Transnational Advocacy, Human Rights, and Public Opinion

Draft Dissertation Chapter

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1 Chapter 3: Micro Level:Cognitive Dissonance as Explanation for Polarization

1.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the first question posed by the dissertation, the individual level mechanism by which transnational groups may be polarizing the states in which they operate. First, it sets out a theoretical structure for the spread of norms across states and draws hypotheses from it. The first portion remains general as to norms, but it then applies the theory to women's rights, immigration and gay rights norms to develop specific hypotheses. The third section describes the data and method used for the test. A fourth section reviews the results of the empirical tests and a fifth concludes.

1.2 Theory

There are several good reasons to suppose that the effect of transnational advocacy have conditional effects on norms in the states in which they operate. This section first defines

describes the relationship between norms and individual level attitudes. Next it adapts theories from psychology and American politics to this international context. Having done so, it applies the framework to women's rights, gay rights, and immigrant rights.

A discussion on the relationship between attitudes and norms is necessary to be clear about how micro-level and macro-level measures are related. Norms can be defined as social and intersubjective constructs which govern what types of behavior are appropriate in a society. Attitudes can be defined as "the categorization of a stimulus object along an evaluative dimension based upon, or generated from, three general classes of information:(1) cognitive information, (2) affective/emotional information, and/or (3) information concerning past behaviors or behavioral intentions" [Zanna and Rempel, 1988, p. 319]. Finnemore [1996], in defining norms, identifies the difference in writing that "unlike ideas which may be held privately, norms are shared and social; they are not just subjective, but intersubjective...One could say they are collectively held ideas about behavior"[pp. 22-3].

Attitudes on surveys are not necessarily norms, even when they are about behavior. Attitudes can be thought of as necessary but insufficient causes in norms when they relate to what behavior is appropriate. Attitudes which are privately held[are not shared and intersubjective] are just attitudes, but if they are also shared and intersubjective, attitudes represent norms at the individual level. In this framework there are three necessary parts of a norm, these are the attitude, that it is shared, and that it is intersubjective. This means at the individual level, changing attitudes may be the first step of changing norms in a society. To clarify, consider a society which does not have some norm. The first step is a change in attitude for some subset of the population. This could be done via transnational activism or social development within the state and creates a situation where there is not agreement in society about what behavior is appropriate. Festinger [1957] argues that when there are dissonant ideas within a group there are three ways to reduce it, change one's ideas to fit in with the group, influence the ideas of the group to be consistent with one's own thoughts, or remove oneself or the others from the group[p.

182]. Successful norm change occurs when the norm promoters, those whose attitudes had previously changed, manage the second route to resolve the societal level dissonance. Further, at the macro-level, the proportion of a society which holds an attitude can be used as a measure of the progress of that norm. This is because as the proportion of the society which holds the norm increases, the likelihood that the attitude is shared and intersubjective also increases.

In addition to playing a role in the spread of attitudes, cognitive dissonance is also important for individual attitude change. Festinger [1957] defines cognitive dissonance as where "the obverse of one element would follow from the other"[p. 13]. In other words, believing one thing implies not believing another. When exposed to dissonant cognitions, either by actions taken by the subject or by exposure to information, psychological discomfort is created and subjects can and will be motivated to find one of three ways to reduce it. The first way is to change the behavior or belief which is affected by the new cognition[Festinger, 1957, p. 19]. The second is to change the environment, this is "some means of ignoring or counteracting the real situation"[Festinger, 1957, p. 21].The third is to add more cognitions which are consonant while avoiding or reacting critically to those which support the original, dissonant cognition[Festinger, 1957, pp. 22-24]. Those whose cognitive framework is consistent with the new norm can easily resolve the dissonance by adopting the attitude[assuming they have not yet adopted it]. "Consciousness raising", merely pointing out that one belief is not consistent with beliefs already held, seems to be of this phenomenon. This leads to attitude change in the desired direction of the norm promoter. However, for someone whose cognitive framework does not align with the new information, adopting the new attitude will not reduce dissonance, but rather create more dissonance as the new belief would be dissonant with the rest of the framework. To reduce dissonance these individuals would need to change the environment[ignore or counteract the situation] or add new cognitions consonant with their framework[reinforce their own beliefs]. This would allow for no change, or even a negative response. Given that the person has decided that the problem does not exist, those advocating for solving

it must be deceptive or have some other motive. Both of these approaches could cause change in the opposite direction as that desired by norm promoters. Visser and Cooper [2003] describe the situation, writing that to "the extent that a persuasive message elicits positive cognitive responses, attitude change will occur, but a persuasive message that elicits negative cognitive responses will result in no attitude change [or perhaps change in the opposite direction]"[p. 212-3]. More of the population having a negative response would explain why social movements often provoke backlashes at the aggregate level. It could even be argued that detecting these backlashes is a sign that new norms are emerging. It is worth noting that changing the behavior or belief to be consistent with the norm promoter would eliminate the dissonance for those whose framework fits. However, both of the responses for those whose framework does not fit with the promoted norm are not as useful. Adding cognitions only reduces the proportion of dissonance rather than eliminate it, and changing the environment requires maintaining a denial of reality which would be increasingly difficult as more people adopt the new attitude.

Zaller [1992] develops a[1] similar framework for for the process of attitude change. He argues that the probability of an individual will expressing an attitude consistent with the dominant perspective is $\frac{D_1}{C_1+D_1}$ where C and D represent dominant and countervailing considerations [p. 120]. He goes on to argue that attitude change most simply is a function of two processes, whether the message was received[i.e. adds either Cs or Ds] and the probability that they will accept the message, given that they have received it [pp. 124-128]. Given that these situations seem to best fit Zaller's single message model, in which there is not an organized proponent of the dominant view[why would there need to be if the undesirable norm already persists?], strength of exposure can be measured by the presence of TSNMs.

$H_{exposure}$ Individuals in states in which more transnational social movements are active are more likely to receive the message that these groups are promoting.

[1] suspiciously

This leaves open how those who receive the message will respond. As is argued above, the response will be determined by the respondents prior predisposition on the issue based on already held principles and ideas. The following two hypotheses follow from this argument.

H_1 For those whose conceptual framework does not conflict with the norm being studied, exposure to the norm should be positively associated with ascribing to the norm.

H_2 For those whose conceptual framework does conflict with the norm being studied, exposure to the norm should not be associated with or negatively associated with ascribing to the norm.

In addition to being heard, these ideas need to be considered in order to have an influence on beliefs. Zaller argues further that political engagement is required to the ideas to be considered[Zaller, 1992, pp. 43-45]. This means that the hypothesized effects should be more pronounced in those who are more engaged.

H_3 Those more politically engaged will demonstrate stronger effects for the above hypotheses.

The next section applies this theory about attitude change to women's rights, gay rights and immigration.

1.2.1 Application to Women's Rights

This section develops the above general framework by applying the argument to women's rights and transnational advocacy. First it analyzes women's rights norms conceptually to find and measure cognitive framework elements which would condition responses to

exposure to these norms. It calls the combination of these features the predisposition to accept or reject the norm if exposed and draws hypotheses around specific survey questions. Second, it provides the main hypothesis, which combines the propensities with exposure to potentially dissonant cognitions from transnational advocacy.

To find consonant and dissonant cognitive frames, women's rights norms need to be explicitly defined. At its most basic, one can define women's rights as the belief that women should be treated in the same way as men by both society and the government. Practically, this would mean equal opportunity to jobs, equal social rights[given by the government] and stature[afforded by society]. This would include rights(and social acceptance) to choose partners regarding marriage and divorce, control over one's body and assets, and equal access to work. A social conception which would be dissonant with these norms is as follows. Society requires different roles out of different members and that women are a relevant [or cohesive] class of people to that end. There are two likely justifications. The first is religious. The main monotheistic religions[Christianity, Judaism, and Islam] all have well established biases against equal treatment of women. Many do not allow women to hold leadership positions, limit autonomy and acceptable roles. Young [1987] notes that Judaism, Hinduism and Confucianism "acknowledge male dominance outside the home", Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism "reverted to male dominance" despite initial somewhat equality of women, and that Tantra and Taoism also contain "some degree of male deference"[pp. 16-17]. Feminist scholars of religion are less in disagreement of whether sexism or patriarchy exists in most all world religions, but rather the degree to which and ways in which it can be removed [Cooey et al., 1991, pp. ix-xi]. Therefore, those who are more religious and whose religion limits the roles it is acceptable for women to fill, will find messages supportive of women's rights discordant with their religious beliefs. This suggests that those who are more religious should, on average, exhibit a greater bias against norms of gender equality, and leads to the first hypothesis regarding cognitive fit.

H_{1fit} Those who are more religious will be more opposed to gender equality, and therefore, even if exposed will be less likely to accept ideas regarding equal treatment.

Aside from religion, one could also argue that society requires different roles out of people and that women are a class of people who should play different roles from men. These arguments often take the form that since women are the only ones who can bear children and feed them when they are young, they are naturally better suited to doing so. This can be used to justify different treatment of women. The argument that society requires different roles of people to function well does not itself justify assigning different roles to people based on sex. It also requires that one values society's well being over individual well being. While one could argue that they need not be in conflict, on average someone who values society[or collectivism] over individuality would be less likely to easily accept equal treatment of men and women.

H_{2fit} Those who value collectivism over individuality will be less likely to accept ideas regarding equal treatment.

