



<http://www.diva-portal.org>

## Postprint

This is the accepted version of a paper published in *Current Sociology*. This paper has been peer-reviewed but does not include the final publisher proof-corrections or journal pagination.

Citation for the original published paper (version of record):

Olofsson, A., Öhman, S. (2007)

Cosmopolitans and Locals: An empirical investigation of cosmopolitanism.

*Current Sociology*, 55(6): 877-895

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0011392107081991>

Access to the published version may require subscription.

N.B. When citing this work, cite the original published paper.

Permanent link to this version:

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:miun:diva-1070>

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

# Cosmopolitans and locals: An empirical investigation of cosmopolitanism

Anna Olofsson and Susanna Öhman

## ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to empirically test Roudometof's suggested one-dimensional operationalisation of cosmopolitanism and compare it with an alternative two-dimensional operationalisation of cosmopolitanism. The study uses Swedish survey data from the International Social Survey Program, 1995 and 2003.<sup>1</sup> The two sampling points make it possible to test whether the implicit assumption of a trend towards increasing cosmopolitanisation can be empirically confirmed. The results indicate that a two-dimensional, rather than a one-dimensional, solution better fit the data. The results also show a trend towards more protectionist, rather than cosmopolitan, attitudes among the Swedish public.

**Keywords:** Cosmopolitanism, globalisation, ISSP

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

## Introduction

Broadly speaking, cosmopolitanism, transnationalism and glocalism are concepts associated with, for example, global economy, communication, migration and environmental problems (Beck, 1992, 2000, 2004; Matten, 2004). There is little doubt whether these examples are global issues; however, there is less agreement regarding the consequences of this trend for society on a global, national and individual level; and it is also rather unclear how these concepts relate to each other, as well as how they should be investigated empirically. In the first issue of *Current Sociology* in 2005, Victor Roudometof discusses three aspects of cosmopolitanism: first he tries to clarify some of the conceptual indistinctiveness; second, he exemplifies the consequences of a changed reality in people's attitudes; and finally he offers an operationalisation of cosmopolitanism inspired by Ulrich Beck. Roudometof (2005a) operationalises cosmopolitanism as attitudes related to different geographical and cultural levels, and he argues that it might be possible to empirically position people on a one-dimensional scale, ranging from local to global, according to their attitudes and values. We find this operationalisation particularly interesting, not least because of its resemblance to other definitions of social change based on value shifts, e.g. Roland Inglehart's (1977, 1990) materialist-postmaterialist continuum, which after much criticism (e.g. Flanagan, 1982; Knutsen, 1989, 1990; Krebs, 1992) was redefined into a two-dimensional model (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). The complexity of values and value shifts has also been confirmed by a number of other earlier studies (see Hviid Nielsen, Jelsøe & Öhman 2002; Olofsson & Öhman 2006; Tos, Mohler & Malnar 1999).

The paper aims to empirically test Roudometof's one-dimensional operationalisation of cosmopolitanism. Specifically, we will test whether people in

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

Sweden can be categorised according to the cosmopolitanism-local continuum; thereafter we will test the implicit assumption of a development towards a cosmopolitan society over time; and finally we will suggest an alternative operationalisation of cosmopolitanism.

The next section presents relevant concepts and Roudometof's operationalisation, followed by a short description of the data used and the methods that were applied. The results, which are the main section of the paper, are then presented. The paper ends with a concluding discussion of the results in relation to the suggested operationalisation, and a proposal for a two-dimensional model of cosmopolitanism.

## **Transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and localism**

Victor Roudometof (2005a: 113) tries to clarify the relations between the concepts cosmopolitanism, transnationalism and glocalization by suggesting an operationalisation inspired by Beck's conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism. Beck claims that national territorial boundaries begin to disappear as local communities, organisations and individuals start to interact globally, creating a global society within local communities (Beck, 2000, 2002, 2003, cp. Giddens, 2002). Globalisation, or the entry into the cosmopolitan society, is a dialectic process where the global and the local are tied together in the local context; it is the globalisation from within nation-state societies, where the latter is the loser (Beck, 2000, 2002). The nation state loses power in the processes connected with global markets, economy, legislation, communication, social relations etc., while the local level goes through another kind of change; it is in the local context of everyday life that people experience issues of global concern, or in Beck's (2002: 19) words: '*there is no cosmopolitanism without localism.*' (cp. 'glocalization'). Borders in a global society are no longer predetermined; they are chosen or redrawn and legitimated in continuous ways (Beck, 2000, 2002). One such example is that of people

