

National Pro-social Norms as a Motivator of Ethical Cosmopolitanism

An Experimental Test

Nicholas Faulkner¹

Although philosophers and political theorists have contemplated the concept of cosmopolitanism for millennia, limited research has been conducted on how individuals can be encouraged to act as ethical cosmopolitans in practice. The current study (N = 282) experimentally tested the effectiveness of one possible motivator of ethical cosmopolitan action: national-group pro-social norms. Theorists have long argued that norms influence behaviour, and past empirical studies have found that group norms affect a wide range of behaviour, including some forms of pro-social behaviour. National group norms proscribing care and giving help to suffering individuals irrespective of their group affiliations were thus hypothesised to increase cosmopolitan action. Results of the current study provide tentative support for this claim. Participants who were randomly allocated to receive information that the majority of people in their nation expressed care towards all people in need, and a desire to be genuinely helpful towards those who are suffering in other parts of the globe perceived their nation to embrace stronger cosmopolitan norms than participants who did not receive this information. Perceived cosmopolitan norms were, in turn, positively correlated with cosmopolitan helping. Structural equation modelling indicated that highlighting a national group norm of helping exhibited a positive indirect effect on cosmopolitan helping by evoking perceptions of a cosmopolitan norm. The effect of norms on cosmopolitan helping was particularly strong for individuals who strongly identified with their nation. Results further showed that perceived cosmopolitan norms were positively correlated with cosmopolitan helping, even when controlling for identification with all humanity. Implications of the findings for research on ethical cosmopolitanism and the effect of norms on behaviour are discussed.

In recent years, theorists of cosmopolitanism have become increasingly interested in how individuals might be encouraged to act as ethical cosmopolitans (eg. Dobson 2006; Erskine 2008; Linklater 2007; Kymlicka & Walker 2012). One perspective, termed ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, posits that individuals may be encouraged to act as ethical cosmopolitanism not by rejecting national groups in favour of an all-inclusive human group, but by using their national attachments to facilitate cosmopolitan action (Kymlicka & Walker 2012, Appiah 1996, 2006; Dallmayr 2003; Baynes 2007; Erskine 2008; Chung 2003; Werbner 2006). This perspective requires individuals to identify with national groups that hold norms of being good global citizens. Identifying as a Canadian, for example, may encourage cosmopolitan action if being a “true” Canadian requires one to express care and concern for foreigners (Kymlika & Walker 2012; Blattberg 2012). Despite the promise of national-level prosocial norms, their effects on cosmopolitan behaviour have never been empirically assessed.

This paper draws on work in social psychology to identify and experimentally test the claim that national-level prosocial norms increase cosmopolitan helping. Considerable research in social psychology supports the idea that group norms affect group members’ behaviour (eg.

¹ PhD candidate, School of Political and Social Inquiry, Monash University. Email: nicholas.faulkner@monash.edu. This paper is work-in-progress and should not be cited without permission.

Cialdini et al. 2003; Cialdini, Reno & Kallgreen 1990; Behavioural Insights Team 2012).² Norms within national groups that proscribe giving care and help to people from other locations who are suffering, irrespective of their national, religious, cultural, or other affiliations, may thus be an important motivator of cosmopolitan action.

Additionally, using norms to increase cosmopolitan action may have two particular strengths. First, given that group norms primarily influence individuals who strongly identify with the group (Gino, Ayal & Ariely 2009; Kelman 1961; Sechrist & Young 2011; Terry, Hogg, and White 1999; Wenzel 2004) national-level prosocial norms may encourage strong national identifiers to act as ethical cosmopolitans, even though their strong national identification may otherwise encourage them to favour their own nation to the detriment of other nations. Second, unlike efforts to increase cosmopolitan action through identification with all humanity (for a review, see Faulkner 2012), developing prosocial norms within nations may encourage cosmopolitan action and simultaneously enable individuals to satisfy their need for distinctiveness (Brewer 1991). In short, national-level prosocial norms may be capable of encouraging cosmopolitan action without requiring cosmopolitan identification. The current study provides a direct experimental test of these claims, and thus provides important empirical evidence about the causal effect of national-level prosocial norms on cosmopolitan behaviour.

