

COSMOPOLITANISM AS A MEASURE OF POLITICAL TOLERANCE: AN INQUIRY  
INTO THE ACCEPTABILITY OF HOMOSEXUALITY

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Master of Arts

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by  
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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School, have  
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COSMOPOLITANISM AS A MEASURE OF POLITICAL TOLERANCE: AN INQUIRY  
INTO THE ACCEPTABILITY OF HOMOSEXUALITY

Presented by Jonathan Cisco

A candidate for the degree of Master of Arts

And hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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Dr. Justin Dyer

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Dr. Robert Walker

To my wife, Jayme. This thesis, nor my graduate career, would have happened if not for you. Your love, advice, and patience have enabled me to pursue academia with a steady partner and friend at my side. No one is as lucky as I am. How fortunate am I to have such an intelligent, beautiful woman that is as nerdy and silly as I am? I cherish you everyday. All of my love is with you.

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# COSMOPOLITANISM AS A MEASURE OF POLITICAL TOLERANCE: AN INQUIRY INTO THE ACCEPTABILITY OF HOMOSEXUALITY

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## ABSTRACT

The term "cosmopolitanism," or feelings of global citizenry, is often used in contemporary culture but neglected in the social sciences. This study attempts to resurrect cosmopolitanism and evaluate its relationship with tolerance toward a current stigmatized group: homosexuals. This study creates a multi-part measurement of cosmopolitanism, consisting of feelings of global citizenry, a desire for diversity, and a lack of patriotism. I test the hypothesis that individuals with cosmopolitan feelings will have warmer affective attitudes toward homosexuality with 2005 data from the World Values Survey. I find that even after controlling for normal predictors of homosexual tolerance (i.e., gender, education, religion, partisanship, and political ideology), people with more cosmopolitan mind-sets have warmer attitudes toward homosexuals. Coupled with a nation-wide growing acceptance of homosexuals, I argue that increasing cosmopolitan attitudes may engender more success for the gay rights movement.

## **Introduction**

The ancient notion of "cosmopolitanism," or feelings of global citizenry, is frequently articulated in contemporary culture; yet cosmopolitanism is rarely understood or studied. The idea of being a cosmopolitan dates back to Greek philosophy -- later adopted by Stoic philosophers -- and is now tucked away within the confines of current philosophical discourse. Never has cosmopolitanism been analyzed or evaluated in a systematic way within a sample of individuals; this study attempts to do so.

Understanding or measuring cosmopolitanism is, by itself, interesting. However, by gauging cosmopolitan attitudes within a sample, one is able to see its association with political tolerance. Put a different way, by measuring this unusual connection some individuals feel toward humanity, researchers can see how changing cosmopolitan attitudes may affect acceptance of stigmatized groups. This study looks at the relationship between cosmopolitanism and its tolerance quota toward homosexuality.

First, I evaluate the history of cosmopolitanism. Dating back to Greek philosophy, notable insights occur throughout the span of time, as philosophers, old and new, struggle and discuss how to define this ancient ideal. By evaluating these insights, I distinguish three factors

which define cosmopolitan attitudes: feelings of global citizenry, a fondness for diversity, and a possible weakening of patriotic feelings.<sup>1</sup> I briefly evaluate the contentious issue regarding cosmopolitanism and patriotism, discussing whether an individual can or cannot be both cosmopolitan and patriotic.

Next, I briefly review the history of the gay rights movement. Since the 1980s, the gay rights movement has seen both tremendous success and deafening failure. Furthermore, the more complicated issues of gay adoption or gays in the military show a substantial grey area in how Americans evaluate the issues' acceptability (Mucciaroni 2008).

I then review the literature of political tolerance toward stigmatized groups. Certain indicators span the entire breadth of tolerance literature; I review what these indicators are. Furthermore, I discuss the inherent difficulty in objectifying tolerance. The pitfalls of evaluating how individuals feel about those who hold opposing views calls for a humble approach. After reviewing the tolerance literature, I discuss past and current public opinion toward multiple issues regarding homosexuality.

After evaluating the terms, I then discuss how I measure attitudes

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1. To satisfy scholars who disagree with the latter factor of patriotism, I present two models of Cosmopolitanism, with one model excluding the patriotism element.

toward homosexuality and explore the control variables in my model. After discussing my measure of cosmopolitanism in detail, I utilize ordinary least squares regression to understand cosmopolitanism's relationship with tolerance toward homosexuality.

The hypothesis for this study is as follows: individuals with higher cosmopolitan attitudes, after controlling for similar motivators of political tolerance such as ideology and partisanship, will have more positive attitudes toward homosexuality. By quantifying an otherwise purely philosophical notion, I argue that the increase in cosmopolitan attitudes may also increase tolerance toward homosexuality, possibly affecting the outcome of several gay rights issues.

### **Cosmopolitanism Defined**

Barring pop-culture's exploitation of the term, the notion of cosmopolitanism spans from early Greek philosophy to the modern day. Indeed, President Obama's language in Berlin in 2008, as Senator Obama, echoes closely to many cosmopolitan philosophies. When speaking about the interconnectedness of countries, Obama asserted "And if we're honest with each other, we know that sometimes, on both sides of the Atlantic, we have drifted apart, and forgotten our shared destiny." Naturally, the ancient origins of

cosmopolitanism engenders a significant literature that is beyond the scope of this paper. The below is only a fragment of the vast literature throughout the ages. For this paper, it is only necessary to show that cosmopolitan attitudes span multiple historical and cultural contexts; a great number of people have shown to have feelings of loyalty to mankind.

The term cosmopolitanism, according to contemporary philosophers, originated 2300 years ago with Diogenes the Cynic, one of the founders of Cynic philosophy. When asked where he originated, being exiled from his own land, Diogenes replied, "I am a citizen of the world" (Laertius 1925). Some might argue Diogenes was merely bitter from his exile; yet Nussbaum (1997, 5) argues that by refusing to be defined by local origin, Diogenes was revoking his heritage for something larger. Notions of "status, national origin" and even "gender" were no longer relevant. The Stoics, Hierocles, and Cicero (See De Officiis I.50) asserted that cosmopolitanism can be described by a series of spheres around oneself, one's family, one's country, and ultimately humanity; presumably with a pronounced emphasis on the latter. This belief of *kosmou politês* (world citizen) was further explicated by the stoic philosopher Seneca, who argued that mankind is to measure itself not through boundaries on a map, but to "measure the boundaries of our nation by the sun" (Seneca 1969). The Stoic

ideal of cosmopolitanism, however, was more extreme, arguing that one's "first allegiance [should be given] to no mere form of government...but to the moral community made up by the humanity of all human beings" (Nussbaum 1996, 7).

How did the Stoic philosophers justify allegiance to man-kind over the state? Seneca argued that in each individual lies a "divine spirit" that "guards us and watches us in the evil and the good we do" (Seneca 1969).<sup>2</sup> In other words, the divinity within mankind justifies allegiance *to* mankind, for such allegiance is to a divine power and not a state. That is not to say, however, that cosmopolitanism is a theological concept, or that it is at odds with Western religion. Although early philosophers utilized religious language in describing cosmopolitanism, later philosophers did not. In other words, religious and non-religious people can hold similar cosmopolitan beliefs.

Following Seneca, Marcus Aurelius argued "it makes no difference whether a person lives here or there, provided that, wherever he lives, he lives as a citizen of the world" (Meditations, Book X -- translated by Nussbaum). Kant (1996, 329) elaborated on this ideal in his Perpetual Peace, arguing that cosmopolitanism is, in a sense, one's "right to visit":

    this right, to present oneself for society, belongs to all human

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2. Letter 41

beings by virtue of the right of possession in common of the earth's surface on which, as a sphere, they cannot disperse infinitely but must finally put up with being near one another; but originally no one had more right than another to be on a place on the earth.