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

moving and going to live in countries distant from their birth countries, often called 'transnationals'. Beck labels the transformation of everyday life as 'banal cosmopolitanism', based on consumption patterns, cultural commodities, dual citizenship, routes of communications, international travel, criminality and ecological crises (2004: 150, Beck 2000; Beck, Bonss, & Lau 2003). In this way, the individual develops a cosmopolitan sensibility and competence out of the clash of cultures *within* people's lives (Beck 2004: 153).

According to Roudometof, transnationals are not seen as cosmopolitans in contemporary literature, partly because transnationalism is associated with international migration, and therefore they are seen as threatening 'vagabonds' rather than dynamic 'tourists' (Roudometof, 2005a: 114, cp. Bauman, 1998). However, Beck (2002, 2004) uses the concept of transnationalism in a more inclusive way (cp. banal cosmopolitanism), which Roudometof adapts to. Instead of using concepts like 'banal cosmopolitanism' and 'localism' to refer to the processes leading to cosmopolitanism, Roudometof prefers transnationalism. Roudometof (2005a:118 cp. 1999; 2003) claims that as nation-state boundaries are challenged through processes of globalisation, glocalization and/or internal globalisation, social life within these contexts will also be transformed and lead to changed individual attitudes. Transnationalism can then be defined as the emerging new reality of social life under these conditions.

Theoretically, cosmopolitanism can be divided into 'thick' or 'rooted' cosmopolitanism, which is attachment to a specific country or locality that has developed from transnational interaction (on the level of 'social fields'), and 'thin' cosmopolitanism, which is not associated with a particular country or region, but indicates a change of values that has effects on both a local and a global level. Thin cosmopolitanism can be seen as an attitude towards life and the world that is not rooted

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

in country-specific experiences but in global and glocal experiences. Roudometof argues in favour of the second version, and he suggests an operationalisation of cosmopolitanism according to the 'thin' version.

Roudometof (2005a: 121, 127) operationalises cosmopolitanism as a bifurcation of public attitudes. Within the frame of a transnational world, people can either adopt an open or a closed attitude, according to which he categorises people as either being *cosmopolitans* or *locals*. However, cosmopolitan and local attitudes should not be seen as a dichotomy but as a continuum, i.e. cosmopolitans and locals occupy opposite ends of the same dimension but there is room for individual variation between the two ends. Adopting the thin understanding of cosmopolitanism, Roudometof (2005b: 146) argues that cosmopolitanism is not based in a specific country or place. On the contrary, '*one would expect a polarization of individual attitudes across state boundaries; after all, the argument is that such a polarization is but a consequence of internal globalisation as experienced around the globe.*'. Locals should not be seen in isolation or in opposition to cosmopolitans, since they are both the result of a new glocalized reality. He argues that social changes cannot be limited to parts of the population; locals are just as modern as cosmopolitans, since cultural protectionism might for example be a consequence of a kind of cultural imperialism that only exists in the globalized world.

Empirically, Roudometof (2005a: 124) defines cosmopolitans and locals as clusters of people with particular attitudes corresponding to the cosmopolitan-local continuum; i.e., individual attitudes are clustered around the two ends of the continuum like ideal types. The continuum is then operationalised into four continuous factors, according to which locals should differ from cosmopolitans (Roudometof, 2005a: 127):

- degree of attachment to a locality, e.g. neighbourhood or city
- degree of attachment to a state or country
- degree of attachment to and support of local culture (ethnocentrism), and finally

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

- degree of economic, cultural and institutional protectionism.

Needless to say, cosmopolitans are expected to disagree with all the dimensions, and it is anticipated that locals will agree. According to the hypothesis, the expected outcome of an empirical investigation should be clusters of attitudes in the two 'ends' of the continuum. Whether this is true or not is, according to Roudometof, an empirical question. If the two ideal types are not confirmed in an international comparison, the counter-hypothesis of a rooted or geographically defined cosmopolitanism will be confirmed.