Norms and their effects on behaviour

In social psychology, two types of norms are usually defined: descriptive norms, which describe how most people behave in a given situation, and injunctive norms, which describe which behaviours most people approve or disapprove (Cialdini, Reno & Kallgren 1990). Providing information about descriptive norms, injunctive norms, or both has been found to affect a large range of behaviours, including alcohol consumption (Agostinelli, Brown & Miller 1995; Neighbors, Larimer & Lewis 2004), energy use (Schultz et al 2007), pro-environmental behaviour (Goldstein, Cialdini & Griskevicius 2008; Cialdini et al., 2006; Schultz 1999), gambling (Larimer & Neighbors 2003), littering (Cialdini, Reno & Kallgreen 1990), tax evasion (Behavioural Insights Team 2012), outgroup attitudes (Sechrist & Young 2011), dishonesty (Gino, Ayal & Ariely 2009) and certain forms of charitable donations (Shang & Croson 2009).

In all of these studies, the experimental treatment involved providing information about these norms to participants. For example, in one typical study, Schultz and colleagues (Schultz et al 2007) sought to reduce household energy consumption by providing information about descriptive and injunctive norms. Descriptive norms were manipulated by providing participants with 'information about the actual energy consumption of the average household in their neighborhood' along with information about how much energy their own household had used (Schultz et al 2007, p. 431). Injunctive norms were manipulated by drawing either a smiley face, if energy usage was below the neighbourhood average, or a sad face, if energy usage was above the neighbourhood average. Results indicated that providing information about descriptive and injunctive norms reduced energy consumption in homes that had been using above-average amounts of electricity.

The influence of norms on behaviour may depend on strength of identification

² Similarly, theorists of international relations have long held that norms affect behaviour (for a partial review, see Finnemore & Sikkink 1998).

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner 1979; Tajfel & Turner 1986) explains why norms may affect behaviour. Social identity theory postulates that people define themselves by a social identity or collective to fulfil at least two needs: the need to clarify their identity and their need to enhance their self-esteem. To reinforce their identity, and thus to fulfil these needs, individuals strive to conform to the norms—that is, the behaviours or tendencies that characterize this collective (Gino, Ayal & Ariely 2009).

Individuals who identify strongly with a group tend to conform more to group norms than individuals who do not strongly identify with the group (Gino, Ayal & Ariely 2009; Kelman 1961; Sechrist & Young 2011; Terry, Hogg, and White 1999; Wenzel 2004). That is, the behaviour of other group members should especially influence the behaviour of people who strongly identify with the group. Wenzel (2004) found support for this claim in a large-scale survey of Australians: perceived social norms about tax compliance increased concurring behaviour only in people who strongly identified as Australian. In two experimental studies, Sechrist and Young (2011) found similar results. In both studies, students at the University of Buffalo (UB) were provided with information claiming that the average UB student adopted positive attitudes towards African Americans. This information about social norms promoted favourable attitudes towards African Americans only when participants reported being strongly identified (Study 1), or were experimental induced to strongly identify (Study 2), as UB students.

The possibility that national-level prosocial norms may be effective only in strong national identifiers represents a potential strength of the norms approach to increasing cosmopolitan action. Cosmopolitan theorists have sometimes implied that strong national identification may reduce cosmopolitan behaviour (see Nussbaum 1996) or promote anti-cosmopolitan behaviour:

‘...our sense that the “us” is all that matters can easily flip over into a demonizing of an imagined “them”, a group of outsiders who are imagined as enemies of the invulnerability and the pride of the all-important “us”. Compassion for our fellow Americans can all too easily slide over into an attitude that wants America to come out on top, defeating or subordinating other peoples or nations.’
(Nussbaum 2002, p. x)

Similarly, some research in social psychology has revealed that national identification is associated with outgroup derogation and intergroup bias (Mummendy, Klink & Brown 2001; Verkuyten 2009; see also Perreault & Bourhis 1999); however, this association has been asserted not to be universal or consistent across contexts (eg. McGarty 2001; Condor 2001; Hopkins 2001). Thus, at least in some circumstances, strong national identifiers may be more resistant than weak identifiers to attempts that encourage ethical cosmopolitan behaviour. Individuals who strongly identify with their nation may present a difficult challenge for authorities attempting to increase ethical cosmopolitanism. As such, strategies that could encourage strong identifiers to act as ethical cosmopolitans may be particularly valuable to the task of fostering ethical cosmopolitanism.

