AN INTERGROUP PERSPECTIVE ON THE INFLUENCE OF NATIONAL AND REGIONAL IDENTITY ON TRUST IN THE NEWS

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ABSTRACT

Theorizing about variations in trust in the news across contexts rely on assumptions about expectations of accuracy and impartiality on behalf of eager, rational democratic citizens (Stromback et al., 2020; Fawzi et al., 2021). However, comparative studies investigating variations in news media trust across countries stemming from quality issues (partisan/biased/sensationalist news) have yet to accommodate assumptions from a strand of scholarship that has long investigated the origins and consequences of bias in the news from a social psychological intergroup perspective — the hostile media effect (Perloff, 2015). Compelling evidence in favor of this social identity mechanism driving the HME (Reid, 2012; Hartmann & Thanis, 2013; Ariyanto et al., 2007) poses important and unexplored questions for comparativists who are interested in studying variations in trust as being influenced by such perceptions. Perceptions of how social identities beyond partisan or ideological identities like national, regional, gender, class, and ethnic identities are represented in the news media can also influence how individuals trust in the news (Saleem et al., 2019; Tsfati & Cohen, 2005). This proposed link between social group identity and trust in the news is investigated using data from large-scale multi-country surveys in three ways. Data from the Reuters Institute's Digital News Report 2021 which includes data from 35 countries is used to show how perceptions of fairness towards social groups one is a member of (political, ethnic, gender, age, class) is related to generalized trust in the news. Data from Wave 7 (2021) of World Values Survey and the Eurobarometer (2018) are used to show the correlation of identification with national group on generalized trust and regional group identities on trust towards national news.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Tamilians in India, the Catalonians in Spain, and the Quebecois in Canada are some examples of regional minority groups within a nation that are given a greater amount of self-rule over administrative, fiscal, and cultural matters within their respective states (Marks et al., 2008). These groups also produce their own news within these domains; in regions like Tamil Nadu, Catalonia, and Quebec, where the majority of the population in that region speaks a different language than the majority of the country, this news allows people in that region to consume information about politics in their own language produced by members of their group and from a perspective that holds the best interests of the group (Chadha, 2017; Prado, 2015; Lewis, 2008). The people of Catalonia and Quebec have expressed a desire for complete self-rule and put to test the demand for independence amongst their populace through referendums on the issue, while contrastingly, no such claims have been made by the Tamilians and other ethnolinguistic minorities in India. The news produced by and for the people of these regions plays an important role in such an ecosystem, even leading up to any demands for independence (Antecol & Endersby, 2001; Hazel, 2001). While extant literature has explored how negative representations of certain minority groups (African Americans, Muslim immigrants, Latinos) by the majority in their news can cause resentment and a lack of trust in the national news (Gunther, 1992; Tsfati & Cohen, 2005), as well as a desire to produce media that best represents the interests of the group, a different type of minority group's (Quebecois, Catalonians, etc) orientation towards these issues has received much less attention. These groups have a different historical and social reality (Oakes &

Warren, 2007). Over the course of hundreds or thousands of years, distinct linguistic and religious groups emerged within a particular nation state's boundaries in many parts of the world (Shair-Rosenfield et al., 2021). The ability for these groups to have some amount of self-rule was written into the Constitutions of the countries some of them are part of. Democracy in these nations is just as much about who gets to make decisions (states vs federal) as much as they are about how the decisions are made (Hooghe & Marks, 2016). Therefore, the question of how the national press can adequately cover the interests of both the nation as well as the region, and win the trust of citizens identifying with both entities, deserves attention. A separate line of inquiry by intergroup communication scholars has long studied the dynamics of linguistic minority groups like the Quebecois and the Catalonians (Harwood & Roy, 2005; Bourhis et al., 2017). Their theoretical orientation rooted in Social Identity Theory and Self Categorization Theory (SCT) can be informative to our understanding of how and why groups trust in the news because SCT has also been shown to be one important mechanism through which people perceive bias (Hostile Media Effect) in the news (Perloff, 2015).

There exists a long tradition of research in communication science that focuses on trust in the news media and theoretically analogous concepts like media credibility, hostile media perceptions, journalistic quality perceptions, mistrust, distrust and cynicism (Engelke et al., 2019 for a review). Much of this public opinion research is centered on the U.S. and Western European political contexts, while some large scale cross-sectional datasets in recent decades have made it possible to identify correlates of trust in the news media in countries across the world (Tsfati & Ariely, 2014; Kalogeropoulos et al., 2019). Scholars investigating trust in recent decades, concerned by declining rates of trust in the

news in Western societies, have theorized about the causes and consequences for this lack of trust. Two schools of thought have emerged (Tsfati & Cohen, 2012). One emphasis the quality of journalism practiced by the media in a given country and cynical or distrustful perceptions arising from this coverage. The other emphasizes trust in the news media as a consequence of or being related to a psychological building of trust in other political institutions in a country. The latter has received more robust support in empirical investigations of variations in news media trust across contexts using cross-national survey data (Hanitzsch, Van Dalen & Steindl, 2018; Ariely, 2015).

However, comparative studies investigating variations in news media trust across countries stemming from quality issues (partisan/biased/sensationalist news) have yet to accommodate assumptions from a strand of scholarship that has long investigated the origins and consequences of bias in the news from a social psychological intergroup perspective. This strand of research on the hostile media effect (HME) or the hostile media phenomenon started with an investigation into perceptions of bias against a political group in "objective" news within the context of the war between Israel and Lebanon in the 1980s (Vallone, Ross & Lepper, 1985). The effect has been replicated in numerous settings, with scholars offering competing explanations for why individuals perceive this bias (Perloff, 2015). Initial research into mechanisms driving the HME can be categorized as having a focus on individual level perceptions and cognitive processing mechanisms, mechanisms that have also received attention from scholars investigating trust in the news. More recent investigations of the HME have adopted an approach rooted in social identity theory and self categorization theory, which situates the HME as arising from group level perceptions and attitudes adopted by a self categorization

process into a salient social group identity at the time of exposure (Reid, 2012; Hartmann & Thanis, 2013; Ariyanto et al., 2007). Compelling evidence in favor of this self categorization mechanism driving the HME poses important and unexplored questions for comparativists who are interested in studying variations in trust in the media as being influenced by such social identity related perceptions. At the individual level, identification with the nation or any social groups within a nation have not been included as predictors of trust in the news in comparative studies (Engelke et al., 2019; Fawn et al., 2021). Media parallelism is one country level factor that has used in an attempt to quantify variations in quality in media systems and consequent levels of biased or partisan media across countries (Lelkes, 2016; Humprecht et al, 2022). It has been shown to positively correlate with trust in the news in a limited sample of European nations (Ariely, 2015). Extant conceptualizations of the level of bias in a given media system rely on researcher or expert generated assumptions about bias in that media which are then quantified. However, scholars have critiqued this approach for lacking a generalizability to contexts extending beyond countries that have origins in Westphalian ideas of democracy, and for excluding parallelism that can be exhibited by media towards other kinds of politicized or salient group identities like ethnicity, gender, religion, or language (de Albuquerque, 2018). The self categorization approach to the HME would also agree with this criticism and suggest that such perceptions of bias occur in relation to salient in and outgroup identities, and that researcher generated assumptions of the levels of bias in a system do not capture the individual level variation in these perceptions of bias in the news against a diverse array of social groups.

This dissertation will investigate this proposed link between social group identity and trust in the news using data from large-scale multi-country surveys in three ways. First, I will investigate how perceptions of fairness (or unfairness) towards social groups one is a member of (political, ethnic, gender, age, class) is related to generalized trust in the news using data from the Reuters Institute's Digital News Report 2021 which includes data from 35 countries. Second, I will investigate how strength of identification with national and regional group identities is related to generalized trust in the news using data from Wave 7 (2021) of World Values Survey which includes data from 65 countries. Third, I will investigate how being a member of ethnolinguistic minority in Spain is related to trust in the national news as well as trust in specific national language tv news organizations using data from the Eurobarometer (2018) and the Digital News Report 2021.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Trust in the News

Trust in the news media is a concept that has interested political communication scholars starting with Hovland's inquiries into perceptions of source credibility (Hovland et al., 1953). One recently published synthesis of the literature on news media trust defines it as *"the relationship between citizens (the trustors) and the news media (the trustees) where citizens, however tacit or habitual, in situations of uncertainty expect that interactions with the news media will lead to gains rather than losses"* (Stromback et al., 2020). This definition is appropriate for my research since I argue that gains relating to an individual's social identity are an important factor to consider when thinking about why individuals trust the news media. This is distinct from previous theorization on why individuals trust in the news, which have focused on individuals' expectations of the news media performing democratic functions like informing the citizenry in an accurate and credible manner (Fawzi et al., 2021; Kohring & Matthes, 2007).

News media trust is often closely associated with concepts such as credibility and trustworthiness (Kiousis, 2001), as well as their counterparts, such as media cynicism, distrust, or mistrust (Engelke et al., 2019; Tsfati & Capella, 2003). When citizens encounter information in the news media, there is some uncertainty over the accuracy and relevance of that information. This uncertainty is typically resolved using cues in the news environment, which have collectively been categorized as contributing to

perceptions of credibility. People can trust news from sources they consider credible. This is one reason why these concepts have been discussed synonymously. I conceptualize trust as distinct from credibility in the same vein as previous functional approaches (Kohring, 2019), which argue that people's motivations and gratifications sought influence people's trust evaluations just as much as credibility cues from the source, and expect them to work in a reinforcing manner (Slater, 2015). My study focuses on how social identity related motivations for positive distinctiveness, as laid by Social Identity Theory, can influence perceptions of trust in news media. People trust and use news media that makes them feel positive about their social group identities, whether national, regional, ethnic, religious or linguistic. Individuals with high levels of identification with a group identity could be sensitive to representations of that social group in the news media. Their trust in news media could be influenced by their perception that the news is fair to that group. Their perceptions of whether a source is credible or not could change over time depending on how that source includes members of a social group in its editorial and journalistic process as well as how members of the group are depicted (Gunther, 1992).