Roudometof has been criticised for being too academic and not contributing with a new and original theory (Mazlish, 2005: 138), but the strength of his contribution is that he makes an abstract concept measurable. As such, he gives a theoretically oriented field of research an operationalised and empirically measurable model. The operationalisation of the cosmopolitanism-local continuum into four aspects of attachment is also the focus of the present study. The aspect of Roudometof's theory which we find most troublesome is that he sticks to a one-dimensional operationalisation. Even with a thin conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism, it is questionable whether localism-cosmopolitanism can be reduced to one single dimension. First, everyday life is fixed in a particular geographical place, even when news and information is communicated over great distances via phone, television, the Internet etc. This can make people attached to a locality without being rooted, in the strong sense of cosmopolitanism – something that also transnationalists experience (cp. Gubert, 2000). Second, there are aspects of cosmopolitanism that are not concerned with a geographical place at all, but which can also be more or less local, such as protectionism versus openness concerning traditions, way of living, values etc.

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

Cosmopolitanism is too complex and multidimensional to be reduced to a localism-cosmopolitan continuum; a person might for example be both locally and transnationally attached at the same time, and it might be possible to be locally attached in a geographical sense and at the same time open to foreign traditions, and *vice versa* (cp. Gubert, 2000). Going back to Roudometof's proposed four factors, we find it likely that the inclusion of both geographical and non-geographical factors in the same dimension will make the model too simplistic. Instead we suggest that cosmopolitanism is better understood according to two dimensions: territorial belonging and ethnocentrism.

## Method

The analyses were made with data from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP)<sup>2</sup>, more specifically, the 1995 and 2003 modules on national identity in Sweden. The dataset used in the analyses is composed of representative samples of the Swedish population between the ages of 18 and 76 (1995 n=1 296, 2003 n=1 186). The response rate was 65% in the 1995 sample and 59% in 2003. Data from two years were used, since this makes it possible to see whether there are changes in the cosmopolitan-local continuum of values over time.

To measure the cosmopolitanism-local continuum, twelve questions from the survey were used, corresponding to Roudometof's four aspects of attachment (see Table 1)<sup>3</sup>: degree of attachment to a locality; degree of attachment to a state or country; degree of support for local culture; and degree of economic, cultural and institutional protectionism. The questions do not correspond perfectly to Roudometof's operationalisation, but they are a relatively good estimation of his four aspects. The greatest drawback of the chosen questions is that all are stated as supporting the local view; in other words, there are no questions supporting a cosmopolitan world view.

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

People with 'cosmopolitan' attitudes have to 'disagree' with the posed statements, which might bias the results. A questionnaire that was more adjusted to Roudometof's operationalisation would, however, require a new survey and exclude the possibility of longitudinal testing. The table also indicates the two-dimensional model of cosmopolitanism proposed by the authors.

### **- Table 1 -**

These questions were first factor analysed to see if it was possible to find one or more dimensions of cosmopolitanism, and then the results from the factor analyses were used as input to a cluster analysis. Factor analysis is an explorative statistical method, based on the correlations between the items in the analysis (Tabchnick & Fidell, 2001). In other words, it does what Roudometof says one should do to study cosmopolitanism, namely see whether the attitudes cluster together in two ends of one, or more, underlying factor(s). Cluster analysis was then used in order to group people according to this underlying dimension (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1985). Cluster analysis groups people according to the target items – in this case attitudes of national identity. It is an exploratory data analysis tool that aims at sorting objects into groups in such a way that the degree of association between two objects is maximal if they belong to the same group and minimal otherwise. In other words, cluster analysis simply discovers structures in data without explaining why they exist. To further explore the characteristics of people in the clusters, Chi-square analysis was carried out with socioeconomic variables.

## **Results**

The twelve attitude questions were factor analysed to test Roudometof's hypothesis of a one-dimensional cosmopolitan scale. The result shows that a two-dimensional solution

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

better fits the data; i.e., people's attitudes in relation to local, national and global issues can be understood according to two underlying factors rather than one (see Table 2). Two separate factor analyses were made, one for each year, with identical results, which strengthens the conclusion that a two-dimensional solution is better than a one-dimensional solution (explained variance 1995 43.8% and 2003 41.4%).

**- Table 2 -**

We have named the two factors 'territorial belonging' and 'ethnocentrism', the former ranging from local to global, and the latter from protectionism to openness. These results indicate that there is a difference between attitudes based in a specific geographical setting and attitudes based on cultural and financial aspects.

