Nation states and cultural convergence

The impact of globalization on national identities and trust

API415: Class 4
Structure

I. Theoretical debate and previous studies
   - Are nation states threatened by cosmopolitan communications?
   - Firewall model of global information flows

II. Research design

III. Evidence

IV. Conclusions and policy implications
   - Cosmopolitan communications strengthens trust in outsiders and weakens nationalism
   - Implications for nation-states?
## Cosmopolitan communications:

### Cultural diversity in a globalized world

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart

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<td>9. Activists: Support for democracy, self-expression values, and human rights</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
I: Theoretical framework
I: What is the concept of the state?

Many forms of political organization – empires, tribes, fiefdoms, city-states

The term “state” refers to some large political units (or polities) which first developed in the modern West and then spread worldwide.

States vary in size, power, resources, longevity, type of regimes, capacity..

In spite of their differences, they share some aspects which justify calling them “states”.

- What are these fundamental aspects?

- How and through which processes did states come into being?
Components: minimalist concepts

The most fundamental components of a state are:

- Monopoly of legitimate violence (probably most important)
- Territoriality (a precisely delimited area of monopolistic power)
- Sovereignty (not dependent territories)
- The people or community (The “nation”)
  - Yet nations without states and states without nations
Theoretical debate

• The modern era of globalization:
  - “The expansion of networks of interdependence spanning national boundaries that follows the increasingly swift movement of ideas, money, goods, services, ecology, and people across borders.”
  - Economic, social and political components

• Rise of cosmopolitan communications
  - Definition: *The way we learn about, and interact with, people and places beyond the borders of our nation-state.*
    - Through direct transfers of peoples, interpersonal communications, and mass communications
    - Growing volume and pace of interconnections among societies

• A threat for national diversity?
  - 1970s: Cultural imperialism? (Schiller) electronic colonialism (McPhail)
  - 1990s: Coca-colonization? (Howes) McDonaldization? (Barber)
  - 2000s: Cultural Protectionism? (EU/UNESCO)
Rising trends in globalization, 1972-2004

Cultural goods

Heritage (crafts, festivals, museums)

Performing arts (music, theatre, dance, opera)

Visual arts (paintings, sculptures, antiques)

Creative services (architecture, advertising, R&D)

Audio-visual (film, broadcasting, television, radio)

Design (Furniture, interior, fashion, jewelry)

New media (digitalized content, software, video-games)

Publishing (books, journals, newspapers, periodicals)
Figure 3.3: Western predominance in audio-visual trade

Notes: Trade in audiovisual services and fees related to the production of motion pictures, radio and television programs, and musical recordings. This is calculated in the mean value of annual audio-visual exports from 1990-2006 as a proportion of GDP in Purchasing Power Parity measured in constant (2000) international dollars. Annual audio-visual imports were calculated using the same method. The type of economy is categorized from per capita Gross Domestic Product (in purchasing power parity) in constant (2000) international dollars. ‘Low’ =less than $1999. Medium =$2000-14,999. High =$15,000+. The scales are logged. The dotted diagonal line represents the balance of trade, with countries falling below the line with a negative trade balance, and countries above with a surplus.

Sources: Data on audio-visual trade was provided by the Statistical Office of the World Trade Organization. Data on trade in all goods and services was from Arthur S. Banks Cross-national Time-Series dataset (CNTS). GDP from World Development Indicators (World Bank).
Notes: Trade in audiovisual services and fees related to the production of motion pictures, radio and television programs, and musical recordings. This is calculated in the mean value of annual audio-visual exports from 1990-2006 as a proportion of GDP in Purchasing Power Parity in constant (2000) international dollars. Annual audio-visual imports were calculated using the same method. This chart shows the top five trading nations.