Norms may provide a way to foster cosmopolitanism that overcomes problems of optimal distinctiveness

In addition to potentially encouraging strong national identifiers to act as ethical cosmopolitans, national-level prosocial norms may provide another distinct advantage: unlike other proposed identification-based methods of encouraging ethical cosmopolitanism (for a partial review see

Faulkner 2012), prosocial norms may enable individuals to satisfy their need for distinctiveness (Brewer 1991) while simultaneously encouraging cosmopolitan behaviour. According to optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer 1991), individuals experience two competing fundamental needs: a need for belonging (or sameness) that is satisfied through group membership and the homogenising effects associated with such membership, and a need for distinctiveness (or difference) that is satisfied through individuality. Groups must balance these competing needs to secure the loyalty of their members:

...groups must maintain distinctiveness in order to survive – effective groups cannot be too large or too heterogeneous. Groups that become overly inclusive or ill-defined lose the loyalty of their membership or break up into factions or splinter groups. (Brewer 1991, p. 478)

Identification-based methods of encouraging ethical cosmopolitanism imply that cosmopolitan action can be encouraged by fostering identification with an all-inclusive human group. Diogenes the Cynic, for example, is sometimes asserted to have identified with all humanity, even at the expense of his more local affiliations (Shapcott 2010; Nussbaum 1996). Similarly, Lu (2000) and Appiah (1996) have suggested that cosmopolitan action may be fostered by establishing something resembling an affiliation with all humanity, in addition to maintaining local affiliations (see Faulkner 2012). According to optimal distinctiveness theory, these identification-based methods of increasing cosmopolitan action are problematic because an all-inclusive human group would be incapable of maintaining distinctiveness and would thus be prone to splintering into factions.

Compared to identification-based theories, using prosocial norms to encourage cosmopolitan action may not be as vulnerable to distinctiveness concerns. In a world that is not uniformly cosmopolitan, 'pro-social behaviour such as charity and helping may be the dimension along which [the group differentiates itself] from others' (Reicher et al 2006). However, in a future, completely cosmopolitan world where all groups had adopted the norm of helping all people in need, such a norm would no longer be distinctive. Yet, the prosocial norm may not have to be dropped to regain distinctiveness. First, groups could maintain distinctiveness by highlighting differences between their group and other groups. An example might be "We all agree on the need to help others, but our group produces the best art". Moreover, some evidence indicates that, although people prefer to be distinct on some characteristics, such as tastes, they prefer to be similar to each other on other attributes, including their political beliefs (Spears, Ellemers & Doosje 2009). To the extent that a prosocial norm of helping other people irrespective of their group affiliations is similar to a political belief, people may not shift from this norm for the purposes of maximising distinctiveness. Thus, prosocial norms may encourage cosmopolitan action irrespective of distinctiveness, but this hypothesis has never before been tested.

Hypotheses

On the basis of the literature outlined above, five predictions were proposed:

1. Information about prosocial norms will increase cosmopolitan helping relative to a control group that does not receive normative information
2. The perception of cosmopolitan norms should mediate this relationship.
3. The effect of national-level prosocial norms on cosmopolitan helping should be most pronounced for participants who strongly identify with the nation.

4. Perceived cosmopolitan norms will be positively associated with cosmopolitan helping, even after controlling for other correlates of cosmopolitan helping, including identification with all humanity [IWAH] and outgroup evaluations.
5. Prosocial norms will increase cosmopolitan helping irrespective of their distinctiveness.

Method

To test these hypotheses, an experiment was conducted in which American participants were randomly allocated into one of four conditions: norms, norms-plus-distinctiveness, norms-plus-low distinctiveness or control. In the norms condition, participants were told that the majority of Americans care about and want to help people who are suffering in other parts of the world, reflecting a prosocial norm in their nation. In the norms-plus-distinctiveness condition, participants were told about this norm, and also informed that this norm was not held by many nations. In the norms-plus-low-distinctiveness condition, participants were told about the norm, but also informed that this norm was held in almost all countries. In the control condition, participants received no information about norms or distinctiveness.

Participants

Participants were 295 USA-based users of Amazon Mechanical Turk (mturk.com). Thirteen participants indicated they were not of American nationality and were thus excluded from the analyses reported below, thus leaving 282 participants. Of these individuals, 153 (54.4%) participants were male, 128 (45.4%) were female, and 1 (.4%) did not provide details of their sex. Participants reported a median age of “25 to 34” and ranged from “16 to 19” to “65 or over”. Furthermore, 37 (13.1%) participants reported that their highest level of education was high-school or less, 123 (43.6%) reported having completed an associate degree or some college, and 122 (43.3%) reported having a Bachelor degree or higher. Participants were paid a base rate of USD 0.25 for their participation, and were offered an additional USD 0.25 bonus at the conclusion of the study. Participants were misled to believe that this bonus would be conditional on whether, at the conclusion of the study, they were able to answer three questions about the tasks they had just completed correctly.³ All participants were actually offered the bonus, and their decision to donate some or all of it formed the key dependent measure, as described below.