It is worth noting, that these two sets of norms, are central to Inglehart [1997] and Inglehart and Norris's [2003] modernization theory. Another characteristic which may influence receptivity to women's rights is the gender of the respondent. In one sense this would not fit with the other variables as it is a [mostly] predetermined trait rather than a belief. However, women should be less likely to accept that they would be happier as caregivers if, for example, they themselves know that they are not happier or better suited to domestic[here meant in the household sense] concerns. They may be less willing to sacrifice individual well being for society's if they are the ones to suffer. This is the third hypothesis.

H_{3fit} Those who place themselves as further left will be more predisposed to accept

these arguments

Taken together these ideas encapsulate some of the reasons why an individual may not support women's rights even if exposed to them. The degree to which an individual holds these beliefs may therefore alter the possible influence of advocacy groups and social movements which attempt to forward women's rights.

These characteristics[from here on referred to as predisposition following Zaller] are meant to measure the presence of attitudes which will determine whether cognitive dissonance is most easily resolved by accepting the advocated for norms or by rejecting them, making one more hostile to the goals of transnational movements. Put another way, a non-religious female who values individualism more than collectivism, who does not already have pro-women's attitudes will resolve cognitive dissonance most easily by changing the attitude about women's rights. The holder of the opposite beliefs will relieve cognitive dissonance most easily by rejecting the message, and may even harden his position. It is important to point out that these measures of predisposition are not thought to capture all of the relevant attitudes, only a part of them. One must also be certain the causation is unidirectional. This is to say that while these attitudes can affect opinions on women's rights, opinions on women's rights cannot affect these attitudes. This is because if the causal influence is bi-directional, one could argue that predisposition is merely another measure of women's rights attitudes. This would mean that any results would just demonstrate that those who hold women's rights attitudes are more likely to be for women's rights when seeing transnational advocacy. So while there may be many other attitudes which reinforce the status of women, to demonstrate the hypothesized effect only those attitudes which reach the above standards are included.

1.2.2 Application to Women's Rights and Gay Rights

Predisposition regarding gay rights can actually use the same framework as for women's rights. The reasoning is as follows. At its simplest and most general the argument

for gender equality is that ones sex[and/or gender] should not define roles in society or perceived characteristics. It should be socially appropriate for a women to hold a full time job, to not be the homemaker, to run family finances and so forth. In other words sex does not limit what is appropriate for women to do. Homosexuality is then just another limitation on what is or is not appropriate for men or women to do. Just as feminism opposes gender bias regarding economic and social roles, the LGBT movement opposes gender bias in intimate and sex roles. According to traditional roles, it is not appropriate for a man or woman to be romantically and sexually attracted to other men or women. In this way the derivation for predisposition regarding women's rights extends cleanly to gay rights. Religion most often sets these traditional roles, so those more religious will be less predisposed to accept these arguments. Collectivists will be more likely to insist that individuals for whom these defined social norms maintain them for social cohesion despite personal cost. For this reason, operationalization of predisposition for gay rights is the same as for women's rights.

1.2.3 Application to Immigrant Rights

Predisposition to accept messages regarding immigrants and immigration policy should be determined by cosmopolitanism and tolerance. In the context of immigration cosomopolitanism can be understood to define the size of the group of people who are "like me". Tolerance is acceptance of those who are "not like me".

Starting with cosmopolitanism, the larger the group of people one identifies with,[local, regional, national, global] the harder it is to refuse arguments about letting immigrants into one's country. If state of origin is not an important label for classifying individuals, it is harder to justify restricting these people. If immigrants are not "others" there is no reason why current residents of the state have any more right than those who would move there and contribute to society.

H_{1fit} Those who are more cosmopolitan will be more likely to accept arguments about

immigration.

Rather then including those from other states in their in group, tolerance regards acceptance of those not in the in group. The more one is accepting of [or at least not opposed to] different and perhaps maligned people, the more likely one would be to accept arguments allowing for immigration. Accepting those unlike yourself should diminish the degree to which individuals exposed to these messages will focus on those in "out" groups taking resources of various kinds.

H_{2fit} Those who display higher tolerance will be more likely to accept arguments about immigration.

Finally, following Zaller [1992] Those who are more conservative[right] should be more opposed to immigration.

H_{1fit} Those who are more politically right will be less likely to accept arguments about immigration.

The next section operationalizes these hypotheses, and the following one tests them.

1.3 Data and Method

The World Values Survey is conducted in over 91 states in five waves between 1981 and 2007 and includes about 160 country waves[2][World Values Survey Association, 2009]. A list of the states and years included can be found in the appendix. Overall, the sample provides considerable variety in states. It asks questions on several relevant norms. In addition to the individual level data provided in the survey, several country level variables have been merged with the data and are described as they are relevant for each

[2]The number of country-waves available for analysis varies by dependent variable

operationalization. The transnational social movements dataset contains information on thousands of transnational social movements active in states surveyed in the World Values Survey[3][Smith and Wiest]. Counts of the number of active organizations in each country-wave are merged with the WVS and combined with other country level data to test the hypotheses.

1.3.1 Operationalizing Women's Rights

Beginning with the dependent variables, four outcomes are used to test the women's rights hypotheses. The first regarded abortion and asked on a ten point scale whether abortion was ever justifiable, the mean value for the sample is 3.45. The second variable is whether divorce is ever justifiable and once again uses a ten point scale with a sample mean of 4.64. The third asks whether university is more important for a boy than a girl and offers a four point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree with a mean value of 2.02 of 4. The final dependent variable is a proxy for women's rights in general and asks whether the respondent has confidence in the women's rights movement and has a four point scale ranging from none at all to a great deal, the mean value is 2.54.

For the determinants of predisposition, four variables were used. Regarding religiosity, a question which asks whether religion is important in life was used. It is a four point scale which offers choices between not at all and very, the mean value in the sample is 3.088 of four. To operationalize collectivism and individuality, two questions regarding desirable qualities in children were used. These were whether independence and obedience were important qualities for children to have, both of which are dichotomous. The mean values in the sample are 0.458 for independence and 0.402 for obedience. The final variable used is left/right self placement as is suggested by Zaller [1992], the mean value in the sample is 5.67 where higher scores represent answers more right.

The organizations regarding women's rights were coded as follows. For women's rights in general any organization which stated "women's rights" as its first goal was in-

[3]20,603 for women's rights, 2,962 which are pro-choice specific, 2,688 for gay rights, and 5,578 related to immigration/refugees/asylum

cluded. For abortion specifically, any organization which stated "Family planning/Reproductive choice" or "Pro-Choice"[which was most of the cases] as any of an organization's top four goals was included.

1.3.2 Operationalizing Gay Rights

The dependent variable for testing hypotheses regarding gay rights whether homosexuality can be justified and is a ten point scale. The mean value for the variables is 3.04. For predisposition, the same variables were used as for women, in that gay rights and women's rights both regard how constrictive gender roles should be. The organizations regarding gay rights were coded as follows. Any organization that listed "Gay and lesbian rights" as any of the top four goals were included.

1.3.3 Operationalizing Immigrant Rights

Two dependent variables are used to test the hypotheses for immigration. The first is a dichotomous variable which asks whether the respondent would be opposed to having immigrants as neighbors. It is dichotomous and the mean value in the sample is 0.795. The second is an ordinal variable which asks about the respondents preferred immigration policy with options: prohibit people from coming, strict limits, as long as jobs are available, and let anyone come. The four point ordinal scale has a mean value of 2.54. Four variables are used to assess predisposition. For cosmopolitanism, the first is whether the respondent is proud of his or her nationality, which is a four point scale. The variable has been coded such that higher values mean less pride[more cosmopolitanism] and it has a mean value of 1.53. The second is the geographic area the respondent most identifies with and has five choices between the locality and the world. The mean value in the sample is 2.31 out of five where higher numbers are larger geographical groups. The variable to represent tolerance is an index of the types of neighbors the the respondent would not be opposed to having. Which types of neighbors were included in the index was decided by two factors. First, any type of neighbor who would reasonably be more

likely to be an immigrant was excluded. This means that in addition to nationalities, any religious, racial, or ethnic category was excluded from the index. The second was the question being asked frequently enough to keep most of the sample. The measure is a six point scale with a mean of 2.62 and includes the following: people with a criminal record, heavy drinkers, emotionally unstable people, people who have AIDs, drug addicts and homosexuals. The scale was reverse coded such that a higher score means the respondent was tolerant of more of these categories. The final predisposition variable is left/right self placement, as again was included in Zaller [1992], the mean value is 5.67.

The organizations regarding immigrant rights were coded as follows. All organizations which listed "Refugee rights/Ayslum/Immigration" were included.

1.3.4 Controls

The models include several controls at both the individual and state level. Education, measured as the age at which the respondent completed their formal education, self reported income level, social class, gender and age are included as individual level controls. At the state level, the polity score is included from the Polity project to control for level of democracy [Marshall et al., 2013]. GDP per captia, imports in goods and services, inflation and unemployment were included from World Economic Outlook dataset to account for size and strength of economy, and as well as pressure for jobs regarding immigrants[IMF, 2015]. The type of political system[parliamentary, presidential, or mixed] and mean district magnitude in the lower house were included from the database of political institutions from the World Bank[Keefer, 2012].Regional indicators variables and and the survey year were also included.

