Cultural Convergence?

The impact of the globalization of mass communications on national identities and cosmopolitan orientations

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart

Synopsis: Multiple studies have documented the globalization of mass communications, including important technological, structural and economic developments which have expanded the pace and density of cross-border information flows. While there is a mountain of theoretical speculation, far less is known about the consequences of this process. This paper focuses on one of the most important ways that this process may potentially affect citizens, through reshaping national identities, increasing confidence in the institutions and activities of global governance, and strengthening trust and tolerance of people from other nations and faiths. Part I outlines the theoretical debate surrounding these issues and reviews the previous empirical literature. Part II outlines the multidimensional concept of cosmopolitan orientations and how this can be operationalized using individual-level data from the most recent wave of the World Values Survey conducted in 2005-7. The comparative research design examines the impact of regular use of a variety of news sources, including newspapers, radio/TV news and the internet, in pooled models containing data from over fifty nations. Part III compares the impact of news media exposure across all nations in the pooled model and then in four distinct types of media environment, classified according to their external and internal openness to information flows. The conclusion summarizes the major findings—in particular, the fact that the world is still far from cultural convergence-- and considers the implications.

Multiple studies have documented the globalization of mass communications, including important technological, structural and economic developments that have expanded the pace and density of cross-border information flows. While there is a mountain of theoretical speculation, far less is known about the consequences of this process. This paper focuses on one of the most important ways that this process may potentially affect citizens, through reshaping national identities, increasing confidence in the institutions and activities of global governance, and strengthening trust and tolerance of people from other nations and faiths. There are many plausible reasons to believe that the globalization of mass communications may have these impacts, particularly by opening previously-isolated societies and increasing public awareness about other people and places. On the other hand, national identities and our feelings about foreign countries may prove relatively enduring and fixed; socialization theory has long suggested that we learn about society and the world from multiple sources, so that deep-rooted values and social norms are acquired from interactions with family and teachers, friends and neighbors, and first-hand experiences during one’s formative years. Part I first outlines the theoretical debate surrounding these issues and reviews the previous empirical literature. On this basis, Part II outlines the multidimensional concept of cosmopolitan orientations and how this can be operationalized using individual-level data from the most recent wave of the World Values Survey conducted in 2005-7. The comparative research design examines the impact of regular use of a variety of news sources, including newspapers, radio/TV news and the internet, in pooled models containing data from over fifty nations. The impact of news media exposure is compared in Part III across all nations contained in the pooled model and then in four distinct types of media environment, classified based on their external and internal openness to information flows.

The evidence examined in this chapter points to several major conclusions. Firstly, it indicates that exposure to the news media does have a positive impact on support for the institutions of global governance and on trust in outsiders, which should help to promote multilateral cooperation and international understanding and tolerance of other peoples and faiths. But it does not weaken feelings of nationalism, as some fear. These relationships persist in multivariate analysis even after we control for such factors as individual age, education and income, as well as for societal levels of economic development, all of which predict both use of the news media and social values. When explaining trust in outsiders, for example, an important aspect of cosmopolitan orientations, the impact of regular use of the news media was stronger than the separate effects of age, income, education and social class. Secondly, the types of news media contributing most clearly towards trust in outsiders are newspapers and especially the internet, not radio and television. The internet is the least territorial channel of information, where the old limits of space and time dissolve, and it is as fast and easy to learn about distant people and places, such as real-time breaking events in South Ossetia, Kabul, or Harare, as it is to find out about domestic news. Equally importantly, lastly, when we explore this association further, the strongest and most consistent relationship between use of the news media and cosmopolitan orientations is found in countries having an open media environment. Although the pattern is not completely clear-cut, the existence of freedom of the press seems to be driving these types of attitudes more than how far countries are integrated into global markets and communication networks. The conclusion summarizes the major findings, considers certain important qualifications, and considers their implications. This study forms part of a broader project and subsequent research will establish whether similar patterns are evident concerning the impact of the news media on other dimensions of public opinion.

I: Has the globalization of mass communications encouraged cosmopolitan orientations?

Previous writers offer several plausible reasons why the globalization of mass communications may shift public opinion in a more cosmopolitan direction and weaken the bonds of nationalism. At the
broadest level, many observers argue that globalization has led towards the ‘end of the nation state’. Hence Ohmae argues that the modern period represents a new historical era dominated by the growth of the agencies of global governance, world markets forces, and Western consumerism, a tide that national governments and economies have become powerless to halt. Transformational accounts suggest that the national state remains, but its identity as a political institutions and its core capacity are profoundly undermined by globalization, while transcendentalist theorists go further by suggesting that globalization implies the possible dissolution of the nation state. Anthony Giddens claims that contemporary globalization is historically unprecedented, reshaping modern societies, economies, governments, and the world order. This process has gone furthest within the European Union, Held and his colleagues suggest, where the future of sovereignty and autonomy within nation-states has been most strongly challenged by European integration, but the authors argue that all of the world’s major regions are affected, producing overlapping ‘communities of fate’. If the sub-prime mortgage market crumbles in the United States, stock-markets sink in Tokyo, and the Northern Rock bank goes bankrupt in the UK. Brazilian rainforests shrink, the polar icecaps melt in the South Atlantic, and record wildfires hit California. The world becomes more closely interconnected. Direct experience of globalization, exemplified through international travel, tourism, and immigration across national borders, is expected to broaden the mind, by exposing individuals to other life-styles, unfamiliar practices, and alternative beliefs. For pro-globalists, the acceleration and deepening of transborder information flows through the spread of ICTs is regarded as a deep driver providing new opportunities to learn about the world and other places indirectly. Among the consequences, this process is expected to deepen cosmopolitan orientations, contributing to greater understanding of, and respect for, habits and customs found in other cultures, strengthening trust and tolerance of other peoples, weakening parochial feelings of nationalism, and encouraging trust and confidence in the major agencies of multilateral cooperation and global governance to overcome shared world challenges. Most of these consequences are viewed by pro-globalists as positive developments, although in fragile multiethnic states emerging from conflict, lack of a national TV and radio broadcasting system, and a linguistically-segmented newspaper market, may exacerbate existing divisions among communities, hinder the peace process, and limit the capacity of the state to rebuild a sense of common identity.