Another contention within conceptualizations of news media trust relates to what "object" of focus is under investigation. These attitudes can be directed towards "objects" like the media system(or institution) as a whole, or toward specific objects like journalistic mediums, outlets, or journalists themselves (Kohring & Matthes, 2007; Pingree et al., 2013; Hanitzsch et al., 2018; Daniller et al., 2017). The concept has been labelled as "generalized trust" when referring to trust that is directed toward the news media as institution to differentiate it from "specific trust" which is directed towards

types of news media objects (Stromback et al., 2020; Tsfati & Capella, 2003). People trust the news media as an institution in their country to keep them informed about the relevant issues of the day. This involves trusting them with the selectivity of facts, information, correctness and evaluations they present (Kohring & Matthes, 2007), since individuals cannot be expected to do this work by themselves. Generalized trust in the media as an institution is therefore an important precursor for citizens to be informed by the media, a key function for a healthy democracy.

Comparative Trust Research

Generalized trust has received a lot of attention from comparative political communication scholars looking to understand the reasons for variations in trust in news media across contexts (for e.g., Hanitzsch et al., 2018; Muller, 2013; Tsfati & Ariely, 2014). The availability of large-scale nationally representative datasets (World Values Survey (WVS), European Election Study (EES), Eurobarometer, etc) that include a question about trust in the news whose wording reflects the conceptualization of trust as generalized trust is one big reason that has enabled this comparative research. This vein of scholarship has investigated several potential macro-level factors that could explain these variations in generalized news media trust across contexts. These include media autonomy or press freedom, journalistic professionalism, and party/press parallelism. Using EES data, Hanitzsch et al. (2018) found that there is a "nexus" between political trust and generalized media trust in countries across the world, echoing earlier research in a comparative analysis of European countries using data from the European Values Study (Ariely, 2015). Ariely finds that the trust nexus is more pronounced in European countries with lower levels of media autonomy and journalistic professionalism, and

higher levels of press/party parallelism. He theorizes that in countries where the news media have more independence from political institutions, evaluations of trust in the news are driven independently from evaluations of politics. Hanitzsch et al (2018) use the same framework and find longitudinal evidence for the trust nexus across contexts. However, their comparative analysis of 50 countries offers two important insights. Firstly, declining levels of trust in the media are not a worldwide phenomenon but one that is limited to mostly western industrialized democracies with commercialized media systems. This echoes earlier comparative research by Muller (2013). Secondly, while they offer a descriptive analysis of variation across countries, no media system level variables were included in the analysis as a context level variable like in the Ariely (2015) study. This is because media system level variables lose their theoretical parsimony when extended from the European/American contexts in which they were first conceptualized. For example, while Ariely's (2015) study was able to use Hallin and Mancini's typology of media systems since the countries in that study's focus were limited to Europe, the Hanitzsch et al. (2018) study could not use Hallin and Mancini's typology because while the typology has been extended to include other socio-political contexts; extending the typology has involved creating new categories and sub categories to the point that the typology loses its theoretical parsimony for comparative quantitative analysis (de Albuquerque, 2018). The typology initially proposed three categories, Liberal, Democratic Corporativist and Polarized Pluralist, but quantitative operationalizations of these categories have yielded inconsistent cluster results in their original sample size of countries (Humprecht et al., 2022; Buchel et al., 2016; Bruggemann et al., 2014), and have not been investigated in non-Western contexts

because of a difficulty of operationalizing the categories beyond divergent sub types of Polarized Pluralist in these contexts (Hallin & Mancini, 2017; Chakravartty & Roy, 2013). Kalogeropoulos et al. (2019) analyzed data from the Reuters Institute's Digital News Report (DNR) 2017 and found no significant association between other context level variables like levels of press freedom and strength of public service broadcasting as a predictor of trust in the news. Taken together, these studies indicate that while trust in the news media is related to political trust across contexts, attempts to quantify variations at the country level using media system indicators like press freedom and media systems have not yielded consistently significant results in large-scale datasets that include countries outside of the Western Industrialized Educated Rich Democracies (WIERD).

At the individual level, Tsfati and Ariely's (2014) multi-country analysis of WVS data revealed a positive relationship between generalized media trust and age, gender, education, income, as well as exposure to news on TV and newspaper. Kalogeropoulos et al. (2019) also found a negative association between using social media for news and generalized trust in the news, as do Tsfati and Ariely's (2014), who found a negative association between news exposure on the internet and media trust in WVS data. In addition to demographic correlations and medium based correlations of trust, scholars have also investigated why people distrust the media in large scale surveys by using questions that ask respondents explicitly about potential perceptions associated with that distrust.

Kalogeropoulos et al.'s (2019) study found that the strongest negative association for generalized media trust lay in perceptions of undue influence on the media (from political or commercial interests) compared to demographic variables, ideological

strength, and use of and interest in news on different platforms. Their results echoed Newman and Fletcher (2017)'s earlier research on a previous wave of the DNR, where respondents across the world indicated in an open ended question asking about their reasons for low trust in the media that concerns of bias were paramount. Communication science scholarship at large has produced three strands of research into attitudes toward the media — trust in the news, hostile media perceptions towards social groups, and perceived influence of media (Tsfati & Cohen, 2012). Scholarship on the hostile media phenomenon has extensively investigated the mechanisms and consequences of these perceptions of bias in the news that have been indicated in open ended responses to be predictive of trust. While much of the HME scholarship has focused on instantaneous perceptions of bias from a given news stimuli, some studies have also limitedly explored the possibility that such perceptions of bias can be cultivated into more stable attitudes towards the media at large or specific news outlets, and that they can influence trust in the media (Gunther, 1992; Tsfati & Cohen, 2005).

Hostile Media Effect

The term 'hostile media effect' (HME) or 'hostile media perceptions' (HMP) is used to describe a phenomenon where "*individuals with a strong preexisting attitude on an issue perceive that ostensibly neutral, even-handed media coverage of the topic is biased against their side and in favor of their antagonists 'point of view."* (p. 707, Perloff, 2015). This definition excludes an explicit reference to partisan identity and the level of involvement associated with that identity, references that some scholars include in their definitions and conceptualizations of the concept (Hansen & Kim, 2011; Vallone et al., 1985; Arpan & Raney; 2003). There is a lack of consensus in the scholarly

community about how to operationalize involvement (Lord et al., 1979), making it difficult to theorize about the hostile media effect as stemming from said involvement (Gunther et al., 2009; Perloff, 2015). Involvement has been therefore treated as a moderator of the effect under this definition. Increased involvement with a social identity has been shown to increase the observed hostile media effect (Hansen & Kim, 2011). HME typically describes an instantaneous phenomenon of "contrast bias" (Gunther et al., 2012), where individuals perceive bias against their side in a given news stimuli. The source of the news stimuli has proven to be an important factor that influences this effect. The reach of the source amplifies the effect (Gunther & Schmitt, 2004; Gunther & Liebhart, 2006; Gunther et al., 2012). The religious group identity of the source can also influence the direction of the effect (Ariyanto et al., 2007). There has been some debate over the mechanisms through which the HME occurs, and Reid (2012) has most recently offered a compelling argument for why the HME can be better understood as an intergroup communication phenomenon.

Reid (2012) tests various mechanisms proposed to explain the HME by extant scholarship against his self categorization explanation, and finds evidence for the self categorization mechanism to be the most convincing. He conceptualizes the HME as an in-group protective mechanism where a particular salient in-group identity can trigger hostile media perceptions. This approach is rooted in propositions stemming from Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory, both of which try to understand social phenomenon through the lens of group identity. He also finds evidence for a source effect that reverses the hostile media effect (for e.g., Democrats were less likely to perceive bias against their side in a critical news article that they perceived came from an in-group

source as opposed to when it came from a neutral or out-group source). Hartmann and Tanis (2013) also find that identification with the in-group and perceptions of status of the in-group moderate the hostile media effect. In the Indonesian context, Ariyanto and colleagues (2007) find that the religious orientation of the source (Christian, Muslim, neutral) influences HMP, where prior beliefs of bias in the religious sources of news mediated the HMP observed. Together, these studies show that the hostile media effect can be better understood as an intergroup communication phenomenon where the group identity of the source of the news can have a distinct influence on instantaneous bias perceptions, and also that individuals come in with predetermined perceptions of source bias against their in-group that influence these instantaneous HMP.

Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory's roots lie in a series of experiments conducted by Polish Holocaust survivor Henri Tajfel during his time at the University of Bristol. These experiments showed that individuals tended to exhibit in-group favoritism as a result of being categorized into "minimal groups" (Tajfel, 1974, 1975, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c). This discovery diverged from explanations for intergroup conflict at the time, which were derived from Realistic Conflict Theory (Sheriff, 1967). RCT stated that members of groups fight over scarce resources. Tajfel's minimal group experiments showed that merely the act of categorizing into a minimal artificially lab created group was enough to induce in group favoritism, even when there was no competition over resources. These findings were presented officially as a theory of intergroup conflict by Tajfel and his colleague John Turner (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). SIT defines social identity as *"that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a*

social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1974: 69). The propositions set forth in the theory address the important distinction between personal identity and social identity and how this distinction occurs psychologically, as well as the different strategies people use to adopt a positive social identity and the characteristics of the social structure that determine which of these strategies are more likely to be adopted in a given situation.