Procedure

After responding to an advertisement on the Amazon Mechanic Turk website (www.mturk.com), participants were directed to a study described as being interested in possible links between attitudes and visual perceptions. Participants were told that they would answer a range of questions about their attitudes, and then complete a (bogus) ‘picture-viewing task’ in which they would have to indicate the point in each image that they ‘noticed first’. Participants read information and consent materials before answering a series of demographic questions—such as age, education, sex and nationality—reading the experimental manipulations, completing the dependent measures and filler items, before completing the bogus picture-viewing task.

³ 238 (84.4%) participants answered all questions correctly.

Experimental manipulations

The social norms manipulation drew on existing experimental designs that manipulated social norms by giving individuals information about how other people in their nation typically behave and think (eg. Shultz et al 2007; Goldstein et al 2008). Participants in the ‘prosocial norms’ condition received the following information:

We are happy to report that, according to recent research, **the majority of Americans express care towards all people in need, irrespective of racial, religious or other differences**, and a desire to be genuinely helpful towards those who are suffering in other parts of the globe. Moreover, they **consider this to be a central part of what it means to be American**.

As recommended by Cialdini (2003), this manipulation was designed to manipulate both descriptive (by describing what most Americans think) and injunctive norms (by stating ‘We are happy to report...’) simultaneously. In the control condition, participants did not receive this information.

Two additional conditions were included to investigate whether the effect of social norms on cosmopolitan helping was stronger when the social norms emphasised a distinct and positive feature of their nation. Participants who were randomly assigned to the norms-plus-high-distinctiveness condition received the following information in addition to the social norms information described above:

Globally, **this makes America quite distinct**. Only a minority of nationalities express such widespread care for distant others.

In contrast, participants assigned to the norms-plus-low-distinctiveness condition received the following information, in addition to the social norms information already described:

Globally, **this makes America similar to almost all other nations**. Almost all nationalities express similarly widespread care for distant others.

After receiving the experimental manipulations, participants completed several measures and filler items. To reinforce the manipulation, participants again received the norms and distinctiveness information immediately before the measure of cosmopolitan helping—a measure that was administered at the conclusion of the study and was ostensibly unrelated to previous tasks.

Measures

Cosmopolitan norms

Perceived cosmopolitan norms were measured by asking participants to indicate their agreement (from 1 = ‘Strongly disagree’ to 6 = ‘Strongly agree’) with seven items assessing different aspects of cosmopolitan norms (ie. ‘Being a true American is about... helping other people regardless of their background’, ‘caring for people who are suffering, even if they are not from America’, ‘protecting the human rights of all people’, ‘fighting against global poverty’, ‘assisting people in other countries who suffer from natural disasters’, ‘making sacrifices in order to tackle global problems’, ‘being a good global citizen’). The items showed very good reliability ($\alpha = .91$), and were summed to form a composite measure.

Perceived distinctiveness of prosocial norms

Participants rated their agreement (from 1 = 'Strongly disagree' to 6 = 'Strongly agree') with two statements about the uniqueness of their nation's prosocial norms globally ('The extent to which Americans want to help others is quite unique', 'Most countries are not as caring as America'). The items showed good reliability ($\alpha = .75$, $r = .60$), and were summed to form a composite measure.

Identification with all humanity (IWAH) and national identification

IWAH and national identification were measured using a shortened version of McFarland and colleague's IWAH scale (McFarland et al 2012; McFarland 2011; McFarland, in press). In previous research, the shortened version used here correlated with the full scale at $r > .9$ (Faulkner 2012b; n.d.). The IWAH scale is 'designed to assess a deep concern and caring for all human beings that transcends one's smaller ingroups, a positive caring for all humans everywhere, a sense that all humanity is one's ingroup' (McFarland 2011, p. 13). The shortened scale consisted of four three-part items such as:

How close do you feel to each of the following groups?

- a. People in my community
- b. Americans
- c. People all over the world'

I calculated the measure of IWAH in the same way as McFarland (2011). First separate measures of identification with community, nation, and all humanity were calculated by summing the relevant response to each item. For example, to calculate a measure of identification with community, I summed the scores on each of the four 'People in my community' items. The raw items on both the IWAH ($\alpha = .85$) and the national identification ($\alpha = .86$) scales exhibited good reliability. I then calculated 'the unique variance associated with identification with all humanity by regressing it onto the other two identifications and using the residual score as the measure of identification with all humanity' (McFarland 2011, pp. 13-4). I repeated this technique using national identification as the criterion variable in a separate regression to compute the measure of national identification.