Kant's categorical imperative, which argues that "human beings may never be made mere means" but "must remain an ultimate end" further explains cosmopolitanism's devotion to man-kind above all else (quoted in Dallmayr 2003, 424).

### *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism*

In addition to the critique concerning "a universal good" cosmopolitanism implies (Shapcott 2008), a common debate in cosmopolitan literature concerns the compatibility, or lack thereof, of cosmopolitanism and patriotism. Nussbaum (1996, 4) argues that cosmopolitanism embodies "the person whose allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings." If such allegiance is solely to humanity, some argue, how can one be patriotic *and* cosmopolitan? Huntington (2004, 6) argues that moralistic transnationalism, or cosmopolitanism, condemns patriotism as an immoral force. Furthermore, Huntington argues that cosmopolitanism favors a more virtuous international law. Nussbaum's (1996; 1997) writings have also been interpreted as strong denouncements against patriotism. Nussbaum (1996, 14) argues that "patriotism is very close to

jingoism.” Furthermore, Huntington (2004, 9) argues that Nussbaum’s argument implies that patriotism is “morally dangerous.” Neither author offers precise definitions of patriotism, and how it relates to nationalism; the terms are easily confused.

We might clarify this distinction by consulting George Orwell, who attempts to distinguish between nationalism and patriotism, arguing that nationalism is by nature an aggressive mindset, by placing loyalty beyond things good or bad (Orwell 1954). On the other hand, patriotism is a more passive and defensive mindset, with a devotion to “particular place and a particular way of life which one believes to be the best in the world but has no wish to force on other people” (Ibid.) Citrin et. al (1994, 3) concurs in noting that nationalism implies that the most critical loyalty is the loyalty to the state.

Appiah (1996) strives to harmonize patriotism and cosmopolitanism by answering critics like Huntington. Appiah (1996, 22) insists on a more nuanced cosmopolitanism with the notion of “rooted cosmopolitanism.” Rooted cosmopolitans, Appiah continues, accept a world in which “everyone is attached to a home,” yet finds contentment with the existence of different people and different worlds.

The importance of understanding the tension between patriotism and cosmopolitanism cannot be overstated. Being a “global citizen”



does not necessarily imply an absence of patriotism. Furthermore, having strong patriotic feelings towards one's country does not imply intolerance of other nations or peoples. Harmonizing these two opposing views of cosmopolitanism is far beyond the scope of this paper. However, to account for the conflicting views, a definition of cosmopolitanism without including a measure of patriotism is also included in the analysis.

Cosmopolitanism may now be the dominant perspective of United States' citizens (Citrin et al. 1994). Although Citrin (1994, 6) and colleagues argue that "the United States [is] still a relatively cohesive society," they do find evidence of a trend toward national fragmentation. Indeed, a worldwide shift in "supranational citizenship" such as in the European Union, may show cosmopolitan attitudes on the rise (Heater 2000, 196). Even at the college level, where such courses as International Relations have shown to be a catalyst for increasing cosmopolitan attitudes, we may be seeing even higher numbers in this personal philosophy (Singer 1965). Thus, if cosmopolitanism attitudes are predicted to increase in the United States -- and if cosmopolitan attitudes are related to tolerance toward homosexuality -- then understanding this relationship may prove useful in evaluating the future of gay rights issues in the United States.

## **A Brief History of Gay Rights**

June 27, 1969 marks the beginning of the contemporary gay rights movement. Often called the “Stonewall Rebellion,” a raid on the Stonewall Inn, a gay hangout on Christopher Street, turned into a massive riot. Patrons of the hangout, ignited by either the raid itself or the gay politics at the time, bombarded the police with beer bottles and bricks. The night ended with a series of beatings and arrests. The aftershock of the rebellion led to the creation of several gay-rights advocacy groups (Holden 2010).

The gay rights movement is concerned with the legal and political issues of homosexual conduct, adoption, serving openly in the military, marriage, civil rights, and hate crime protection.<sup>3</sup> Proponents for the revocation of homosexual conduct laws framed the issue as relating to “personal freedom and equality” (Mucciaroni 2008, 100). Proponents for gay adoption seek the political goal of deeming sexual orientation unrelated to parental success. A removal of state statutes barring homosexuals from adopting children (e.g. such as the current Floridian

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3. I rely heavily on Mucciaroni’s 2008 *Same Sex, Different Politics* for its explication of the gay rights movement. Mucciaroni also offers an excellent analysis of public opinion’s role on homosexual issues, arguing that much of the success and failure of homosexual issues is a result of perceived threat (i.e. Gay marriage is highly threatening toward the general public; thus, success will be limited. Homosexual conduct, however, is not threatening to the general public; Mucciaroni argues this is partly the reason for the success of conduct laws.

law which explicitly blocks homosexuals from adopting) would qualify as a success for the gay adoption movement. With regard to homosexuals in the military, a repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" symbolizes the primary goal of the movement. Proponents of gay marriage seek the removal of state bans on recognizing homosexual couples. Finally, the gay rights movement seeks civil rights and hate crimes legislation granting nondiscrimination policies and minority protection. Like most movements, the above issues have seen mixed results.

Gay rights have had a series of successes and failures within the last three decades. With the upholding of Georgia's anti-sodomy laws in 1986 in *Bowers v. Hardwick*, the Supreme Court appeared to reverse the direction of the gay rights movement. However, *Lawrence v. Texas* in 2003 repealed *Bowers* on the grounds that the Texas law violated the due process clause of the 14th amendment - ultimately dismissing homosexual conduct laws from the states.

With the increase in gay-couple adoption, gay adoption legality has become a major issue in most states (Mucciaroni 2008). Ten states, plus the District of Columbia, have secured adoption rights for same sex couples.<sup>4</sup> 15 states allow same-sex couple adoption in some

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4. In addition to the District of Columbia, states securing adoption are: CA, CO, CT, IL, IN, MA, NJ, NY, PA, VT (146)

jurisdictions.<sup>5</sup> Finally, seven states prohibit same-sex couples adoption.<sup>6</sup> The private nature of family law allows couples to essentially “shop” for approving judges.

In direct defiance of the success gay rights advocates have had with gay adoption and sodomy laws, military service and homosexuality represents a failure in the gay rights movement. The current political clash concerning “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” the military policy which bans open homosexuals from serving in the United States military, may show promise in an eventual repeal. Some scholars of gay rights, however, argue that the military will be given the final decision in the matter. While public opinion supports a repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” the legislature will defer to the military (Mucciaroni 2008). In the past, the military has been unsupportive of a repeal, which means that public opinion on the matter might be inconsequential in impacting this legislation.

Gay marriage, a notoriously contentious issue since at least the 1990s, has proven to be an overall failure in the gay rights movement. 44 states currently ban some form of same-sex marriage with the help

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5. AL, AK, DE, HI, IA, LA, MD, MN, NH, NV, NM, OR, RI, TX, WA.

6. Mucciaroni (2008, 146) notes: “FL law prohibits gays and lesbians from adopting. MI, MS, and UT laws prohibit unmarried or same-sex couples from adopting. In NE, OH, and WI, a state court has ruled that the law does not allow adoption by same-sex couples”

of the federal Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), which allows states to define marriage in whatever terms the state sees fit. Some successes have been achieved, however. In 2003, Massachusetts argued that banning homosexual marriage was in conflict with the state's constitution. Even more importantly, the recent overturning of California's Proposition 8 by federal judge Vaughn Walker may prove to be a significant accomplishment for gay marriage. The case, pundits argue, will most likely head to the Supreme Court where a decision concerning gay marriage might influence the nation.