1.3.5 Method: Generalized Structural Equation Models

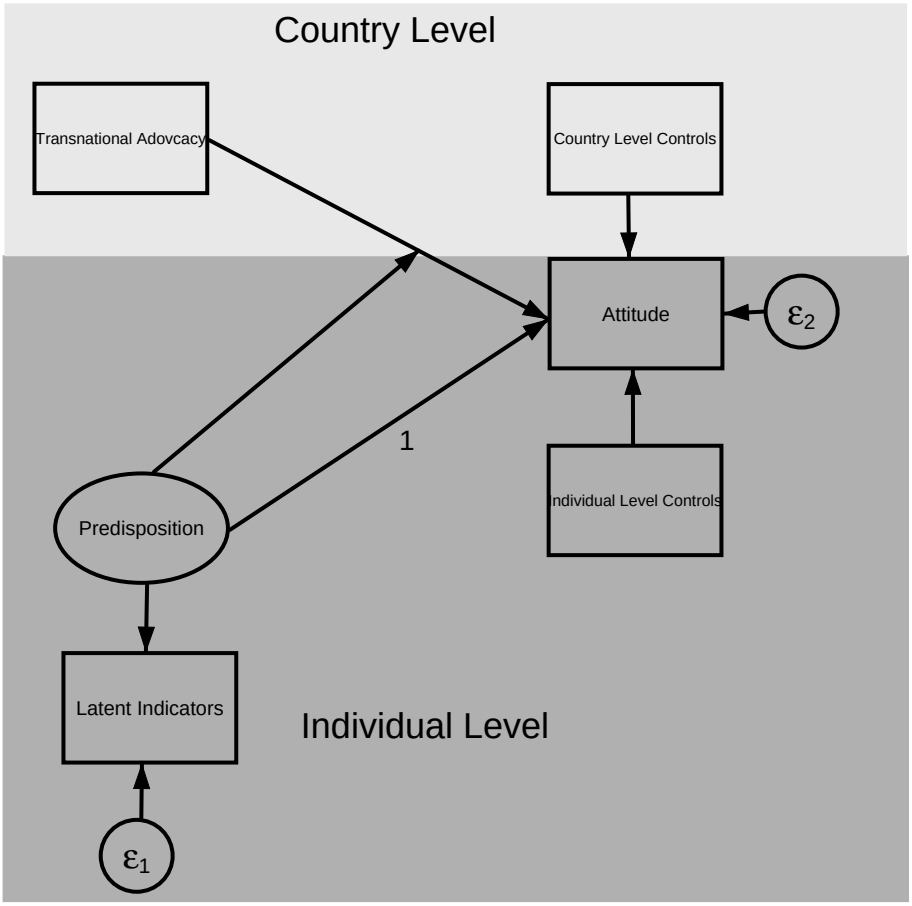
The method used to test these hypotheses is generalized structural equation models. These models use maximum likelihood methods[4] to estimate systems of equations with

[4]usually

more than one endogenous variable. They do so by estimating the most likely beta coefficients given the covariance patterns observed between the variables. While SEMs rely on the assumption of joint normality for the variables, in order to accommodate non-continuous dependent variables and multilevel models, generalized SEM treats observed exogenous variables as given and makes estimates based on their values[Skrondal and Rabe-Hesketh, 2004, p. 78]. The key advantage of this method is that with it predisposition can be modeled simultaneously as a latent variable which determines both the measures proposed above as representing part of predisposition and as a causal factor in individual level response to exposure to activism. In this conception, predisposition is an unobserved variable which causes both the measures proposed for predisposition and the outcome of interest. Each of these variables are estimated using a distribution family and link function appropriate to functional form of each endogenous variable[5]. A table in the appendix lists the distribution family and link functions for each endogenous variable.

The diagram below shows the general form of all of the models presented in the empirical results section, with shading to indicate at which level each of the variables is measured.

[5]Distribution family is the probability distribution appropriate to the data generating process such as Bernoulli, ordinal, etc. and link function translates between the probability distribution and the linear predictor



Predisposition causes the latent measurement variables and the outcome of interest as well as interacting with the effect of transnational advocacy[6]. One will note the "1" on the line directly between predisposition and attitude, this is present because the magnitude of that relationship is constrained to 1, which is to say assumed as opposed to tested. This must be done in order to give the latent variable a scale. It should be noted that any value could be used and the same results would obtain when considering predicted values and probabilities. Transnational advocacy is measured at the country-wave level and country-wave and individual level controls are included as well.

[6]It should be noted that for non-continuous outcomes, there is no error term despite its being depicted in the figure

1.4 Empirical Results

This section reviews the results of the empirical tests for each substantive area, begining with women's rights and then examining gay rights and immigrant rights.

1.4.1 Women's Rights

The table below displays the results for the women's rights models. Beginning with the models for predisposition, the results almost entirely conform to expectations. For abortion and divorce the results are precisely as predicted. Child independence is positively associated with predisposition and child obedience, religious importance, and being more right politically are all negatively associated with predisposition. The results for confidence in the women's movement and whether university is more important for boys than girls initially appear inconsistent with the predictions. However, with the exception of left/right the coefficients are all in the opposite direction as predicted. As predisposition is latent and not measured, the direction(as the scale) is somewhat arbitrary. Regarding the main models, the abortion and divorce models are again consistent with the theory. In both cases the interactive term is positive and statistically significant. It should be noted that the effect of the TNSM term is not in the same direction however, this effect only gives the effect at zero, which is the mean value for the latent variable. Regarding confidence in the women's movement, the interactive term is negative and statistically significant, which is consistent with the other predictor variables of predisposition being of the opposite sign for abortion and divorce.

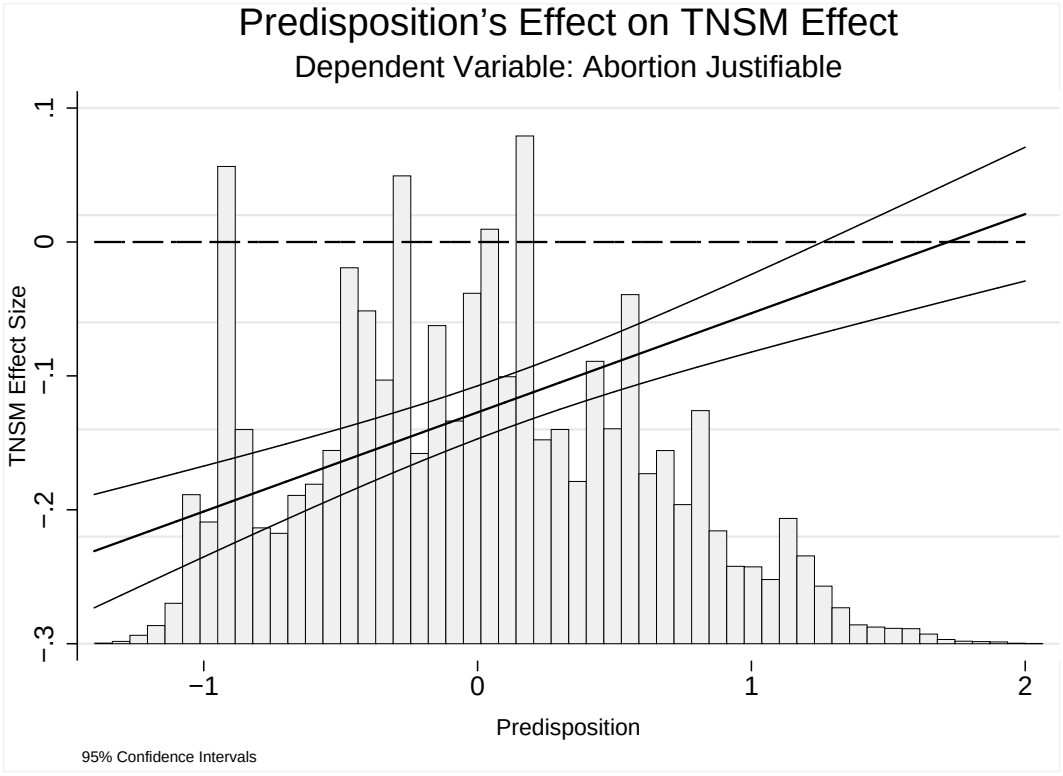
	Predisposition Models			
	Abortion	Divorce	Confidence WM	University
Independence	0.826***	1.000***	-6.583***	-7.886***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Obedience	-1.128***	-1.413***	11.33***	13.32***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Rel. Imp.	-1.189***	-1.109***	5.401***	6.492***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Left/Right	-0.376***	-0.385***	1.924***	2.348***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Mean N	231881	231881	231881	231881
	Main Models			
Predisposition	1	1	1	1
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
TNSM	-0.127***	0.0168***	0.0117***	0.0108***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
TNSMxPred	0.0740***	0.00550***	-0.0410***	0.00651
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.405)
Year	-0.0209***	0.00306	-0.0121***	-0.0331***
	(0.000)	(0.182)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity	0.0484***	0.0335***	0.0119***	-0.0316***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Social Class	0.00577	-0.0102	0.0173***	-0.00810
	(0.393)	(0.171)	(0.001)	(0.108)
Income	0.0605***	0.0467***	0.00927***	-0.0372***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Female	0.0850***	0.145***	0.467***	-0.514***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	0.0910***	0.120***	-0.00322	-0.101***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.253)	(0.000)
Age	-0.00731***	-0.00955***	-0.00112**	0.00643***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.000)
GDP/Capita	-2.39e-08***	-2.17e-08***	-1.80e-09	1.23e-08***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.101)	(0.000)
Imports	0.00207*	0.0176***	-0.00322***	0.00529***
	(0.017)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Presidential	-0.505***	-0.284***	0.0492**	0.454***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.005)	(0.000)
Mixed Parl/Pres	-0.645***	-0.481***	0.400***	0.0682*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.012)
Inflation	2.10e-14***	2.71e-14***	4.51e-14***	-2.58e-14***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Unemployment	-0.0276***	-0.0295***	-0.0243***	-0.00474***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Mean District Mag.	-0.0000796	-0.00109***	0.000747***	-0.000311***
	(0.373)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
N	119831	120720	113414	123704

p-values in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Predisposition for confidence in the women's rights movement is in the wrong(and is constrained to be 1), but like the "baseline" value for TNSMs, the interactive term makes the value somewhat arbitrary. The interactive term is not significant for university