Despite these conjectures, it has not been demonstrated whether the process of globalization – and in particular the role of cross-border information flows - has actually fostered more cosmopolitan orientations among the general public of most countries. Skeptics doubt whether identification with the nation-state has been seriously weakened among the mass public, and whether an emerging ‘cosmopolitan identity’ is sufficient powerful to replace the visceral tribal appeals of nationalism. In Anthony Smith’s view, we are witnessing the growth of regional blocs, where nation-states remain the primary actors, not the emergence of a new world order that transcends states. The expanding role of the United Nations in development, peacekeeping and human rights has occurred, Smith suggests, without fundamentally eroding, indeed perhaps even strengthening, deep-rooted attitudes towards nationalism and the nation-state: “We are still far from even mapping out the kind of global culture and cosmopolitan ideals that can truly supersede the world of nations.” Supporting the polarization thesis, Mann argues there are complex patterns across different possible threats to the nation-state, rather than clear-cut trends, but a popular backlash against the forces of globalization has probably strengthened, not weakened, national identities. Hooson also perceives a resurgence of nationalism: “The last half of the twentieth century will go down in history as a new age of rampant and proliferating nationalisms...The urge to express one’s identity, and to have it recognized tangibly by others, is increasingly contagious and has to be recognized as an elemental force even in the shrunken, apparently homogenizing, high tech world of the end of the twentieth century.” Support for this interpretation is suggested by contemporary struggles for succession, resulting in the birth of new nation-states, such as
Timor Leste and Kosovo, in persistent unresolved internal conflict over ethno-nationalist identities, such as demands for autonomous self-government in the Kurdistan region within Iraq, the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, and ETA’s violent actions in the Basque region of Spain, as well as the peaceful divorce in Czechoslovakia, the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and debates about a split among linguistic communities in Belgium. Arguing along similar lines, Castells suggests that globalization has encouraged organized resistance as diverse as the Zapatistas in Chiapas, the rightwing militia in the United States, and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan: “People all over the world resent the loss of control over their lives, over their environment, over their jobs, over their economies, over their governments, over their countries, and, ultimately, over the fate of the Earth.”

This view emphasizes the burgeoning anti-globalization social movements, such as the mass protests mobilizing against meetings of the WTO, IMF, and G-8, and also by eco-gastronomy ‘slow food’ groups, which embrace traditional local products and deplore the loss of distinct cultural communities. If these forces reflect a widespread popular phenomenon, rather than simply the activities of a noisy minority, this could indicate that local and national identities have not faded away, and may even have resurfaced with new vigor in a reaction against globalization.

What empirical evidence enables us to evaluate the claims underlying this debate? Most of the literature postulating links between globalization, use of the mass media, and nationalist and cosmopolitan orientations has been polemical and purely theoretical. Most commentators seek to account for contemporary developments in international relations, European integration, or transnational social movements by citing social observation, selected cases, and historical illustrations, without directly examining public opinion data from mass survey data. But recent years have also seen a growing body of literature analyzing the empirical survey evidence concerning the strength of national identities, attitudes towards open borders for labor migration and free trade, trust and tolerance of other nations, and confidence in the agencies of global governance, all of which can throw light on these arguments.

The most systematic time-series analysis has examined whether a sense of national identity has declined since the early-1970s within the European Union. Renewed interest in understanding the dynamics of public support within the EU has been spurred by the continuing process of European integration despite the results of the referendums where, when the public was asked to express their views, the majority rejected the proposed adoption of the euro in Denmark (2000) and Sweden (2003), the proposed constitution for Europe in France (2005) and the Netherlands (2005), and the proposed Treaty of Lisbon in Ireland (2008). Europe provides an appropriate context to test some of the core claims about the emergence of cosmopolitan orientations, since the process of European integration has been gradually strengthening, deepening, and widening the European Union over successive decades. If nationalism has faded anywhere, the experience of economic and political integration within the EU, with people working, living, studying and traveling in different member states, would be expected to have dissolved some of the traditional barriers most clearly its among member states, particularly among citizens from the countries that have lived under European institutions for a long time, such as Italy, France, and Germany.

As we saw in chapter 3, the EU has imported a growing proportion of American TV entertainment, while there is also a smaller internal market trading in audiovisual goods. EU member states are also relatively affluent post-industrial societies, with well-educated populations and a large professional middle class, all characteristics typically expected to strengthen cosmopolitan orientations. Public opinion towards national identities and towards the organizations of multilateral governance has been closely monitored in the Euro-barometer time-series surveys conducted since the early-1970.

Far from finding a steady spread of cosmopolitan attitudes, however, successive studies based on this survey evidence have reported that the public’s identification with Europe has fluctuated over
time, often in response to specific political events such as the Maastricht agreement and the launch of the euro under EMU, as well as in reaction to economic performance. For example, a recent study that explored longitudinal support for European integration from 1973-2004 in eight long-term member states concluded that support grew following the Maastricht Treaty, peaking around 1991, and subsequently fell. Little survey data suggests that European integration has generated a steadily growing sense of European identity and community among its citizens, even among the public in long-standing member states and in affluent post-industrial societies. In predicting public support for further European integration, Hooge and Marks argue that national identities remain more influential than economic calculations. Related attitudes, including approval of EU policies, satisfaction with the performance of the Union, and confidence in the European Commission and European Parliament, also display a pattern of trendless fluctuations since the early-1970s, rather than growing public support for the European institutions. Persistent cross-national differences are also evident, dividing Europhile states such as Ireland, the Netherlands, and Belgium, where the public is relatively positive on most indicators (despite the rejection of the referenda mentioned above), from deep-seated Euro-skeptics, such as Austria, Sweden and Britain. There has been little convergence in these differences; for example, during the affluent 1990s, British public opinion drifted in an ever more Euro-skeptic direction, with almost half the public opting for complete withdrawal by the end of the decade.

Although Euro-barometer trends do not indicate a steadily growing sense of European identity, more specific factors do help to predict support for the EU. For example, a study based on a recent Germany survey reports more tolerance of foreigners, and also greater support for the institutions of global governance, are evident among Germans with direct personal experience of transnational social relations and border-crossing, such as if they travel to work in another European state or if they have relatives or friends living in another country. Studies comparing 21 countries in the European Social Survey also found that euro-skepticism was associated with lower income and education, as well as with distance from Brussels, and with the duration of the country’s EU membership. Attitudes towards EU enlargement have also been linked to exposure to the mass media, with ‘priming’ effects shaping the standards used by the public to evaluate applicant member states.