Outgroup evaluations

Evaluations of outgroup traits were measured using a scale adapted from Bettencourt & Dorr (1998). Participants were asked to evaluate the extent to which people from four national outgroups—China, Mexico, Nigeria and Somalia—were trustworthy, intelligent, capable and hard-working (from 1 = 'not at all' to 9 = 'very much'). These sixteen items were averaged to form a reliable scale ($\alpha = .94$), with higher scores indicating more-positive outgroup evaluations.

Cosmopolitan helping

At the conclusion of the study, participants were offered a US\$0.25 bonus payment, ostensibly because they had correctly answered three questions about the tasks they had completed correctly and had thus paid close attention while completing the study. At this point, the experimental manipulations were reinforced by providing participants with shortened versions of the information about norms or distinctiveness that they had received previously. Participants were granted the option to donate some or all of their bonus to Oxfam International, which was described as 'an international organisation whose aim is to reduce poverty and injustice for all people, irrespective of nationalities or religions'. Such helping has been asserted to be central to ethical cosmopolitanism

by a range of theorists (eg. Van Hoof 2009; Lu 2000; Caney 2000; Beitz 1988; Kleingeld and Brown 2009). The amount of money, ranging from 0 to 25 cents, donated to Oxfam formed the measure of cosmopolitan helping.

Results

Manipulation checks

To test the effectiveness of the experimental manipulations, two one-way ANOVAs were computed. The first ANOVA showed a significant effect of the experimental condition on cosmopolitan norms across the four conditions, $F(3, 275) = 3.01, p = .03$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that cosmopolitan norms were higher in the norms condition ($M = 33.9, SD = 6.2$) than the control condition ($M = 30.7, SD = 7.1$), $p = .02$. However, the norms-plus-distinctiveness ($M = 32.2, SD = 5.4$) and norms-plus-low-distinctiveness ($M = 33.0, SD = 6.8$) conditions did not differ significantly from either the control or norms conditions, or each other, $p > .50$. Thus, norms were deemed to have been successfully manipulated in the norms condition, but not successfully manipulated in the norms-plus-distinctiveness and norms-plus-low-distinctiveness conditions.

A second ANOVA uncovered a significant effect of the experimental condition on perceived uniqueness across the four conditions, $F(3, 278) = 3.15, p = .03$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that perceived uniqueness was higher in the norms-plus-distinctiveness condition ($M = 7.7, SD = 2.3$) than the control condition ($M = 6.6, SD = 2.2$), $p = .05$. However, although means trended in the expected directions, the norms ($M = 7.4, SD = 2.4$) and norms-plus-low-distinctiveness ($M = 6.8, SD = 2.5$) conditions did not differ significantly from either the control or norms conditions, or each other $p > .15$. Thus, the manipulation of distinctiveness did not seem to have been effective.

Effects of experimental conditions and national identification on cosmopolitan helping

Exploratory analysis revealed the measure of cosmopolitan helping to be non-normal, Thus, I conducted a series of Kruskal-Wallis H tests and post-hoc Mann-Whitney U tests with Holm's corrections (Holm 1979) to test the effects of norms and national identification.⁴ National

⁴ However, parametric techniques were found to reveal substantively similar results. To test for main and interaction effects of experimental condition and national identification on cosmopolitan helping a 4 (experimental condition) by 3 (strength of national ID) two-way ANOVA was computed. Results revealed a marginally significant interaction between experimental condition and national identification, thus indicating that the experimental condition had different effects on helping dependent on the strength of national identification, $F(6, 259) = 2.0, p = .07$. As expected, an analysis of simple effects revealed that the effect of experimental condition was significant for strong national identifiers, $F(3, 259) = 2.6, p = .05$, and marginally significant for moderate national identifiers, $F(3, 259) = 2.1, p = .10$, but non-significant for weak national identifiers, $F(3, 259) = 0.1, p = .97$. Pairwise-comparisons indicated that, for strong national identifiers, cosmopolitan helping was significantly higher in the norms condition ($M = 9.2, SD = 2.1$) than it was in any other condition ($M < 3.4, SD < 2.2$), $p < .05$. Pairwise-comparisons also unexpectedly indicated that, for moderate national identifiers, cosmopolitan helping was higher in the norms-plus-distinctiveness condition ($M = 10.4, SD = 1.9$) than it was in the norms ($M = 5.0, SD = 1.9$) or norms-plus-low-distinctiveness conditions ($M = 5.4, SD = 1.6$), $p < .05$. This pattern of findings supports the hypothesis that information about norms has a greater impact on helping for strong national identifiers than weak national identifiers.

