Accademia di studi storici Aldo Moro

CONVEGNO INTERNAZIONALE

Il governo delle società nel XXI secolo

Ripensando ad Aldo Moro

Roma, 17 – 20 novembre 2008

Cultural Convergence?

Globalization and the birth of "world public opinion"

Pippa Norris

Harvard University and the University of Michigan

AldoMoro TRENTENNALE 1978 - 2008

Cultural Convergence?

Globalization and the birth of 'world public opinion'?

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart
(Harvard University and the University of Michigan)

Presentation for the conference: *The governance of societies in the 21st Century: Thinking back to Aldo Moro?* Rome Nov 18th

Structure

I. **Theoretical debate and previous studies**
   - What is the impact of globalization on public opinion?
   - Firewall model of cosmopolitan communications

II. **Research design and evidence**

III. **Multilevel analysis**

IV. **Conclusions and policy implications**
   - News media use is positively related to more liberal moral and social values
   - Pattern clearest in cosmopolitan societies
   - Implications for cultural protectionist policies?

Cultural Convergence?

Cosmopolitan communications and national diversity

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart

Contents

Introduction

1. Is cultural diversity under threat?
2. Investigating cultural convergence

Part I: Firewalls

3. Markets
4. Poverty
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

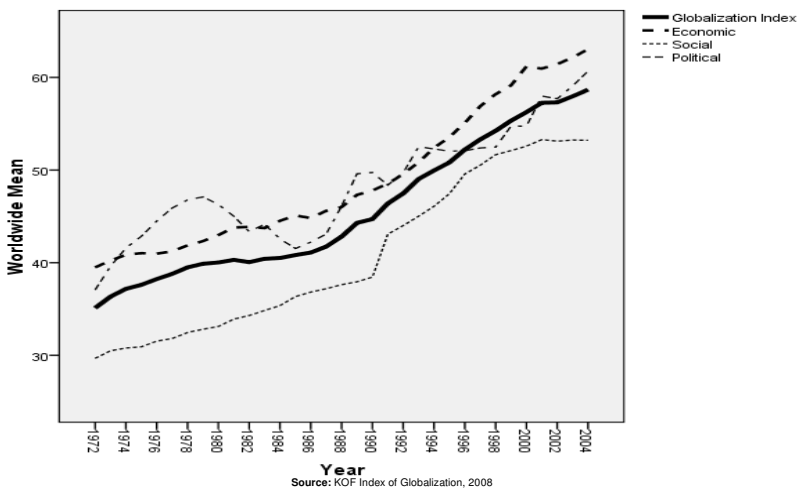
10. Cultural convergence over time?
11. Conclusions: The implications for cultural policies

I: Theoretical framework

Theoretical debate

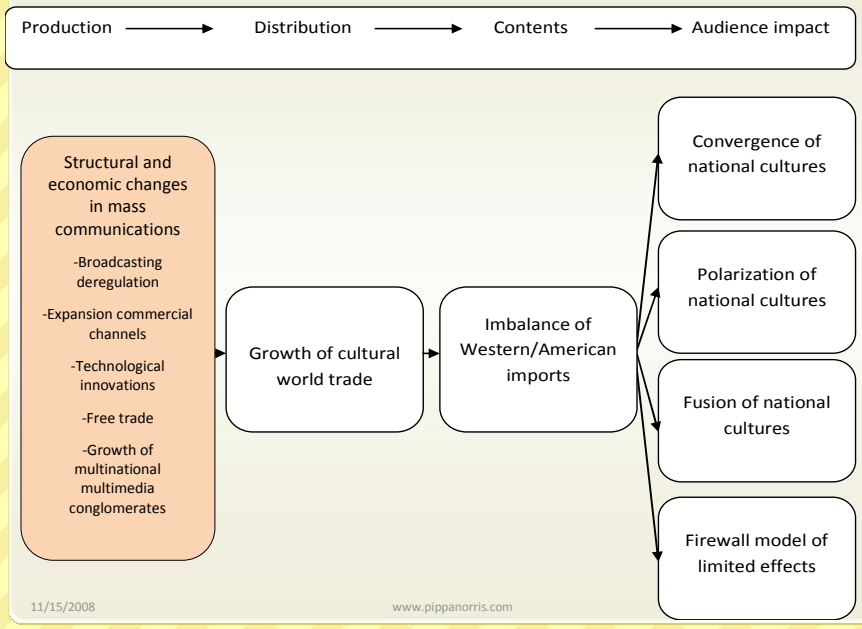
- **The modern era of globalization:**
  - "The expansion of networks of interdependence spanning national boundaries that follows the increasingly swift movement of ideas, money, goods, services, ecology, and people across borders."
- **Rise of cosmopolitan communications**
  - The way we learn about, and interact with, people and places beyond the borders of our nation-state.
  - Direct transfers of peoples, interpersonal communications, and mass communications (published, audio-visual, and technological)
  - Growing volume and pace of interconnections among societies
- **A threat for cultural diversity? Or the positive birth of 'world public opinion' (Moro)?**
  - 1970s: Cultural imperialism? (Schiller) electronic colonialism (McPhail)
  - 1990s: Coca-colonization? (Howes) McDonaldization? (Barber)
  - 2000s: Cultural Protectionism? (EU/UNESCO)