If there is little systematic comparative evidence of growing cosmopolitan identities based on cross-national time-series trends since 1970 within European Union, what is the situation elsewhere? One of the most thorough studies of attitudes towards international organizations, by Evert, suggests a similar pattern to that already observed towards the EU. Evert reported that support for NATO and the UN is essentially multi-dimensional, with attitudes influenced by responses to specific issues and events, rather than being arrayed on a general continuum stretching from nationalism to internationalism. Fluctuations over time in the public’s approval of NATO displayed no secular trends, although there were also persistent differences in support between member states. Previous analysis by one of the authors, based on comparisons over time using the World Values Survey data, provided only limited support for the argument that public opinion has consistently moved in a more cosmopolitan direction. Instead the evidence strongly suggests that, rather than long-term secular trends, public opinion responds to the impact of specific events arising from UN interventions in security and defense, such as the UN’s peace-keeping operations role in the Balkans, Haiti, Somalia and Angola, the security council resolutions after 9/11 authorizing the use of force in the Afghanistan war, and the role of the international community and the security council in the Iraq war, Palestine, and conflict in the Middle East. The pattern of trendless fluctuations seems to fit what we know about public support for the European Union. Moreover a succession of studies of longitudinal trends in public opinion within the United States suggests that over time there have been waves of support for unilaterialism and internationalism for America’s role in the world and towards international organizations. These waves have occurred in response to specific foreign policy events such as military action in Vietnam, Somalia.
and Iraq, rather then consistently shifting in a secular trend towards a more internationalist perspective. In the United States, a series of polls have consistently confirmed that the gut appeal of flag-waving symbolic patriotism, such as pride in America, remains extremely strong. 29

The one important qualification to this argument, however, has been found in terms of generational change, since young people and the well-educated are consistently more cosmopolitan in their orientations than older and less educated groups. 30 Global comparisons of cosmopolitan orientations, indicated by a sense of belonging ‘to the world as a whole’, based on the 1981-2001 waves of the World Values Survey, confirmed this pattern. 31 Survey-based cross-sectional studies of cosmopolitan orientations in other particular countries, such as Australia and Sweden, report similar findings. 32 If this is a generational pattern, then it remains possible that any fundamental transformation of national identities is a lagged process that will only become apparent over successive generations, through the process of demographic turnover. During their formative years, the younger generation has been most exposed to the late-twentieth century wave of globalization, though their experiences with cross-border information flows in popular culture, such as through MTV, i-pods, and YouTube, as well as their greater international travel and tourism. By providing information and knowledge, education functions in many regards in a way that is similar to the role of the mass media; both potentially expand our understanding and awareness about other places and peoples. On the other hand, if the age-related pattern of cosmopolitan orientations is a life-cycle effect, as Jung argues, then this implies no consistent predictions of future trends over time. 33 Jung also uses a multilevel model to examine whether a country’s integration into the global economy was related to supranational identities, concluding that there was no evidence supporting this claim. In general, generational and educational patterns are some of the strongest and most consistent predictors of broader dimensions of value change, for example in terms of adherence to self-expression values and attitudes towards gender equality. 34 These are some of the most important factors to include in any analysis of cosmopolitan orientations, national identities, and support for the agencies of global governance.

Therefore despite plausible theoretical reasons why globalization and transborder information flows may be expected to have encouraged growing cosmopolitan orientations in public opinion, on the basis of the existing research literature it seems fair to conclude that most of the available empirical studies lean towards a more skeptical perspective. At least within Europe, national publics vary significantly in their support for the institutions and policies of the European Union, and recent decades have not seen the rise of stronger pan-European identities, although European identification is stronger among the younger generation and the well educated. Yet the evidence requires further analysis because studies of cross-national survey evidence have been mainly limited to post-industrial societies, and different trends may well be occurring in the global South, or in particular regions such as the Middle East, Africa, and Central and Eastern Europe. Most importantly, we also need to consider evidence relating cosmopolitan orientations directly to the differential impact of transnational information flows and the use of the mass media, since the convergence thesis suggests that cosmopolitan orientations should have progressed further and fastest among those who are most exposed to globalized mass communications. Our research design allows us to do this by contrasting attitudes among users and non-users of the news media living within different types of media environments. If transborder information flows shape cosmopolitan orientations among media users, the core theory developed in earlier chapters predicts that this effect should be strongest in the global-open type of media environments. The existing evidence, although leaning towards skepticism, is by no means settled, and it seems worthwhile to reexamine these issues.
II: Concepts, evidence, and indicators

Before proceeding to analyze the empirical data, we first need to clarify the underlying concept of ‘nationalism’, which is complex to define and operationalize. In this study, the idea of ‘national identity’ is understood to mean the existence of communities with bonds of ‘blood and belonging’ arising from sharing a common homeland, cultural myths, symbols and historical memories, economic resources, and legal-political rights and duties. Nationalism can take ‘civic’ forms, meaning ties of soil based on citizenship within a shared territory and boundaries delineated by the nation-state, or it may take ‘ethnic’ forms, drawing on more diffuse ties based on religious, linguistic, or ethnic communities. National identities are usually implicit and inert, and they may only rise to the surface in response to an ‘other’, where we know what we are by virtue of what we are not. In the modern world, national identities underpin the state and its institutions exercising political authority within a given territory, although there are many multinational states such as the United Kingdom, as well as stateless nations such as the Kurds and the Roma. By contrast, cosmopolitan identities are understood as those outlooks, behaviors and feelings that transcend local and national boundaries. Typically, cosmopolitans are tolerant of diverse cultural outlooks and practices, valuing human differences rather than similarities, cultural pluralism rather than convergence, and de-emphasizing territorial ties and attachments. Nationalism and cosmopolitanism are usually regarded theoretically as oppositional, although it remains to be seen empirically whether these feelings could potentially coexist without contradiction, for example if people have strong feelings of national pride but also favor multilateral solutions to world problems. We view nationalism and cosmopolitanism as multidimensional phenomenon, with different forms of expression, for example in attitudes towards the institutions of multilateral governance, in feelings of belonging and attachment to different communities, or in support for policies that facilitate protectionism or globalization, such as attitudes towards free trade or open labor markets.