Self categorization is the cognitive psychological process by which this process of group membership and its associated outcomes occur. Tajfel's colleague, John Turner, published Self Categorization Theory (1980), which is often spoken about synonymously with Social Identity Theory. *Self categorization* is process by which individuals are categorized into groups in order to reduce complexity in dealing with the social world. Individuals belonging to the same group are considered to have some group defining feature that sets them apart from a salient out group. Because of this classification, individuals belonging to a social group are seen as more similar to each other and sharing common characteristics (for e.g., nationality, profession). *Social comparison* is what occurs when individuals compare characteristics of groups they are a part of to characteristics of out groups. According to SIT, this comparison is driven by a need for *positive distinctiveness*, which is the need to feel positive about the characteristic that is defining of the group (and the group itself) that an individual is a member of. As such, the theory predicts that self categorization itself is enough to drive in group discriminatory behavior, absent any competition over resources or a history of conflict between groups. SIT also stipulates that individuals can use three different strategies as they seek to feel positively about their social identities: individual mobility, social

creativity, social competition. *Individual mobility* is when an individual seeks to distance themselves from the devalued minority or social group they were originally or impermeably a part of and seeks to "pass" as a member of a majority or dominant group, *social creativity* refers to when individuals attempt to renegotiate negative stereotypes and convert them into positive ones, and *social competition* refers to when individuals compete with the majority or dominant group to change the status quo.

Heider's Balance Theory (1946) posits that individuals strive for consistency in attitudes, especially in triadic relationships. The propositions set forth in SIT fit the logic set forth in Balance Theory. At the three ends of a triad stand an individual, a salient in group social identity, and a salient out group social identity. SIT argues that individuals are driven by a need for positive distinctiveness, a positive attitude between themselves and their in group identity. The relationship between the in group and out group identity is antagonistic, or negative, by definition. In order to achieve cognitive consistency, individuals will seek to psychologically distance themselves from the salient outgroup, as suggested in Balance theory and in SIT.

Proponents of social identity theory and identity protective cognition (Kahan et al., 2007; Khan, 2013) both argue that an individual's social identity and concerns stemming from protecting and feeling positive about this identity precede any factual information processing for individuals with high identity attachments. The mechanisms explicated by both approaches differ in their explanations for how and why this occurs. One paradigm investigating the cognitive roots of ideological polarization relied on explanations of a reliance on heuristic information processing on the part of individuals. The paradigm relied on a dual information processing model, where System 1 indicated

heuristically driven information processing whereas System 2 indicated a more systematic information processing, to investigate politically motivated reasoning (Chaiken & Trope, 1999; Taber & Lodge, 2007). Kahan (2013) argues that individuals with high identity attachments are more likely to use System 2 processing in a way that reinforces their identity based beliefs about policies like climate change and gun control, straying from the earlier paradigm which attributed such an attitudinal position as resulting from merely System 1 based information processing. As explicated above, SIT argues that identity based cognition occurs not only out of some competition over limited resources or history of conflict between social groups, but even out of minimal categorization in laboratory conditions. Self report surveys and physiological evidence in neuroscience both support the idea of group based cognitions as being operative even in the simplest of laboratory conditions, when no competition over resources exists (Scheepers & Dirks, 2016) and there is no "expressive utility" (Gigerenzer, 2002) to be derived from holding group congruent attitudes or behaviors, as proponents of identity protective cognition would argue (Kahan, 2013). The self categorization process outlines how an individual can engage in such cognition. Kahan's (2013) arguments about why individuals engage in identity protective cognition revolve around resource conflict, and as such is rooted in propositions set forth in Realistic Conflict Theory, the very point of departure for social psychologists who developed Social Identity Theory. SIT/SCT theorists would also argue that identity protective cognition does not go far enough explicating how intersectional identities (minority, ethnic, linguistic, political) can influence cognition. The self categorization explanation offers a parsimonious explanation for various social identity related cognitions across minimal and resource

scarce or conflict oriented situations, as well as what occurs when these identities are not salient or intersect with other identities.

Social Identity Theory offers several propositions that have served as the basis of inquiry for many communication scholars. Who gets to make news is just as important a question for SIT theorists as much as the effects of this news media on its consumer (Harwood & Roy, 2005). The presence of minority group members in dominant majority news outlets as owners, producers and editors has been shown to have a positive impact on the efficacy or vitality of the group (Erigha, 2018). Dominant majority produced news frequently negatively stereotypes or underrepresent minorities in the news (Dixon et al., 2019), and this can negatively impact the psychological well being of minority group members (Castro et al, 2015). The ability for minority groups to produce positive and adequate representations of themselves helps serve a key function in being able to accommodate these groups in the public sphere. Regardless of minority of majority group status, members of both types of social groups engage in selection of news based on identity related concerns (Harwood, 2009; Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2011). People want and choose to consume information about in group members in a way that feeds their need for positive distinctiveness (Slater, 2015). Few studies have attempted to measure these cultivated perceptions of bias in the news against an in-group using nationally representative survey data.

However, one initial investigation into the phenomenon (Gunther, 1992) posited that such hostile media perceptions can become endemic because of the nature of people's involvement in social groups, and therefore be observed in cross-sectional survey data. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) conducted a telephone

survey of a nationally representative U.S. sample in 1984 which included questions about how respondents perceived print and T.V. coverage to be credible toward various social groups (Republicans, Democrats, Born again christians, Catholics, Hispanics, Blacks, Labor union members). Gunther treats being a member of one of these groups and being involved with these groups as synonymous. This conceptualization of involvement is problematic since there is a vibrant discussion of how to operationalize involvement beyond Gunther's method (Hansen & Kim, 2011; Perloff, 2015). However the results are still informative since this remains one of the few cross-sectional investigations of the hostile media phenomenon. Gunther finds that members of all of these groups perceive the news to be hostile in their coverage of these groups, and finds the effect of this association to far exceed other predictive variables of media credibility like dispositional trust, media attributes, and perceptions of objectivity and subjectivity. In addition to this initial study, more recent work using nationally representative survey data from 17 countries was used to investigate the consequences of such perceived media bias on political participation outcomes (Barnidge et al., 2020). They find that while perceived media bias positively predicts participation outcomes across countries, the effect of bias perceptions was conditional on press freedom of countries only for the case of voting, not for other forms of political participation. Tsfati and Cohen (2005) have also argued that these hostile perceptions of the news media against in-groups can be measured in survey data, and they find that these perceptions are correlated with a distrust in the news media as an institution among a survey of Israeli settlers in the Gaza Strip as well as among minority Arab citizens in Israel. Here stands an interesting tension. While the hostile media phenomenon has been convincingly demonstrated to result from intergroup

processes, investigations of the consequences of these perceptions, like their impact on trust in the news media as an institution, have not been similarly rooted in such an approach. Responses in open-ended surveys also indicate that these perceptions of bias play a big role in distrust perceptions of media, underscoring the need to study how widespread these perceptions of bias towards social groups are and its attitudinal and behavioral consequences. I argue these perceptions of bias against social groups in the news and consequent attitudinal (like trust) and behavioral consequences can be better understood as an intergroup communication phenomena. People can see themselves as belonging to any number of social groups — from the international level as "European", to the national level as "American" or "Thai", to the state level as "Texan" or "Quebecois", as ethnic or linguistic or religious groups, all the way to the city, neighborhood, and family clan levels. I argue that any perceptions of bias in the news towards social groups that individuals strongly identify with will influence their news media trust. The following hypothesis is proposed:

H1: Perceptions of fairness in news coverage toward social groups positively predicts generalized trust in the news.

National Identity

National identity has been an important area of inquiry for scholars in psychology. It is considered an important factor because it helps achieve multiple psychological needs like meaningfulness and continuity (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015), need for belongingness (Baumeister & Lear; 1995), protection to fulfill security based needs as well as to reduce uncertainty (Hogg, 2007), and the need for positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Minority national identification is another important

area of concern. Cross-national survey research shows that immigrants identify more strongly with their ethnic identity compared to the national identity (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012), and have lower national identification compared to majority group members (Elkins & Sides, 2007; Staerkle et al., 2010). Factors such as longer stay, being proficient in the national language, contacts with majority group members, being a citizen, being of a later generation have been shown to predict higher minority national identification for immigrants (Heath & Roberts, 2006). Furthermore, as discussed earlier, negative representations of minority communities have been shown to negatively impact national identification (Saleem et al., 2019), and can influence trust in the national news (Tsfati & Cohen, 2005). The Social Identity Gratifications (SIG) framework (Behm-Morawitz, 2020), based on research in the US social context, argues that individuals of minority social groups consume news media with the motivation of wanting to feel positive about their group identities. These findings about the centrality of identity related motivations in attitudes towards the media about minority group members in the US implies that such identity related motivations should be at play for majority group citizens as well. Members of majority groups in countries could also trust in the national news because the news represents them in a manner that fulfills their need for positive distinctiveness. I propose to test this claim using nationally representative survey data from across the world and set forth the following hypothesis:

H2: Strength of national identification positively predicts trust in the news

Regional Identity

For minorities within a nation, how identity can influence trust depends on the type of minority and the social condition of the group at large. Some minorities are

distributed across a nation with no distinct majority in any state; these groups are typically newer immigrants of a different ethnic, religious or linguistic background or descendants of formerly colonized or enslaved people. Other minorities like the Quebecois in Canada, The Scottish in the U.K., the Catalonians in Spain, and the Tamilians in India, have a demographic majority within their state region despite being a minority within the nation at large. Both of these social groups' attitudes towards news media will be influenced by the quality of representations of these groups in the news media. Minority groups are frequently stereotyped, (for e.g., as "criminals" or "terrorists"), or underrepresented or even completely omitted in news media (Dixon et al., 2019). This can negatively influence how they perceive the media as well as how they feel about their national identity (Saleem et al., 2019; Tsfati & Cohen, 2005). However, minorities with demographic majority strength within a state usually have the ability to administer some amount of self rule over administrative, fiscal, and even media institutions within their region. Thus, they can produce positive representations of themselves in the media, as well as positive representations of the minority group as national group members (Chadha, 2017; Prado, 2015; Lewis, 2008). The news produced by and for the people of these regions plays an important role in such an ecosystem, even leading to demands for independence (Antecol & Endersby, 2001; Hazel, 2001). Such an ecosystem could influence how citizens trust in the national news media.