Rising trends in globalization, 1972-2004

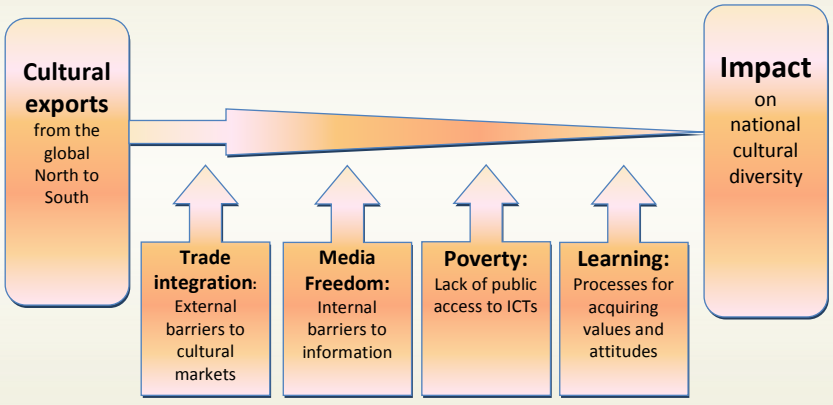


Source: KOF Index of Globalization, 2008

Figure 1.1: Theories about the globalization of cultural markets



Firewall model



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 world 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

World Values Survey 1981-2007

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*):

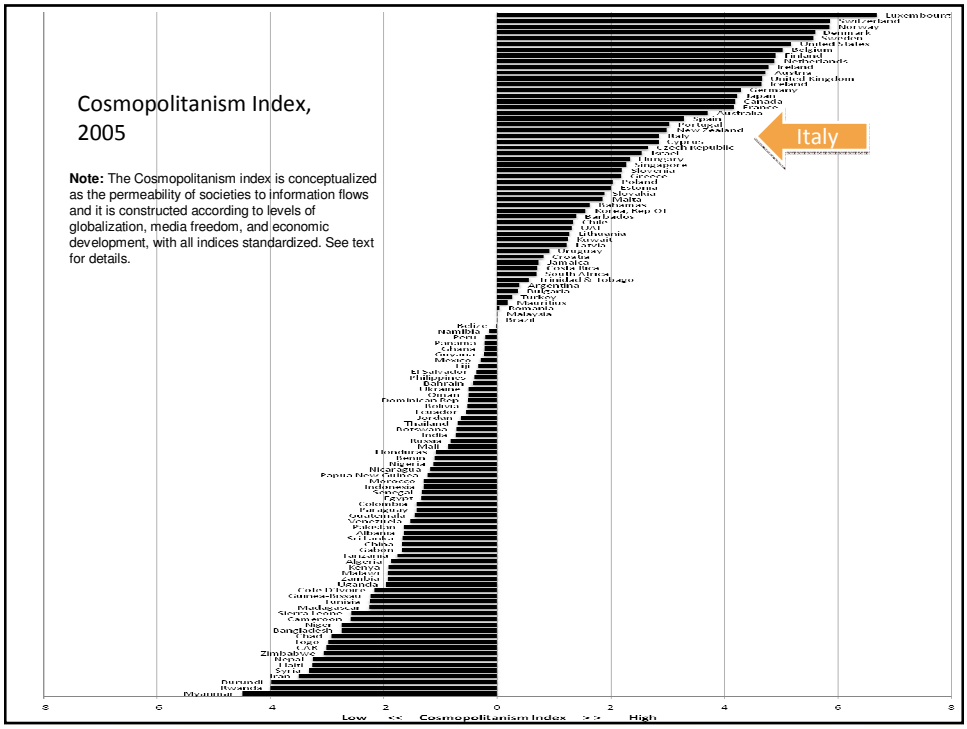
		Used it last week	Did not use it last week
V223.	Daily newspaper	1	0
V224.	News broadcasts on radio or TV	1	0
V225.	Printed magazines	1	0
V226.	In depth reports on radio or TV	1	0
V227.	Books	1	0
V228.	Internet, Email	1	0
V229.	Talk with friends or colleagues	1	0