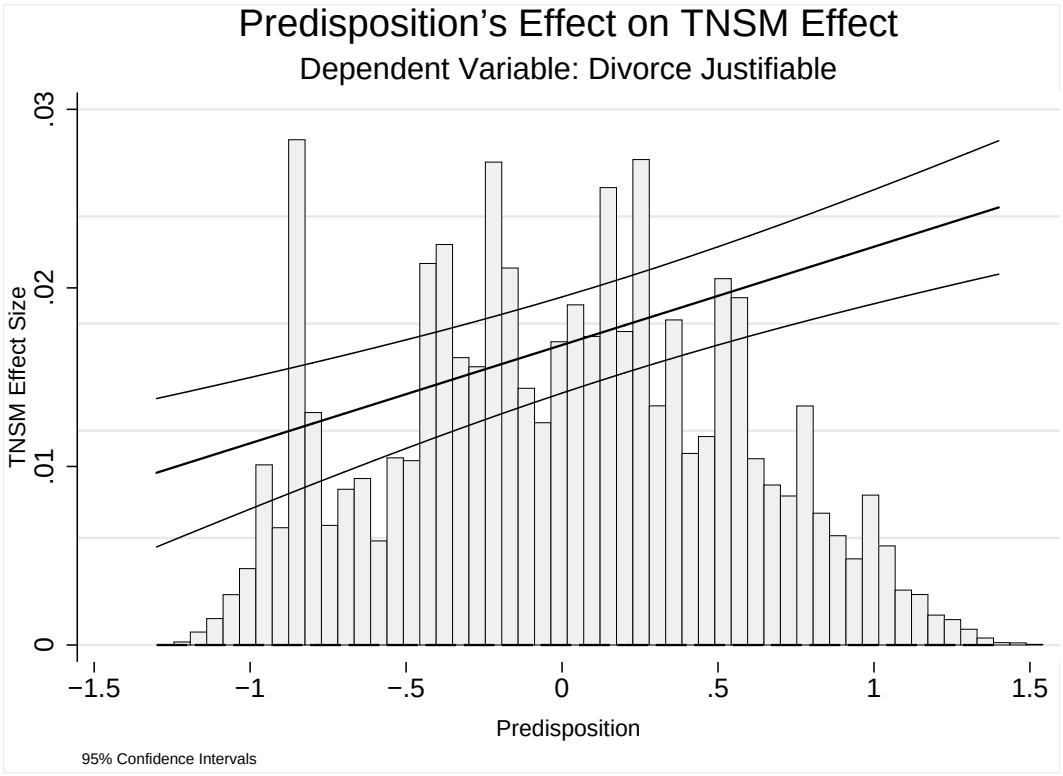
education, which suggests that predisposition for this dependent variable is not correct. Given the interactive terms, to truly assess hypotheses requires one to further examine how predisposition varies the effects of TNSMs.

The plots below show the effect size and confidence intervals across the range of predisposition. The histogram for predisposition is overlaid to show how much of the population fits under the varying effect sizes. The effects for abortion are presented first.



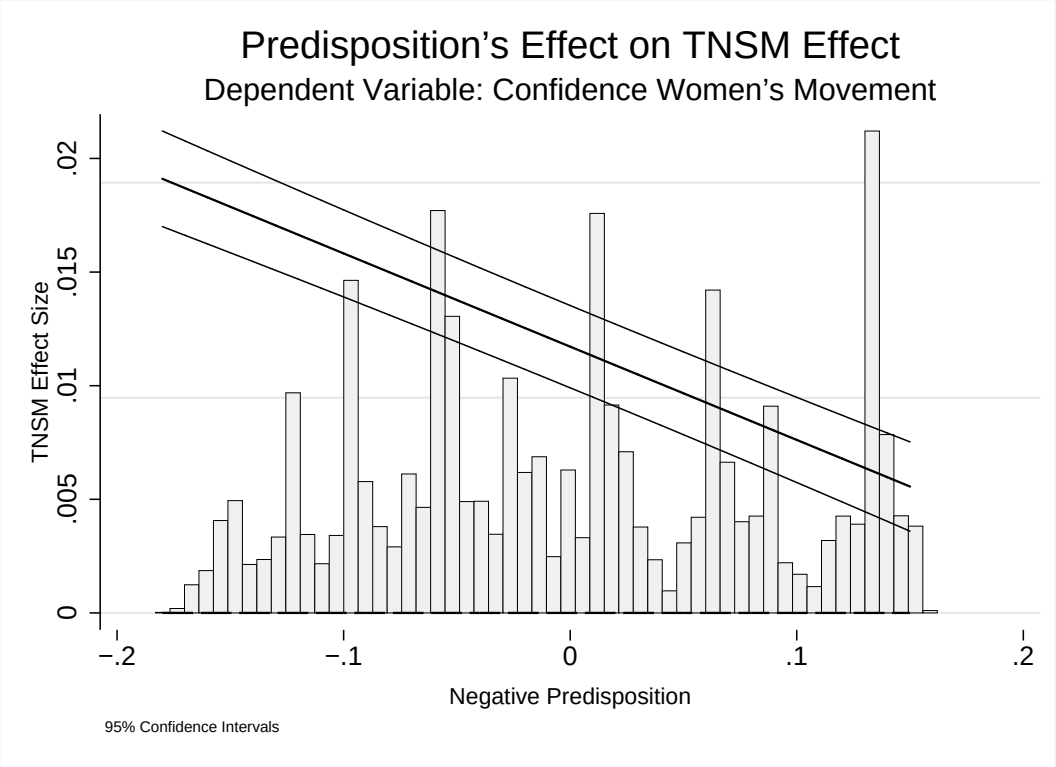
For abortion, it is clear that predisposition plays an important role for the effect of TNSMs. Recall that by assumption the mean value of predisposition for all of the models is set to zero. As can be observed in the figure, the effect of TNSMs on opinions regarding abortion is negative and statistically significant at the mean value. The effect remains negative and statistically significant until a value of about 1.3 for predisposition, which is a little over two standard deviations above the mean. There is never a positive and statistically significant effect in sample and the effect only becomes positive at 1.8, three standard deviations above the mean. This suggests that TNSMs almost exclusively turn public opinion against their cause. The effect size and average number of TNSMs operat-

ing[2.3] suggests that these groups lower the perceived justifiability of abortion between a third to one unit, on the ten unit scale. The plot below shows the effects for divorce.