President Obama has had a muted response to gay rights in his administration. Although supporting civil unions, the President has repeatedly stated his support for defining marriage as being between a man and a woman. However, with the extensions of hospital visitation rights to same-sex partners, and his support of overturning "Don't Ask, Don't Tell," Obama appears to be moving forward on an agenda for gay rights.

Mucciaroni's (2008) central thesis in *Same Sex, Different Politics* argues that the success or failure of gay rights issues is, in part, a function of perceived threat by the American public. If an issue seems threatening to a majority of voters, the legislative success of that issue is most likely limited. For example, Mucciaroni (2008, 61) finds that half of the speeches in Congress concerning DOMA argued that

homosexual marriage was a “grave threat” to traditional marriage and family; furthermore, public opinion on gay marriage is perceived the most threatening of homosexual issues. This perceived threat, Mucciaroni argues, hinders the movement’s ability to garner sufficient support to succeed with gay marriage legislation. Alternatively, the private nature of homosexual conduct leads to a less-threatening perception by the American voter, which might partially explain the appeal of conduct laws.

The above leads to the connection between cosmopolitanism and tolerance toward homosexuals. One assumption of this study is that those who are tolerant of homosexuality will also be in support of gay rights. Another assumption is that cosmopolitan attitudes affect one’s opinion. Therefore, an analysis of cosmopolitanism in the United States citizenry, paired with the possibility of increasing cosmopolitan attitudes, may help further anticipate the future of the gay rights movement.

### **Political Tolerance**

Studies in political tolerance date back to Stouffer’s 1955 classic *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* as the first wide-ranging

analysis of tolerance in the United States.<sup>7</sup> Stouffer sought to gain an understanding of the political tolerance of the American people toward stigmatized groups at the time: communists, suspected communists, socialists, and the anti-religious. His results exhibited a surprising degree of intolerance in the United States. Although the simplicity of Stouffer's tolerance scale has been criticized (See Finkel, Sigelman, and Humpries's 1999 for a comprehensive review), Stouffer was able to identify several factors that may contribute to intolerance -- many of which continue to show significance. Religious affiliation, gender, age, and education were the primary factors of intolerance in Stouffer's analysis. Stouffer maintained that education was the most important factor in reducing intolerance. With the inevitable increase in educational opportunities, Stouffer asserted that tolerance would also increase in the American public.

Prothro and Grigg (1960) and McClosky (1964) followed Stouffer's lead by assessing the American public's agreement with democratic principles and tolerance. Both studies, Finkel et al. (1999, 208) argue, reveal that democracies can exist even if there is a "lack of consensus"

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7. I am indebted to Finkel, Sigelman, and Humphrie's for their comprehensive review of tolerance literature in the United States in *Democratic Values and Political Tolerance*. Finkel et al. (1999) also delve into the specific tolerance measurements utilized in past studies. Their analysis helps explicate the difficulties of objectifying something as complex as "tolerance."

amongst the populous on democratic norms. Prothro and Grigg (1960) and McClosky (1964) found that most people agree on general or abstract norms of democracy; the contention lies in the application of those norms. In other words, a large majority might support freedom of speech; yet less than half of individuals in Prothro and Grigg's (1960) study would allow a communist to publicly announce their philosophies. The disparity between principles and practice no doubt applies to the tolerance toward homosexuality.

The vast work of John Sullivan et al. (1979; 1981; 1988; 1993) argues that Stouffer's optimism toward increased tolerance in the future was "illusory," and that the seemingly inarguable connection between education and tolerance is exaggerated. Sullivan's studies demanded a more nuanced definition of tolerance, arguing "one is tolerant to the extent one is prepared to extend freedoms to those whose ideas one rejects, whatever these might be" (1979, 784). In other words, to delve deeper into tolerance, scholars cannot use non-diverse stigmatized groups; rather, such groups must be tailored to the respondent, ensuring that groups on a respondent's lists conflict with the respondent's views. Sullivan's work argues that the primary factor in predicting tolerance is the degree of threat a person feels toward that group. Mucciaroni's (2008) analysis of gay rights builds on this idea by arguing that the success and failure of gay rights is in



part a function of the level of perceived threat. For example, Mucciaroni argues that the success toward homosexual conduct laws is partially due to Americans perceiving a low threat to such conduct. Alternatively, the perceived threat of gay marriage to “traditional marital values” is high, leading to a failure on the issue.

The literature reveals the difficulty in measurement and analysis of political tolerance. Clearly, the factors contributing to tolerance are elaborate and complicated; any findings concerning the nature of tolerance should be taken with a hint of humility. Solving the problem of measuring general tolerance is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, this study is interested only in tolerance of homosexuality. Although I argue my findings might be applied to other stigmatized groups, all results can only confidently be applied to homosexual tolerance.

### **Public Opinion Literature on Homosexuality**

To understand the relative impact of cosmopolitanism on attitudes toward homosexuality, it is important to assess other factors found to have an effect on tolerance toward homosexuals. Public opinion allows scholars and the country at-large to ascertain the political pulse of a nation. Furthermore, attitudes toward stigmatized groups may foretell

future political success or struggle for those groups. More specific to homosexuals, Overby and Barth (2002, 434) argue that, "because the political opinions of rank-and-file voters can be crucial in determining how such issues are resolved, it is important to determine the factors that retard or promote public support for gay/lesbian rights."

Research concerning attitudes toward homosexuals is found throughout the social sciences, particularly in psychology. Heterosexual men tend to be far more antagonistic toward homosexuals, particularly against gay men (Kite 1984; Herek 1988; Kite 1994). Furthermore, Herek (1988) argues that friends' attitudes, traditional familial ideologies, and religiosity also contribute to individuals' negative attitudes. Other attributes such as levels of education and "psychological inflexibility" or close-mindedness contribute to the political intolerance of homosexuals (Gibson and Tedin 1988, 602). Unfortunately, as Overby and Barth (2002) point out, the majority of the psychological literature concerning these attitudes take advantage of student-based surveys and other convenience samples. Although the results from such studies are notable, the inability to make generalizable predictions nationwide is diminished (e.g. Gibson and Tedin's (1988) study is restricted to 619

registered voters in Houston, Texas).<sup>8</sup>

The most fruitful line of research regarding attitudes toward homosexuals lies in the area of contact theory. Put simply, contact theory holds that the more an individual is exposed to a stigmatized group, the more likely that individual will hold warmer attitudes toward that group. Applying contact theory to homosexuals, Gentry (1987) found a positive association between warmer affective attitudes toward homosexuals and having homosexual friends. In other words, people with homosexual friends most likely will show more tolerant feelings toward other homosexuals. Furthermore, Herek and Glunt (1993, 239) find that contact with homosexuals predicts tolerance better than “demographic or social psychological variable[s].” A reciprocal relationship is likely, however. Herek and Glunt (1993, 243) argue that, “heterosexuals with already positive attitudes (or who belong to a group in which accepting attitudes are common) are more likely than others to experience contact.” Three years later, Herek and Capitano (1996, 412) looked further into the danger of the reciprocal nature of earlier studies; they argue, that “the relationship between prejudice and intergroup contact inevitably is influenced by the concealability of the minority group’s stigma.” In other words, friends of homosexuals

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8. See Overby and Barth (2002) for an excellent evaluation of the subject of convenience sampling vis-à-vis homosexual tolerance.

may have been friends prior to being informed of their friend's homosexuality. In addition to close personal contact, Overby and Barth's (2002) findings show that community context, measured as a respondents' estimates of homosexual populations in their community, also improves attitudes and is on par with the effects of education and age.

The potential shift in attitudes toward homosexuals over time is also paramount. Attitudes toward homosexuals may be an exception to the age-stability hypothesis, which argues that attitudes toward controversial issues are formed prior to adulthood. As Anderson and Fetner (2008, 325) argue:

We suspect that regardless of age, many people had uninformed opinions about the issue before it achieved this greater prominence. We suggest, then, that the relatively quick rise to prominence encouraged people to give greater reconsideration to this issue than they would have otherwise.

