despite the influx of migrants from countries with more traditional attitudes about gender roles (35 per cent of self-identified immigrants believe Dad should be on top) as well as a mild backlash against feminism among Gen X and Y men (aged twenty-five to forty-four). In the U.S., 56 per cent of immigrants opt for patriarchy in the home. In the Deep South (Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi), 69 per cent now believe the father must be master; in New England, the figure is only 42 per cent, and all other regions fall somewhere in between.



It's worth noting that in Canada, there is far less variation in prevailing regional attitudes about patriarchy. The proportions range from a high of 26 per cent in Alberta, to a low of 18 per cent in Atlantic Canada. What's impossible to ignore is that Canada's most patriarchal province—Alberta, a place Canadians most likely associate with hard-driving social conservatism, pickup trucks and the frontier mentality—is still significantly less patriarchal than the least patriarchal region of the U.S. If we dig even deeper into the demographics, we see some other telling patterns. Sixty per cent of American men think Father must be master at home compared to 41 per cent of American women. In Canada, 31 per cent of men think Dad should be boss, and the proportion among women is just 16 per cent.

I dwell on patriarchy as a social value because it is so meaningful in terms of the way we organize and govern our societies. It shouldn't be a surprise that in a country where patriarchal values continue to be so dominant, there's virtually no maternity leave, reproductive rights remain deeply contentious and health care is heavily

<sup>4</sup> Patriarchies are societies dominated by men.

dependent on employment status. Our surveys show that patriarchy is also highly correlated with religiosity, parochialism, xenophobia, patriotism, gun ownership and support for the death penalty—all positions prevalent in the so-called red states.<sup>5</sup> Americans also tend to be far more religious than Canadians (and indeed most other industrialized nations). Canadians, in turn, are more accepting of nontraditional families and marriage outside one's group. Americans are more pessimistic about the direction of their country, whereas Canadians tend to be satisfied.

American society is famously polarized: a 50-50 nation with an increasingly tribal two-party system, red and blue bitterly divided on a host of issues large and small. The fact that half of Americans remain devoted to patriarchal authority in the home while the other half is unwilling to automatically defer to Dad is like a powerful tectonic fault line that impacts the country's entire social and political life.

There's another intriguing contrast that shines light on why partisan polarization characterizes the politics of one country and not the other. In Environics's Focus 2011 survey, we asked respondents for their views on compromise. Attitudes on this subject, we thought, would reveal something important about how communities and elected officials address difficult and divisive subjects. The results were revealing: 58 per cent of Canadians said they preferred elected officials who make compromises with their adversaries, whereas only 40 per cent of Americans took this stance. Similarly, 54 per cent of Americans reported that they like elected officials who stick to their positions, while only 38 per cent of Canadians do.

In one country, "compromise" is a dirty word; in the other, it's an expectation about the right way to conduct the public's business. This glimpse into the two countries' political cultures goes some distance towards explaining the partisan gridlock that gripped the U.S. Congress for much of Barack Obama's term. It also explains the difficulty Republicans of various stripes have had when they were confronted with decisions such as repealing Obamacare and approving tax and spending measures proposed by a Republican president.

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We began tracking more than fifty social values on both sides of the 49th parallel in the aftermath of the 1988 federal election, during which the proposed Canada-U.S. free trade agreement was the dominant issue. The Liberals, then led by John Turner, memorably ran against the deal, using a highly effective ad showing someone removing the border on a map with a pencil eraser.

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<sup>5</sup> Red states are those which usually vote for or support the Republican Party whereas blue states are those whose populations tend to support the Democrats. Some states are also known "swing states" where support for either the Democrats or Republicans is about equal. Most dedicated red states are found in the south, e.g. Kentucky, Alabama, Texas, etc. while most dedicated blue states are located in the north-eastern states like New York, Massachusetts, etc.

Critics of the agreement, mostly those on the centre-left<sup>6</sup>, warned that by opening the borders and ceding decision making over trade disputes to an unelected tribunal, Canadian governments would be forced to relinquish the policies that made the country different than that of our neighbours. Health care, labour laws, economic development policies—all of these would have to be negotiated away as we sought to compete with a trading partner ten times our size. Or so went the argument, which was reprised in 1992 with discussions about the wider North American agreement (NAFTA) that included Mexico.

Economic pressure to align national policies would also lead to a convergence of values: these deals, some people warned, would inevitably make Canadians more like Americans. Indeed, there was a time when many informed Canadians felt the values of the two countries were growing more and more similar, and that the only real differences were between the Deep South and Quebec. Yes, our histories—revolution and the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness versus a negotiated divorce, or, more accurately, a move to separate bedrooms in the same royal household, in the name of peace, order and good government—were very different. But in the age of mass communications and consumption of mass-produced consumer goods, the differences would inevitably fade.