- **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

	Cosmopolitanism Index
Globalization Index (KOF)	**.919**
Economic development (GDP in PPP, Constant $ international) (World Bank)	**.922**
Media Freedom (Freedom House)	**.799**

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.



III: Illustrative results

Cultural Convergence?

Cosmopolitan communications and national diversity

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart

Contents

Introduction

1. Is cultural diversity under threat?
2. Investigating cultural convergence

Part I: Firewalls

3. Markets
4. Poverty
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

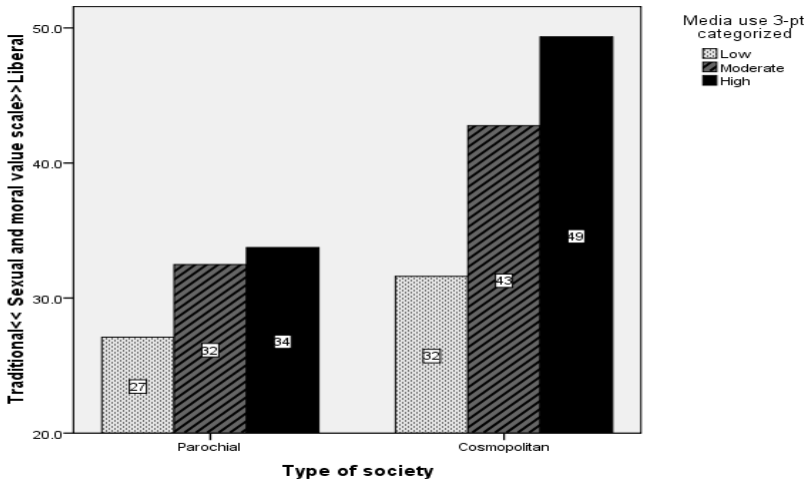
10. Cultural convergence over time?
11. Conclusions: The implications for cultural policies

Dimensions of social and moral values

	Liberal sexual and moral values	Tolerate low ethical standards in public life	Religious values and practices	Egalitarian gender equality values	Liberal family values
Justifiable: abortion	.806				
Justifiable: divorce	.782				
Justifiable: homosexuality	.767				
Justifiable: prostitution	.735				
Justifiable: euthanasia	.704				
Justifiable: suicide	.625				
Justifiable: cheating on taxes		.818			
Justifiable: avoiding a fare on public transport		.803			
Justifiable: claiming government benefits		.783			
Justifiable: someone accepting a bribe		.769			
Importance of God			.819		
Religious identity			.782		
Takes moments of prayer, meditation…			.770		
Religion important in life			.752		
Often attend religious services			.682		
Men make better business executives than women do (disagree)				.865	
Men make better political leaders than women (disagree)				.828	
University more important for a boy than a girl (disagree)				.779	
Woman as a single parent (approve)					.741
Family important in life (disagree)					.588
Marriage is an out-dated institution (agree)					.488
Proportion of variance	*17.8*	*13.2*	*14.9*	*10.7*	*5.8*