Changes in attitudes, it appears, is occurring through "intergenerational population replacement" (Inglehart 2006, 129). Inglehart (2006) argues that such changes encourage the legalization of several gay-rights issues. In turn, however, a counter movement against gay rights seeks to obstruct such issues as gay marriage through referenda. This leads to a common misconception that U.S. public opinion is declining in its approval of homosexuality; the opposite is true (Inglehart 2006).

In sum, studies have found several factors that contribute to homosexual tolerance, including education, ideology, religiosity, and individual contact. Studies assessing contact theory and its application toward homosexual tolerance have made a strong case that the contact hypothesis applies to attitudes toward homosexuals. Like contact theory, cosmopolitan attitudes cut across party lines and ideology. Understanding cosmopolitanism's effect on tolerance toward homosexuals contributes to an expansion of the above literature.

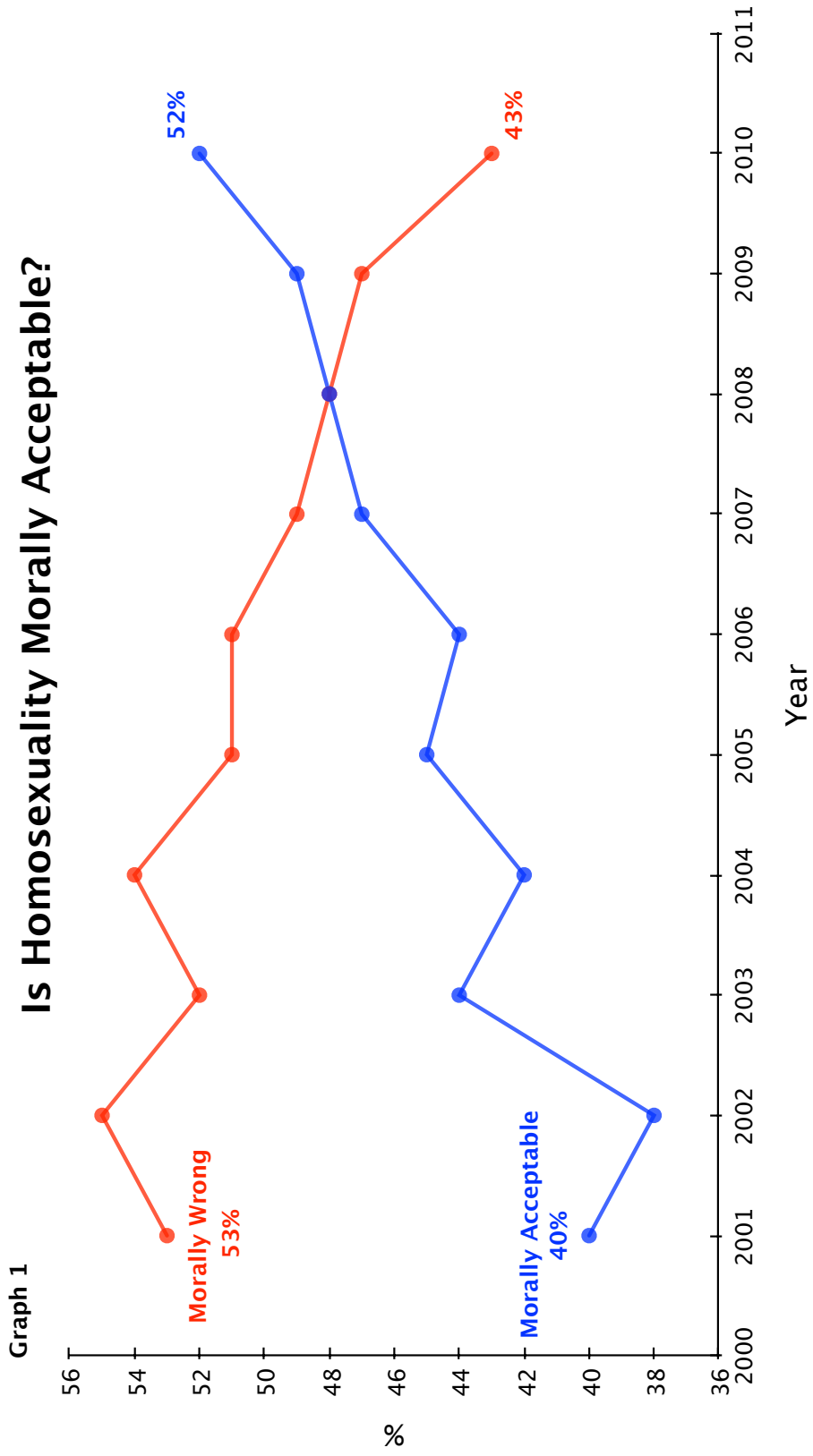
*Public Opinion: Is Homosexuality Morally Acceptable?*

To understand the current tolerance toward homosexuals, it is important to assess the current public opinion concerning homosexuality from a variety of angles. The perceived morality of homosexuality has seen a near 10 percentage-point swing in the last decade (See Graph 1). Beginning in 2001, Gallup News Service constructed random samples of approximately 1,028 adults (ages 18 or older) to assess Americans' perceptions of the moral acceptability of homosexuality. Respondents were asked, "Regardless of whether or not you think it should be legal... please tell me whether you personally believe that in general [Gay and Lesbian Relations are] morally

acceptable or morally wrong” (Gallup 2010).<sup>9</sup> In 2001, 2 out of 5 people thought homosexuality was “morally acceptable,” compared with over half of respondents stating homosexuality was morally wrong. In 2008, the opposing view points were even at 48 percent. The 12 percentage-point swing to 52 percent saying homosexuality was morally acceptable in 2010 most likely indicates a predictable curve toward warmer attitudes. It is important to note that morality and legality are not inextricably linked. Certainly, one may disapprove of homosexuality on moral grounds, and yet still support legal rights for homosexuals, thus coinciding with Sullivan’s (1979) conceptualization of tolerance. In order to separate feelings of morality and legality, one must utilize a question specifically concerning the legal nature of homosexuals.

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9. The wording of such opinion polls may alter findings. In years 2001-2004, Gallup worded the question as “Homosexual behavior” as opposed to “Gay and Lesbian relations.” In the years 2006-2008, the wording used “Homosexual relations.” Furthermore, in 2005 the sample was cut in half, asking approximately 514 individuals.



### *Public Opinion: Should Homosexual Relations Be Legal?*

A slightly different take on the approval or acceptance of homosexuality may lie in the legal sanctioning of homosexual conduct. A Gallup poll conducted through 1977 to 2010 asked respondents, "Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?"<sup>10 11</sup> Graph 2 shows individuals being equal at 43 percent on whether or not homosexual relations should be legal. Two dramatic shifts occurred around 1986 and 2004, perhaps indicating the intense political climate surrounding *Bowers v. Texas* in 1986, which upheld the constitutionality of a Georgian sodomy law, and *Lawrence v. Texas* in 2003, which completely removed homosexual conduct laws in the United States. The significant peaks around these two years is notable. As of 2010, nearly 3 out of 5 Americans believe homosexual relations should be legal; only a third of Americans currently feel homosexual conduct should not be legal -- a 13 point drop since the beginning of the poll in 1977.<sup>12</sup> As stated above, it is important to isolate feelings of morality and legality. Although such feelings are not

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10. 1977-2008 polls used "homosexual relations" in place of "gay or lesbian relations" in the question wording.