What survey evidence allows us to examine whether regular use of the news media generates more cosmopolitan orientations within the most globalized and open communication environments? National and cross-national surveys help to illuminate trends in public and elite opinion, notably occasional studies on World Public Opinion conducted by the Program on International Attitudes at the University of Maryland, the Pew Global Attitudes Project, the BBC World Service, and the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. Surveys of American and European public opinion often monitor foreign policy attitudes within specific nations, and studies have compared attitudes among some of the major donor countries. Nevertheless consistent comparisons are limited using these resources, along with the ability to link attitudes to patterns of media consumption. Previous comparative studies have often relied upon the Euro-barometer monitoring public opinion towards these issues since the early-1970s within EU member states. Modules on nationalism have also been included in the annual International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), covering almost two-dozen countries. These are invaluable sources but systematic cross-national time-series surveys of attitudes remain limited, especially systematic studies comparing public opinion and use of the media across a wide range of developing nations, and countries with different levels of globalization, and different types of media environment. To provide the broadest cross-national analysis, this book utilizes the most comprehensive comparative data available from the World Values Surveys and European Values Surveys carried out from 1981 to 2007, covering more than 90 societies worldwide.

Attempts to conceptualize and measure the core concept of cosmopolitanism remain under debate. Hence Roudometof suggests a one-dimensional operationalization, with a single scale based on continuum of territorial identities ranging from cosmopolitan to local orientations. Others who critique this measure as too simple have recommend a two-dimensional operationalization, which also takes account of attitudes towards transnationalism, ranging from cultural or economic protectionism to
openness. Still others have specified a multidimensional perspective; for example Woodward et al suggest that Australians respond differently to distinct aspects of this phenomenon, favoring the increased flow of cultural goods and supporting cultural diversity, while by contrast greater anxieties surface on issues such as the impact of globalization on jobs, the environment, and human rights. This study also adopts a multidimensional approach. The concept of cosmopolitanism can be understood to operate at three levels, in terms of values, identities, and institutions. First, in terms of values, cosmopolitans represent those who express tolerance and trust towards people from other countries, rejecting the politics of fear and xenophobia towards foreigners. Cosmopolitan orientations should lead towards openness to understanding other peoples and places, for example expressed through an interest in foreign travel or working abroad, and tolerance of immigrants and visitors from other nations. At the institutional level of global governance, cosmopolitans are expected to support establishing international standards, multilateral solutions and global regulatory bodies and agencies to deal with major challenges facing the world. Cosmopolitans prefer international cooperation where the United Nations and regional institutions assume primary responsibility for tackling issues that cross-national borders, such as peace-keeping, human rights, arms control, and protecting the environment, rather than leaving decisions to be determined by governments within each sovereign nation state. Conversely, nationalists are understood in this study as those who identify strongly with their country of origin (or with regions and local areas within the territorial boundaries of the nation-state), who express strong pride in their country, who trust sovereign national governments more than the United Nations and the other related multilateral institutions of global governance, and who remain less trusting and tolerant of foreigners. These core values and identities should also influence attitudes towards specific public policies, for example cosmopolitans are also expected to support specific policies favoring open labor markets and free trade, while nationalists are more likely to support protectionist economic policies, an issue explored in more depth in the next chapter.

Utilizing the World Values Surveys, principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation was used to test whether this conceptual typology reflected the underlying dimensions of public opinion in the selected items listed in Table 6.1. In terms of trust of outsiders, from other places, societies, and faiths, survey items monitored trust in people from another nation and also from another religion. The strength of national identities was gauged by people’s attachment to different territorial areas, an approach used in previous studies. The 2005-7 World Values Survey monitored identities using multiple items, where people could specify several overlapping geographic identities, rather than treating these as trade-off responses, a practice followed in previous waves of the study. 

The 2005-7 measure assumes that we can have multiple overlapping and nested identities, so that people can maintain their national and local identities while also having a growing sense of supranational attachments; people can be proud of living in local communities in Flanders or Wallonia, for example, while also seeing themselves as citizens of Belgium and part of European Union. Accordingly respondents were asked the following in the WVS:

“People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself?”...”I see myself as citizen of the [French]* nation.... I see myself as member of my local community...” [*substitute nation of the survey]

The 2005-7 World Values Survey also monitored attitudes towards global governance, in particular whether respondents preferred whether problems such as refugees and human rights should be handled primarily by each national government, by regional organizations, or by the United Nations.

“Some people believe that certain kinds of problems could be better handled by the United Nations or regional organizations, such as the European Union, rather than by each national government
separately. Others think that these problems should be left entirely to the national governments. I’m going to mention some problems. For each one, would you tell me whether you think that policies in this area should be decided by the national governments, by regional organizations, or by the United Nations?”

[Table 1 about here]

The results of the factor analysis presented in Table 1 show the relationships among the selected variables with the rotated matrix, accounting, in total, for more than half (55%) of the variance in responses. The analysis confirmed the existence of three distinct dimensions of public opinion, distinguishing between trust in outsiders, nationalist identities, and support for the institutions of global governance. Appendix A provides more details about the specific questionnaire items selected for analysis and their coding and measurement. The analysis presented in this chapter focuses on data drawn from the 5th wave in 2005-7, as comparison across all waves of the WVS is limited by the fact that not all the items selected for analysis were included with identical wording in all questionnaires. To construct value scales, the separate items listed in Table 1 were summed and converted into three standardized 100-point scales, for ease of comparison across each dimension. Any single item may generate specific responses in particular countries and contexts, for example a question about the role of the UN in peacekeeping may trigger a specific reaction for Rwandans, Iraqis or Russians living near conflict zones, whereas value scales across a wider range of UN responsibilities are more likely to generate reliable cross-national comparisons reflecting more general attitudes towards the role of the international community.