The factor scores from the factor analysis were used as an input in two cluster analyses, one for each year, to extract groups within the two-dimensional space of values we found. The result of the cluster analysis gave us four groups corresponding to the two dimensions. We named the four groups: local protectionists, open globals, global protectionists and open locals (see Figure 1). To further understand these results and obtain a description of the characteristics of these four groups, socioeconomic factors, such as age and sex, were tested against the clusters. The results of the Chi-square analysis of the four clusters are found in Appendix 1. The result of the analysis shows that people in the four clusters differ from each other on all socioeconomic factors (statistically significant at the 5% level). By combining the two dimension and the four groups, including the socioeconomic character of each group, we can draw a graph of the results, see Figure 1.

**- Figure 1 -**

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

The first cluster, *local protectionists*, are people holding local/national and ethnocentric values; this is characterised by old people living in rural areas with a low level of education and a low income, usually blue-collar workers who vote for the Social Democratic Party. Those in the second cluster, *open globals*, are quite the opposite; they hold cosmopolitan and global values and are usually young people living in cities with a high level of education, a good income and white-collar jobs. People with foreign backgrounds are also overrepresented in this cluster.

As the name indicates, those in the third cluster, *global protectionists*, have global but ethnocentric values. Men and older people are overrepresented in this cluster, as are people with a low level of education, a low income and those who vote for the Centre Party. People in this cluster also have blue-collar jobs to a higher degree than average. The fourth cluster, *open locals*, consists of people holding local/national and cosmopolitan values, and is mainly characterised by middle-aged women living in towns/cities with a high level of education, a high income, white-collar jobs and voting for the Conservative or Liberal Party.

Comparing the characteristics of the four groups, it is clear that local and global protectionists are more similar to each other, as are people with open attitudes, than other combinations of groups. Yet there are also differences between the 'open' groups: the open globals are younger, have a foreign background and vote to the left to a higher degree than the open locals. This could indicate that the ethnocentrism dimension or factor, protectionism-openness, is a stronger dimension than the territorial one, even though there are differences along this dimension. This is also supported by that fact that the ethnocentrism dimension empirically explains more variance than the dimension of territorial belonging in the factor analysis. However, the empirical evidence for a two-dimensional solution instead of a one-dimensional model is still

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

strong. Apart from the better fit of the model, the two-dimensional model is supported, by the increased amount of explained variance in the factor analysis and the clear pattern of distinct and interpretable groups both when it comes to attitudes and to socioeconomic characteristics.

The number of people in each cluster is fairly even, although two clusters, local protectionists and open locals, are somewhat larger than the clusters of open globals and global protectionists. If we look at the changes in attitudes between 1995 and 2003, we can conclude that the only significant change between these years is a move from open locals to global protectionists, as indicated by the arrow in Figure 1. The cluster of global protectionists has grown by six per cent between 1995 and 2003 at the expense of the cluster of open locals. This does not support the implicit assumption of Roudometof, Beck and others of a development towards a cosmopolitan society over time, at least not in the relatively short period between 1995 and 2003.

## **Conclusion**

This study cannot confirm Roudometof's suggested one-dimensional continuum of cosmopolitan-local attitudes, at least not in Sweden. Attitudes related to cosmopolitanism seem to be structured according to two dimensions: one of territorial belonging, based on attachment to a specific town, region or country, and the other of ethnocentrism, based on cultural and ethnic protectionism or openness. Our suggested two-dimensional model has several advantages over a one-dimensional continuum. Apart from the fact that it fits the actual empirical data better, it allows us to position people within this space, taking into account not only the level of cosmopolitanism but also variations within cosmopolitanism, i.e. the difference between geographical and 'cultural' aspects. A two-dimensional model also makes it possible to determine how these concepts relate to each other; for instance, the development from open locals to

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

global protectionists that we find in our data between 1995 and 2003 would not have been detected in a one-dimensional continuum model. In our suggested model it is possible to analyse this change as follows: attachment to a geographical location decreases at the same time as cultural and ethnical protectionism increases. Thus, the two dimensions of cosmopolitanism give us a better understanding of the processes involved. Perhaps the increased global 'belonging' in this case leads to increased ethnical protectionism. This tendency could hardly have been analysed within a one-dimensional model.