identification was split into three groups—low, moderate, and strong national identifiers—at the 33rd and 66th percentiles for this analysis.⁵ As expected, the experimental manipulations demonstrated stronger effects on cosmopolitan helping in strong national identifiers than in weak or moderate identifiers. Despite no significant differences between experimental conditions on cosmopolitan helping in weak ($\chi^2(3) = .77, p = .85$) or moderate ($\chi^2(3) = 4.30, p = .23$) identifiers, a significant difference between experimental conditions was observed in strong national identifiers ($\chi^2(3) = 7.91, p < .05$). For strong identifiers, the pattern of mean ranks showed that cosmopolitan helping was higher in the norms condition (Mean Rank = 57.1) than in the control (Mean Rank = 41.6), norms-plus-low-distinctiveness (Mean Rank = 40.28) or norms-plus-distinctiveness conditions (Mean Rank = 48.47). The differences between the norms condition and both the control ($U = 158.5, p < .10$) and norms-plus-low-distinctiveness conditions ($U = 170.0, p < .10$) were marginally significant. Thus, findings suggest that providing information about norms that did not include information about distinctiveness increased cosmopolitan helping for strong national identifiers.

When collapsed across low, medium, and strong identifiers, cosmopolitan helping did not differ significantly across experimental conditions, $\chi^2(3) = 2.60, p = .48$. Although not hypothesized, cosmopolitan helping differed significantly between the three groups of national identification, $\chi^2(2) = 6.10, p = .05$. Post-hoc tests revealed that moderate national identifiers (Mean Rank = 98.85) helped marginally more than strong national identifiers (Mean Rank = 83.07), $U = 3381, p < .10$. No other significant differences were found.

Path model

To test the hypothesised model of the links between norms information, perceived cosmopolitan norms, and cosmopolitan helping, path analysis was conducted. Because the norms-plus-distinctiveness and the norms-plus-low-distinctiveness conditions did not successfully manipulate perceived cosmopolitan norms relative to control, these two conditions were dropped from the path analysis.⁶ Means, standard deviations, and correlations between the three variables in the model are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Means, standard deviations, and correlations of variables in path analysis

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Correlations		
			1	2	3
1. Norm condition	.45	0.5	–	.222*	.030
2. Cosmopolitan norms	32.07	6.93		–	.246**

An unexpected marginally significant main effect of national identification was also found, $F(2, 259) = 2.9, p = .06$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test revealed that moderate national identifiers ($M = 7.3, SD = 9.9$) helped more than strong national identifiers ($M = 4.2, SD = 8.0$), $p = .05$. No significant main effect of experimental condition was found, $F(3, 259) = .70, p = .57$.

⁵ A one-way ANOVA revealed that national identification did not differ between experimental conditions, $F(3, 267) = 0.64, p = .60$.

⁶ Subsequent analyses using all conditions revealed that this decision did not affect the substantive conclusions drawn.

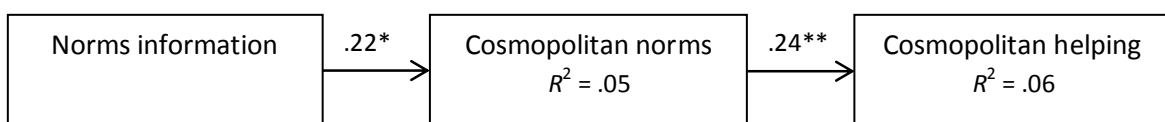
Note: $n = 134$. Listwise deletion was used to remove all participants with missing data. Participants in control and norms conditions only were included. Norm condition was manipulated and coded as 1 = norm information given and 0 = control.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Path modelling of the hypothesised relationships was conducted in SPSS AMOS 20.0 using maximum likelihood estimation and non-parametric bootstrapping, with 2000 bootstrap samples. Non-parametric bootstrapping was used to overcome problems that may have otherwise arisen because of moderate multivariate non-normality (Byrne 2010), Mardia Kurtosis = -4.39. I report significance levels using the bias-corrected percentile method, as recommended by Cheung and Lau (2008), because this method has been shown to produce the most accurate confidence intervals (MacKinnon, Lockwood & Williams 2004; Cheung & Lau 2008; also see Preacher & Hayes 2004).