Yet something unexpected has occurred in the twenty-first century. When it comes to the value dimension of patriarchy, these generalizations do not stand up to evidence gathered broadly over a long period. In 2002, EKOS asked Canadians if Canada was becoming more or less like the U.S. Fifteen years ago, 58% said we were becoming more or less like the U.S. and only 9 per cent less like the republic. In the spring of 2017, we repeated this question in a national survey and found a change of opinion: today, only 27 per cent of Canadians think we are becoming more like the U.S. and a nearly equal 26 per cent say we are, in fact, becoming less and less like our fractious southern neighbor.

As we've seen, one of the ways this difference has expressed itself is a rejection of the sort of politics that brought Trump to office, informed Brexit<sup>7</sup> and contributed to the relative elector success of the

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<sup>6</sup> Political terms like right, center and left refer to beliefs and assumptions about reality and life contributing to disagreement between individuals in society. For example, people on the "left" are typically more willing to support government intervention in the lives of citizens compared to people on the "right." People occupying the political-center usually try to balance out the importance of independence with the need for government action.

<sup>7</sup> The term used to refer to the process of Great Britain leaving the European Union (EU). Conservatives (people on the right) were concerned that Britain's association with the EU was having a negative effect on their society while more liberal-minded folks believed the relationship was a net positive. This division between liberals and conservatives reveals something interesting about lefties and righties: lefties tend to be more cosmopolitan and tolerant of differences in their outlook while righties tend to focus their attention upon protecting the interests of narrower groups while being cautious about things like religious differences, gender equality and immigration; that is not to say you cannot find conservatives

likes of Marine Le Pen<sup>8</sup> in France. But on an even deeper level, our values tracking show a long-term shift among Canadians towards a more global and tolerant outlook, as well as a rejection of the politics of division—something Stephen Harper<sup>9</sup> learned the hard way.

I'm not suggesting that Canada has coasted into some kind of a post-partisan nirvana of open-mindedness about the sorts of issues that perennially divide Americas, or at least enough Americans to allow those disputes to keep burning. Nor can we say with certainty that angry populism won't rear its head—or be more effectively channeled by a particularly charismatic leader—at some future date.

What is true, however, is that Canada has long witnessed populist eruptions, on both the right and the left—western Progressives rising up to express agrarian discontent against eastern moneyed elites, Tommy Douglas' Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Alberta's Social Credit Party, Quebec's Creditistes.<sup>10</sup>

In the postwar era, the western/rural backlash against bilingualism and the efforts to keep Quebec from seceding found expression in Preston Manning's Reform Party. In Quebec, populist nationalism produced the Parti Quebecois and then the Bloc Quebecois after the failure of the Meech Lake and

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who are pro-immigration or supportive of gender equality; however, it is accurate to assert the most resistance to these types of things comes from the political right where tradition and stability are highly valued.

<sup>8</sup> Marion Le Pen is a French politician and lawyer and leader of the National Front Party in France. The National Front is an anti-immigration party anxious to preserve the unique French-character of France by limiting the influence of non-French minorities in the public sphere. In the 2017 French election, Le Pen's party received the second most votes.

<sup>9</sup> Stephen Harper was the leader of the Conservative Party and he acted as prime minister of Canada from 2006 to 2015. During the federal election of 2015, he raised some eyebrows by running on a platform of so-called "Canadian values" (really white and Christian values). The Canadian electorate, a nation in which four out of every ten citizens is a first generation immigrant, rejected Harper's vision for Canada.

<sup>10</sup> The Quebec Creditistes ideology reflected the traditional right-of-center attitudes of Quebec's rural and small urban population. Populist movements tend to focus less on broad social policies and more on the tribal needs of a particular group to maintain its identity in the wake of social, economic and/or political changes.



Charlottetown constitutional accords<sup>11</sup>, and later drove the rise and fall of the xenophobic ADQ<sup>12</sup> in the late 2000's and the Parti Quebecois Charter of Values.<sup>13</sup>

The Harper government anted up the most recent version of backlash with its “tough on crime” laws, the so-called barbaric cultural practices snitch line<sup>14</sup>, and the largely theatrical fight (few doubted the course would call the move unconstitutional) to force Muslim women who wear niqabs to show their faces at citizenship-ceremonies.

As Memorial University political scientist Alex Marland, a brand expert, pointed out in the *Globe and Mail*, the federal Liberals have been the party of national unity whose single pre-occupations after Quebec's Quiet Revolution was to keep Quebec in Canada. When that issue was more or less settled in the aftermath of the 1995 referendum, the Liberals had to replace their traditional *raison d'être* with the ideology of multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion.