By translating the two factors into clusters of people, resulting in four groups: local protectionists, open globals, global protectionists and open locals, we take the concretisation of cosmopolitanism one step further. This categorisation can be used in empirical studies of e.g. environmental concern, attitudes towards migration and, maybe most interestingly, comparisons of cosmopolitanism between different regions across the world, thereby investigating whether this is a thin or rooted cosmopolitanism.

All analyses are stable over time, which indicates that our results are robust and not the product of a temporary flux. Even though this is important in empirical studies, it is more interesting to note the tendency regarding the distribution of attitudes over time. Roudometof does not specify whether a glocalised society will become more open or closed (if the locals or cosmopolitans, in a one-dimensional continuum, are in majority); he holds both scenarios as possible. As we have seen, in this study the number of people with either local protectionist or open global attitudes is quite stable over time, while the number of global protectionists increases at the expense of open locals. As we mentioned earlier, our interpretation is that the attachment to a geographical location decreases at the same time as cultural protectionism increases. This suggests that cosmopolitanism tendencies are not linear, but there can be parallel

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

processes in society, some towards globalisation and others towards cultural protectionism. The local protectionists are not concerned about local or national issues in a global world, but they feel threatened by foreigners and new traditions imported from abroad. In fact, Beck (2002) states that there is no cosmopolitanism unless there is localism, and maybe one consequence of this is also protectionism.

## Notes

1. The data collection was made within the international research collaboration, the International Social Survey Program, and called 'Åsikter om nationell identitet 1995, SSD 0502' and '2003, SSD 0805' respectively. The primary researchers are Stefan Svallfors (1995) and Stefan Svallfors and Jonas Edlund (2003). The Swedish Social Science Data Service (SSD) provided the data.

2. The collection of data was made within the research collaboration 'International Social Survey Program', and called 'Åsikter om nationell identitet 1995, SSD 0502' and '2003, SSD 0805' respectively. The primary researchers are Stefan Svallfors (1995) and Stefan Svallfors and Jonas Edlund (2003). The Swedish Social Science Data Service (SSD) provided the data. The ISSP is a partnership of researchers and institutions from about thirty countries that conduct attitude surveys on various topics (Svallfors, 1999). The main purpose of the ISSP network is to create a structure that allows for comparative and time series analysis. In this way, the hazard of different understandings of questions in different countries is minimised.

3. One of the items, 'I am proud to be Swedish', was not available in the 1995 survey and thereby only used in the analysis in the 2003 survey.

4. Theoretically this item was expected to fit in the factor 'Territorial belonging' but empirically it fitted in the factor 'Ethnocentrism'.

## References

- Aldenderfer, M. S & Blashfield, R. K. (1985). *Clusters Analysis. Quantitative applications in the social sciences*. California: SAGE.
- Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalisation: The human consequences*. London: Polity Press.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society. Towards a new modernisation*. London: SAGA.
- Beck, U. (2000). The cosmopolitan perspective: sociology of the second age of modernity. *British Journal of Sociology*, 51, (1), 79-105.
- Beck, U. (2002). The cosmopolitan society and its enemies. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19, (1-2), 17-44.
- Beck, U. (2003). Toward a new critical theory with a cosmopolitan intent. *Constellations*, 10, (4), 453-468.
- Beck, U. (2004). Cosmopolitical realism: on the distinction between cosmopolitanism in philosophy and the social sciences. *Global Networks*, 4 (2), 131-156.
- Beck, U., Bonss, W. & Lau, C. (2003). The theory of reflexive modernisation.