The model tested is presented in Figure 1. All fit statistics indicated very good fit, $X^2 = 0.72$, $p = .79$, CFI > .99, GFI > .99, RMSEA < 0.01. As hypothesised, norm information had a positive indirect, but no direct, effect on cosmopolitan helping, Standardised Indirect Effect = .052, $p = .008$, CI = .019; .099. Specifically, norms information increased the extent to which participants perceived cosmopolitan norms ($\beta = .22$, $p = .014$), which in turn increased cosmopolitan helping ($\beta = .24$, $p = .006$). When a direct path from norms condition to cosmopolitan helping was added, the path was non-significant, $\beta = -0.2$, $p = .74$.

Figure 1: *Path model showing effects of norms condition and perceived cosmopolitan norms on cosmopolitan helping*



Note: $n = 134$. Listwise deletion was used to remove all participants with missing data. Participants in control and norms conditions only were included. Norm condition was manipulated and coded as 1 = norm information given and 0 = control. For the sake of clarity, error terms are not shown.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Predictors of cosmopolitan helping

To test the hypothesis that perceived cosmopolitan norms would predict cosmopolitan helping independently of related constructs, an OLS regression was computed with cosmopolitan helping as the outcome and cosmopolitan norms, outgroup evaluations, perceived distinctiveness of the prosocial norm, IWAH and national identification as predictors. As recommended by Mooney (1996), nonparametric bootstrapping was used to assess the significance of regression coefficients, because the assumption of normally-distributed errors appeared to have been violated.⁷ The full sample was included for this analysis. Results are presented in Table 2. As predicted, perceived cosmopolitan norms predicted cosmopolitan helping independently of outgroup evaluations, identification with all humanity, perceived distinctiveness of the prosocial norm, and national identification.

⁷ Results from a non-bootstrapped OLS regression, however, were substantively identical.

Table 2: Predictors of cosmopolitan helping

Variable	<i>B</i> (SE)	Lower 95% CI	Upper 95% CI	<i>P</i>
Cosmopolitan norms	.20 (.092)*	.02	.38	.03
Outgroup evaluations	.37 (.559)	-.72	1.47	.49
Perceived distinctiveness of prosocial norm	.01 (.252)	-.51	.47	.98
Identification with all humanity (IWAH)	1.36 (.667)*	.02	2.65	.05
National Identification	-.39 (.562)	-1.50	.70	.50
Constant	-3.10 (3.14)	-9.30	3.28	.31

$R^2 = .073$ ($R^2_{adj} = .055$)

Note: $n = 269$. Bias-Corrected accelerated confidence intervals reported.

Predictive effects of perceived uniqueness

Although the manipulations of distinctiveness seemed to have been ineffective, I tested whether perceived distinctiveness moderated the association between perceived norms on helping. OLS regression with bootstrapping was again used to test this hypothesis. Cosmopolitan norms and perceived distinctiveness were grand mean centred to avoid colinearity and, along with the product of these predictors to represent the interaction term, entered in the model. Results showed that the coefficient for cosmopolitan norms was significant ($\beta = .33$, $p = .001$) but the coefficients for perceived distinctiveness ($\beta = -.17$, $p = .45$) and the interaction term ($\beta = .02$, $p = .36$) were non-significant. Thus, the predictive effect of cosmopolitan norms on cosmopolitan helping was not moderated by perceived distinctiveness.

I also decided to examine the predictive effects of perceived distinctiveness on national identification to determine whether or not perceived distinctiveness was associated with higher national identification. National identification was entered as the criterion variable in an OLS regression⁸, with perceived distinctiveness, cosmopolitan norms and an interaction term entered as predictors. Perceived distinctiveness was found to significantly positively predict national identification, thus suggesting that when prosocial norms are non-distinctive, individuals tend to identify less strongly with the national group $\beta = .16$, $p < .001$. Neither cosmopolitan norms nor the interaction term independently predicted a significant amount of variation in national identification.

Discussion

Although national-group norms of helping and caring for people who are suffering in distant locations had been asserted to be a possible motivator of cosmopolitan action, no study had directly tested this claim using experimental methods. The current study found partial support for the claim that prosocial norms increase cosmopolitan action. Table 3 indicates whether each hypothesis was supported. For strong national identifiers, information that the majority of people in the nation care

⁸ Bootstrapping was not used for this analysis as regression assumptions appeared to have been met.

for and want to help distant others, irrespective of national, religious, cultural or other affiliations, increased cosmopolitan helping. For weak and moderate national identifiers, however, the information did not affect the level of helping. This finding is similar to the results that were reported by Wenzel (2004) and Sechrist & Young (2011). In addition, results showed that perceiving the existence of cosmopolitan norms positively predicted cosmopolitan helping, even after statistically removing the effects of identification with all humanity, outgroup evaluations, perceived distinctiveness, and national identification. Furthermore, structural equation models indicated that information about prosocial norms increased the extent to which participants perceived their nation to hold cosmopolitan norms, which in-turn increased cosmopolitan helping. In short, national-level prosocial norms appeared to motivate cosmopolitan action, particularly for strong national identifiers.