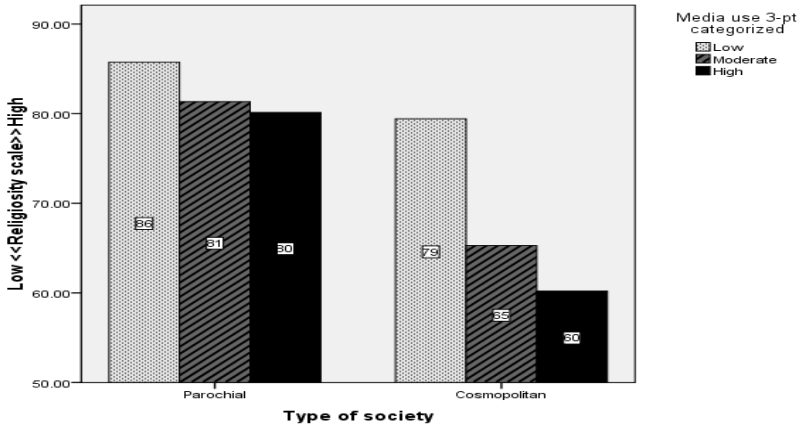
Notes: Factor analysis extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Coefficients of .40 or less were dropped from the analysis. See Appendix A for the specific items and the construction of the scales.
Source: World Values Survey 2005-7

Liberal sexual and moral values



Note: The mean position of categories of media users on the 100-point value scales by type of society, no controls. See Table 8.1 for the items used in the construction of the scales.
Source: World Values Survey 2005-7

Religiosity



Note: The mean position of categories of media users on the 100-point value scales by type of society, no controls. See Table 8.1 for the items used in the construction of the scales.
Source: World Values Survey 2005-7