Members of ethnolinguistic or ethnoreligious minority groups with demographic majority and self rule within a state have yet to be subject to empirical investigation with regard to their trust in the national news media. However, scholars of intergroup communication, using propositions from social identity theory and self categorization

theory, have conceptualized how such a social condition might influence language use for ethnolinguistic minorities like the Quebecois and Catalonians (Bourhis et al., 2015). This line of inquiry can be particularly useful to my research into how the social identity of members of such groups influence trust in the news media.

Intergroup communication scholars offer the concept of *ethnolinguistic vitality* as a *"tool to analyse the sociostructural variables affecting the strength of language communities within multilingual settings"* (Bourhis, El-geledi & Sachdev, 2015, p16). Ethnolinguistic vitality can be analyzed at the sociostructural level using the concept objective group vitality. Factors like demographic majority strength within a state, institutional control over administrative, economic, cultural, and media institutions within that state, having status or social prestige within a national social structure, all contribute to objective ethnolinguistic vitality. The term objective is used to describe this concept because it has been found that when members are questioned about their perceptions of these "objective" factors, some perceptual distortions have been documented despite most people being realistic about their assessments (Harwood et al., 1994). Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality captures this phenomenon, and is perhaps conceptually analogous to conceptualizations and measures of group efficacy in the collective action literature (Jost et al., 2017). However, despite these perceptual distortions, it is an important factor that the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of minority groups can influence how they perceive their own social identities in relation to the national identity, which can influence their perceptions of trust in the news. Citizens of states with a history of ethnolinguistic vitality like the Quebecois, Tamilians and Catalonians, have had the opportunity to consume news about their group, produced by members of their group, in

their own language for extended periods of time (Chadha, 2017; Prado, 2015; Lewis, 2008). From the Social Identity Theory perspective of positive distinctiveness, individuals of these regions have long had the opportunity to consume news that fulfills these social identity gratifications about their regional identity (Behm-Morawitz, 2020). I argue that since these individuals from minority ethnolinguistically vital regions have long had a history of consuming regional news produced by and for their group, and that since majority group national news organizations have the pressure of being perceived as fair in their recruitment and representation of a variety of, if not all, social groups in a given national context, their trust in the national news will not be as strong as their majority group counterparts. I set forth the following hypotheses:

H3: Citizens of regionally dominant ethnolinguistic minorities with self rule at the state level (ethnolinguistic vitality) are less likely to trust the national news media compared to dominant majority citizens living in other states.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Study 1 — Perceptions of Fairness Towards Social Groups and Trust in the News

The Digital News Report (DNR) 2021 was commissioned by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Interviews were conducted online by YouGov in January/February of 2021. After accounting for missing data and omitting countries where certain relevant questions could not be asked, the data includes responses from around 59,000 respondents from 34 countries. The sample of countries include examples from Asia, Europe, North and South America, and a few countries from Africa. Stratified probability samples ensured national representativeness in age, gender, and income in every country. Furthermore, the samples are only representative of online news consumers in all countries. Data from the DNR is used to test the hypotheses H1.

The dependent variable is generalized trust in the news. All respondents were asked the question, "I think you can trust most news most of the time" with a 5 point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree. To measure perceptions of fairness in news coverage towards various social groups, respondents were asked a list question using the prompt, *"Thinking about the news in general in your country, do you think that news organisations in your country cover each of the following fairly or unfairly?:"*. The list included options for people your age, people your gender, people of your ethnicity, people with your political views, people of your social and economic class, and where you live. These prompts were offered alongside options that read "Unfairly", "Don't Know", and "Fairly", coded as -1, 0, and 1, respectively. A check for internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.79) was conducted to reveal that it is feasible

to combine these measures into a single measure for perceptions of fairness in the news towards social groups one identifies with. Descriptive statistics by country for variables included in the model can be found in Table 1.

Extant theorizing about reasons for variations in trust in the news across contexts rely on assumptions about expectations of impartiality on behalf of eager rational democratic citizens: *"Arguably, these (political) biases (in the news) negatively affect trust levels among a) people preferring coverage consonant with their own political views and b) people favouring objective journalism even if it confronts them with opposing views."* (Fawzi et al., 2021). However, this proposition has yet to be empirically tested using large-scale survey data. The Reuters dataset includes questions about his aspect and are therefore included as a control in the model with the intention of comparing the variance explained by these expectations of impartiality to perceptions of fairness in coverage of social groups across countries in predicting news trust. To measure importance of impartiality in the news, respondents were asked about their perceptions of impartiality in three different ways using the prompt: "Thinking about the news in general in your country, when news outlets report on social and political issues, which of the following comes closest to your view?". Each prompt came with three options, one showing preference for impartiality while the other not, and a third option for "Don't Know". These responses will be coded as 1, -1, and 0, respectively. The first question asked about range of views ("News outlets should reflect a range of different views and leave it up to people to decide" coded as 1, "News outlets should argue for the views that they think are the best" coded as -1), the second about neutrality ("There are some issues where it makes no sense for news outlets to try to be neutral" coded as -1,

"News outlets should try to be neutral on every issue" coded as 1), and the third about equal time to all sides ("News outlets should give equal time to all sides" coded as 1, "News outlets should give less time to sides they think have a weaker argument" coded as -1).

Respondents were asked about their age, income, education, gender, and interest in politics, which will be added to the model as controls. This allows us to compare the co-efficients and variance explained by these important predictors of trust established in extant literature to the new independent variable of perceptions of fairness towards social groups.

An analysis of interclass correlations is conducted to check the extent to which country level variation explains generalized trust in the news. A multilevel model is utilized to analyse the relationship between perceptions of fairness in coverage of social groups and trust in the news. This is because while this relationship between perceptions of fairness towards social groups and news media trust can be observed across contexts, the extent to which this relationship is true can theoretically be expected to vary from country to country. Statistically, we can account for this by using a Hierarchical Regression Model. This allows to specify that the data is grouped at the country level, and allow for random slopes and random intercepts across countries. This Hierarchical Regression analysis is used again for each item that was combined to form the perceptions of fairness towards social groups to test H1 in a similar model predicting generalized news trust. In each case, the coefficients of perceptions of fairness towards social groups can be compared to other known predictors of generalized trust.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Variables by Country – Digital News Report 2021											
Country	Generalized Trust Range: 0 - 4			Perceptions of fairness toward social group Range: -1 to 1		Importance of Impartiality 1 Range: -1 to 1		Importance of Impartiality 2 Range: -1 to 1		Importance of Impartiality 3 Range: -1 to 1	
	N	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Argentina	1367	2.86	1.17	-0.06	0.55	0.73	0.63	0.50	0.83	0.54	0.78
Australia	1719	3.13	1.06	0.30	0.59	0.65	0.65	0.32	0.87	0.60	0.70
Austria	1660	3.22	1.03	0.36	0.56	0.69	0.66	0.55	0.80	0.56	0.77
Belgium	1649	3.28	0.99	0.32	0.57	0.54	0.75	0.49	0.80	0.48	0.79
Brazil	1872	3.27	1.17	0.06	0.60	0.59	0.75	0.18	0.94	0.64	0.71
Bulgaria	1819	2.74	1.17	0.21	0.63	0.72	0.66	0.53	0.82	0.66	0.71
Canada	2206	3.22	1.06	0.35	0.57	0.59	0.70	0.32	0.88	0.52	0.76
Chile	1666	2.87	1.20	-0.20	0.58	0.76	0.59	0.51	0.81	0.54	0.78
Colombia	1620	2.95	1.23	-0.08	0.60	0.68	0.67	0.48	0.84	0.42	0.86
Czech	1757	3.05	0.94	0.21	0.55	0.70	0.64	0.51	0.81	0.72	0.63
Denmark	1658	3.53	0.83	0.47	0.53	0.61	0.70	0.36	0.87	0.60	0.71
Finland	1719	3.58	0.93	0.36	0.54	0.57	0.70	0.51	0.79	0.38	0.84
France	1755	2.84	1.02	0.12	0.53	0.60	0.70	0.45	0.81	0.58	0.72

Table 1 (continued). Descriptive Statistics of Variables by Country – Digital News Report 2021											
Country	Generalized Trust Range: 0 - 4			Perceptions of fairness toward social group Range: -1, 0, 1		Importance of Impartiality 1 Range: -1,0,1		Importance of Impartiality 2 Range: -1,0,1		Importance of Impartiality 3 Range: -1,0,1	
	N	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Germany	1674	3.38	1.05	0.38	0.57	0.70	0.63	0.46	0.83	0.53	0.76
Greece	1856	2.92	1.03	0.09	0.64	0.70	0.67	0.52	0.82	0.64	0.73
HRZ–Croatia	1762	3.08	1.06	0.05	0.61	0.72	0.64	0.58	0.78	0.69	0.68
Hungary	2032	2.82	1.07	0.06	0.64	0.61	0.71	0.47	0.83	0.62	0.70
Ireland	1817	3.31	1.05	0.39	0.56	0.62	0.71	0.23	0.93	0.56	0.77
Italy	1762	3.12	0.96	0.17	0.61	0.68	0.66	0.51	0.81	0.58	0.76
Japan	1651	3.24	0.88	0.07	0.61	0.47	0.76	0.33	0.83	0.34	0.82
Mexico	1667	2.95	1.14	0.04	0.63	0.49	0.83	0.36	0.89	0.30	0.91
Netherlands	1652	3.49	0.97	0.40	0.56	0.56	0.71	0.52	0.78	0.47	0.80
Norway	1647	3.47	1.02	0.41	0.54	0.63	0.69	0.42	0.85	0.45	0.81
Peru	1589	3.01	1.16	-0.10	0.63	0.66	0.70	0.46	0.86	0.42	0.82
Philippines	1769	2.94	1.06	0.31	0.64	0.51	0.81	0.36	0.89	0.57	0.78
Poland	1746	3.24	1.01	0.24	0.54	0.72	0.64	0.50	0.82	0.64	0.70

Table 1 (continued). Descriptive Statistics of Variables by Country – Digital News Report 2021											
Country	Generalized Trust Range: 0- 4			Perceptions of fairness toward social group Range: -1, 0, 1		Importance of Impartiality 1 Range: -1,0,1		Importance of Impartiality 2 Range: -1,0,1		Importance of Impartiality 3 Range: -1,0,1	
	N	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Portugal	1867	3.40	1.16	0.36	0.61	0.20	0.91	0.43	0.87	0.70	0.66
Romania	1883	3.13	1.06	0.02	0.66	0.09	0.97	0.50	0.83	0.60	0.77
Slovakia	1920	2.93	0.99	0.24	0.61	0.63	0.70	0.39	0.86	0.64	0.70
Spain	1829	2.97	1.12	0.09	0.61	0.64	0.70	0.49	0.82	0.37	0.87
Sweden	1716	3.25	1.10	0.20	0.57	0.63	0.66	0.51	0.79	0.55	0.74
Switzerland	1948	3.23	1.02	0.35	0.55	0.64	0.70	0.46	0.84	0.54	0.77
UK	1507	2.99	1.00	0.23	0.58	0.75	0.53	0.23	0.89	0.57	0.70
USA	1724	2.71	1.24	0.08	0.62	0.61	0.67	0.30	0.87	0.51	0.75

Study 2 — National Identification and Trust in the News

Many studies have used data from the World Values Survey (WVS) to investigate predictors of trust in the news across countries (Muller, 2013; Tsfati & Ariely, 2014; Hanitzsch et al., 2018). The latest wave (Wave 7) of the WVS was conducted between 2018-2020 and includes data from 65 countries. Since the questionnaire fielded across countries contains a question asking respondents to state how close they are to their national and regional groups, this data can be used to test **H2**: Strength of national identification positively predicts trust in the news.

The dependent variable is generalized trust in the news. All respondents were asked the list question, "I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all?". One item in the list asked respondents about their levels of trust in "The press" alongside a 4 point Likert scale ranging from "A great deal" to "Not at all". The independent variables of interest are strength of identification with national and regional groups. Respondents were asked a list question using the prompt, "*People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how close do you feel to…?*" The list included an item for "Your [Country]" alongside a 4 point Likert scale ranging from "Very Close" to "Not close at all". These variables are coded 1 to 4 with higher values indicating higher levels of trust and closeness to group. Respondents were also asked about their age, income, education, gender, interest in politics, interest in news, and ideology, which are added to the model as controls. Descriptive statistics by country for variables included in the model can be found in Table 9, included in the Appendix. As in

Study 1, a test of interclass correlations as well as theoretical considerations demand the use of a Hierarchical Regression Model to investigate the relationship between generalized trust in the press and strength of identification with national and regional groups. This will allow us to specifying in the model that this relationship changes from country to country by allowing random slopes and intercepts for that grouping.

Study 3 — Regional Identity and Trust in the National News

The European Commission has conducted cross-national surveys since the 1970s under the banner, "Eurobarometer". Eurobarometer 86.1, conducted in 2016, has news media specific questions that can be informative to my research. Data includes responses from 27,768 respondents from 28 EU member states. Stratified probability sampling was used to procure a nationally representative sample of each nation. Data from Spain from this wave of the Eurobarometer is used to test **H3**: Citizens of regionally dominant ethnolinguistic minorities with self rule at the state level are less likely to trust the national news media compared to dominant majority citizens living in other states. Spain is the only country for which all the following criteria are met: representative sampling at state level in available datasets (Eurobarometer, DNR) and sizable regional minorities with history of self rule. Future research could focus on other suitable candidates like Canada (absent from Eurobarometer and DNR) and India and Nigeria (lacking representative sampling at regional levels in DNR and absent from Eurobarometer). We will be able to check the extent to which citizens of these regionally dominant minority groups in Spain trust in the *national* news compared to their dominant majority group counterparts.

The dependent variable is specific trust in national news media. Respondents were asked the question "[COUNTRY's] media provide trustworthy information" alongside a 4 point Likert Scale ranging from "Yes, Definitely" to "No, not at all". If respondents said "It depends" or "Don't know", it was coded as such. Responses are coded numerically with "Yes, definitely" as 4 and "No, not at all" as 1 (M = 2.99, S.D. = 1.12). Other responses are dropped. The independent variable is citizen of regionally dominant ethnolinguistic minority. The Regional Authority Index (Hooghe & Marks, 2016) is a publicly available dataset that categorizes if each state in a country has a demographically dominant linguistic or religious minority compared to the rest of the country it is in. Citizens from the Spain in my dataset who are coded as belonging to these minority states are coded as 1 for being a a regionally dominant ethnolinguistic member, and 0 if not. For example, the Regional Authority Index states that Melilla, Balaeric Islands, Galicia, Basque Country, Valencia, Cueta, Andalucia and Catalonia are all states in Spain that have minorities that are linguistically dominant within the state. Respondents from the Eurobarometer 86.1 dataset from Spain are coded as 1 if they belong to these states, and 0 otherwise (1 = 381, 0 = 463). Respondents were asked about their age, income, education, gender, interest in politics, and ideology, which were all added to the model as controls. This allows us to compare the coefficients and variance explained as done in the previous studies. Ideology is an especially significant control for this hypothesis since the argument is that regional or state identity can drive perceptions of news trust despite political or ideological views.

Data collected from Spain in the Reuters Institute Dataset can also be used to further investigate this hypothesis. Instead of asking respondents about their level of trust

in the “national news” like in the Eurobarometer, the Reuters survey asked respondents to individually rate their trust in specific outlets. 9 of the outlets asked about can be categorized as national news, since they are in the majority Spanish language and not in one of the minority languages spoken in these regions. All respondents were asked about their levels of trust in each outlet using 10 point Likert scales ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree. Responses are coded numerically with “Strongly Agree” as 10 ranging through “Strongly Disagree” as 1 (Antena 3 (M = 5.75, S.D. = 2.56), ABC (M = 5.10, S.D. = 2.61), COPE (M = 5.06, S.D. = 2.81), El Mundo (M = 5.36, S.D. = 2.57), El Pais (M = 5.55, S.D. = 2.67), 20 Minutos (M = 5.25, S.D. = 2.22), RTVE (M = 5.52, S.D. = 2.73), Cadenas SPR (M = 5.67, S.D. = 2.58) and La Sexta (M = 5.26, S.D. = 2.77)). Respondents belonging to states with ethnolinguistic vitality (Melilla, Balaeric Islands, Galicia, Basque Country, Valencia, Cueta, Andalucia and Catalonia) are coded as 1 if they belong to these states, and 0 otherwise (1 = 559, 0 = 899). Hypothesis 3 is tested using this data, specifying individual models investigating trust in each news outlet.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Study 1 — Perceptions of Fairness Towards Social Groups and Trust in the News

An analysis of interclass correlations revealed that country level variation explained 4.3% of the variance in trust in the news. Although this is below the 10% threshold typically used to justify using a multilevel model, theoretical considerations (that the data is nested in countries) are equally important. Therefore, a multilevel model is utilized to analyse the relationship between perceptions of fairness in coverage of social groups and trust in the news. Random slopes models (slopes of perceptions of fairness in coverage towards social groups vary across countries) were fit for the outcome of interest, trust in the news.

Results are presented in Table 2. The mode estimates a fixed intercept of 3.125 (0.038, $p<0.001$), which shows the mean of trust of in the news (on a 1-5 scale) adjusted at the mean of all covariates. Controlling for age, gender, income, and the three indicators of expectations of impartiality, the model predicts that perceptions of fairness in coverage of social groups positively predicts trust in the news ($B = 1.813$, $SE = 0.516$, $p<0.01$). Only one of the three indicators of importance of impartiality showed a statistically significant relationship predicting trust in the news. The model found that while controlling for demographic variables and perceptions of fairness towards social groups, those that preferred neutrality in the news were more likely to mistrust the news ($B = -0.019$, $SE = 0.005$, $p<0.001$). The coefficient for this variable was significantly lower compared to the coefficients of the perceptions of fairness towards social groups. In addition, the explained variance of perceptions of social groups was much larger than that of the importance of impartiality in predicting trust in the news. The country level factor,

Homogeneity in Fairness Perceptions in a country, was also related to news trust (B = -1.648, SE = 0.795, $p<0.01$), showing that countries with higher homogeneity in fairness perceptions showed a higher trust in the news since higher standard deviations in perceptions of fairness indicate lower homogeneity. A significant cross-level interaction reveals that the influence of perceptions of fairness in news toward social groups on news trust is dependent on homogeneity of fairness perceptions in a country (B = -2.324, SE = 0.869, $p<0.01$). There is support for hypothesis 1 in the available data.

The item used to measure perceptions of fairness included 5 items asking respondents about their perceptions of fairness towards political, ethnic, class, gender, and regional groups they are a part of. Tables 2 provides results of a multilevel model investigating how trust is influenced by perceptions of fairness towards each group that was combined to form the perceptions of fairness towards social groups variable. Although perceptions of fairness towards political group has the strongest co-efficient, the results indicate that the all the groups are individually important since they show statistical significance controlling for the other group fairness perceptions

Table 2. Results of Multilevel Model Analysis with Reuters Institute 2021 Data predicting Generalized News Trust				
	Model			
Level and Variable	Null (Step 1)	Random Intercept and Fixed Slope (Step 2)	Random Intercept and Random Slope (Step 3)	Cross Level Interaction (Step 4)
Level 1				
Intercept	3.125***(0.038)	3.985(0.047) ***	4.095(0.449)***	2.718(0.035) ***
Gender		0.051(0.008) ***	0.048(0.008)***	0.048(0.008) ***
Age		0.005(0.000) ***	0.005(0.000)***	0.005(0.000) ***
Income		0.0004(0.001)	-0.0005(0.001)	-0.0005(0.001)
Perceptions of Fairness Towards Social Groups		0.423(0.007) ***	0.435(0.033)***	1.813(0.516) **
Expectations of Impartiality 1		0.0035(0.006)	0.0003(0.005)	0.0004(0.006)
Expectations of Impartiality 2		-0.022(0.005) ***	-0.019(0.005)***	-.019(0.005) ***
Expectations of Impartiality 3		-0.0034(0.005)	-0.0025(0.005)	-0.0026(0.005)
Level 2				
Country Wise Standard Deviation of Fairness Perceptions Towards Social Groups		-2.137(0.804)*	-2.324(0.755)**	-1.648(0.795)*
Cross-level interaction				
Perceptions of Fairness Towards Social Groups * Country Wise Standard Deviation				-2.324(0.869)*
Variance components				
Within-country variance	1.127	1.054	1.04	1.04
Intercept variance	0.051	0.028	0.027	0.027
Slope variance			0.032	0.032
Intercept-slope covariance				-0.32
Additional Information				
ICC	0.043			
Note: Sample Size = 61204, Countries = 35, Values in parentheses are standard errors. .p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001				

Table 3. Results of Multilevel Model Analysis with Reuters Institute 2021 Data predicting Generalized News Trust			
	Model		
Level and Variable	Null (Step 1)	Random Intercept and Fixed Slope (Step 2)	Random Intercept and Random Slope (Step 3)
Level 1			
Intercept	3.125***(0.038)	2.737(0.036) ***	2.736(0.035) ***
Gender		0.044(0.008) ***	0.042(0.008) ***
Age		0.005(0.000) ***	0.005(0.000) ***
Income		0.0006(0.001)	-0.0002(0.001)
Perceptions of Fairness Towards Political Group		0.1562(0.006) ***	0.1546(0.008) ***
Perceptions of Fairness Towards Ethnic Group		0.068(0.006) ***	0.068(0.008) ***
Perceptions of Fairness Towards Gender Group		0.047(0.006) ***	0.048(0.008) ***
Perceptions of Fairness Towards Age Group		0.042(0.006) ***	0.045(0.008) ***
Perceptions of Fairness Towards Class Group		0.044(0.006) ***	0.052(0.008) ***
Perceptions of Fairness Towards Region Group		0.065(0.006) ***	0.066(0.008) ***
Expectations of Impartiality 1		0.005(0.006)	0.003(0.005)
Expectations of Impartiality 2		-0.019(0.005)***	-0.017(0.005)***
Expectations of Impartiality 3		-0.0016(0.005)	-0.0007(0.005)
Variance components			
Within-country variance	1.127	1.0504	1.036
Intercept variance	0.051	0.032	0.030
Slope variance			0.037
Additional Information			
ICC	0.043		
Note: Sample Size = 61204, Countries = 35, Values in parentheses are standard errors. .p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001			

Study 2 — National Identification and Trust in the News

An analysis of interclass correlations revealed that country level variation explained 11.6% of the variance in trust in the news. Therefore, a multilevel model is utilized to analyze the relationship between strength of national identification and trust in the news. Random slopes models (slopes of perceptions of fairness in coverage towards social groups vary across countries) were fit for the outcome of interest, trust in the news.

Results are presented in Table 4. The mode estimates a fixed intercept of 2.237 (0.03, $p<0.001$), which shows the mean of trust of in the news (on a 1-4 scale) adjusted at the mean of all covariates. Controlling for age, gender, education, interest in politics, and ideology, the model predicts that strength of national identification positively predicts trust in the news ($B = 0.077$, $SE = 0.008$, $p<0.001$). The data from Wave 7 of the World Values Survey lacked the media use variables used in previous models examining trust in the news using multi-country datasets (Kalagoperous et al., 2013; Ariely, 2015). Previous scholarship analyzed data from Wave 6 of the WVS so the current model examining the strength of national identification on news trust is replicated on Wave 6 WVS data.

An analysis of interclass correlations of the Wave 6 data revealed that country level variation explained 12.2% of the variance in trust in the news. Therefore, a multilevel model is utilized to analyse the relationship between strength of national identification and trust in the news. Random slopes models (slopes of perceptions of fairness in coverage towards social groups vary across countries) were fit for the outcome of interest, trust in the news. Results are presented in Table 5. The mode estimates a fixed intercept of 2.351 (0.039, $p<0.001$), which shows the mean of trust of in the news (on a 1-5 scale) adjusted at the mean of all covariates. Controlling for age, gender,

education, interest in politics, ideology, as well as frequency of newspaper, tv, mobile, and internet use for news consumption, the model predicts that strength of national identification positively predicts trust in the news ($B = 0.039$, $SE = 0.009$, $p<0.001$). There is strong support for hypothesis 2 in the available data

Table 4. Results of Multilevel Model Analysis with World Values Survey Wave 7 Data predicting Generalized News Trust			
	Model		
Level and Variable	Null (Step 1)	Random Intercept and Fixed Slope (Step 2)	Random Intercept and Random Slope (Step 3)
Level 1			
Intercept	2.237***(0.030)	1.746(0.034) ***	1.746(0.039) ***
Gender		0.016(0.004) ***	0.014(0.004) ***
Age		0.021(0.001) ***	0.021(0.001) ***
Education		–0.018(0.003) ***	–0.019(0.003) ***
Strength of National Identification		0.068(0.003) ***	0.077(0.008) ***
Interest in Politics		0.087(0.002) ***	0.086(0.002) ***
Ideology		-0.0014(0.001)	-0.0006(0.001)
Variance components			
Within-country variance	0.628	0.599	0.596
Intercept variance	0.0829	0.068	0.095
Slope variance			0.004
Intercept-slope covariance			
Additional Information			
ICC	0.116		
Note: Sample Size = 102,984. Countries = 77. Values in parentheses are standard errors. .p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001			

Table 5. Results of Multilevel Model Analysis with World Values Survey Wave 6 Data predicting Generalized News Trust			
	Model		
Level and Variable	Null (Step 1)	Random Intercept and Fixed Slope (Step 2)	Random Intercept and Random Slope (Step 3)
Level 1			
Intercept	2.351(0.039) ***	1.7(0.048) ***	1.713(0.049) ***
Gender		0.016(0.006) *	0.016(0.006) *
Age		0.0005(0.000) *	0.0005(0.000) *
Education		–0.005(0.001) **	–0.005(0.001) ***
Frequency of Newspaper Use		0.045(0.002) ***	0.045(0.002) ***
Frequency of TV News		0.038(0.003) ***	0.038(0.003) ***
Frequency of Mobile News		0.000(0.002)	0.000(0.002)
Frequency of Internet News		-0.012(0.002) ***	-0.012(0.002) ***
Strength of National Identification		0.043(0.005) ***	0.039(0.009) ***
Interest in Politics		0.052(0.003) ***	0.052(0.003) ***
Ideology		0.015(0.001) ***	0.015(0.001) ***
Variance components			
Within-country variance	0.662	0.651	0.650
Intercept variance	0.092	0.077	0.078
Slope variance			0.002
Intercept-slope covariance			
Additional Information			
ICC	0.122		
Note: Sample Size = 62297., Values in parentheses are standard errors. .p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001			

Study 3 — Regional Identity and Trust in the National News in Spain

Results for the model investigating trust in the national news in Spain using data from Eurobarometer 86.1 are presented in Table 6. The mode estimates a fixed intercept of 1.961 (0.136, $p<0.001$), which shows the mean of trust of in the national news (on a 1-4 scale) adjusted at the mean of all covariates. Controlling for age, gender, interest in politics, ideology, and perceptions of fairness towards political group, the model predicts a negative relationship between being a member of regional ethnolinguistic minority states on Spain and trust in the national news ($B = -0.276$, $SE = 0.06$, $p<0.001$). There is strong support for hypothesis 3 in the available data. Data from the Reuters Institute's Digital News Report 2021 can be used to test hypothesis H3a further, but for trust toward specific news outlets in Spain.