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

- Problematic, hypotheses and research programme. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 20, (2), 1-33.
- Giddens, A. (2002). *Runaway world. How globalisation is reshaping our lives*. London: Profile Books.
- Gubert, R. (2000). Territorial belonging. E. F. Borgotta & R. J. V. Montgomery. (Eds.). *Encyclopedia of sociology*. 5. New York: Macmillian.
- Flanagan, S. C. (1982). Changing values in advanced industrial societies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 14, 403-444.
- Hviid Nielsen, T., Jelsøe, E. & Öhman, S. (2002). Traditional blue and modern green resistance. In M., W. Bauer & G. Gaskell. (Eds.). *Biotechnology. The making of a global controversy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1977). *The silent revolution: Changing values and political styles among Western publics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1990). *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization. Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R. & Baker, W. E. (2000). Modernization, cultural change and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review*, 65 (1), 19-51.
- Inglehart, R. & Welzel, C. (2005). Exploring the unknown: Predicting the responses of publics not yet surveyed. *International Review of Sociology*, 15 (1), 173-201.
- Knutsen, O. (1989). The priorities of materialist and post-materialist values in the Nordic countries – a five-nation comparison. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 12, 221-243.
- Knutsen, O. (1990). Materialist and postmaterialist values and social structures in the Nordic countries. *Comparative politics*, 22, 85-104.
- Krebs, D. (1992). Werte in den alten und neuen Bundesländern. In: J. Zinnecker (Ed.). *Im Spiegel der Wissenschaften*. Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 35 - 48.
- Matten, D. (2004). The impact of the risk society thesis on environmental politics and management in a globalizing economy – principles, proficiency, perspectives. *Journal of Risk Research*, 7 (4), 377-398.
- Mazlish, B. (2005). Roudometof: A Dialogue. *Current Sociology*, 53 (1), 137-141.
- Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2006). General beliefs and environmental concern: Transatlantic comparisons. *Environment & Behavior* (forthcoming 2006).
- Roudometof, V. (2005a). Transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and glocalisation. *Current Sociology*, 53 (1), 113-135.
- Roudometof, V. (2005b). Response: The moral conundrums of the global age. *Current Sociology*, 53 (1), 143-147.
- Roudometof, V. (2003). Glocalization, space and modernity. *The European Legacy*, 8 (1), 37-60.
- Roudometof, V. (1999). Nationalism, globalisation, Eastern orthodoxy: Unthinking the 'Clash of civilizations' in south-eastern Europe. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 2 (2) 233-247.
- Svallfors, S. (1999). National differences in national identities? An introduction to the International Social Survey Program. In N. Tos, P. Ph. Mohler & B. Malnar (Eds.). *Modern society and values. A comparative analysis based on ISSP project*. Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana.
- Tabachnick, B. G. & Fidell, L. S. (2001): *Using multivariate statistics*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

Tos, N. Mohler P. Ph. & Malnar, B. (Eds.). *Modern society and values. A comparative analysis based on the ISSP project*. Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana.

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

## Appendix 1

*Results of the Chi-square analysis on socioeconomic factors for the four clusters in 1995 and 2003, all figures are percentages, and are statistically significant on a 5% level.*