Support for gender equality

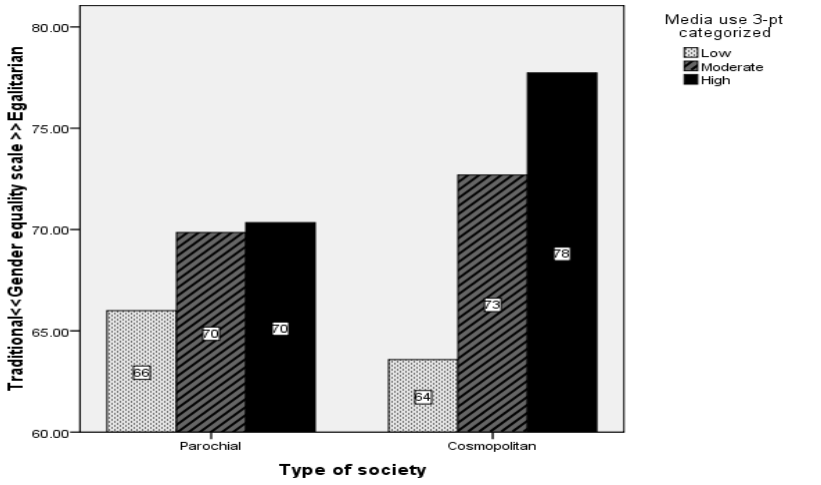


Table 8.4: Multilevel regression models explaining social values

	Liberal sexual and moral values	*Tolerate low ethical standards in public life*	*Religious values and practices*	*Egalitarian gender equality values*	*Liberal family values*
INDIVIDUAL LEVEL					
Demographic characteristics					
Age (years)	**-2.17*** **	**-2.34*** **	**3.46*** **	**-.951*** **	**-1.52*** **
	(.099)	(.083)	(.113)	(.081)	(.075)
Gender (male=1)	.064	**.725*** **	**-3.05*** **	**-3.60*** **	**-.679*** **
	(.090)	(.075)	(.103)	(.074)	(.068)
Socioeconomic resources					
Household income 10-pt scale	**1.25*** **	**.481*** **	**-.507*** **	**.351*** **	**.721*** **
	(.107)	(.090)	(.124)	(.088)	(.082)
Education 9-pt scale	**1.66*** **	**-.850*** **	**-.495*** **	**2.283*** **	**.291*** **
	(.115)	(.097)	(.134)	(.094)	(.088)
Media use					
News media use scale	**.936*** **	**-.443*** **	**-.277***	**.867*** **	**.780*** **
	(.112)	(.094)	(.131)	(.092)	(.086)
NATIONAL-LEVEL					
Cosmopolitanism index	**8.84*** **	-1.40	**-9.39** **	**4.64*** **	1.70
(Globalization+Development+Freedom)	(1.47)	(1.77)	(2.42)	(1.14)	(1.18)
CROSS-LEVEL INTERACTIONS					
Cosmopolitanism*media use scale	**.569*** **	-.055	-.158	**.190***	.021
	(.109)	(.092)	(.123)	(.090)	(.085)
Constant (intercept)	38.5	25.4	72.8	71.0	69.4
Schwartz BIC	380,457	379,100	319,932	387,905	328,937
N. respondents	43,088	44,565	35,826	45,755	40,198
N. nations	37	37	30	38	33

Note: All independent variables were standardized using mean centering (z-scores). Models present the results of the REML multilevel regression models (for details, see Appendix C) including the beta coefficient, (the standard error below in parenthesis), and the significance. The 100 point scales are constructed fr the items listed in Table 8.1. The 100-point media use scale combined use of newspapers, radio/TV news, the internet, books, and magazines. P.*=.05 **=.01 ***=.001. See appendix A for details about the measurement, coding and construction of all variables. Significant coefficients are highlighted in **bold**. **Source**: World Values Survey 2005-7

Table 8.4: Multilevel regression models explaining liberal sexual and moral values

	Cosmopolitanism index	*Globalization index*	*Economic development*	*Media Freedom*	**Media access**
INDIVIDUAL LEVEL					
Demographic characteristics					
Age (years)	**-2.17*** **	**-2.17*** **	**-2.17*** **	**-2.17*** **	**-2.17*** **
	(.099)	(.099)	(.099)	(.099)	(.099)
Gender (male=1)	.064	.064	.064	.064	.064
	(.090)	(.090)	(.090)	(.090)	(.090)
Socioeconomic resources					
Household income 10-pt scale	**1.25*** **	**1.25*** **	**1.25*** **	**1.25*** **	**1.25*** **
	(.107)	(.107)	(.107)	(.107)	(.107)
Education 9-pt scale	**1.66*** **	**1.66*** **	**1.66*** **	**1.66*** **	**1.66*** **
	(.115)	(.115)	(.115)	(.115)	(.115)
Media use					
News media use scale	**.936*** **	**.936*** **	**.936*** **	**.936*** **	**.936*** **
	(.112)	(.112)	(.112)	(.112)	(.112)
NATIONAL-LEVEL					
Cosmopolitanism index (Globalization+ Development+ Freedom)	**8.84*** ** (1.47)				
Globalization index		**10.01*** ** (1.61)			
Economic development			**9.14*** ** (1.52)		
Media freedom				**10.64*** ** (1.60)	
Societal-level media access					**6.65*** ** (1.64)
CROSS-LEVEL INTERACTIONS					
Cosmopolitanism*media use	**.569*** **	**.579*** **	**.547*** **	**.583*** **	**.649*** **
	(.109)	(.109)	(.123)	(.109)	(.085)
Constant (intercept)	38.5	33.4	38.0	37.0	
Schwartz BIC	380,457	380,455	380,457	380,453	380,457
N. respondents	43,088	43,088	43,088	43,088	43,088
N. nations	37	37	37	37	37

IV: Conclusions

IV: Conclusions

- **Major findings:**
  - News media use is positively related to more liberal and secular social values
  - Similar pattern evidence across diverse cultural dimensions
  - Interaction effect: pattern clearest for some values for media users living in cosmopolitan societies
- **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

Cultural Convergence

Cosmopolitan Communications and National Diversity

Cambridge University Press Fall 2009

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS