# Marginalized Pathways Toward Outgroup Trust: Beyond Universal Impacts of Globalization

Christopher Swader (Lund, LMU), Jan Mewes (Artic University of Norway, Lund), Giuseppe Giordano (Lund)



# Purpose and Aims

- Outgroup trust is among the most important cultural traits linked to modern societies (democracy, culture, and economy)
- ♦ A crisis of trust? The rise of populism, conspiracy beliefs, and intolerance
- How does globalization impact such trust?
- ♦ Is this relationship a universal one, or do important subgroup differences exist?
- ♦ In other words, are we missing anything regarding globalization's impacts on outgroup trust?
- ♦ Such nuanced knowledge is crucial for effective policies.

# Research Questions

- ♦ Does globalization differently impact outgroup trust in distinct complex contexts? In other words, does glocalization matter for understanding outgroup trust?
- 1. Are there substantively **different models** by which globalization explains outgroup trust for **different intersections** of societal and individual characteristics?
- 2. Are **economic** and **social** globalization different in terms of the universality of their models? **(for now only social globalization!)**
- 3. Do the impacts of **ethnic diversity**, **economic inequality**, and **religion** on outgroup trust also depend upon intersectional locations?

### Theory

- ♦ Globalization: enhanced flows, and integration of people, ideas, and capital (Ritzer 2003; Ritzer 2004)
- ♦ Glocalization: globalization's impacts differ in different local contexts (Robertson 1995; Ritzer 2003).
- ♦ Social inequality: mostly links to diminished outgroup trust (e.g. Jetten et al. 2021; Hastings 2018)
- ♦ Ethnic diversity: *diverse, often negative* impacts on outgroup trust (Wilkes and Wu 2018; Stolle et al. 2013; Kumove 2023)
- \* Religion: religiosity/religious denom. Protestantism. country vs. individual levels. (Dingemans et al. 2015; Welch et al. 2007; Traunmüller 2011)
- Most of the literature makes universal claims about globalization's impact on trust. E.g. Berggren and Bjornskov: Globalization: "the alarmists who portray globalization as a big threat to social cohesion seem quite mistaken. To the contrary, indicators of both economic and social globalization stand in a positive relationship to social trust"
- \* We question this univeral assumption based on the notion of glocalization and the methodology of quantitative Intersectionality (Núñez et al. 2023; Ragin 2006)

# Hypotheses

- In important complex subgroups, dominant/universal globalization -> outgroup-trust models do not hold.
- 2. We expect this for both **social** and **economic** globalization (vs. political globalization): perception of zero-sum impacts and competition combined with glocalization.
- 3. Heterogenous effects of **ethnic diversity** (Stolle et al. 2013), **income inequality** on globalization across subgroups.
- 4. Intersections between factors linked to *marginalization* should matter most: socio-economic status, gender, ethnicity, and religion

(There are far too many possible complex subgroups to identify hypotheses for each of them or in most cases to single a particular one out. Rather the process here is first data driven, then abduction whereby theory is developed, then traditional hypothesis testing can take place.)

#### Data

- ♦ Data: 138736 individuals nested in 79 countries.
- ♦ Individual level data: combined wvs\_evs datafile 2016-2022.
- Country level data: Quality of Government (Gothenburg), Aggregated wvs\_evs\_data

# Countries Analyzed

Albania, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Belarus, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, Georgia, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lebanon, Libya, Lithuania, Malaysia, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Myanmar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, North Macedonia, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam, Zimbabwe

#### Measures

- Individual level: female, age, immigrant, education, individualism, ind\_religiosity, household\_size, trust\_ingroup, post\_materialism, memberships, income, unemployed, confidence\_politics, town\_size, sexist\_values, marital\_status, left\_right`
- Country level: ethnic\_fractionalization\_change, religious\_fractionalization,
   linguistic\_fractionalization, gini, globalization\_soc, cntry\_religious\_denom, regime\_type
- ♦ DV: individual-level outgroup trust.

# Key Operationalizations: Outgroup and Ingroup Trust

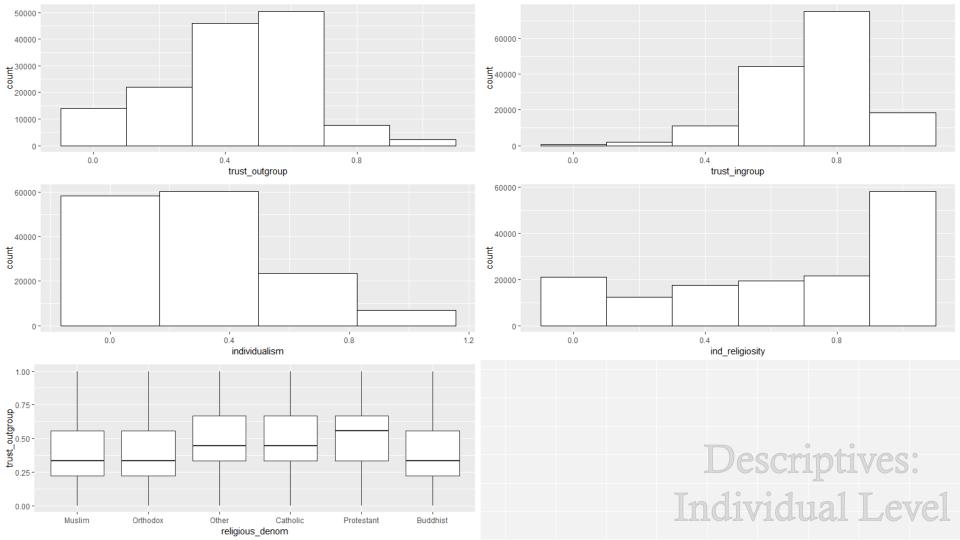
- \* Outgroup trust: Trust people from another religion, another nationality, and people you meet for the first time
- \* Ingroup trust: Trust people from *your family*, from *your neighborhood*, or people you *know personally*

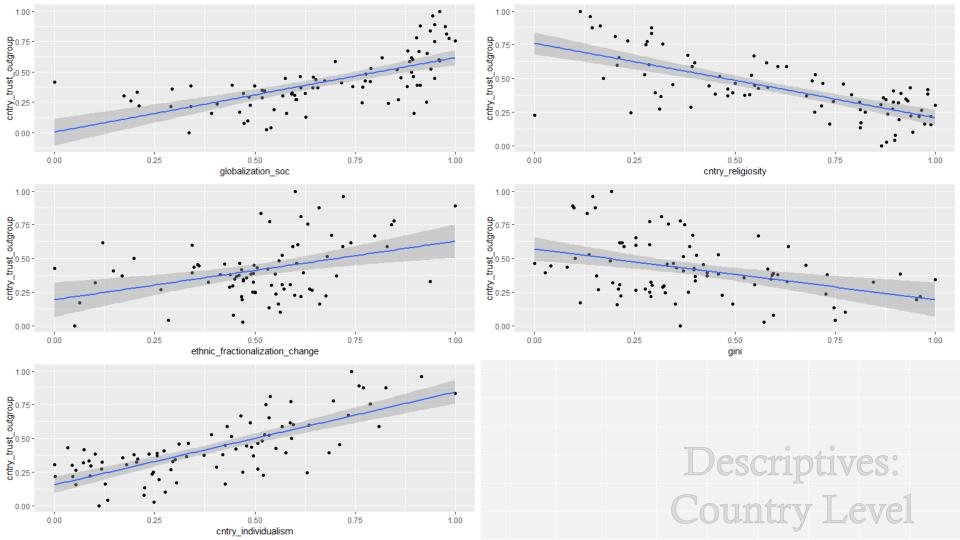
# Key Operationalizations: Globalization

- ♦ Social Globalization: from KOF Index (QoG data) *de facto* and *de jure* interpersonal, informational, and cultural globalization
  - interpersonal globalization: International voice traffic, International money Transfers, International tourism and students, Migration, Telephone subscriptions, Freedom to visit, International airports
  - informational globalization: Used internet bandwidth, International patents, High technology exports, Television access, Internet access, Press Freedom Television access, Internet access, Press freedom
  - cultural globalization: Trade in cultural goods, Trade in personal services, International trademarks, McDonald's restaurants, IKEA stores, Gender parity, Human capital, Civil liberties

# Key Operationalizations: Ethnic Diversity and Social Inequality

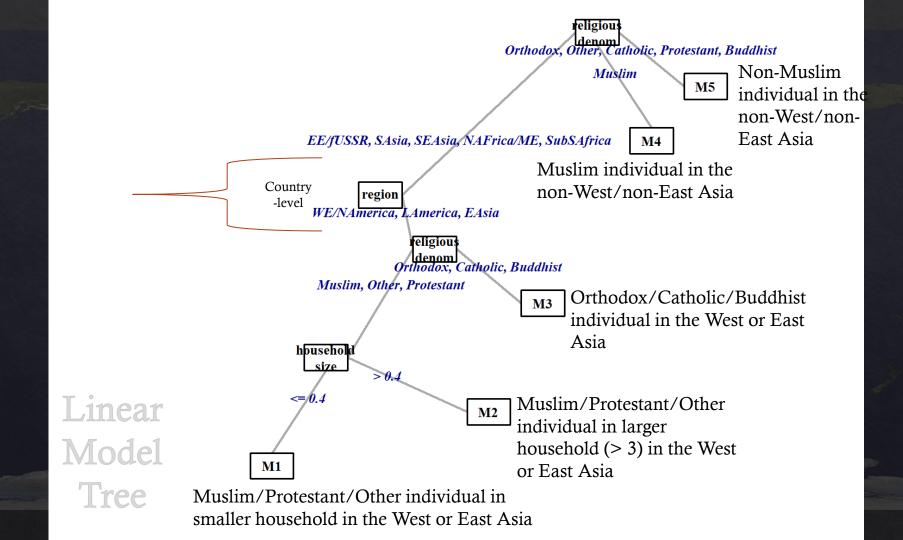
- \* Ethnic Diversity: Ethnic fractionalization: the probability of two randomly selected individuals belonging to a different ethnicity (QoG data). We take the average yearly change in this between 1983 and 2012.
- Social Inequality: Gini coefficient 2020, (Need a replacement! gini change from 1992-2020)

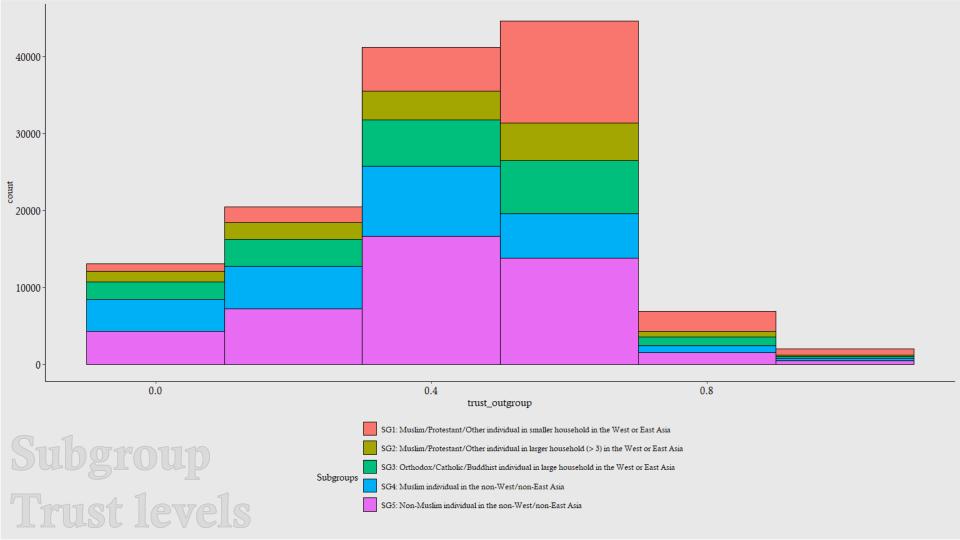


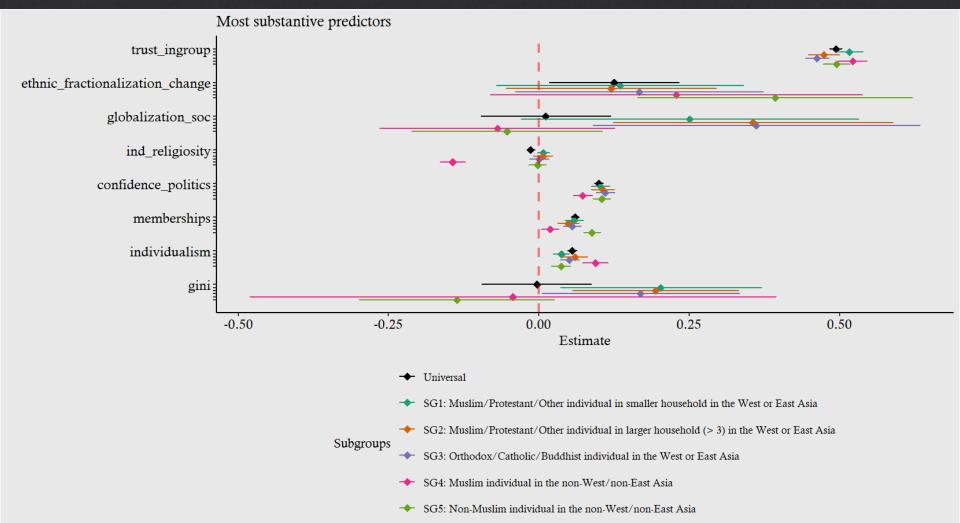


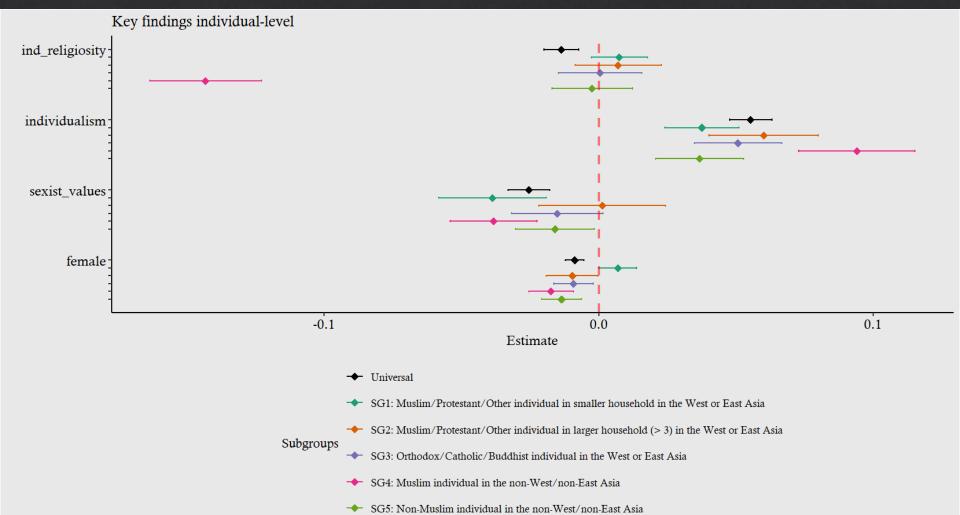
## Analysis

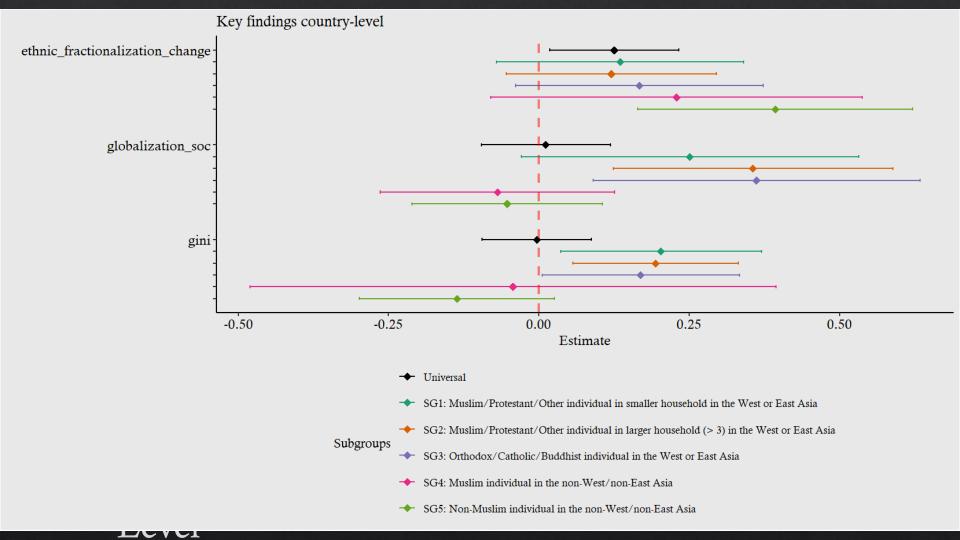
- \* Multi-level linear (individuals in countries) models within Linear Model Trees (Kopf et al. 2013). (perhaps a novel combination)
- \* Linear model trees (LMTs) are a simple machine-learning in which a sample is continuously split based on the combined fit of the resulting *models* in the subgroups.
- \* They contrast with regression trees in that the latter make splits based on sorting the *dependent variable* alone (not the models).
- ♦ LMTs result in a set of complex subgroups, each with their own distinct linear model.
- Advantages: Highly interpretable (in contrast to complex interaction terms), but with fully independent models.











## Summary

- ♦ 20% of the variance in individuals' outgroup trust is due to country-level diversity.
- If anything, increasing ethnic diversity appears to be linked to slightly increased outgroup trust, especially among non-Muslims not living in the West or East Asia.
- ♦ Individualism (and less familism) increase outgroup trust for everyone.
- ♦ Country-level Protestantism (vs. Muslim societies) has no impact on individual outgroup trust
- Sexist attitudes negatively impact outgroup trust.

- Social Globalization is linked to enhanced outgroup trust it for people in the West and East Asia but not in the rest of the World. Likewise economic inequality is linked to enhanced outgroup trust in the West and East Asia, but not elsewhere. Supports the notion of inequality tolerance (Schröder 2016)
- Personal religiosity is tied to reduced outgroup trust among Muslims outside of the West and East Asia, but not among others.
- ♦ Gender: Women are generally somewhat less trusting (but not when they live in smaller families in the West, suggests traditional patriarchical gender norms are to blame.).

#### To do

- ♦ Find/test a replacement for gini and gini change per year.
- ♦ Test the same with economic globalization
- Develop model-subgroup specific theoretical explanations (abduction) that can later be more widely tested.