In addition the analysis of the impact of the news media on attitudes does not tell us, in itself, anything about the broader context of the media landscape and how far societies are open to the forces of globalization. In recent decades, the media landscape has been transformed by the process of globalization. The basic changes are well established. The abolition of public service broadcasting and telecommunication monopolies in many countries, carried out in the name of ‘privatization’, ‘deregulation’ and ‘liberalization’, led to the rapid proliferation of more loosely regulated commercial or privately-owned TV and radio channels and telecommunication companies. The new channels of commercial broadcasting also fuelled the expansion of mass advertising and encouraged the growth of global advertising and market research companies. Significant technological developments have also proved critical, notably the growth of satellite broadcasting and cable programming and innovations in digital technologies associated with the rise of the internet, mobile cell phones, and multimedia convergence. The print sector has also been affected by growing foreign ownership of newspapers and multinational publishing companies. These trends have torn down protection and thrown open national markets to imported cultural products, providing opportunities for multinational multimedia production and distribution conglomerates. The ten most important players are not necessarily based in the United States, but all are located in a handful of large post-industrial societies, including Time Warner, Viacom, Disney, Associated Press, and General Electric (US), the BBC and Reuters (UK), Sony (Japan), News Corporation (US-Australia), and Bertelsmann (Germany). The tide of globalization has transformed mass communications in many countries, starting in the contemporary era with developments in advanced industrialized societies during the 1980s, then sweeping though many newer democracies and developing countries in the following decade, and there is no question that major changes have taken place.48 Despite some important hubs operating within particular regions, such as Bollywood, Al Jazeera, or TV Globo, the direction of international trade in cultural goods and services flows mainly from a few major production conglomerates based in the global North to audiences in the rest of the world.

What have been the consequences of these developments? The skeptical theory that we develop in detail elsewhere argues that the capacity of this phenomenon to have either negative or
positive consequences is limited by a series of firewalls that operate in a sequential filtering process. We
develop a four-stage ‘barrier’ model, emphasizing that cultural goods exported from the global North
can only impact national cultures if they overcome successive hurdles generated by the limits of world
trade integration (restricting the import of cultural goods and services flowing over national borders);
lack of media freedom (internal barriers that regulate the flow of news and information within any
society); problems of deep-rooted poverty and development (restricting public access to mass
communications and the lack of technological infrastructure connecting many poorer societies to global
networks); and social psychological learning processes (the way that people acquire their enduring
values, attitudes, and beliefs during their formative years). These conditions are not simply confined to
the most hermetically-sealed and rigidly-controlled authoritocracies, such as Burma and North Korea, or to
isolated villages and provincial communities off the mass communications grid in Tibet, Bhutan, Mali,
and Uzbekistan; instead these barriers are found in many parts of the world. The globalization of mass
communications is not irrelevant; in the broader study, of which this paper is a part, we demonstrate
that significant effects on cultural values do arise from use of the news media and we analyze survey
evidence to show the impact on national identities, economic values, sexual moralities, and democratic
beliefs. We show that the impact is greater on certain dimensions of public opinion than others – and
not always on the aspects that are commonly assumed to be most vulnerable to change. Nevertheless
the four-stage barrier model emphasizes that a series of fire-walls restrict the potential capacity of
cross-border information flows to reach people living in many parts of the world – and thus limit the
capacity for these ideas and images to alter and transform enduring identities, deep-rooted values, and
pervasive attitudes embedded within distinctive national cultures. The world is still far from any serious
degree of cultural convergence.

To operationalize the theory, we develop a new classification of the ‘news media environment’
referring to the major features shaping the flow of news and information in a society. We argue that two
types of barriers play crucial roles in this process. Internal barriers to information flows are determined
by the legal framework governing freedom of expression and information (such as penalties for press
offences); patterns of intimidation affecting journalists and the news media (such as imprisonment,
deportation, or harassment of reporters); and the nature of state intervention in the media (such as
state monopolies of broadcasting, political control over news, and the use of official censorship).
External barriers involve the extent to which countries are integrated into global communication
networks (including the extent to which they possess the infrastructure for broadcasting, internet, and
telecommunications) and the degree to which information flows across national borders are open or
restricted (for example, whether the import of cultural goods and services is limited by tariffs, taxes, or
other trade barriers, or the extent to which international travel, tourism, and labor mobility are
restricted by visa quotas).

To operationalize and measure the internal barriers to the free flow of news and information,
we use estimates developed by Freedom House’s annual index of Press Freedom. A non-governmental
organization, Freedom House was founded on a bi-partisan basis more than 60 years ago to promote
democracy. The annual Press Freedom index is probably the best known of the available media
indicators, widely used by policymakers, academics and journalists. It is also the most appropriate for
our purposes, since it is designed to measure the extent to which countries restrict the flow of
information within their national borders. The Freedom House index also provides the most
comprehensive coverage of countries around the world, and the longest time-series, since it began
conducting its media freedom survey in 1980. Since 1994 it has published its assessments using a 100-
point scale that measures the extent to which press freedom is influenced by legal, political and
economic factors. To test the validity of this scale, we also use the Reporters sans Frontières’ (RSF or
Reporters without Borders) annual Worldwide Press Freedom index, which provides measures since
2002 and covers a more limited range of countries.\textsuperscript{51} The non-profit RSF, based in Paris, works to reduce censorship, oppose laws restricting press freedom, and support journalists. This 100-point scale reflects the degree of freedom journalists and news organizations enjoy in each country, and the efforts made by the state to respect and ensure respect for this freedom. Since journalistic cultures differ, and notions of press freedom are contested, the European origins and base of RSF also provides a cross-check against the US-based Freedom House. We will compare the estimates provided by each organization. As others have noted, these two measures differ in their methodologies, conceptualization, and operationalization; nevertheless the two indicators are strongly correlated, increasing one’s confidence in the reliability of their estimates.\textsuperscript{52}

To compare external barriers, and how far countries are integrated into global communication markets, we use the KOF Globalization Index. This provides comprehensive annual indicators of the degree of economic, social, and political globalization in 120 countries around the world since the early 1970s.\textsuperscript{53} This evidence confirms that most nations have experienced a dramatic increase in the volume, density and speed of cross-border interconnections during recent decades. Globalization has been encouraged by the lowering of trade barriers and tariffs under international agreements, the spread of travel and tourism, international migration, expanding access to interpersonal and mass communications, and the integration of countries into the institutions of global and regional governance, as many observers have noted.\textsuperscript{54} At the same time the reach of the globalization process has been limited and many of the poorest societies in the world have been largely excluded from world markets, as have some autocratic states. The globalization index indicates which countries have been most integrated into global networks during recent decades and which remain relatively isolated. To expand the comparison to cover all countries under comparison, we replicate the KOF measure of information flows.

[Figure 1 about here]

The classification of countries worldwide shown in Figure 1 is based on these two dimensions. Internal barriers define the vertical axis (indicating the levels of press freedom that determine public access to independent sources of news and information within each society). External barriers are illustrated on the horizontal axis (indicating the openness of the media environment and the permeability of national borders to cross-border information flows). The impact of exposure to the news media on social values and national identities can therefore be analyzed in the pooled sample containing all countries, as well as when broken down into these distinct types of media environments.