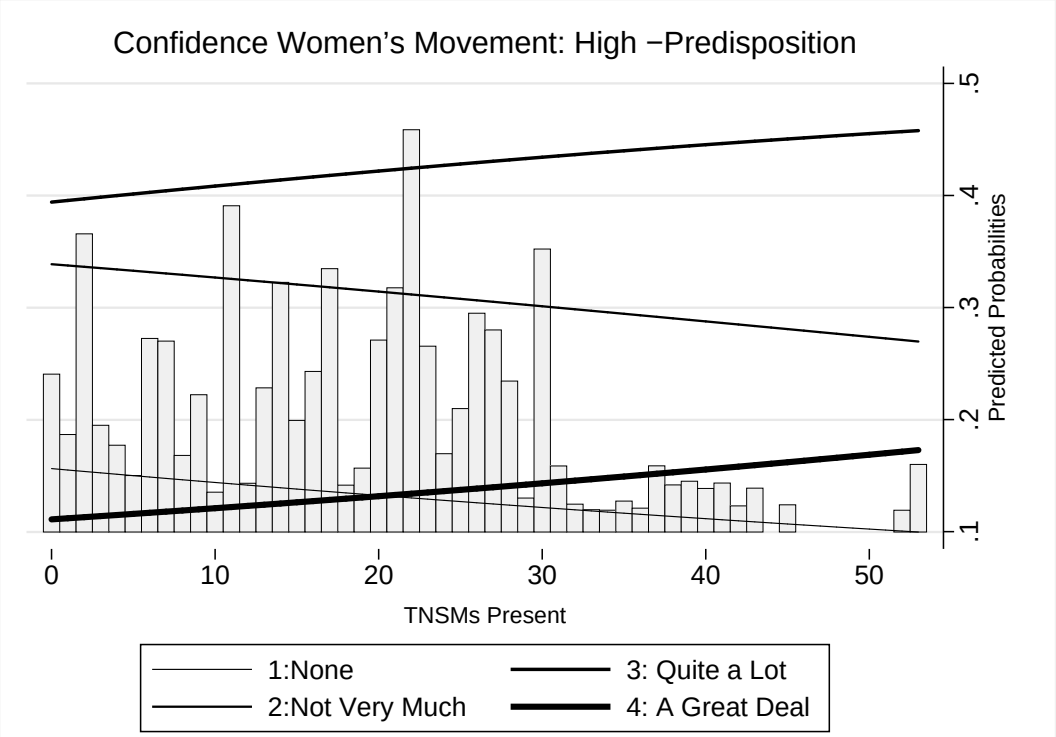


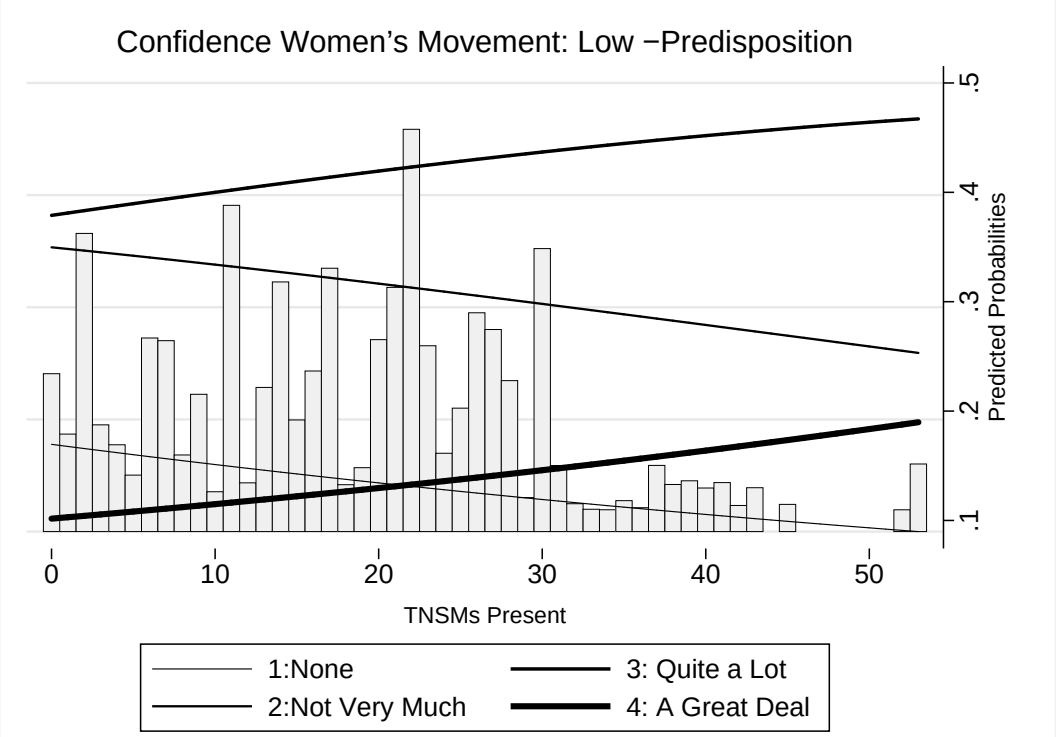
The effect sizes for divorce are less discouraging for TNSMs, the effect is positive and statistically significant across the sample. The influence of TNSMs is smaller for this variable. Given the mean value for the number of TNSMs[18.5] the positive influence increases public opinion about the justifiability of divorce by between .18 and .45 of a point. The effect sizes for confidence in the women's movement are considered next.

Recalling that the predisposition variables and interactive terms are both opposite as predicted in the models, the negative slope on the figure demonstrates results consistent with the theory. Confidence in the women's movement does increase with TNSM presence, and does increase with greater predisposition, however, effect sizes are smaller yet here.



The mean value of TNSMs yields only changes between .09 and .36 of a point[note that this is a ordinal model, so those points cannot be interpreted in isolation]. The two graphs below present the predicted probabilities for the various answers, the first with a predisposition one standard deviation below the mean and the second one standard deviation above the mean. Rather than a histogram of predisposition, a histogram of the number of TNSMs is overlaid. The thicker lines represent answers more favorable to confidence in the women's movement. For each, as the number of transnational groups active in the state increases, those answering a great deal and not very much confidence increase at the expense of the none and not very much categories. This pattern suggests that more groups are likely to push respondents into the category above it. The conditioning effect can be observed in the changed slopes of the lines[recall that predisposition is measured in the opposite direction for this model].





The changes are small, at the top end of TNSMs present, the predicted probability increase for a great deal is from .17 to .20[darkest line]. As one would expect from the interactive graph, the effect is not particularly strong for this dependent variable.

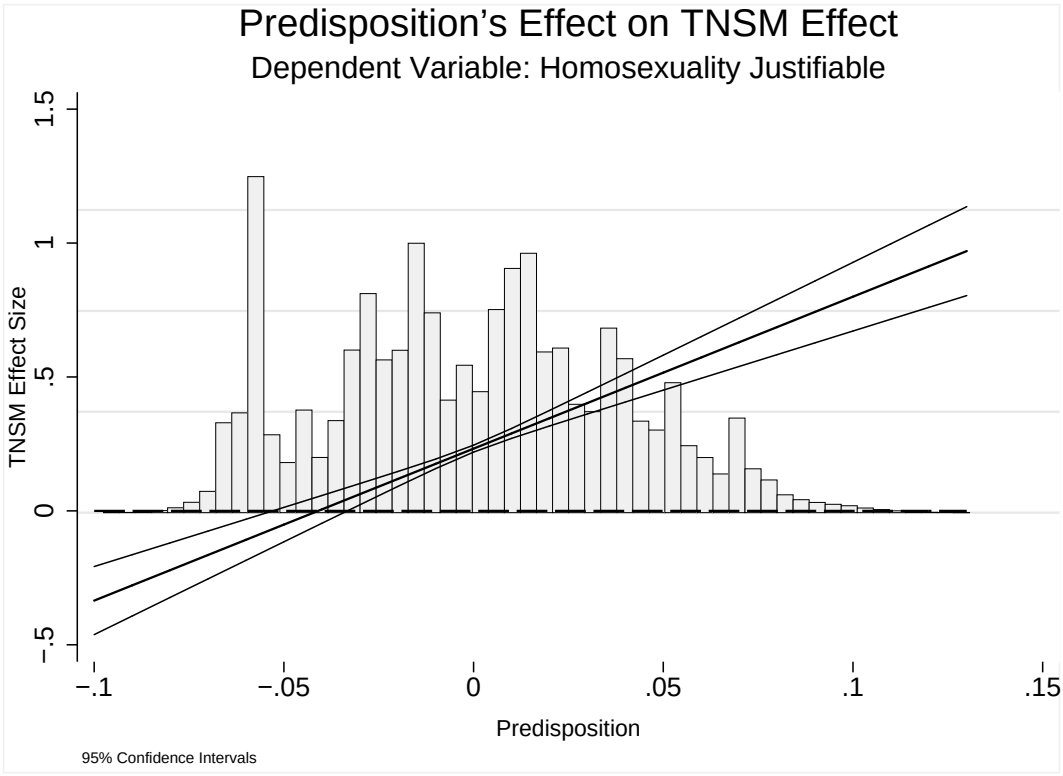
Predisposition Models	
Independence	13.73***
	(0.000)
Obedience	-19.88***
	(0.000)
Rel. Imp.	-15.27***
	(0.000)
Left/Right	-5.647***
	(0.000)
Mean *N*	231881
Main Models	
Predisposition	1
	(.)
TNSM	0.232***
	(0.000)
TNSMxPred	5.673***
	(0.000)
Year	0.0430***
	(0.000)
Polity	0.0757***
	(0.000)
Social Class	0.0397***
	(0.000)
Income	0.0597***
	(0.000)
Female	0.386***
	(0.000)
Education	0.0884***
	(0.000)
Age	-0.0188***
	(0.000)
GDP/Capita	-2.43e-08***
	(0.000)
Imports	0.00837***
	(0.000)
Presidential	-0.127***
	(0.000)
Mixed Parl/Pres	-0.386***
	(0.000)
Inflation	1.12e-14*
	(0.017)
Mean District Mag.	-0.00106***
	(0.000)
Unemployment	-0.0189***
	(0.000)
Constant	-84.10***
	(0.000)
N	115595

p-values in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

One potential issue is that assessments of social movements in general may also contribute to predisposition for this dependent variable. Overall, the models regarding women's rights lend considerable support for the hypotheses. The results for gay rights follow.

1.4.2 Gay Rights

The table to the left displays the results for whether homosexuality is justifiable. The results once again conform to theoretical expectations. All of the predisposition indicators are as hypothesized. Independence being a desirable trait in children is positive associated with predisposition and obedience, religion's importance and being more right are all negatively associated with predisposition. For the main model, the interactive term is again positive and statistically significant. The value for the TNSM term of the interaction suggests that at the mean value of predisposition these groups have a positive effect. The graph of effect size for TNSMs at various levels of predisposition is presented below.



The substantive effects for whether homosexuality can be justified at various levels of predisposition are striking. Depending on predisposition, the effect can either be negative and significant or positive and significant. The results are positive and statistically significant at the mean value and do not become negative and statistically significant until a about -0.06, about 1.5 standard deviations below the mean. The size of the effect of each new TNSM can cause an effect between -1 and 1.8 within the sample. It seems that predisposition is vital to the effect of these groups.