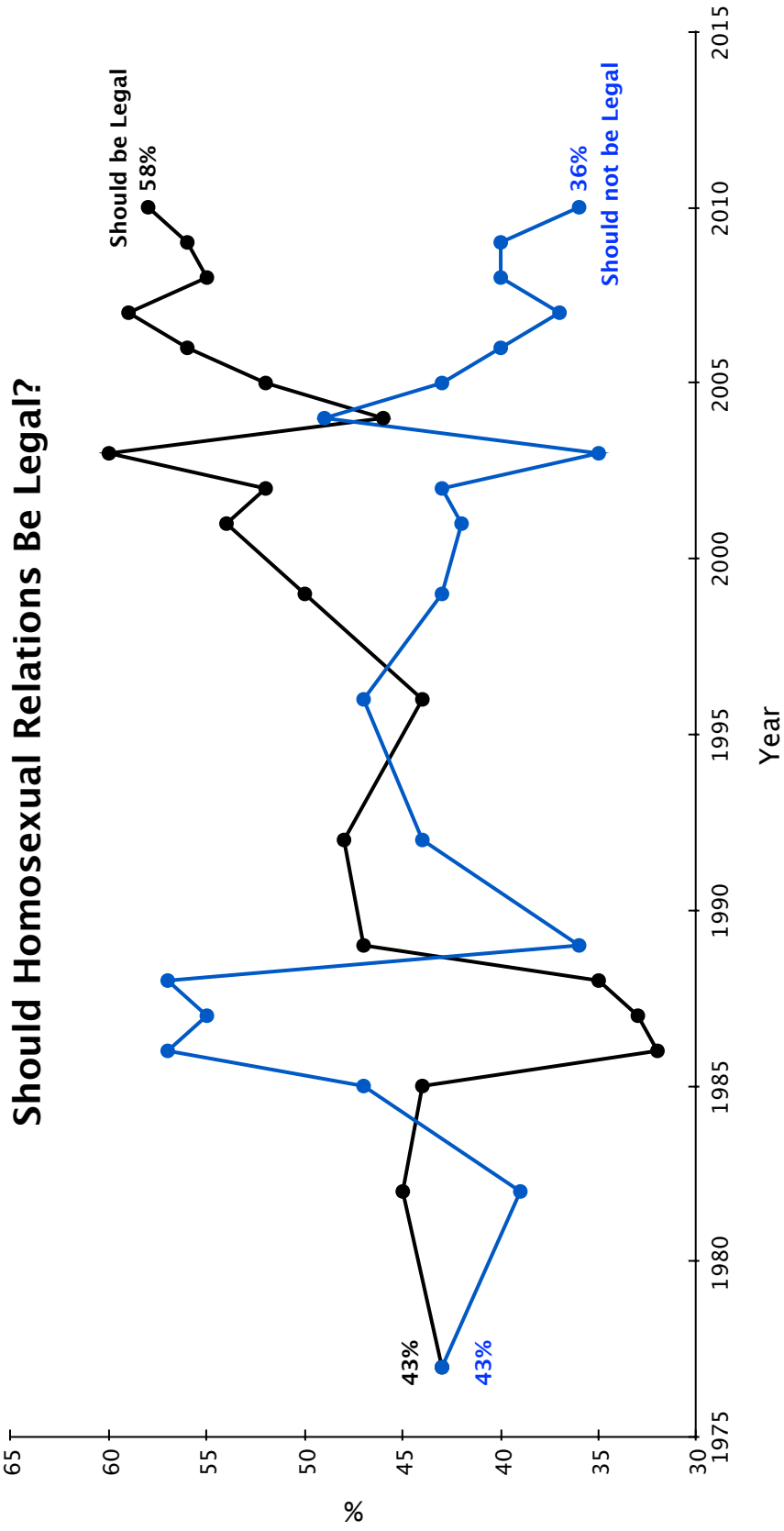
11. During the years 1986, 2003, 2004, and 2005 multiple polls were used. Only the first polls of those years are shown in Graph 2.

12. A notable discussion concerning the relationship between public opinion and Supreme Court decisions may be found in Gerald Rosenberg's *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* (2008). Rosenberg contends that the Court is generally not capable of social change; a view with notable, although unexpected, evidence.



one and the same, there is certainly a similar pattern of approval between the two questions. To gain an even deeper understanding of current attitudes toward homosexuals, a question negating moral and legal questions might prove useful; focusing instead on attitudes about the origin of homosexuality may give a more in-depth grasp of current opinion.

Graph 2



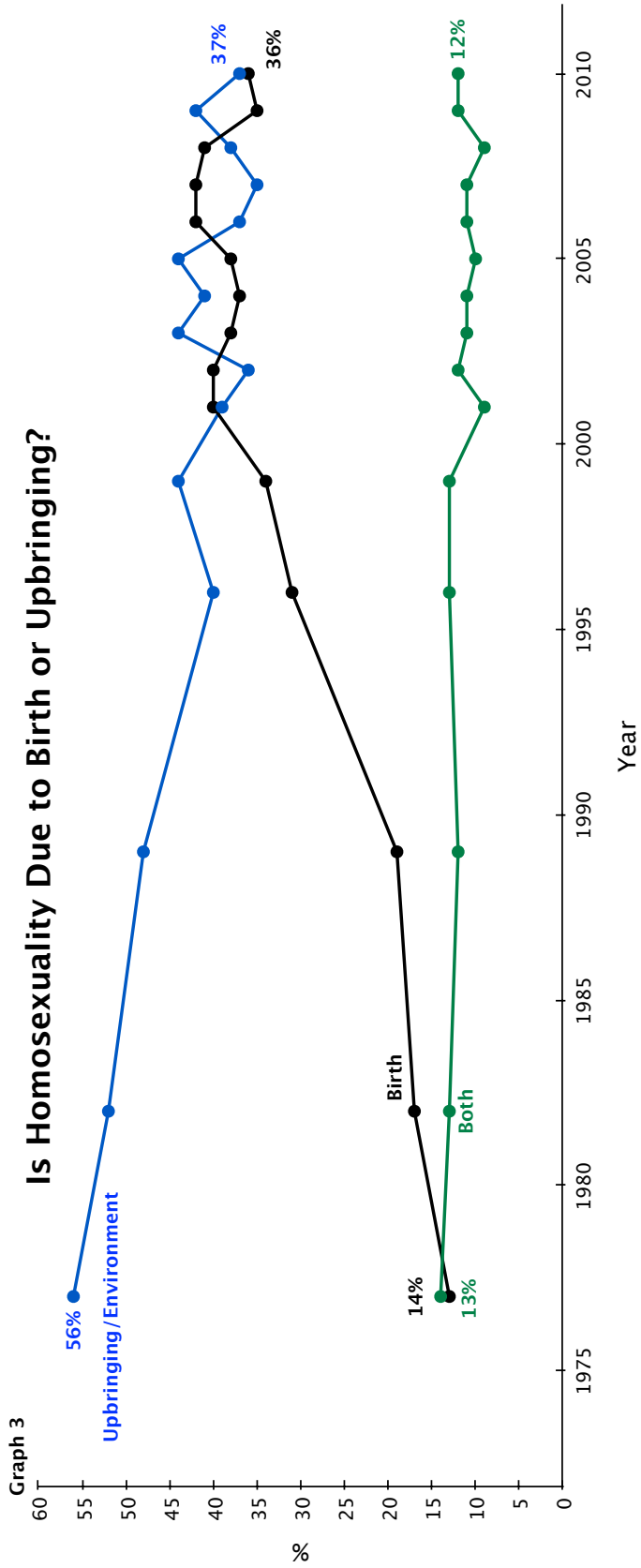
*Public Opinion: Is Homosexuality Due to Birth or Upbringing?*

An interesting comparison to the morality and legality questions lies in opinion toward the origin of homosexuality. Beginning in 1977, respondents were asked whether homosexuality begins at birth or if it is an effect of upbringing or environment.<sup>13</sup> Both viewpoints have shown changes throughout the last three decades. In 1977, a vast majority of Americans believed that homosexuality was caused by upbringing or environment, as compared with 14 percent of Americans believing homosexuality began at birth. In 2010, the viewpoints are near equal with both viewpoints comprising just over a third of the population. Any future trends in these opinions are difficult to project.