		Local protectionists		Open globals		Global protectionist		Open locals		Total	
		1995	2003	1995	2003	1995	2003	1995	2003	1995	2003
Sex	Men		49.7		49.3		55.4		38.9		48.0
	Women		50.3		50.7		44.6		61.1		52.0
Age	17-32	23.0	18.4	34.4	32.9	25.9	17.9	30.8	25.5	28.5	23.6
	33-48	22.2	24.0	39.3	31.8	21.8	28.3	33.1	30.7	29.5	28.5
	49-63	27.3	29.9	19.3	26.6	25.4	30.8	27.0	34.0	25.2	30.4
	64-79	27.6	27.7	7.0	8.7	26.9	22.9	9.2	9.8	16.9	17.5
Education	Compulsory school (9 years)	37.7	28.5	18.1	16.8	48.7	36.2	13.5	7.9	27.1	21.9
	Upper secondary school (+2 years)	34.8	32.3	27.7	19.6	29.3	25.1	28.5	23.3	30.3	25.4
	Upper secondary school (+3-4 years)	14.8	21.6	23.0	18.9	8.4	20.9	18.3	20.0	16.8	20.4
	University	12.7	17.6	31.2	44.6	13.6	17.9	39.7	48.9	25.8	32.3
Class	Non-prof. blue-collar	32.8	32.7	19.0	22.0	42.8	32.9	20.0	16.7	27.1	26.0
	Prof. blue-collar	22.1	16.0	18.2	9.8	22.0	19.2	11.5	8.2	17.8	13.2
	Low white-collar	15.0	18.2	18.2	14.3	13.9	11.3	17.7	15.7	16.4	15.2
	Middle white-collar	15.6	16.7	27.3	28.6	12.1	21.6	23.3	29.5	20.1	23.8
	Higher white-collar	5.7	6.9	14.6	15.5	6.4	5.6	22.1	19.6	13.1	12.0
	Entrepreneurs	8.7	9.4	2.8	9.8	2.9	9.4	5.4	10.3	5.5	9.7
Income	<14 000	54.2	35.7	45.1	33.3	58.6	38.8	40.0	22.5	48.2	32.1
	15-24 000	40.8	48.7	40.9	44.6	38.1	43.8	46.2	50.9	42.2	47.4
	25-34 000	4.3	12.4	8.0	13.6	2.8	13.9	7.9	18.2	6.0	14.6
	>35 000	0.8	3.2	6.1	8.5	0.6	3.5	5.9	8.4	3.6	6.0
Political affiliation	Centre Party	6.3	7.4	5.4	3.5	7.6	11.4	4.2	5.5	5.6	6.7
	Liberal Party	5.1	10.0	14.0	14.0	6.1	10.4	11.4	19.4	9.3	13.6
	Christian Democratic Party	2.6	6.1	2.7	11.7	2.3	10.0	2.6	7.6	2.6	8.6
	Green Party	3.7	3.2	8.6	10.5	5.3	3.0	4.6	4.5	5.3	5.3
	Conservative Party	18.0	13.2	24.2	15.6	12.2	12.9	28.1	17.6	21.9	14.9
	Social Democratic Party	56.3	54.2	34.9	30.4	63.4	42.8	39.2	34.3	47.0	40.8
	Left Party	8.1	5.8	10.2	14.4	3.1	9.5	9.8	11.1	8.4	10.0
Region	Rural 2	7.4	4.2	3.5	5.6	5.7	8.4	5.2	4.9	5.6	5.6
	Rural 1	7.2	7.1	3.5	4.9	7.8	7.9	6.1	5.6	6.1	6.3
	Urban 2	19.4	22.1	16.5	15.8	24.0	21.8	15.3	14.1	18.1	18.4
	Urban 1	36.8	37.4	38.0	32.3	31.8	35.1	33.9	35.1	35.4	35.1
	Cities	29.2	29.2	38.4	41.4	30.7	26.8	39.5	40.3	34.8	34.5
Ethnic	Swedish	97.9	96.3	88.2	89.5	96.3	93.6	96.4	95.7	95.1	94.0
	Nordic	1.3	0.3	4.8	4.0	0.5	2.5	1.0	2.3	1.8	2.1
	World	0.8	3.4	7.0	6.5	3.2	3.8	2.6	2.0	3.1	3.9

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

Table 1. Questions from the ISSP surveys, 1995 and 2003, measuring Roudometof's cosmopolitanism-local continuum.

Roudometof's operationalisation:	Locality	Country	Culture	Protectionism
<i>Variables:</i>				
Solidarity with home town	X			
Solidarity with region	X			
Solidarity with country		X		
I would rather live in Sweden than any other country		X		
I am proud to be Swedish ( <i>only 2003</i> )		X		
It is better if more people are like Swedes			X	
Sweden is a better country than most other countries			X	
I would support my country even if it acts wrongly			X	
Imports should be limited to protect the economy				X
Sweden should follow her own interests				X
Foreigners should not be allowed to buy land in Sweden				X
Swedish Television should prioritise Swedish programmes				X
Authors' dimensions:	<b>Territorial belonging</b>		<b>Ethnocentrism</b>	

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

Table 2. Factor analyses, datasets from 1995 and 2003, of the attitudinal questions of national identity (principal component, varimax rotation, orthogonal solution).

	Factor loadings	
	1995	2003
<b>Factor 1 Territorial belonging</b>		
Solidarity with hometown	<b>0.763</b>	<b>0.680</b>
Solidarity with region	<b>0.832</b>	<b>0.717</b>
Solidarity with country	<b>0.765</b>	<b>0.508</b>
I am proud to be Swedish	-	<b>0.508</b>
<b>Factor 2 Ethnocentrism</b>		
I would rather live in Sweden than any other country <sup>4</sup>	<b>0.566</b>	<b>0.510</b>
It is better if more people are like Swedes	<b>0.703</b>	<b>0.712</b>
Sweden is a better country than most other countries	<b>0.657</b>	<b>0.620</b>
I would support my country even if it acts wrongly	<b>0.578</b>	<b>0.603</b>
Imports should be limited in order to protect the economy	<b>0.641</b>	<b>0.620</b>
Sweden should follow her own interests	<b>0.553</b>	<b>0.542</b>
Foreigners should not be allowed to buy land in Sweden	<b>0.502</b>	<b>0.565</b>
Swedish Television should prioritise Swedish programmes	<b>0.596</b>	<b>0.605</b>

Reference: Olofsson, A. & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and locals. An empirical investigation of transnationalism. *Current Sociology*, 55 (6) 877-895.