1.4.3 Immigrant Rights

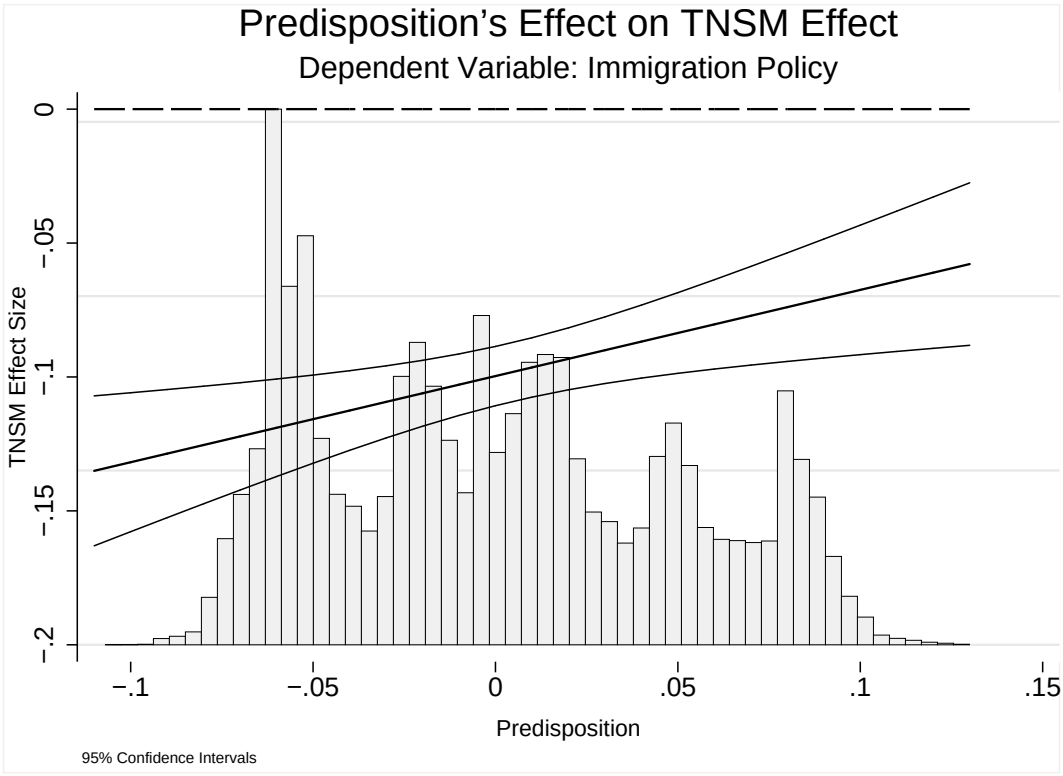
The results for immigrants, presented below are exactly as predicted. Beginning with the measures for predisposition, all of the measures performed as expected. Those who are less proud of their nationality, those with larger primary geographical identification and those who tolerate more types of neighbors are all positively and statistically significantly relate to predisposition[and all except for identity for the policy models at a p level of 0.001]. Those who are more right have increasingly lower predispositions towards arguments

about immigrants and immigration.

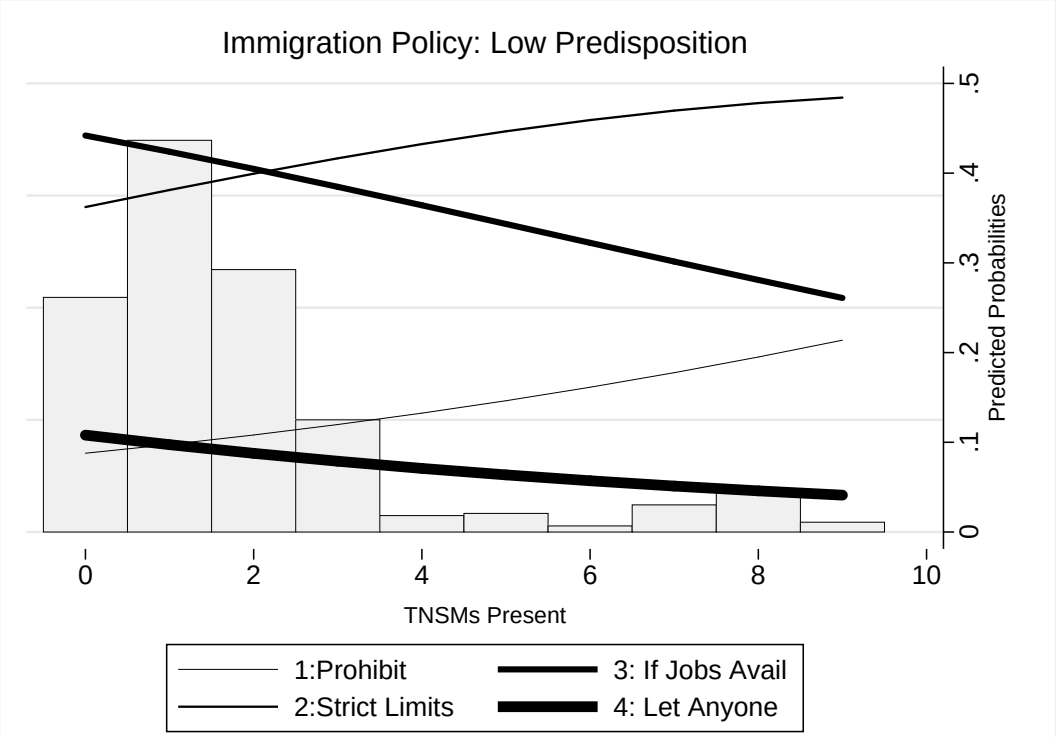
Predisposition Measures		
	Policy	Neighbors
Proud National	0.705***	0.109***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Geographic Identity	0.241*	0.0542***
	(0.019)	(0.001)
Tolerance Neighbors	3.637***	0.681***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Left/Right	-2.016***	-0.351***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Mean *N*	207437	207437
Main Models		
Predisposition	1	1
	(.)	(.)
TNSM	-0.0997***	0.0845**
	(0.000)	(0.001)
TNSMxPred	0.322**	0.608***
	(0.005)	(0.000)
Year	-0.0138***	-0.0117***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity	0.00512**	0.0411***
	(0.003)	(0.000)
Social Class	0.0273***	-0.0189*
	(0.000)	(0.023)
Income	0.0212***	0.0466***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Female	-0.0531***	0.0539**
	(0.000)	(0.004)
Education	0.0609***	0.0660***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Age	-0.00320***	0.00281***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
GDP/Capita	-2.11e-08***	-3.60e-08***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Imports	0.000602	0.00868***
	(0.350)	(0.000)
Presidential	0.212***	0.355***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Mixed Parl/Pres	-0.299***	-0.323***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Inflation	-1.04e-14***	3.57e-14***
	(0.001)	(0.000)
Unemployment	-0.0257***	0.00812***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Mean District Mag.	0.00122***	0.00184***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
N	116529	116101

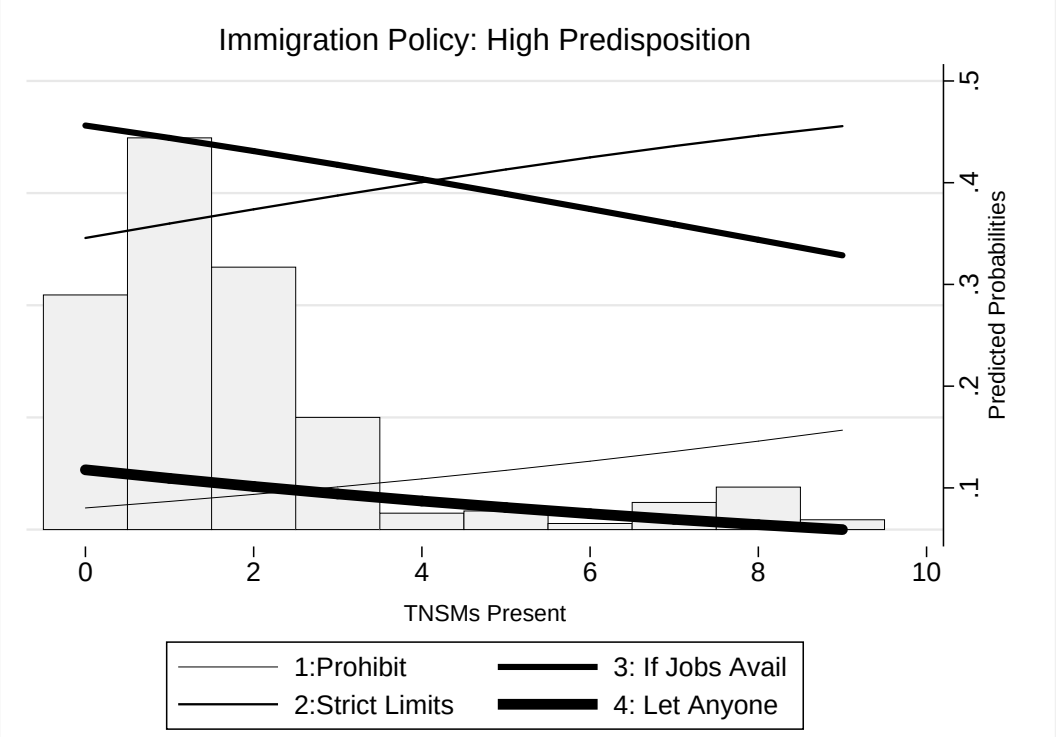
p-values in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Most important to the hypotheses is that both interactive terms are positive and statistically significant at at least the 0.01 p level. Again, the constituent terms of the interactive are only instructive in that the effects for TNSM are the effect size at mean predisposition. This indicates that for immigration policy, presence of TNSMs has a negative effect on the desired openness of immigration policy. However, the presence of TNSMs has a positive effect on the acceptability of immigrant neighbors at mean disposition. The following graphs show the size of the effects given the level of predisposition of the respondent and the predicted probabilities resulting from that at a range of TNSMs and predispositions. The first shows the effect of TNSMs on opinions about immigration policy across levels of predisposition.