In sum, although attitudes concerning the origin of homosexuality have changed comparatively little since the 1970s, opinion concerning the moral and legal issues of homosexuality have shown a dramatic shift. An increasing percentage of Americans believe that homosexuality is morally acceptable; in terms of legality, an increasing percentage of American's believe homosexual relations should be legal.

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13. For years 1977-2008, wording was rotated amongst "something a person is born with" or "due to facts such as upbringing and environment." In the year 2006, only half of sample was asked.



## **Methodology**

This study utilizes a subset of the 2005-2006 World Values Survey collected by Ron Inglehart at the University of Michigan and Knowledge Networks. This study's purpose is to evaluate cosmopolitan tolerance toward homosexuality in the United States; thus, I focus only on the United States subset of the data. The World Values survey consists of stratified random samples to represent individuals 18 years or older in the United States, resulting in a sample size of 1710 individuals.

### *Dependent Variable*

The dependent variable is designed to evaluate individual attitudes toward homosexuality. The question on the survey is asked amongst various political and moral issues and is phrased: "Please indicate for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between." Homosexuality is presented with a 1-10 scale, with 1 representing "never justifiable" and 10 representing "always justifiable" (World Values Survey 2005).

There are notable limitations with this question. As Anderson and Fetner (2008, 316-18) point out, the question is listed among morally

questionable items, including cheating on taxes, accepting bribes, and prostitution. The placement of the question may “prime” respondents to have a more negative attitude on all items. The question also fails to distinguish between male and female homosexuality, which may affect the results due to the perceived differences between male and female homosexuals (Kite 1984; Herek 1988; Kite 1994). This distinction is rarely found in other survey instruments investigating attitudes toward homosexuality.

By using the statistical method of Ordinary Least Squares Regression, the justification of using a 1-10 scale as the dependent variable is required. Public opinion research commonly uses thermometer scoring to evaluate attitudes, with scores between 1-100 (0 ranking as a “very cold” response and 100 ranking as “very warm”). The 1-10 scale lacks the solid “indifferent” point of 50 in thermometer scoring. Furthermore, the question wording may also be suspect. Asking for the “justifiability” of homosexuality may not elicit an identical response to a question asking about “feelings toward” homosexuality. However, the descriptive statistics of this study’s dependent variable and other public opinion research looking at homosexuality are comparable. The mean score on the 1-10 scale is 4.5, compared to Overby and Barths’ 2002 thermometer scoring of 35. The standard deviation of the 1-10 score is 3.2, compared to Overby

and Barth's 29.13. Furthermore, this scale shows that 21.4 percent of the sample find homosexuality "somewhat justifiable"<sup>14</sup>, as compared to Herek and Capitanio's 1996 survey showing that roughly 23.6 percent approved of homosexuality and Overby and Barth 2002 showing 20 percent ranking above a thermometer score of 50. I believe the above comparisons justify this study's assumption of using the 1-10 score as a comparable thermometer scoring of attitudes toward homosexuality.

### *Independent Variables*

Following Herek and Capitanio (1996) and Overby and Barth (2002), I include a variable to control for likely voters to control for political potency. People who voted in the 2004 presidential elections were coded 1, with all others coded 0. Voters in the 2004 presidential election account for approximately 74 percent of the sample.

Following Herek and Glunt (1993; 1996), I also include two dummy variables indicating the respondents' party identification. Republicans were coded as 1, and all other responses coded 0; self-identified Republicans comprised approximately 27 percent of the sample. Similarly, Democrats were coded as 1 and zero for all others,

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14. I include scores of 8-10 on the dependent variable.

comprising 31 percent of the sample.

Ideology is an intuitive component of predicting political tolerance and has a solid foundation in the literature (see Herek and Capitanio 1996; Overby and Barth 2002). To control for ideology, I include a measure asking respondents "In political matters, people talk of 'the left' and 'the right'. How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking?" Respondents were given a 1-10 scale with 1 labeled "left" and 10 labeled "right." The mean ideology was 5.7, indicating a right-of-center sample.

Past literature has shown that females tend to have warmer affective feelings toward homosexuality, as well as having more contact with homosexuals (Logan 1996; Herek and Glunt 1993; Overby and Barth 2002). Thus, I include a gender control variable with women coded as 1 and men as 0.

Age has been shown to have at least an indirect impact on political tolerance (Stouffer 1955; Sullivan et al. 1981; Herek and Glunt 1993; Overby and Barth 2002). The sample respondents' ages range from 18 to 91 with a mean age of approximately 48.

Education is a common control variable in political tolerance literature. Sullivan et al. (1981, 94) argue that education is the "foremost" social determinant of tolerance. Furthermore, homosexual tolerance literature has shown education to be a significant factor



(Overby and Barth 2002). To distinguish between levels of education, three education dummy variables (less than a high school education, high school graduate, and college graduate) are used. 68 percent of the sample have less than a high school education, while approximately 22 percent and 2 percent of the sample have a high school or college degree, respectively.<sup>15</sup>

Race in political tolerance has shown a somewhat inconsistent relationship with tolerance in the literature (Sullivan et al. 1981). I include a dummy variable to account for black respondents, with blacks comprising approximately 10 percent of the sample group.

I include three measures related to feelings of religious importance and religious affiliation. Following Sullivan et al. (1981) and Overby and Barth (2002), I include dummy variables for both Catholics and Protestants. Catholics comprised approximately 20 percent of the sample; Protestants comprised approximately 32 percent. To allow for the influence of religious adherence, I also include a survey item of religious importance. Respondents were asked, "For each of the following, indicate how important it [religion] is in your life." Respondents ranked religion's importance on a 1-4 scale,

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15. The percentage of college degrees in this particular sample is most likely incorrect; therefore, the correlation between the college educated and tolerance toward homosexuality will most likely be limited.

1 labeled "very important" and 4 labeled "not at all important." The variable was recoded to allow for increasing importance on the scale. The mean score for religious importance was 3.11, indicating a moderately religious sample.

Overby and Barth (2002, 448) argue that "traditional personal relationships might have colder affective attitudes toward homosexuals." To account for this possibility, I include a dummy variable for respondents currently married, comprising approximately 58 percent of the sample population.<sup>16</sup>

### *The Cosmopolitan Variable*

The primary methodological goal of this study is to quantify the philosophical notion of cosmopolitanism. Having the ability to measure cosmopolitanism enables one to look at the effects of such an attitude on political tolerance. My cosmopolitan measure consists of three items: a measure of global citizenship, feelings toward diversity, and patriotism.

The most fundamental aspect of cosmopolitanism is the notion of "global citizen." Nussbaum (1996, 7) translates Seneca in elucidating the cosmopolitan ideal, whereby humans reside in a local community

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16. For additional information concerning marriage's effect on political tolerance, see Herek and Capitanio 1996).

and a human community which is interconnected -- devoid of superficial boundaries.

Fortunately, the World Values Survey offers an item asking respondents, "People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Would you indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself?" The survey continues in presenting the respondent with "I see myself as a world citizen," allowing a 1-4 scale with 1 labeled "strongly agree" and 4 labeled "Strongly disagree." The measure was recoded to allow for an increasing feeling of global citizenry.