Both of these aspirational ideologies generated backlashes, which led to Liberal defeats, most successfully with Harper's Conservatives (2006 to 2015). For most of that time, Harper was astute enough to give his backlash base enough red meat to assuage those voters yet wise enough to reach out to immigrants and visible minorities living in the suburbs of major cities, appealing where possible to their more socially conservative patriarchal values. But the moment Harper chose to pander more aggressively to the Conservatives' backlash base, he lost crucial support in the multicultural suburbs, support that cost the Conservatives an election they might have won.

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<sup>11</sup> Both of these accords were attempts to modify and modernize Canada's constitution (the *British North America Act*) to make Quebec feel more secure and at home within Canada. One of the things Quebec wanted was to be recognized as a “distinct society” within Canada. Former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau wrote an article in *MacLean's* magazine that Canada should not give in to the “black mail”, i.e. Quebec threatened to leave confederation if they were not given what they wanted. Both the Meech and Charlottetown accords were rejected thereby paving the way for an eventual referendum on independence for Quebec in 1995. The referendum was a close on, in that, 51% of Quebecers voted in favor of remaining in Canada while 49% supported the idea of a free and sovereign Quebec. Populist politics are characterized by strong shows of emotion (as was the case with the Quebec referendum).

<sup>12</sup> The Action Democratique du Quebec (ADQ) gained a lot of traction during the mid-1990s leading up to the Quebec referendum. They focused their attention on whether Quebec was endangering its identity by bending too much to the perceived demands of immigrants (particularly Muslims). Populist movements are frequently xenophobic; that is, people are less willing or interested to include people who are different in their society.

<sup>13</sup> The Parti Quebecois attempted to pass the Charter in 2014. This legislation would have reaffirmed Quebec's secular character and religious neutrality. One of the more controversial elements of the Charter was it banned people working in the public sector from wearing anything that could be construed as “religious” (although it allowed rings and small symbols on necklaces to be worn); however, the Charter did not create religious neutrality, e.g. a massive crucifix in Quebec's National Assembly remained in place and Christmas would continue to be observed publicly.

<sup>14</sup> The Conservatives set up an emergency telephone line where you could report someone for practicing female genital mutilation or some other “barbaric” practice. Arguably, the emergency line served something most rational people would consider useful but it was not well-received by the Canadian electorate who—however right or wrong—looked at it as another example of Muslims being singled out for persecution.

As we have seen, there is plenty of polling evidence to show that the majority of Canadians today embrace gender, racial, ethnic, religious equality and LGBTQ+ rights. We also see concerns among the majority (albeit a declining one) that immigrants are not integrating quickly enough into mainstream Canadian society, although that society itself is changing constantly to reflect the cultures and values of new arrivals.

Indeed, just as bilingualism and the efforts to accommodate Quebec nationalism spawned a political backlash; it seems inevitable that the ideology of cultural diversity will produce its own backlash. Throughout the Conservative leadership campaign, polls consistently showed support for Kellie Leitch's<sup>15</sup> notion of a Canadian values test, a signal that there are political dividends to harvest by appealing to the more fearful angels of our nature. That she was also ridiculed and ultimately unsuccessful revealed something about the location of the boundaries of acceptable political discourse in Canada and offers a precise answer to the question of whether "it" could happen here.

We don't want to fight to see who is right. We want to talk and talk, to see who can stay awake long enough to have the last word. Toronto had its moment with Rob Ford; the Parti Quebecois thought it had the winning ticket with its Charter of Values. Alberta's rural social conservatives thought they'd regain power with the Wildrose Party. But in each case, Canadians found the centre. With four in ten of us foreign born or second generation, and with most projected population growth coming from immigration, our ever-changing demography has become not only our defining feature but also the engine that injects values of openness, tolerance and compromise into every sphere of social life.

Could Canadians suddenly find themselves seized by the rage-fueled politics of exclusion and enthralled by a tough-guy autocrat? I suppose anything is possible. But if we go beyond the fleeting politics of the day and look more closely at those underlying values, the answer becomes clear: we've had our flings with polarizing populists, but when the buzz wears off, we always seem to muddle our way back to the middle.

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<sup>15</sup> Kellie Leitch was a Conservative MP who ran for the leadership of the party on the basis of so-called "Canadian values" following Stephen Harper stepping down after his defeat in the 2015 election. Leitch's critics pointed out she was trying to appeal to the same fears and questions surrounding identity like Donald Trump raised and then rode to the presidency in the United States. Leitch's vision for Canada, just like Harper's, was rejected indicating Canada's political center remains as healthy as ever (despite the existence of groups in the country who dislike immigration, gender and identity politics, or religious differences).