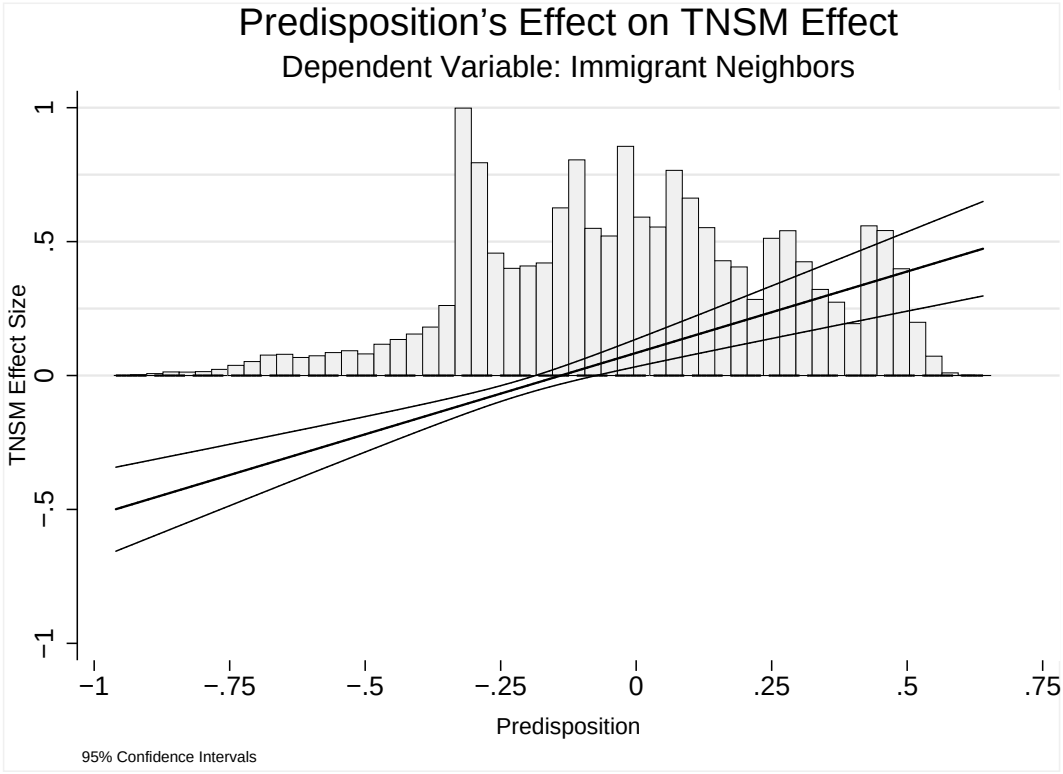
While predisposition does influence the effect of TNSMs, it does not lead to a change in the direction of the effect, remaining negative and statistically significant across the range of predispositions. The following two graphs display the predicted probabilities across the range of the number of TNSMs present, again with a histogram of the number of TNSMs overlaid and the thicker lines representing answers more favorable to the desire for more open immigration policy. The first graph presented has predisposition set one standard deviation below the mean and the second one standard deviation above the mean. The general pattern is that as the number of TNSMs increases, the probability of responding with the lower two categories, prohibit immigration and strict limits on it increase and the more open policy preferences decrease. The difference between high and lower predisposition is more visible than regarding confidence in the women's movement. Categories two and three and categories one and four intersect and the range clearly is smaller when predisposition is high. This means that those with higher predisposition respond less negatively to TNSMs.





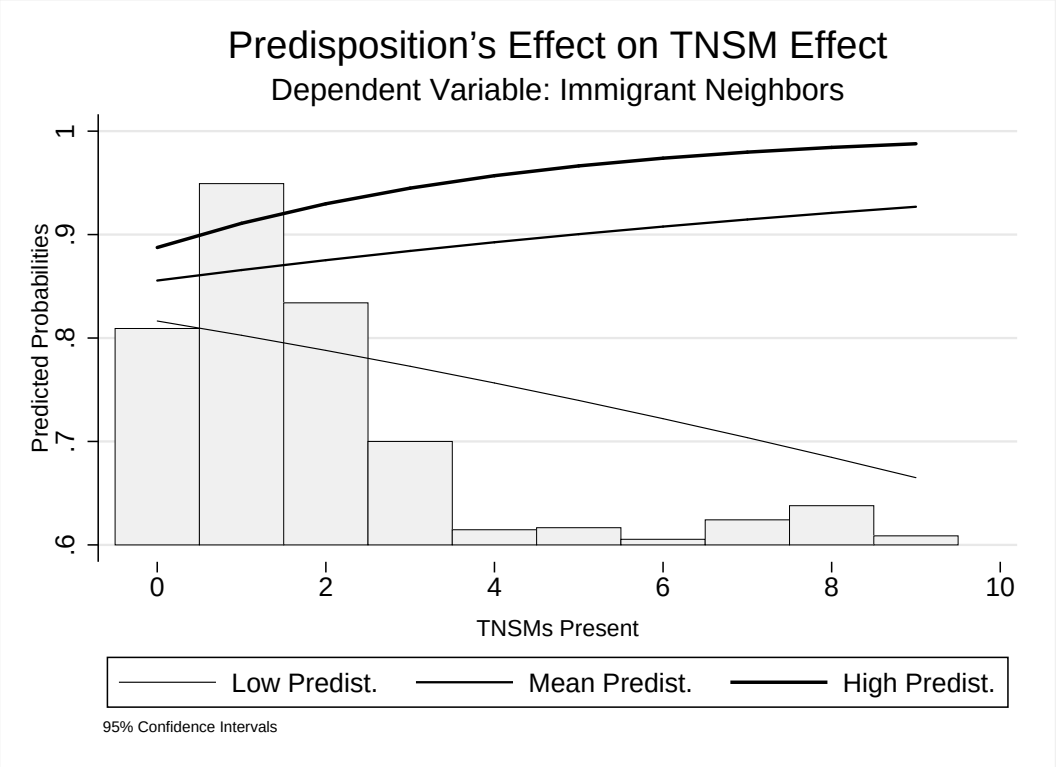
Most clear is that with low predisposition, the probability of wanting to prohibit immigration where most TNSMs operate is around .21, whereas with a high predisposition it is closer to .16. Once again, while the direction of the effect does not change, higher

predisposition does seem to decrease the harm that groups advocating for immigrants do to public opinion in their cause. Next whether immigrant neighbors are acceptable is examined more closely. The following graph again has the range of predisposition on the x axis and and a historgram of the variable overlaid.



Predisposition has a more considerable influence on TNSM's effect regarding whether immigrant neighbors would not be considered problematic. Once again, the direction of the effect is contingent on the predisposition of the respondent. At the mean value there is a slightly positive effect for TNSMs and the strength of the effect size increases as predisposition does. The effect becomes negative and statistically significant at a predisposition value of about -0.19 which is 0.66 standard deviations below the mean value. Since this model is logistic, predicted probabilities must again be used to interpret the substantive effects. The graph below display the predicted probabilities of respondents accepting immigrant neighbors as the number of TNSMs operating increases. The histogram displays the number of TNSMs and the lines represent respondents with low, mean, and high predisposition[One standard deviation above or below]. All other independent variables

are held at their mean values.



As the figure makes clear, the effect of TNSMs is both substantively significant and dependent on predisposition. For high levels of predisposition, the effect from the no TNSMs to the maximum increases the probability by about 10 percent. The effect is about half of that for those who have the mean level of predisposition. However, for those with predisposition one standard deviation below the mean, the probability change is even larger, decreasing from about .8 to .65, a change of 15 percent. This strongly supports the hypotheses.

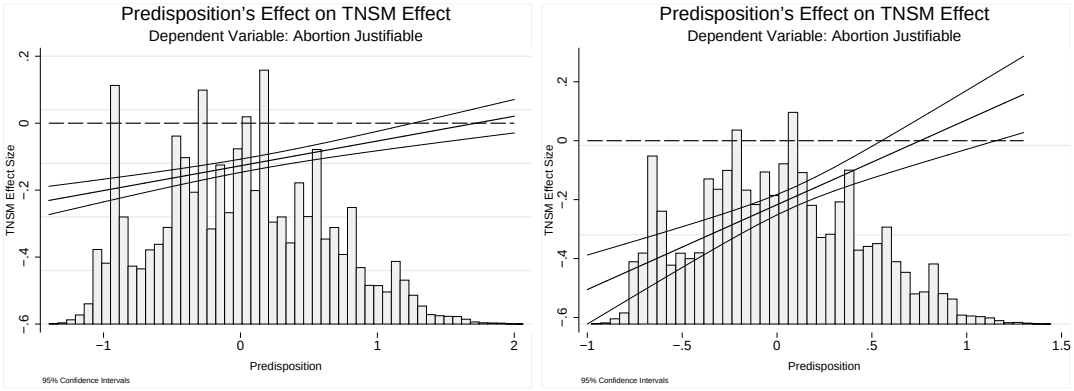
1.4.4 Political Interest

The last hypothesis is that, as Zaller [1992] argues, those who are more politically aware will react more strongly to these inputs. The WVS has a question which asks whether politics is important in life. There are four options from not at all important to very important and the mean value is 1.33. The above models were repeated using only those who considered politics very or rather important. The prediction is that the effects of

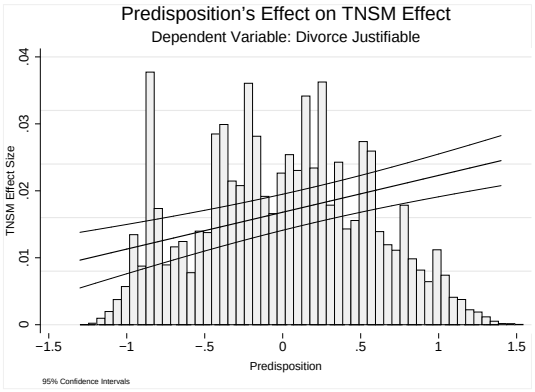
TNSMs will be larger for these people. The table below shows the coefficients for the interaction term for both the full and restricted samples. Some of the models would not converge as the restricted sample is about 40 percent of the full sample.