A second important aspect of cosmopolitanism is one of "open-mindedness" or acceptance of different ways of life. Nussbaum (1996, 9) identifies this factor by arguing cosmopolitans "must...learn to recognize humanity wherever they encounter it, undeterred by traits that are strange to them, and be eager to understand humanity in all its strange guises." Immanuel Kant, translated by Nussbaum (1997, 12), followed the Stoics by insisting that "we [hopeful cosmopolitans] owe it to other human beings to try to understand their ways of thinking, since only that attitude is consistent with seeing oneself as a 'citizen of the world.'"

I include a question relating to ethnic diversity as a surrogate for feelings toward diversity. Respondents were asked, "Turning to the

question of ethnic diversity, with which of the following views do you agree? Please use this scale to indicate your position.” Respondents were presented with a 1-10 scale with 1 labeled “Ethnic diversity erodes a country’s unity” and 10 labeled “Ethnic diversity enriches life.”

The element of patriotism is the final component of the cosmopolitan scale. As mentioned earlier, the philosophical debate concerning patriotism and cosmopolitanism remains an impassioned discourse. Can an individual who feels more connected to mankind than to his or her country still be patriotic toward their home country? The assumption against patriotism is that individuals that are more cosmopolitan can only be *less* patriotic. To assess the relationship between cosmopolitanism and tolerance, the observer must choose a side on this issue. To alleviate the debate for the purposes of this study, I run two OLS regressions: one with a three-part cosmopolitan variable including a patriotism factor and another with only the first two elements.

To measure patriotism, I include a survey item that asks the respondents’ level of pride in their country. The question reads: “How proud are you to be an American?” The respondent is then given four choices: 1 (Very proud), 2 (Quite proud), 3 (Not very proud), and 4 (Not at all proud). I include this item in the cosmopolitan measure

with the patriotism factor. The sample showed a mean of 1.42 in this patriotism scale, with a standard deviation of 0.65, indicating a very patriotic sample.

The three (or two, when excluding patriotism) factors of cosmopolitanism are combined to create an overall measure of cosmopolitanism. The final result is a cosmopolitan score for each individual ranging from 1-100, with larger scores indicating a higher level of cosmopolitan feelings.<sup>17</sup> The mean cosmopolitan score, not including the patriotism element, is 68.89; the mean cosmopolitan score while including patriotism is 61.47. These higher than majority scores concur with the literature that argues the United States has strong cosmopolitan attitudes (Citrin et al. 1994). A summary of the descriptive statistics for both independent and dependent variables are shown in Table 1.<sup>18</sup>

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17. I borrow this idea of creating a “score” from Dow (2009), who used a series of variables to create an individual political knowledge score.

18. Analyses utilizing the ordinary least squares (OLS) of econometrics requires several assumptions about the data, each of which have been tested and passed. To ensure the standard errors are valid, the errors of the model must be normally distributed. With a sample size of 1,123, I can invoke asymptotic theory (Wooldridge 2008). In addition to asymptotic theory, I also utilized the Shapiro-Wilk tests for normality, indicating that my model does indeed have normally distributed errors. Additionally, heteroskedasticity, non-constant errors given different values of  $x$ , can also cause invalid t-statistics. I tested the model for heteroskedasticity with the White test. This test is based on the squared-error term, whereby the term, if homoscedasticity is present, should be uncorrelated with all independent variables, their squares, and the cross-products of all the independent variables. The test revealed that my model conforms to the homoscedasticity assumption (Wooldridge 2008, 264-66). Finally, the zero conditional mean assumption (ZCM) assumes that the expected error for any given independent variable will be zero. A violation of the ZCM will result in biased estimates. Ramsey’s regression specification error test (RESET) can test for misspecification (Wooldridge 2008, 303). The RESET test did indicate the

**Table 1** Descriptive Statistics for Dependent and Independent Variables

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum Value	Maximum Value
Feelings toward Homosexuality	1175	4.50	3.22	1	10
Cosmopolitan Score	1164	68.89	18.60	14.29	100
Cosmopolitan Score (incl. patriotism)	1159	61.47	15.34	16.67	100
Likely Voter	1249	0.74	0.44	0	1
Republican	1249	0.27	0.44	0	1
Democrat	1249	0.31	0.47	0	1
Ideology	1203	5.71	1.83	1	10
Female	1249	0.50	0.50	0	1
Age	1249	47.96	17.03	18	91
Age-Squared	1249	2589.56	1720.53	324	8281
High School Education	1249	0.55	0.50	0	1
Less than High School	1249	0.35	0.48	0	1
College Educated	1249	0.02	0.14	0	1
Black	1249	0.10	0.30	0	1
Religious Importance	1239	3.11	0.99	1	4
Catholic	1249	0.20	0.40	0	1
Protestant	1249	0.32	0.47	0	1
Married	1249	0.58	0.50	0	1

## Findings

The results of the OLS model without accounting for cosmopolitanism is shown in Table 2. The adjusted R-squared in the model excluding the cosmopolitan score is approximately .28, explaining just under 30 percent of the variance of the dependent variable. The results from most of the variables coincide with the literature. Likely voters tend to have warmer attitudes toward homosexuality with at least 95 percent confidence, controlling for other variables. Republicans, blacks, individuals with more “right”

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possibility of omitted variable bias; I thus squared each independent variable and input the squared-terms into the model. Including the squared terms revealed no significant differences. Because some literature indicates a quadratic relationship with age, I do include the squared-age variable in the

ideologies, those with education at or below a high school diploma, males, and people who deem religion more important in their lives have colder attitudes toward homosexuality with at least 90 percent confidence, controlling for other variables. The insignificance of the age variable differs from the literature, indicating no relationship between attitudes toward homosexuality and age, controlling for other variables. The normal distribution of the age variable voids the possibility of a biased age sample. The college education variable is also unrelated to attitudes. Although individuals with less education (up to a high school degree) appear to have significantly negative attitudes, the effect of education appears to lower as individuals climb the academic ladder. The results with higher education would most likely be different if more of the sample was college educated. The Catholic and Protestant variables are not significantly related to attitudes toward homosexuality, contradicting some previous research (e.g. Sullivan et al. 1981; Overby and Barth 2002).<sup>19</sup>

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19. The model was run without the religious importance variable to show that without the variable, Protestantism becomes significant. Clearly, controlling for religious importance may make religious sects insignificant.

**Table 2** OLS Estimates (Excluding Cosmopolitan Measure)

<b>Independent Variables</b>	
Constant	11.6*** (0.78)
Cosmopolitan	
Likely Voter	0.53** (0.21)
Republican	-0.67*** (0.22)
Democrat	0.32 (0.20)
Ideology	-0.33*** (0.05)
Female	0.53*** (0.17)
Age	-0.02 (0.03)
Age-Squared	0.0001 (0.0003)
High School Education	-1.36*** (0.30)
Less than High School	-1.50*** (0.32)
College Educated	0.66 (0.64)
Black	-0.57* (0.30)
Religious Importance	-1.01*** (0.09)
Catholic	0.27 (0.22)
Protestant	-0.30 (0.20)
Married	-0.26 (0.17)
Number of Observations	1152
Adjusted R-squared	0.28

Standard errors in parentheses

\*p &lt; 0.10; \*\* p &lt; 0.05; \*\*\*p &lt; 0.01



Table 3 shows the model with the inclusion of the cosmopolitan variable composed of two parts (i.e., including global citizenry and diversity elements). The adjusted R-square is .32, explaining just under a third of the variance of the dependent variable. Few notable changes occur in the other independent variables. The married variable does become significant at 90 percent confidence with the inclusion of the cosmopolitan variable; however, the change is negligible. The increase in the adjusted R-square indicates that the cosmopolitan variable does increase the explained variance. The cosmopolitan variable, defined as feelings of global citizenry and a fondness for ethnic diversity, increases the predictive power of the model by 4 percent. The highly significant cosmopolitan variable would increase an individual's rating of the justifiability of homosexuality (a score between 1-10) by .04, even after controlling for notable variables such as ideology, partisanship, and religion. In other words, a single unit increase in the cosmopolitan variable will elicit an .04 increase in the attitude toward homosexuality score, controlling for other variables.