Sources: Data on audio-visual trade was provided by the Statistical Office of the World Trade Organization.
Figure 1.1: Theories about the globalization of cultural markets

- Structural and economic changes in mass communications
  - Broadcasting deregulation
  - Expansion commercial channels
  - Technological innovations
  - Free trade
  - Growth of multinational multimedia conglomerates

- Convergence of national cultures
- Polarization of national cultures
- Fusion of national cultures
- Firewall model of limited effects

Production ➔ Distribution ➔ Contents ➔ Audience impact

Growth of cultural world trade ➔ Imbalance of Western/American imports
Firewall model

Cultural exports from the global North to South

Impact on national cultural diversity

Trade integration: External barriers to cultural markets

Media Freedom: Internal barriers to information

Poverty: Lack of public access to ICTs

Learning: Processes for acquiring values and attitudes
Figure 4.1: The global gap in access to the internet, 1990-2004

Notes: Societies worldwide are classified by per capita GDP in constant international $ Purchasing Power Parity. Low income = less than $1999 per capita income. Medium income =$2000-14,999. High income = $15,000+.
Sources: International Telecommunications Union; The World Bank World Development Indicators 2008.
Figure 4.3: The global gap in telephone access, including cellular, 1975-1999

Notes: Societies worldwide are classified by per capita GDP in constant international $ Purchasing Power Parity. Low income = less than $1999 per capita income. Medium income =$2000-14,999. High income = $15,000+.
Figure 4.4: The global gap in access to television, 1975-2003

Notes: Societies worldwide are classified by per capita GDP in constant international $ Purchasing Power Parity. Low income = less than $1999 per capita income. Medium income =$2000-14,999. High income = $15,000+.
Core hypotheses

1. Use of news media will vary by social sector
   - H2.0: Use of the news media will be greatest among those with the greatest access to mass communications.
   - H2.1: ...the more educated.
   - H2.2: ...high-income groups.
   - H2.3: ...the middle-aged/older generations (?).
   - H2.4: ...those who are fluent in English.

2. Direct impact of mass media on public opinion
   - Media exposure fosters...
   - H1.1: ... more cosmopolitan orientations and greater tolerance to foreign lifestyles.
   - H1.2: ...favorable attitudes toward consumer capitalism.
   - H1.3: ...more liberal attitudes towards gender equality, sexuality, and religion.
   - H1.4: ... democratic engagement

3. Effect of media use will be stronger in cosmopolitan societies
   - Cross-level interaction effect strongest for media users living in...
   - H4.1: Most globalized societies, with few trade barriers
   - H4.2: Societies with internal media freedom
   - H4.3: Affluent societies with widespread access to mass media

4. Direct impact on culture will vary by type of media
   - H3.0: Exposure to internet will have a stronger effect (as the most cosmopolitan media) than use of newspapers or TV/radio
   - H3.1: Exposure to news TV will have a stronger effect than entertainment TV

5. Cultural convergence over time will be greatest among the most cosmopolitan societies.
   - H5.3: Over time, growth in cosmopolitanism will reduce divergence among national cultures.
II: Research design and evidence
HLM: Multilevel models

- **Individual level**
  - Demographic characteristics
    - Age/gender
  - Socioeconomic resources
    - Income, education
  - Media use scale
    - Newspapers, radio/TV news, Internet/email, books, magazines
    - TV use in general

- **National level**
  - Cosmopolitanism index
  - Globalization index
  - Media freedom index
  - Economic development

- **Cross-level interactions**
  - Cosmopolitanism index * media use scale
News media users

- **Media Use Scale:** newspaper, radio/TV, magazine, books, internet

“People use different sources to learn what is going on in their country and the world. For each of the following sources, please indicate whether you used it last week (1) or did not use it last week (0) to obtain information.” (read out and code one answer for each):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Used it last week</th>
<th>Did not use it last week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V223. Daily newspaper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V224. News broadcasts on radio or TV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V225. Printed magazines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V226. In depth reports on radio or TV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V227. Books</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V228. Internet, Email</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V229. Talk with friends or colleagues</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Limitations**
  - Direction of causality? Uses and gratifications theory
  - Impact of other types of media (TV entertainment, movies, music etc)
  - Limited gauge of extent of media frequency and attention
  - No direct evidence of media contents
## Cosmopolitanism Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Cosmopolitanism Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Globalization Index (KOF)</td>
<td>.919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic development (GDP in PPP, Constant $ international) (World Bank)</td>
<td>.922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Freedom (Freedom House)</td>
<td>.799</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** All scales were first standardized around the mean. The principle component factor analysis with varimax rotation generated a single dimension that accounted, in total, for 77% of the variance in the composite index. For the definition and measurement of each item, see Appendix A.
Cosmopolitanism Index, 2005