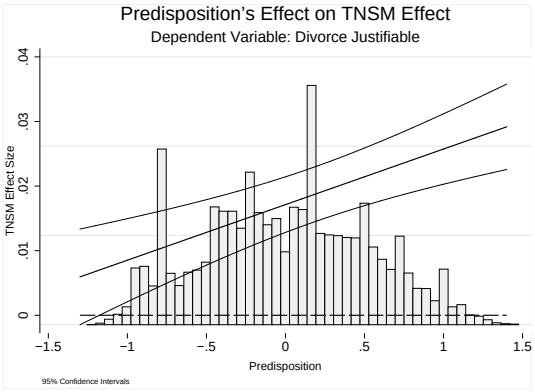
Variable	Full Sample	Restricted Sample
Abortion	0.0740	0.287
Divorce	0.00550	0.0086
University	0.00651	0.028
Immigration Policy	0.322	.125
Immigrant Neighbors	0.608	0.715

With the exception of immigration policy, the effect is stronger in all of the other models. It should be noted that while the effect for university is stronger and closer to statistical significance, it is still well short[$p<0.155$]. The following plots are of the interactive terms with the full sample on the left and the restricted sample of the right. Abortion is presented first.

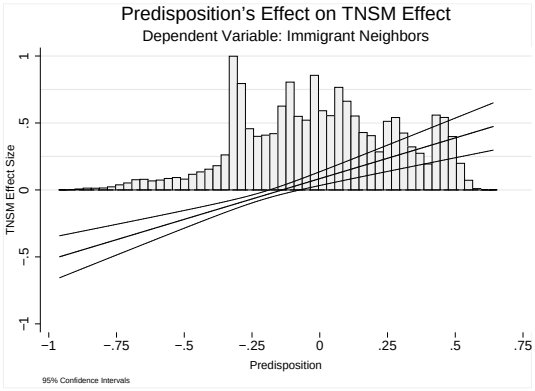


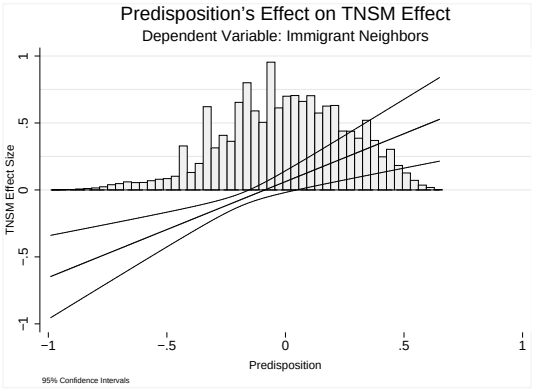
As the plot makes clear, the slope of the line is considerably steeper, now ranging from about -0.5 to 0.15, and at the highest predispositions there is a statistically significant positive effect. This is notable especially as the sample is smaller, so in general, one would expect larger standard errors than the full sample models.





For divorce, the line is again steeper and at the very lowest levels of predisposition the effect of TNSMs loses statistical significance. Unlike for abortion, in this instance it may be that this loss of statistical significance is due to the smaller sample and associated larger standard errors.





For immigrant neighbors, the line becomes steeper and shifts downward such that at the mean value of predisposition, the positive effect is no longer statistically significant. This can be most clearly seen by noting that the effect size at the highest predisposition is about the same, but notably lower at the lowest predisposition. These results all lend support to the hypothesis that those more politically aware are more likely to process these messages and to have their position altered by them.

1.5 Conclusions

These results lend considerable support to the hypotheses in several different areas of human rights concern. TNSMs' effect on whether abortion, divorce and homosexuality

are justifiable are clearly conditioned by predisposition, and for homosexuality, the direction of the results clearly depends on predisposition. This is also the case for whether immigrant neighbors are acceptable. While the degree to which TNSMs' influence opinion are less contingent on predisposition for confidence in the women's movement and immigration policy, the response is still conditional. The predicted effect was not found in regards to whether university is more important for boys than girls. These models do still leave open the possibility that TNSMs choose to operate in more polarized states. The next two chapters address these issues in two ways. The following chapter examines addresses this issue quantitatively. It demonstrates that polarization increases during TNSM pressure rather than predating it. It also considers how the process of normative change occurs over time at the macro level. Further, the relative degree in effect size change for abortion, divorce, and homosexuality[All of those measured on a 10 point scale] leads to a testable prediction at the macro level. Given the range of TNSM effect across the range of predisposition one would expect the predictions made in chapter 4 to be most pronounced for whether homosexuality is justifiable, followed by abortion and then divorce. This is because the effect was statistically significant both positively and negatively for gay rights, both positive and negative for abortion[but not statistically significantly positive] and unidirectional but still conditional for divorce. Unfortunately as the neighbors question is dichotomous, it cannot be used for the marco level tests in the following chapter as the polarization measure requires more than dichotomous variables. However, the immigration policy and confidence in the women's movement may provide some information. The fifth chapter address concerns about selection and the pattern of change qualitatively by conducting research on these TNSMs.

2 Appendix

2.1 List of Countries and Years

Albania: 1997, 2000

Algeria: 2000

Andorra: 2003

Argentina: 1983, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003

Armenia: 1997

Australia: 1981, 1995, 2003

Azerbaijan: 1997

Bangladesh: 1995, 2000

Belarus: 1988, 1995

Bosnia and Herzegovina: 1997, 2000

Brazil: 1991, 1997, 2003

Bulgaria: 1997, 2003

Burkina Faso: 2003

Canada: 2000, 2003

Chile: 1988, 1995, 2000, 2003

China: 1988, 1995, 2000, 2003

Colombia: 1997, 2003

Croatia: 1995

Cyprus: 2003

Czech Republic: 1988, 1997

Dominican Republic: 1995

Egypt: 2000, 2003

El Salvador: 1999

Estonia: 1995

Ethiopia: 2003

Finland: 1981, 1995, 2003

France: 2003

Georgia: 1995, 2003

Germany: 1997, 2003

Ghana: 2003

Great Britain: 1997, 2003

Guatemala: 2003

Hong Kong: 2003

Hungary: 1981, 1997

India: 1988, 1995, 2000, 2003

Indonesia: 2000, 2003

Iran: 2000, 2003

Iraq: 2003

Israel: 2000

Italy: 2003

Japan: 1981, 1988, 1995, 2000, 2003

Jordan: 2000, 2003

Kyrgyzstan: 2003

Latvia: 1995

Lithuania: 1997

Macedonia: 1997, 2000

Malaysia: 2003

Mali: 2003

Mexico: 1981, 1988, 1995, 2000, 2003

Moldova: 1995, 2000, 2003

Morocco: 2000, 2003

Netherlands: 2003

New Zealand: 1997, 2003

Nigeria: 1988, 1995, 2000

Norway: 1995, 2003

Pakistan: 1997, 2000

Peru: 1995, 2000, 2003

Philippines: 1995, 2000

Poland: 1988, 1997, 2003

Romania: 1997, 2003

Russian Federation: 1988, 1995, 2003

Rwanda: 2003

Saudi Arabia: 2003

Serbia and Montenegro: 1995, 2000

Serbia 2003

Singapore: 2000

Slovakia: 1988, 1997

Slovenia: 1995, 2003

South Africa: 1981, 1988, 1995, 2000, 2003

South Korea: 1981, 1988, 1995, 2000, 2003

Spain: 1988, 1995, 2000, 2003

Sweden: 1995, 1999, 2003

Switzerland: 1988, 1995, 2003

Tanzania: 2000

Thailand: 2003

Trinidad and Tobago: 2003

Turkey: 1988, 1995, 2000, 2003

Uganda: 2000

Ukraine: 1995, 2003

United States: 1995, 1999, 2003

Uruguay: 1995, 2003

Venezuela: 1995, 2000

Viet Nam: 2000, 2003

Zambia: 2003

Zimbabwe: 2000

2.2 Distribution Families and Link Functions for GSEM

Endogenous Variable	Distribution Family	Link Function
Dependent Variables		
Abortion	Gaussian	Identity
Divorce	Gaussian	Identity
University	Ordinal	Logit
Confidence in WM	Ordinal	Logit
Gay Neighbors	Bernoulli	Logit
Immigration Policy	Ordinal	Logit
Immigrant Neighbors	Bernoulli	Logit
Predisposition Variables		
Children Independent	Bernoulli	Logit
Children Obedient	Bernoulli	Logit
Religion Important	Ordinal	Logit
Left/Right	Gaussian	Identity
Proud Nationality	Ordinal	Logit
Geographical Group	Ordinal	Logit
Tolerance Index	Poisson	Log

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