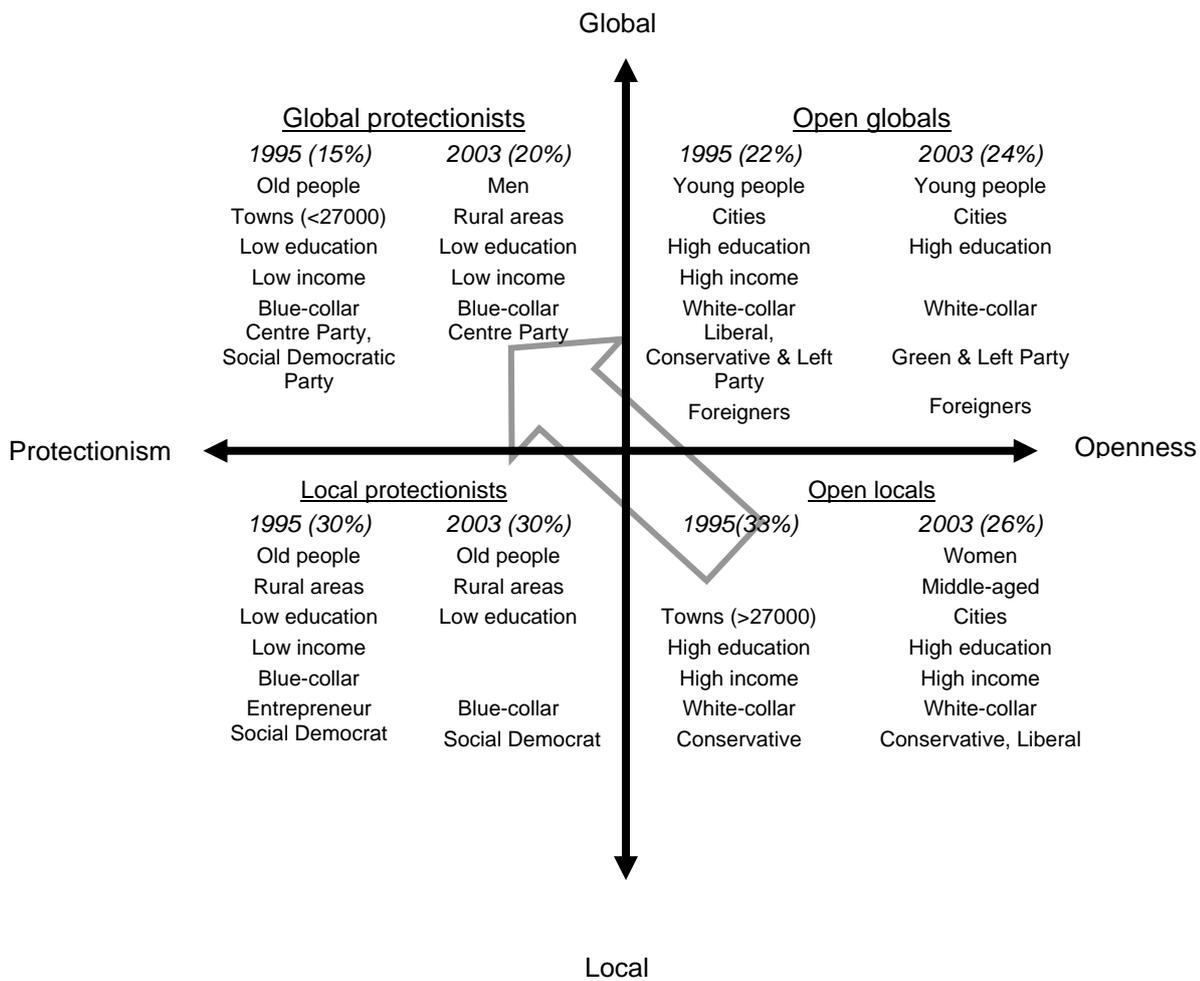


Figure 1. Graphical representation of the four groups within the two-dimensional space: territorial belonging and ethnocentrism. Percentages represent how large each cluster is compared with the total sample, and each cluster's predominant socioeconomic characteristics are shown for each year. The arrow indicates the development over time (from 1995 to 2003).