Results are presented in Table 7 and 8. DNR asks respondents about trust in several national Spanish language news organizations. For five of the 9 outlets asked about — Antena 3, ABC, El Pais, El Mundo, and COPE — the model predicts a negative relationship between being a member of regional ethnolinguistic minority states on Spain and trust in the specific national news organization, controlling for age, gender, interest in politics, ideology, and perceptions of fairness towards political group. No statistically significant relationships were found between trust in several other national Spanish language news organizations and members of ethnolinguistic minority states (Table 8). These results suggest that while members of ethnolinguistic minority states tend to trust the national news less in general, this mistrust is not homogeneously directed towards all national Spanish language news organizations.

Table 6. Results of Multiple Regression Analysis with Eurobarometer 86.1 Data predicting National News Trust in Spain

	Trust in National News	
Predictor	b	SE
Intercept	1.961 ***	0.136
Gender	-0.071	0.06
Age	0.001	0.001
Interest in politics	0.074 **	0.028
Ideology	0.031 *	0.014
Citizen of regional minority state (Yes = 1)	-0.276 ***	0.06
R2	0.039	
F	6.911	

Note: Sample Size = 838. .p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001

Table 7. Results of Multiple Regression Analysis with Reuters Institute DNR 2021 Data predicting Specific News Trust in National Spanish Outlets

	Spanish Outlet				
Predictor	Antena3	ABC	El Pais	El Mundo	COPE
Intercept	4.476(0.368)***	3.398(0.38)***	5.684(0.374)***	3.896(0.372)***	2.408(0.399)***
Age	0.004(0.004)	-0.005(0.004)	0.0009(0.004)	-0.008(0.004).	0.004(0.005)
Gender	0.255(0.129)*	0.214(0.133)	0.376(0.131)**	0.305(0.13)*	0.163(0.139)
Income	-.0009(0.019)	-.0005(0.02)	.0153(0.02)	0.007(0.02)	-0.033(0.021)
Ideology	0.262(0.043)***	0.542(0.044)***	-0.158(0.043)***	0.444(0.043)***	0.739(0.046)***
Fairness towards political group	0.772(0.094)***	0.614(0.097)***	1.016(0.095)***	0.739(0.094)***	0.715(0.100)***
Regional minority (Yes = 1)	-0.322(0.134)*	-0.467(0.139)***	-0.25(0.136).	-0.284(0.135)*	-0.450(0.144)**
R2	0.092	0.1417	0.1149	0.1264	0.1915
F	20.85	32.42	26.06	28.51	45.86

Note: Sample Size = 1458. Values in parentheses are standard errors. .p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001

Table 8. Results of Multiple Regression Analysis with Reuters Institute DNR 2021 Data predicting Specific News Trust in National Spanish Outlets

	Spanish Outlet			
Predictor	RTVE	La Sexta	20 Minutos	Cadena SPR
Intercept	6.568(0.392)***	7.001(0.381)***	4.551(0.341)***	5.837(0.385)***
Age	-0.0001(0.004)	-0.006(0.004)	0.003(0.004)	0.004(0.004)
Gender	0.217(0.135)	0.323(0.133)*	0.315(0.119)**	0.197(0.135)
Income	-.017(0.021)	-0.021(0.02)	-0.001(0.018)	0.002(0.02)
Ideology	-0.3105(0.045)***	-0.468(0.044)***	0.054(0.039)	-0.149(0.045)***
Fairness towards political group	0.818(0.078)***	0.965(0.076)***	0.606(0.067)***	0.733(0.076)***
Regional minority (Yes = 1)	-0.105(0.142)	0.018(0.138)	-0.079(0.123)	-0.106(0.14)
R2	0.1051	0.1728	0.0654	0.0757
F	27.95	49.84	15.34	18.59

Note: Sample Size = 1458. Values in parentheses are standard errors. .p<0.10 *p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This study explored the influence of social group identity as an explanatory factor of trust in the news media through the theoretical lens of social identity theory/self categorization theory. First, perceptions of fairness in news coverage towards social groups (political, ethnic, class, age, gender, region) as well as expectations of impartiality were examined to find association with trust in the news globally. Second, the influence of the nation as a social group identity was examined by investigating the association between strength of national identification and trust in the news globally. Third, the country Spain was used as a case study to investigate the influence of regional ethnolinguistic minority identity on trust in national news and national language news to find that citizens of states with regional ethnolinguistic minorities trust in the national news as well as several national (Spanish language) news outlets less than their counterparts from majority-language speaking states. Together, the analysis indicates strong evidence for a correlation between social group identity and trust in the news in cross-sectional longitudinal survey data from around the world, with emphasis on national and regional identity.

The analysis in Study 1 reveals a strong influence of perceptions of fairness in news toward social groups on trust in the news across the world. These results replicate the findings of earlier studies looking at hostile media perceptions as observed in survey data and their influence on trust in the news (Gunther, 1992; Tsfati & Cohen, 2005), but in a dataset encompassing 34 different countries as opposed to one. This indicates that individuals across the world are much more likely to trust the news if they also believe

that the news is being fair in their coverage of groups that they identify with. Furthermore, since the co-efficient as well as the explanatory power of perceptions of fairness exceeded the explanatory power of the three items measuring expectations of impartiality, this finding has important implications for news trust research. The item used to measure perceptions of fairness included 5 items asking respondents about their perceptions of fairness towards political, ethnic, class, gender, and regional groups they are a part of. Table 3 provides results of a multilevel model investigating how trust is influenced by perceptions of fairness towards each group that was combined to form the perceptions of fairness towards social groups variable. Although perceptions of fairness towards political group has the strongest co-efficient, the results indicate that the all the groups are individually important since they show statistical significance controlling for the other group fairness perceptions. This indicates that various group identities beyond political partisan identity and minority ethnic identity are also important factors to be considered when thinking about identity and trust, and that perceptions of fairness towards some identities may not always be included with perceptions of fairness towards partisan identity. The prevailing focus on accuracy and impartiality as explanatory factors of trust (Stromback et al., 2020; Fawzi et al., 2021) requires incorporating aspects of an individual's social group identity so that a more comprehensive theoretical and statistical explanation can be provided for news trust. Kahan (2013) found strong evidence in observational and experimental data that American individuals engage in politically motivated reasoning to maintain positive distinctiveness about their partisan social group identity. How other social identities like gender, age, linguistic, religious, class, etc can also influence information processing as a result of positive distinctiveness motivations,

and consequently influence attitudes like trust in the news, is an intriguing line of future research. These groups have different levels of power depending on the social and political context being investigated. Comparisons between these contexts can be fertile ground for theory generation. For example, comparisons can also be made between attitudes associated with minority groups who have the ability of self-rule at the state level to minority groups with such powers to reveal more nuances in the influence of social identity on news perceptions.

The country-level variable included in the analysis, heterogeneity in fairness perceptions, was also found to have a strong influence on generalized news trust. This indicates that countries with greater disagreement about whether the news is fair towards groups they are a part of have lower levels of generalized news trust. Furthermore, the influence of perceptions of fairness on news trust was found to be greater in countries with lower heterogeneity in perceptions of fairness. As discussed earlier, there are two reasons that could explain differences in heterogeneity in perceptions of fairness across countries. First, a large number of social groups could exist in a country such that when individuals from each of those groups are asked about fairness perceptions, there is sufficient deviation that emerges at the country level. Second, there could be division within social groups about perceptions of fairness such that even in countries with less heterogeneity in terms of ethnic, religious, or linguistic social groups, there is sufficient deviance at the country level. In both scenarios, lower levels of disagreement amongst and/or within groups about whether the news is fair leads to a generally trustworthy environment for the news. This is an important finding since it suggests that nationally oriented news organizations can play a powerful role in creating a trustworthy

environment for news consumption by ensuring that their news is perceived as fair by as many social groups in a country as possible, as well as by minimizing differences between and within social groups. In the absence of or limited influence of nationally oriented news organizations, this finding suggests that the same responsibility falls on smaller regionally or politically focused organizations. News has already been shown to have a powerful impact on intergroup attitudes in the context of majority-minority ethnicities in the US through its use of language (Dixon et al., 2019; Iyengar & Simon, 2005). The role of polarizing language weaponized by profit-minded news organizations to win audiences and its influence on intergroup relations beyond those of partisan and minority ethnic identities will be an intriguing area of future research.

The analysis in Study 2 reveals a strong influence of strength of national identification on trust in the news across the world. This indicates that individuals are much more likely to trust the news if they also identify strongly with the nation as a social group. These findings quantify a widely recognized idea that the press plays a role in the formation and maintenance of national identity (Anderson, 1983). The idea that identification with a social group leads to more consumption of news associated with that identity in order to fulfill gratifications and the need for positive distinctiveness has been shown to be a common phenomenon amongst ethnic and religious groups in the US (Behm-Morawitz, 2020). The current study suggests that this line of thinking using the principles of Social Identity Theory can also be extended to the nation as a social group as well, potentially paving the way for future research on the issue. This is an important area of research since it can establish that different social groups can influence and be influenced by news media about their membership in the national group in very context

dependent ways. In the case of Spain in Study 3, ethnolinguistic minority groups with power at the state level have had a history of collective mobilization against the national group they are a part of.