**Note:** The Cosmopolitanism index is conceptualized as the permeability of societies to information flows and it is constructed according to levels of globalization, media freedom, and economic development, with all indices standardized. See text for details.
III: Illustrative results
Cultural Convergence?

Cosmopolitan communications and national diversity

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart

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2. Investigating cultural convergence

Part I: Firewalls

3. Markets
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5. Freedom

Part II: The consequences of globalized mass communications

6. Citizens: Nation and cosmopolitan identities
7. Consumers: Economic values
8. Morality: Traditional values, gender equality, religiosity and sexuality
9. Activists: Support for democracy, self-expression values, and human rights

Conclusions

10. Cultural convergence over time?
11. Conclusions: The implications for cultural policies
## National identities and trust

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nationalist identities</th>
<th>Trust outsiders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V212 Sees self as a national citizen</td>
<td>0.802</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V211 Sees self as part of a local community</td>
<td>0.731</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V209 Expresses national pride</td>
<td>0.646</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V75 Willingness to fight for country</td>
<td>0.450</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V130 Trust in people of another nationality?</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V146 Trust in people of another religion</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total variance</strong></td>
<td><strong>30.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>28.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** Factor analysis extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Coefficients of .40 or less were dropped from the analysis. See Appendix A for the specific items and the construction of the scales.

**Source:** World Values Survey 2005-7
Trust in outsiders

Note: Q130 "I'd like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups ... people of another nationality / people of another religion. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely (coded 4), somewhat (3), not very much (2), or not at all (1)" The chart shows the combined response for each group, without any prior controls, standardized to a 100-pt scale. Source: World Values Survey 2005-7
Trust in outsiders

![Graph showing the relationship between low and high levels of cosmopolitanism and trust in outsiders. The graph includes data from various countries, with the United States highlighted. The R^2 Linear value is 0.458.](image)
Nationalism scale
Multilevel models

- **Individual level:**
  - demographic, socio-economic, media use

- **National level**
  - Cosmopolitan society index

- **Cross-level interaction**
  - Media use in cosmopolitan societies

**Technical Notes:**
- All independent variables were standardized using mean centering (z-scores).
- Models present the results of the REML multilevel regression models.
- The 100-point ‘trust in outsiders’ scale, from the items listed in Table 6.1, is the dependent variable.
- The 100-point media use scale combined use of newspapers, radio/TV, the internet, books, and magazines.
- Models report the beta coefficient slopes (b), standard errors (in parenthesis), and their significance. P.*=.05 **=.01 ***=.001
- Significant coefficients are highlighted in bold.
Table 6.2: Multilevel regression models explaining trust in outsiders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demographic characteristics</td>
<td>Cosmopolitan Index</td>
<td>Globalization index</td>
<td>Economic development</td>
<td>Media Freedom</td>
<td>Media Access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (years)</td>
<td>1.45***</td>
<td>1.46***</td>
<td>1.46***</td>
<td>1.46***</td>
<td>1.46***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (male=1)</td>
<td>-0.099</td>
<td>-0.099</td>
<td>-0.099</td>
<td>-0.099</td>
<td>-0.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economic resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Income 10-pt scale</td>
<td>.628***</td>
<td>.627***</td>
<td>.628***</td>
<td>.628***</td>
<td>.627***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education 9-pt scale</td>
<td>2.177***</td>
<td>2.180***</td>
<td>2.177***</td>
<td>2.180***</td>
<td>2.180***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News media use scale</td>
<td>1.53 ***</td>
<td>1.54 ***</td>
<td>1.53 ***</td>
<td>1.53 ***</td>
<td>1.54 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL-LEVEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitanism index (Globalization+Development+Freedom)</td>
<td>5.489***</td>
<td>(1.221)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalization index</td>
<td>2.870*</td>
<td>(1.382)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic development</td>
<td>5.621***</td>
<td>(1.166)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Freedom</td>
<td>6.103***</td>
<td>(1.213)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal-level media access</td>
<td>3.186**</td>
<td>(1.284)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CROSS-LEVEL INTERACTIONS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitanism*media use scale</td>
<td>.793***</td>
<td>.793***</td>
<td>.790***</td>
<td>.797***</td>
<td>.794***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constant (intercept)</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>57.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schwartz BIC</td>
<td>493,505</td>
<td>493,518</td>
<td>493,503</td>
<td>493,554</td>
<td>493,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. respondents</td>
<td>55,108</td>
<td>55,073</td>
<td>55,112</td>
<td>55,113</td>
<td>55,113</td>
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<tr>
<td>N. nations</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
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</table>
## Table 6.3: Multilevel regression models explaining nationalism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic characteristics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (years)</td>
<td>1.11*** (.060)</td>
<td>1.11*** (.060)</td>
<td>1.11*** (.060)</td>
<td>1.11*** (.060)</td>
<td>1.11*** (.060)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (male=1)</td>
<td>.505*** (.054)</td>
<td>.505*** (.054)</td>
<td>.505*** (.054)</td>
<td>.505*** (.054)</td>
<td>.505*** (.054)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economic resources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Income 10-pt scale</td>
<td>.189*** (.060)</td>
<td>.189*** (.060)</td>
<td>.189*** (.060)</td>
<td>.189*** (.060)</td>
<td>.189*** (.060)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education 9-pt scale</td>
<td>-.289*** (.071)</td>
<td>-.289*** (.071)</td>
<td>-.289*** (.071)</td>
<td>-.289*** (.071)</td>
<td>-.289*** (.071)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News media use scale</td>
<td>.382*** (.066)</td>
<td>.382*** (.066)</td>
<td>.382*** (.066)</td>
<td>.382*** (.066)</td>
<td>.382*** (.066)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NATIONAL-LEVEL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitanism index</td>
<td>-2.822*** (.818)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Globalization+Development+Freedom)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalization index</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.986*** (.805)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.555** (.766)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Freedom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.664 (.928)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal-level media access</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.857** (.720)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CROSS-LEVEL INTERACTIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitanism*media use scale</td>
<td>-.180** (.062)</td>
<td>-.182** (.061)</td>
<td>-.182** (.061)</td>
<td>-.182** (.061)</td>
<td>-.181 (.061)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Constant (intercept)**
- A: 84.8
- B: 84.7
- C: 84.7
- D: 84.7
- E: 84.7

**Schwartz BIC**
- A: 332,921
- B: 332,920
- C: 332,922
- D: 332,922
- E: 332,922

**N. respondents**
- A: 43,883
- B: 43,407
- C: 43,407
- D: 43,407
- E: 43,407
IV: Conclusions
IV: Conclusions

• **Major findings:**
  - News media use in all societies is positively related to more trust in outsiders (people of different countries, different religions)
  - News media use *in cosmopolitan societies* is related to weaker feelings of nationalism (effect varies by type of society)

• **Qualifications:**
  - Many other factors, not specified in the models, also contribute towards these attitudes and values
  - This analysis focuses on the impact of the news media, not examining the use of entertainment media
  - Self-selection bias or interaction effects?

• **Policy implications for protecting cultural diversity**?
  - Is the globalization of news media a threat to national diversity?
  - More details: www.pippanorris.com
New book

Cosmopolitan Communications

Cultural Diversity in a Globalized World

Cambridge University Press Fall 2009