Despite strong support for the claim that strong national identifiers engaged in more cosmopolitan helping after being informed of a prosocial norm, support for the hypothesis that norms increase cosmopolitan helping irrespective of their distinctiveness was mixed. The experimental manipulation of distinctiveness appeared to have been ineffective, so only correlational findings could be obtained. Thus, the ability to reach causal claims was limited. Nonetheless, I found that the predictive effect of perceived cosmopolitan norms on cosmopolitan helping did not differ as a function of perceived distinctiveness. Perceived cosmopolitan norms increased cosmopolitan helping irrespective of whether individuals perceived the norms to be distinctive or not. This finding is congruent with the hypothesis that the effect of prosocial norms on cosmopolitan helping is not significantly changed by information that the norm is distinctive or non-distinctive internationally.

Table 3: *Summary of support for hypotheses*

Hypothesis	Status
H1. Information about prosocial norms will increase cosmopolitan helping relative to a control group that does not receive normative information	Partially supported
H2. The perception of cosmopolitan norms should mediate this relationship.	Supported
H3. The effect of national-level prosocial norms on cosmopolitan helping should be most pronounced for participants who strongly identify with the nation	Supported
H4. Perceived cosmopolitan norms will be positively associated with cosmopolitan helping, even after controlling for other correlates of cosmopolitan helping, including identification with all humanity [IWAH] and outgroup evaluations.	Supported
H5. Prosocial norms will increase cosmopolitan helping irrespective of their distinctiveness.	Partially supported

Not all findings, however, supported the claim that prosocial norms can increase cosmopolitan helping without being affected by distinctiveness. Specifically, perceiving cosmopolitan norms as non-distinctive was associated with reduced national identification. This finding may indicate that when prosocial norms are adopted by most countries, individuals may identify less with their nations. Alternatively, however, people who identify with their nation may simply perceive its positive characteristics to be more distinctive. Given that the manipulation of distinctiveness

appeared to have been ineffective, I was unable to determine the causal direction of the link between perceived distinctiveness and national identification.

Despite finding support for Kymlika and Walker's (2012) and Blattberg's (2012) suggestions that norms may motivate cosmopolitan action, I also found that norms appeared to be only one factor among many that influenced cosmopolitan action. Indeed, the structural equation model presented above demonstrated that perceived cosmopolitan norms explained only six percent of the variance in cosmopolitan helping. The emotions of collective guilt (eg. Iyer et al 2004; Branscombe & Doosje 2004; Faulkner 2013), empathy and compassion (eg. Batson 2012; Ure & Frost 2014; Faulkner, n.d.a), and ingroup-directed anger (Leach, Iyer and Peterson 2006; Faulkner n.d.b) may represent some other motivators that could explain the remaining variance.

A possible limitation is this study relied on a sample of American users of Amazon Mechanical Turk ('MTurk'). MTurk samples, like student samples, are not representative (eg. Paoloacci, Chandler & Ipeirotis 2010; Ipeirotis 2009, Ross et al 2010). However, research has indicated the MTurk samples are more representative than traditional convenience samples, such as student samples (eg. Berinsky, Huber & Lenz 2012). Furthermore, substantial research has shown that MTurk samples produce results that are at least as reliable as findings obtained using traditional sample pools (Buhrmeister, Kwang & Gosling 2011; Berinsky, Huber & Lenz 2012; Horton, Rand & Zeckhauser 2010; Paoloacci, Chandler & Ipeirotis 2010; Rand 2011; Goodman, Cryder & Cheema 2012). Furthermore, research conducted using Asch's line-judgment paradigm (Asch 1952) showed that people in collectivist societies (eg. India, China) conform more to group norms than people in individualist societies (eg. USA, Australia) (Bond & Smith 1996). As such, use of American participants should work against finding support for the hypothesis that social norms affect cosmopolitan action. As such, I expect that the findings from the current study may generalize to other samples too, but future research should assess this possibility.

In sum, past discourse has often assumed that a strong national identity may diminish the sensitivity of individuals to the suffering and needs of people in distant lands. Yet, as this study shows, a strong national identity can promote cosmopolitan helping, provided the individuals believe that such behaviour epitomizes the norms of their nation.

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