Why Are Some People More Cosmopolitan Than Others: Insights From Political Economy and Modernization Theory

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Theoretical paradox and empirical puzzle

Prevalent phenomenon with scarce institutional reference

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Relevance to other global phenomena

Human rights, governance, public policy, civil society etc.

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Human rights, governance, public policy, civil society etc.

Societal and political consequinces

Voting choices, policy preferences...

Existing empirical research

DV: Idenity, attitudes and practices

Data: WVS, ISSP and various national surveys

Main findings regarding cosmopolitanism:

- It has several dimensions, which are inconsistent
- Determinants greatly vary across countries
- There is a strong positive cohort effect
- Country variance is explained by globalization
- Individual variance by sociodemographics

Design

Research question

What are the universal explanators for cosmopolitanism?

Conceptualization of cosmopolitanism

- Identity: belonging to the world as a whole
- Orientation: fairness for all people, regardless of their ascribed characteristics such as nationalism

Theoretical argument

- Rational explanation
- Affective explanation

Heckscher-Ohlin Model

- Trade is determined by factor endowments
- Developed countries are capital-intensive
- Developing countries are labor-intensive

Stoler-Samuelson Theorem

- Relative factor prices converge with trade
- Trade raises the income of an abundant factor
- Differences in endowments ⇒ comparative advantages



 H_1 : High-skilled individuals are expected to be more cosmopolitan in more developed countries and less cosmopolitan in less developed countries

Emancipative Model

- Industrialization \Rightarrow the transition to secular values
- Post-industrialization \Rightarrow self-expression values
- Self-expression are emancipative values
- Race, gender, sexual orientation and...nationality?
- Secular values \Rightarrow nationalism (as emancipation)
- H_2 : People with secular-rational values are *more* likely to be cosmopolitan
- H_3 : People with self-expression values are more likely to be cosmopolitan

 H_4 : The effect of values is stronger with their simultaneous presence

Data and Methods



WVS 2005-2008, 44 countries

Dependent variables

Identity: CI - (NI+LI)/2 (V210,V211,V212) Orientation: index of national/world priorities for labor market, employment, problems (V45, V124, V178)

Independent Variables

- Human capital: education
- Factor endowments: log of GDP PPP per capita
- Secular-rational values and Self-expression values

Control variables

- Inglehart's "Cosmopolitanization index" (in the Emancipation model)
- Socidemographics (age, gender, immigrant background)

Method

Hierarchical regression analysis with random intercepts, slopes and cross-level interactions

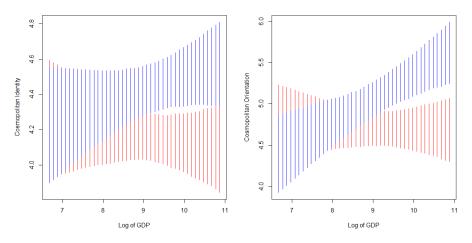
Regression coefficients

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 3a	Model 3b	Model 4a	Model 4b
Constant	4.663***	5.156***	3.864***	3.605***	4.332***	4.983***	4.828***	5.172***
	(0.072)	(0.111)	(0.075)	(0.105)	(0.102)	(0.126)	(0.608)	(0.706)
Age	-0.009^{***}	-0.006***	-0.006^{***}	-0.004^{***}	-0.006***	-0.004^{***}	-0.008^{***}	-0.005^{***}
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Immigration	0.142***	0.253***	0.130***	0.252***	0.131***	0.256***	0.141***	0.251***
	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.026)	(0.028)	(0.023)	(0.024)
Gender (Female)	-0.025**	0.020	-0.011	0.036**	-0.014	0.029*	-0.017	0.029**
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Self-expression	, ,		0.075***	0.185***	-0.002	-0.041***		
			(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.014)		
Secular-rational			0.070***	0.083***	-0.057***	-0.292***		
			(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.019)	(0.021)		
Cosmopolitan index			-0.178^{***}	0.063	-0.185^{***}	0.041		
			(0.061)	(0.094)	(0.062)	(0.089)		
$SEV \times SRV$. ,	· /	0.020***	0.058***		
					(0.003)	(0.003)		
Education					. ,	. ,	-0.148^{*}	-0.457^{***}
							(0.085)	(0.116)
Log GDP							-0.040	-0.035
							(0.066)	(0.077)
$Edu \times GDP$							0.023**	0.059***
							(0.009)	(0.013)
Log-likelihood	-89704.663	-92599.477	-64002.525	-67854.629	-63984.146	-67693.849	-89574.303	-92254.015
Deviance	179379.260	185170.121	127954.608	135661.552	127908.059	135330.120	179099.828	184462.054
AIC	179421.325	185210.953	128023.050	135727.257	127988.292	135407.699	179170.606	184530.029
BIC	179474.457	185264.085	128099.988	135804.196	128073.779	135493.186	179268.014	184627.437
N	51807	51807	38129	38129	38129	38129	51807	51807

Table 1: Regression coefficients

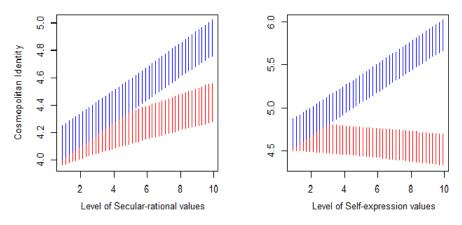
Cosmopolitanism

Interaction effects in Unilitarian model



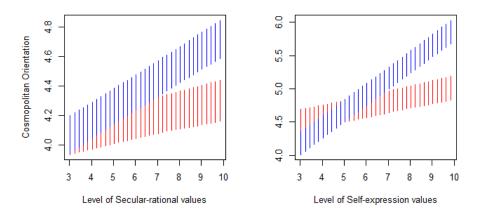
Blue - higher education; Red - no education

Interaction effects in Emancipative model



Blue - 0.8 quantile; Red - 0.2 quantile

Interaction effects in Emancipative model



Blue - 0.8 quantile; Red - 0.2 quantile

Country-level variation:

8.5 for identity, 19.3 for orientation

Utilitarian model

Educated people are more cosmopolitan in rich countries, but less cosmopolitan in poor countries

Emancipative model

- The effect of values is significant, but week
- The interaction effect is positive and stong

Conclusions

Cosmopolitanism - Rawls' principle on nationality

Despite major individual and country differences, there are some universal factors that predict cosmopolitanism:

Globalization winners are more cosmopolitan

People are more or less cosmopolitan depending on whether they can benefit from it or not

SE and SR values and especially their co-presence largely contribute to cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanization is a continuation of the emancipation process driven by modernization

Thank you for your attention!