III. Results: The impact of news use on cosmopolitan orientations

To examine the associations of these dimensions of public opinion with use of the news media, as a first step we can look descriptively at the contrasts in mean levels of trust in foreigners (measured on a five-point scale) by level of news media use among each type of media environment, without any controls. This is an important indicator of broader orientations towards other countries, with implications for bilateral alliances and for multilateral cooperation in the international community. Taken to the extreme, hatred of foreigners represents xenophobia, which can have disastrous consequences for internal conflict and for international peace. The pattern in Figure 2 describes the mean level of trust in foreigners expressed by low, moderate and high news media users (categorizing the combined scale) living in each of the types of media environments. The figure illustrates clearly that those who are most attentive to the news media are the most tolerant of foreigners from other countries, a pattern that is consistent with each type of media environment. The gap among high and low media users, however, is clearly largest in the most open types of media environments, where many people have access to information from the news and where national borders are most open to the flow.
of imported images and ideas. In these types of societies, there is greater freedom for reporters and journalists to provide independent coverage that is critical of the actions and policies of their own government, as well as a plurality of media outlets to provide balanced reporting of foreign affairs. In societies with more restrictions on freedom of expression, news coverage is expected more often to reflect the official position of the state, with fewer published stories critical of government foreign policies. These descriptive findings provide some initial support for the proposition that regular use of the news media generally exposes people to ideas and images from other societies and peoples, encouraging a more cosmopolitan view of the world, and this pattern appears to be strongest in open types of media environments.

[Figure 2 about here]

Yet, needless to say, many factors such as education and income are associated with use of the news media and with social values and attitudes. Multivariate models using OLS regression analysis are needed to determine whether exposure to the news media remains significantly related to cosmopolitan orientations after controlling for the other social characteristics and attitudes that help to predict use of the media, as already demonstrated in the previous chapter. Table 2 presents the full results of the regression models in the pooled sample for all societies where the standardized 100-point trust in outsiders scale (combining trust in people of other nationalities and other faiths) is the dependent variable. These models include the multivariate controls for the factors that we have already found to be key predictors of media use, including levels of economic development for each society, demographic characteristics, and socio-economic resources. Other exploratory models also included levels of urbanization and motivational attitudes, but these were removed from the final version on the grounds of parsimony and because of problems of missing values for some variables that reduced the sample size unduly. Since open-globalized media systems are often characteristic of more affluent nations, the models also control for logged per capita GDP (measured in purchasing power parity) at societal level. In addition, national dummy variables were also tested in the models, to reflect any unmeasured country specific effects, but these did not alter the interpretation of the substantive results in any significant way, so these were also dropped from the final model on the grounds of parsimony. Two final models were run using the pooled sample from the fifth wave of the World Values Survey, Model A incorporated the integrated media use scale and then Model B used separate dummy variables for each of the main types of news media (radio/TV news, newspapers and internet/email). Both regression models were checked to be free of any collinearity problems.

[Table 2 about here]

The results of the analysis in Model A confirm that media use was significantly associated with trust in outsiders, even after controlling for the other social-level and individual-level characteristics that we have already established contribute towards news media use. Moreover, not only is the standardized beta coefficient for media use statistically significant, it is also the second strongest predictor in the model, after the effect of economic development. The fact that the standardized coefficient for news media use is far stronger than the separate effects of age, education, or income is striking, given the results of previous studies. Since both indicators are measured using standardized 100-point scales, the model coefficients suggest that a roughly 10 percent increase in the news media use scale is associated with an approximate 10 percent rise in the trust in outsiders scale. Most of the other factors in the model performed as expected, with greater trust in outsiders found in more developed economies, among the more affluent households, those with more education, and among the middle class professional, managerial and white collar sectors. There was also greater trust found among the older population, which was unexpected, but this pattern persisted in the data irrespective
of whether the age variable was logged or not. All the factors in the model proved significant except for gender, where there was no difference in levels of outsider trust among men and women.

To explore this further, Model B breaks down trust in outsiders by type of news media use. The results strongly suggest that it is use of newspapers, and especially the internet, that is driving this relationship. The internet is the most globalized of all media, transcending territorial boundaries and physical locations, and it is also the type of mass and interpersonal communication technologies that is most difficult (although certainly not impossible) for governments to censor and restrict by limiting access to foreign websites and emails. By contrast, radio and TV news use was negatively associated with trust in outsiders. To understand this further, we would need additional information that monitored the type of broadcast news source (including whether local, regional or national, and whether state-owned, public service or private). In many societies, radio news is often from community or locally-based stations, which can be expected to provide less international reporting or awareness of other peoples and places than the experience of surfing for news and information on the internet.

[Table 3 about here]

To explore these patterns further, Table 3 presents the summary results of the regression models for trust in outsiders, nationalist identities, and support for the institutions of global governance in each of the types of media environments. As in Table 2, these models control for the range of factors linked to news media use, including levels of economic development, demographic characteristics, socio-economic resources, and cognitive skills, and national dummy controls. To clarify the key findings and simplify the presentation, this table lists only the unstandardized beta coefficients for the media use scale and their significance within each type of media environment, rather than reporting the results of the complete battery of controls. The analysis confirms that trust in outsiders is stronger among regular users of the news media within each type of media environment (as observed descriptively in Figure 1) and the coefficients remain significant in all types of environment except the closed-localized societies, even after controlling for the other relevant characteristics of media users. The impact of regular news media use on trust in outsiders is strongest in open societies, irrespective of whether these countries are integrated into global markets or whether they are localized, even after controlling for the other factors associated with media use and social values, such as education and income. The coefficients are significant; on the 100-point scale, for example, after applying the other controls, people who use the news media in open media environments are about 9% more trusting of outsiders scale than people with similar characteristics who do not use the news media in these societies. In the closed-globalized media environment, these effects are also statistically significant but about half as strong.

Comparisons of the other value scales, however, suggest a more complex pattern. After including all controls, nationalist identities were usually positively and significantly associated with use of the news media (except in the closed-globalized media systems), although the size of the effects were modest. Similarly, regular news media use was also usually significantly associated with support for the agencies of global governance (except in the closed-globalized media systems), and again the effects were very modest. Therefore overall on the basis of the analysis we can conclude that the impact of news media use (especially regular use of the internet) is significantly associated with greater trust in outsiders, including foreigners and people of different faiths, and this pattern is found across all media environments although it is strongest in the open societies. News media use was also associated with slightly stronger nationalist identities, not weaker, and with greater support for the agencies of global governance and the role of the UN in solving the world’s problems. But these media effects were not dependent upon the context: neither nationalist identities nor attitudes towards global governance appear to vary consistently with the type of media environment except that both were weakest in the closed-globalized societies such as China and Russia.
IV: Conclusions and discussion

The growth of broadcasting systems within each country has traditionally been regarded as an important way of strengthening national communities and feelings of national identity, especially in multicultural societies with contested national boundaries. Public service broadcasters, in particular, often regard their role as bringing together diverse sectors, sub-regions and communities, as well as representing the nation to the outside world; for example these are key components of the mandate for the BBC set out in its Royal Charter.56 This role has come under increasing challenge from deregulation and the new competitive multichannel environment, leaving public service broadcasters to reinvent their distinct mandate and mission.57 There is considerable interest in the way that the globalization of the news media and the expansion in cross-national information flows may potentially disrupt these processes of nation-building, if this generates broader identities and allegiances. The globalization of mass communications can be regarded as having potentially positive consequences, for example if this process spreads ideas about universal human rights and democratic governance around the world, or if satellite TV strengthens a sense of pan-Arabism among peoples within the Middle East. Alternatively this process can also be seen as threatening, for example if it undermines cultural and linguistic diversity within a state, or if it limits the ability of fragile multicultural states and post-conflict societies to develop stronger bonds and allegiances across diverse social sectors and ethnicities that could help to unify the country. Although theorists have often speculated about the impact of cross-national information flows on nationalist and cosmopolitan orientations, systematic empirically evidence examining public opinion, and spanning many different types of societies and media systems, has generally been lacking.

The results of the comparison presented here suggests that exposure to the news media does indeed have a strong positive impact on trust and tolerance of outsiders, including people of different nationalities and faiths, as well as having more modest effects by generating slighter greater support for the core institutions of global governance, for example the role of the UN in tackling some of the urgent world problems of human rights, development, and peace-keeping. Moreover far from eviscerating national identities, as some fear, in fact use of the news media is also linked to stronger national identities. These relationships remains significant, although of limited strength, when one applies multiple prior controls for factors such as education, income, age, class and societal level of economic development, which help to predict both use of the news media and social values. When the analysis is broken down by the different types of media environments, the results suggest that the strongest and most consistent relationship between use of the news media and trust in outsiders is found, as our theory suggests, in countries characterized by a open media environment, irrespective of how globalized they are. With the other indicators, the results are similar and modest across the different types of media environments with the exception of the closed-globalized societies, such as Russia and China, where exposure to the news media has no significant impact on support for global governance or nationalist identities.

Nevertheless the interpretations of the empirical results need to be qualified in certain important regards. The modest summary statistics from the models presented in Table 2 indicate that media use and demographic characteristics represent only some of the multiple reasons underlying trust in outsiders and broader cosmopolitan orientations. If feelings of xenophobia or trust in other religious communities are deeply rooted in social psychological traits, in early socialization experiences, in social networks, or in structural conditions in society, then these feelings could be explained by many other factors not included in this limited comparison.58 Social capital theories explaining the related concepts of generalized trust and tolerance within society emphasize the personal bonds and networks formed from face-to-face interactions, the degree of ethnic, linguistic, or racial heterogeneity or homogeneity in any society, and the role of associations in bridging social divisions.59 Older accounts based on the classic
‘authoritarian personality’ thesis viewed trust in others as psychological traits closely associated with feelings of powerlessness and resentment. Spatial explanations suggest that attitudes towards foreigners could be related to a society’s geo-cultural location, including the proximity of countries to neighboring states sharing certain linguistic, religious, or ethnic characteristics and historical traditions. The geographic location of respondents living within particular regions and national communities within the territorial boundaries of multi-cultural states, such as Belgium, Canada and the UK, could also prove important. Theories based on party competition emphasize the salience of immigration and asylum seekers as an issue on the political agenda and the stance of political parties (especially the radical right) towards this issue. IR explanations stress that public opinion reflects the international power of the state, elite cues from the domestic political leadership, and foreign relations with other countries. Feelings of openness to people from other countries and tolerance of outsiders with different faiths may also be affected by direct inter-personal experience with transborder social relations arising from immigration, travel and job mobility. In short, feelings of nationalism and trust in outsiders are complex issues that cannot be expected to be reduced to monocausal explanations based on any single factor. This study focuses on specifying parsimonious models identifying the role of regular exposure to the news media controlling for other characteristics of the news audience, rather than providing comprehensive explanations of all the factors contributing towards cosmopolitan orientations and generalized trust. Models with alternative specifications and measures could plausibly generate different conclusions. Moreover it should be noted that use of the news media is only a limited proxy for exposure to many other types of mass communications, such as seeing American movies, listening to popular music, or watching European entertainment TV, which could potentially have stronger effects on images of other countries and peoples, and thus feelings of national trust. Additional research is needed to establish more comprehensive models of the wide range of factors contributing towards these values and attitudes.

The findings in this study are important and deserve further scrutiny, but it remains to be seen whether similar patterns are evident when we examine other dimensions of public opinion, including whether exposure to the news media, and in particular to cross-national information flows from, has the capacity to expand neo-liberal support for free markets and to reduce faith in the role of the state in the economy, to alter traditional moralities, or to expand support for democratic values. If we find similar patterns to those presented in this study, this would increase our confidence in the reliability and robustness of the results. This paper is part of a larger research project that is examining all these issues.
Table 1: Dimensions of cosmopolitan orientations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nationalist identity</th>
<th>Institutions of global governance</th>
<th>Trust outsiders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V212 Sees self as a national citizen</td>
<td>.834</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V211 Sees self as part of a local community</td>
<td>.777</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V209 Expresses national pride</td>
<td>.604</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V181 Who should decide: aid to developing countries (National governments, regional organizations, the UN)</td>
<td>.758</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V182 Who should decide: refugees</td>
<td>.755</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V183 Who should decide: human rights</td>
<td>.722</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V180 Who should decide: protection of the environment</td>
<td>.696</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V179 Who should decide: international peacekeeping</td>
<td>.687</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V130 Trust in people of another nationality?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V146 Trust in people of another religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total variance</strong></td>
<td><strong>16.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>20.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>17.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Extraction Method: Principal Component Factor Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Coefficients of .40 or less were dropped from the analysis. See Appendix A for the construction of these scales.

**Source:** World Values Survey 2005-7
Table 2: Full multivariate model explaining trust in outsiders, all societies with controls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model A: All societies, media use scale</th>
<th>Model B: All societies, separate news media variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic development</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logged GDP per capita in PPP</td>
<td>2.636</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demographic characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logged Age (years)</td>
<td>3.166</td>
<td>.264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (male=1)</td>
<td>.136</td>
<td>.204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socio-economic resources</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>.332</td>
<td>.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/managerial</td>
<td>1.251</td>
<td>.336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other non-manual class</td>
<td>1.366</td>
<td>.329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled manual class</td>
<td>-2.59</td>
<td>.281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cognitive skills</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>.421</td>
<td>.054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Media use</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media use 100-point scale</td>
<td>.087</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio/TV news</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet/email</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R^2</td>
<td>.082</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. respondents</td>
<td>51,700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The results of individual-level OLS regression models with the trust in outsiders (other nationalities and other religions) 100-point scale as the dependent variable. The 100-point media use scale combined use of newspapers, radio/TV, the internet, books, and magazines for information. The table reports the unstandardized beta coefficients (b), the standard errors, the standardized Betas, and their significance. The models were also re-run after including national dummy variables, to take account of any country-specific effects, but this did not make any substantive difference to the strength and significance of the media coefficients that are reported above. All models were checked by tolerance tests to be free of any multi-collinearity problems. See appendix A for details about the measurement, coding, and construction of all variables. Sig. * = .05 ** = .01 *** = .001 **Source:** World Values Survey 2005-7.
Table 3: Summary multivariate models explaining cosmopolitan orientations, with prior controls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VALUE SCALES</th>
<th>Closed</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Localized</td>
<td>Globalized</td>
<td>Localized</td>
<td>Globalized</td>
<td>Localized</td>
<td>Globalized</td>
<td>Localized</td>
<td>Globalized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>Sig</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>Sig</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>Sig</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>Sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust outsiders</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>N/s</td>
<td>.056</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.087</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.087</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist identities</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>N/s</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global governance</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>N/s</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. respondents</td>
<td>12,081</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,209</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,219</td>
<td></td>
<td>28,188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. nations</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E.g. Ethiopia, Morocco, Viet Nam, Colombia</td>
<td></td>
<td>E.g. China, Russia, Jordan, Malaysia</td>
<td></td>
<td>E.g. Mali, India, Ghana, Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td></td>
<td>E.g. Brazil, Canada, Romania, Norway</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** see Table 6.1 for the items and construction of the scales. The unstandardized beta coefficients (b) summarize the relationship between the 100-point media use scale (use of newspapers, radio/TV, magazines, books and the internet) and these value scales, after incorporating the series of controls shown in Table 6.3 which predicted media use, including levels of economic development, demographic characteristics, socio-economic resources, and cognitive skills. The models were also rerun with national dummy variables to take account of any country-specific effects but this did not make any substantive difference to the strength and significance of the media coefficients which are reported above. Sig. *=0.05 **=0.01 ***=0.001

**Source:** The World Values Survey 2005-7
Figure 1: Classifying media environments worldwide

Notes: *Internal* openness is measured by the standardized (Z-scores) Freedom House Press Freedom Index, 2005. *External* openness is measured by the standardized (Z-scores) KOF Index of Globalization, 2005. Countries are highlighted if they were included in any wave of the World Values Survey 1981-2007. The cross-lines indicate the mean.

Figure 2: Trust in foreigners by type of media environment and media use

Note: Q130 “I'd like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups ...People of another nationality. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely (coded 5), somewhat (4), neither (3), not very much (2), or not at all (1)?” The chart shows the mean level of trust in foreigners for each group, without any prior controls.

Source: World Values Survey 2005-7
Note: This paper is drawn from chapter 6 of a new book, Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart Cultural Convergence? Global Media and National Diversity, forthcoming with Cambridge University Press, Fall 2009. More details about this project are available at www.pippanorris.com


11 M. Mann. 1997. ‘Has globalization ended the rise and rise of the nation-state?’ Review of International Political Economy. 4: 472.


15 For a challenge to this view, however, emphasizing that the public sphere in Europe remains firmly national, see P. Schlesinger. 2007. ‘A cosmopolitan temptation.’ European Journal of Communication.


39 See, for example, Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes. 2006. America against the World. New York: Times Books; see also http://www.americans-world.org/index.cfm


47 It should be noted that the 2005-7 wave of the WVS modified the coding scheme (see Appendix A), providing multiple choices rather than trade-off items, so that the results are not directly comparable with previous versions of the questionnaire.

48 There are numerous excellent overviews of these developments: see, for example Thomas L. McPhail. 2006. Global Communication: Theories, Stakeholders, and Trends. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

49 For more methodological details and results, see Freedom House. 2007. Global Press Freedom 2007. www.freedomhouse.org. The IREX Media Sustainability Index provides another set of indicators (http://www.irex.org/resources/index.asp). The Media Sustainability Index benchmarks the conditions for independent media in a more limited range of countries across Europe, Eurasia, the Middle East, and North Africa. Unfortunately the IREX index does not contain sufficient number of cases worldwide to provide a further cross-check for this study.


51 For details of the methodology and annual rankings, see Reporters sans Frontièrues. 2006. Annual World Press Freedom Index. www.rsf.org

52 Lee B. Becker, Tudor Vlad, and Nancy Nusser. 2007. ‘An Evaluation of Press Freedom Indicators.’ International Communication Gazette, 69(1): 5 - 28. Moreover Becker et al also found that IREX’s Media Sustainability Index, covering 20 countries in 2001-2003, was also strongly correlated (R=.72 to .91) with the Freedom House and the RSF ratings. Only the Committee to Project Journalist’s tally of attacks on the press differed in their evaluations from the other three indices.


56 BBC. About the BBC. http://www.bbc.co.uk/info/purpose/public_purposes/communities.shtml


58 For a broader discussion see, for example, Pippa Norris. 2005. Radical Right. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.