The second column in Table 3 shows the OLS results utilizing the three-part cosmopolitan variable (i.e., global citizenship, fondness for diversity, and patriotism). The patriotism factor does add a slight increase in the explanation of the variance. With an adjusted R-square

of .33, the OLS model explains a third of the variance. No notable changes occur in the significance of the other independent variables. The OLS results show that a single unit increase in the cosmopolitan scale will trigger a .04 increase in the justifiability of homosexuality scale, controlling for other independent variables. This may show that the debate concerning cosmopolitanism and patriotism, at least within the context of tolerance, is less of an issue than originally thought.

**Table 3** OLS Estimates including Cosmopolitan Variable

<b>Independent Variables</b>		
Constant	8.92*** (0.84)	8.37*** (0.87)
Cosmopolitan	0.04*** (0.004)	
Cosmopolitan (Including Patriotism)		0.04*** (.005)
Likely Voter	0.43** (0.21)	.44** (0.21)
Republican	-0.46** (0.22)	-0.43** (0.22)
Democrat	0.32 (0.20)	0.31 (0.20)
Ideology	-0.30*** (0.05)	-0.28*** (0.05)
Female	0.42*** (0.16)	0.42*** (0.16)
Age	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Age-Squared	0.0001 (0.0002)	.0001 (.0003)
High School Education	-1.10*** (0.29)	-1.04*** (0.29)
Less than High School	-1.23*** (0.31)	-1.15*** (0.31)
College Educated	0.53 (0.62)	0.57 (0.62)
Black	-0.64** (0.29)	-0.62** (0.29)
Religious Importance	-1.12*** (0.09)	-1.12*** (0.09)
Catholic	0.30 (0.22)	0.33 (0.22)
Protestant	-0.23 (0.20)	-0.23 (0.20)
Married	-0.29* (0.17)	-0.27 (0.17)
Number of Observations	1127	1123
Adjusted R-squared	0.32	0.33

Standard errors in parentheses

\*p &lt; 0.10; \*\* p &lt; 0.05; \*\*\*p &lt; 0.01

The addition of the cosmopolitan variable shows a highly significant relationship with attitudes toward homosexuality, even after controlling for notable variables. In accordance with the literature, republican partisanship, ideology, gender<sup>20</sup>, education (at or below a high school diploma), and religious importance are highly significant predictors of attitudes toward homosexuality. The incorporation of the cosmopolitan variable increases the explanatory power of the model by 4 percentage-points.<sup>21</sup>

## **Discussion and Conclusions**

The purpose of this study was to quantify the otherwise qualitative notion of cosmopolitanism, and to assess statistically its relationship with political tolerance toward homosexuality. The notion of cosmopolitanism dates back to greek philosophy with Diogenes the Cynic, with later acceptance by the Stoics, Hierocles, Cicero, and Marcus Aurelius. Cosmopolitanism, put simply, argues that one's loyalty lies not within a state or group of peoples; rather, that loyalty

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20. It should be noted that an interaction effect of female and cosmopolitanism was included in the original model; contrary to my expectations, in this sample, female cosmopolitans do not show any significant correlation with homosexual tolerance.

21. Community context also has a significant relationship with attitudes toward homosexuality; the variable was unfortunately not included in this model due to a lack of data. See Overby and Barth 2002 for additional information regarding the effect of community.

belongs to all of man-kind. Cosmopolitan language can be found amongst recent scholars, philosophers, and politicians (See Citrin 1994; Nussbaum 1996 and 1997; Appiah 1996; Heater 2000; Huntington 2004; Shapcott 2008). Previous cosmopolitan literature constructed three elements that make up the mind-set: feelings of world-citizenry, a love of cultural or ethnic diversity, and (some argue) a renunciation of traditional patriotism.

Previous research concerning attitudes toward homosexuality finds that primary motivators affecting such attitudes include gender, friends' attitudes toward homosexuality, familial ideologies, religiosity, education, region, and close-mindedness (Herek 1988; Gibson and Tedin 1988; Overby and Barth 2002). Furthermore, the homosexual tolerance literature concerning contact theory finds that contact with homosexuals may improve attitudes toward homosexuality, on par with the effects of education and age (Gentry 1987; Herek and Glunt 1993; Herek and Capitanio 1996; Overby and Barth 2002).

Using the 2005-2006 World Values survey, this study shows that the measure of cosmopolitanism has a statistically and substantively significant impact on attitudes toward homosexuality, even after controlling for many of the independent variables found in the above literature. By assessing both notions of cosmopolitanism (i.e., whether or not to include a patriotism element), this study shows that

the finding holds for both versions. Furthermore, this study shows that cosmopolitanism can be objectively measured in a population. Naturally, correlation does not equal causation. It is possible that a reciprocal relationship exists between cosmopolitanism and tolerance, whereby more tolerant people are more cosmopolitan. The direction of causation is difficult to elucidate. Most certainly, some cross-correlation exists.

Additional research is needed to confirm cosmopolitanism's tolerance toward other stigmatized groups. I suspect that such tolerance would be found toward common stigmatized groups, such as racial and religious minorities. However, the precarious nature of evaluating tolerance has its limits, and I suspect cosmopolitans would inevitably reach some limit with regard to tolerating groups who are intolerant, such as racist groups (see Sullivan 1979, 1981, 1988, and 1993 for an elaborate argument concerning this limitation). Furthermore, it would be intriguing to expand this objective measure of cosmopolitanism toward other countries and analyze its effects toward tolerance (e.g., Cosmopolitan's tolerance toward indigenous peoples). Alternatively, measuring what makes someone cosmopolitan (i.e., Making cosmopolitanism the dependent variable) might help explain a possible increase in the ideology.

This study's findings would certainly be improved with a

thermometer score for attitudes as the dependent variable. Including the effects of country region (e.g., Individuals from the southern United States) would improve the findings. Finally, including a variable to measure objective contact with homosexuals, following contact theory, would solidify the findings.

How does this study's conclusions further our knowledge of tolerance and gay rights? All of the studies concerning tolerance and approval of homosexuality imply that public opinion, tolerance, and legislative success go hand in hand. Most certainly, institutional constraints play a dominant role, such as the deferment to the military by Congress and the Court with "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (Mucciaroni 2008). However, the nature of referenda and initiatives clearly indicate a direct connection between public opinion and the success or failure of gay rights. The nature of amending the Constitution to revoke homosexual marriage bans (i.e., most bans are a direct result of citizen initiatives), regardless of increasing cosmopolitan attitudes, will most likely be extremely difficult. However, issues such as gay adoption and homosexuals in the military may show improvement if cosmopolitanism increases.

An overall theme of the multitude of gay rights organizations is the pursuance of a general acceptance of homosexuals; proponents seek to *eliminate* negative stereotypes of homosexuals that contribute

to intolerance. Beginning in 2006, attitudes accepting homosexuality on moral grounds have continued to increase to 52 percent of the nation; currently, 58 percent of the nation feels that homosexual relations should be legal. Cosmopolitanism, a mind-set shown to be tolerant toward homosexuality even after controlling for political factors, is also increasing (see Citrin 1994; Heater 2000). I theorize that the massive increase of global socialization, whether it be through Facebook, MySpace, Skype, higher education, or access to international travel, will continue to increase cosmopolitan attitudes. This increase of a tolerant mind-set may be a catalyst for the gay rights movement, perhaps giving hope to activists that help, in the form of cosmopolitans, is on its way.



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