The analysis in Study 3 reveals a strong negative correlation between being a member of a ethnolinguistic majority state in Spain and trust in the *national* news. A strong negative correlation was also found between being a member of a ethnolinguistic majority state in Spain trust in several national Spanish language news organizations across mediums (tv, radio, newspaper, online). No statistically significant relationship was found between being a member of such a state and trust in some other national Spanish language news outlets. These findings indicate that the politics of federalism and the nature of regional politics can also influence trust perceptions in Spain. These relationships hold after controlling for ideology, underscoring the finding from Study 1 that identities other than partisan political identity can influence how people trust the news. Furthermore, the finding that many but not all national Spanish language news outlets are less trusted by regional minority citizens indicate that something about the way in which some news organizations deliver news prevents them from being less trusted because of linguistic group differences. This could be that the nature of news coverage of the outlets are either apolitical or not perceived as biased against the interests of regional minorities. The specifics of the framing that results in these perceptions of lack of bias and causal mechanisms involved here should be an area of future research. Furthermore, the nature of this phenomenon should be contrasted with the phenomenon observed in countries with minorities who do not have some amount of self-rule of majority at the state level that allows them some level of self representation in a public

sphere. The influence of positive representation in the national news is crucial to the experience of minority groups like African Americans in the US or Muslims in India, but we do not yet know how the experience of linguistic minorities in Spain, India or Canada with regional demographic and political authority is influenced by national representations, since these groups have the ability to produce positive representations of themselves.

Limitations

The strengths of conducting a secondary data analysis lie in the scale of available data, and how accessible it is. Established research organizations have conducted interviews of thousands of respondents from countries across the world, an action that is practically impossible for an individual researcher to accomplish by themselves. The data I am using for my dissertation is also publicly accessible to anyone, which makes this data even more feasible as a source of research. The scale of the data available also makes doing comparative research accessible. The Digital News Report (DNR) 2021 from the Reuters Institute both contain nationally representative samples of interviews from more than 40 different countries. The Eurobarometer has surveys of representative samples from 28 European democracies. Both of these surveys are conducted at a regular time interval, which allows for researchers to conduct comparative research across time. Survey data that is professionally and credibly gathered using adequate sampling technique and survey design across so many countries is quite a valuable resource to draw upon for any scholar interested in making comparative claims about social phenomena across countries and contexts.

The weaknesses of conducting a secondary data analysis lie in the lack of control an individual researcher has over the survey design and sampling processes, as well as in the large sample sizes and the consequent magnitude of effects observed due to the models being statistically overpowered (See Holbert et al., 2018 for a review of overpowered communication studies). Political communication scholars interested in news media trust have long been constrained by the lack of variety and depth in how the variable news media trust has been operationalized in these cross-national surveys. The World Values Survey still only offers generalized news trust. The DNR and Eurobarometer datasets ask respondents about generalized news trust as well as specific news trust directed toward "national" media and specific news outlets. The lack of control over the way survey questions have been phrased also extends itself to the independent variables in my analysis. To measure perceptions of fairness in news coverage towards various social groups, respondents were asked a list question using the prompt, *"Thinking about the news in general in your country, do you think that news organisations in your country cover each of the following fairly or unfairly?:"*. The list included options for people your age, people your gender, people of your ethnicity, people with your political views, people of your social and economic class, and where you live. The list of social groups offered excludes any reference to linguistic or religious groups. Linguistic and religious minority groups are the most widely found type of minority group across the world, and are often geographically concentrated within a province or state (Hooghe & Marks, 2016). This is a glaring omission given the scale of the phenomenon. The wording for the regional group component of this question is also inadequate — the survey uses the phrase "Where you live" to signify regional or city

identity, but the ambiguity in phrasing inhibits my ability to make theoretical inferences specifically about minority regional/state populations.

Furthermore, the sampling used to collect the data could be insufficient for the type of research that is being conducted. My dissertation investigates the effect of social identity on news media trust, with a special focus on regional or state identity for minorities who have majority status within a state in their home nation. Such a focus would require that sampling in each nation is not just done by income, age, education, and gender but also by state. In the DNR, samples from India and Nigeria, two countries with significant minority populations with majority status at the state level, are not representative of the state level and leave no marker to help identify which state an individual could be from. This is not a problem that extends to all other countries in the dataset, but since Nigeria and India are two prominent examples where the phenomenon I am investigating can be observed, it can certainly be considered a disadvantage for my study. The DNR is also only representative of online news consumers in all countries in its sample. This can be also be considered a limitation, since some digital penetration is not equally distributed across countries.

Although analysis of the publicly available secondary data has some weaknesses for the hypothesis I am interested in, large scale cross national surveys are indeed the best method to help investigate it. This is because the dependent variable, news media trust, is not an attitude that is expected to be manipulated easily during an online experiment. However, in my ideal research design, news media trust will be measured in different ways reflecting the different conceptualizations in the literature. In addition to generalized news media trust, measures for specific trust in national, state, city, ethnic,

linguistic, and religious news, as well as specific trust in various journalistic outlets will be included. Perceptions of fairness towards social groups will also be measured slightly differently — linguistic, religious, and state group identities will be added to the list of groups that people are asked about in terms of how fairly the news media is towards them. A second set of questions measuring perceptions of fairness will specify which news object is perceived as being fair towards social groups individuals are a part of ("When thinking about the "state/linguistic/religious/national" media in general, how fairly or unfairly do you thin they cover the following social groups"?). Such a specification will allow us not only to investigate whether perceptions of fairness influence news media trust, but narrow down on which type of group related media are responsible for this perception, as well as investigate how trust varies by identity assigned to a particular media. If adequate resources are available, this research design can be taken a step further to include multiple waves alongside a content analysis. The content analysis will observe trends in how social groups are depicted in a given social context by news media and this data will be connected to the multi-wave survey data to check the extent to which the quality of representations of social groups in the media influence attitudes like trust in the news media. Adequate sampling at the state level as well as of other minority groups in a country in addition to the specific questions about trust should help reveal how different types of minority groups across contexts trust the media. The ability for minority groups to self rule, to produce their own media, control the quality of representation of the social group within the state as well as compete for fair representation at the national level, will influence how members of these groups trust national news in general as well as specific national news outlets, compared to other

minority groups in countries without such a representative ability. Such a panel study linked to a content analysis will also resolve any criticism about the inability to make causal inference from a single wave of cross-national survey data.

Agenda for Future Research

The results in this dissertation strongly suggest that social identity related perceptions can influence news trust perceptions, but it does not do more than suggest a possible theoretical mechanism by which this influence occurs using Social Identity Theory. In order to be able to further investigate any possible mechanism and related effects, we need to investigate the quality of representation of various groups in the news. Research so far has looked into how some minorities in the US can be stereotyped and what effects this can have (Dixon et al., 2019 for a review), but the scope of research into quality of representations of groups needs to be much more robust before we can fully pinpoint any mechanisms by which identity can influence attitudes like trust.

A research program to investigate quality of representations of social groups in a given country could follow these steps. A national registry should be set up indicating demographic and geographic representation of various social groups in the country at the national and regional levels. This list of groups should include linguistic, religious, ethnic, gender, class, regional, and any other type of group that can theoretically be argued as being involved in a social cleavage that influences politics at the national and regional levels. Ownership of and employment in news organizations are equally important in terms of social groups being able to produce news that is perceived as fair by members of the groups (Harwood & Roy, 2005). The registry should attempt to develop metrics that speak to employment and ownership of groups at the national and regional

levels. Employment might be cumbersome to quantify as this data is not typically available online and private news organizations are under no obligation to disclose those figures. However, news organizations can be categorized for the groups that they are most representative of. This can be done in a few ways. A news organization can be categorized by the social group their owner or geographic headquarters represents as a start. However, this categorization might not always indicate the primary audience that the news organization has influence over. Therefore, level of representation can also be quantified as a news organization's share of a particular national or regional audience as measured by survey responses, trace data, or distribution data. Such a method has been implemented to measure links between news organizations and members of political parties, and could be replicated for other social groups in a country (Lelkes, 2018).

The level of representation of various social groups in the content of news organizations is a another pillar in constructing a national registry. Clark's Stage Model of Representation (Clark, 1979; Harris, 2013) states that race/ethnic groups can move through four stages of representation in the media — invisibility or non-recognition, ridicule, regulation (where members of groups are depicted as law abiding or upholding), and respect (where members of groups are depicted in divers ways). Dixon et al. (2019) argue that Native Americans and Asian Americans can be categorized as being in the invisibility phase. Clark's Model is decidedly US-centric since it does not speak to the majority social group and how they feature in this model. It also does not reference minorities who have a majority, self-rule, and most importantly, the ability to produce respectful content about their group at the state level. The model does not specify how and why specific news organizations can be categorized as depicting various social

groups in different phases. Nevertheless, the four stages can be a useful categorization in terms of being able to describe the quality of representation of various groups by specific outlets of all relevant groups involved in that country at the national and regional levels respectively. This application expands the scope of Clark's Model from just "race/ethnic" minorities to all social groups, majority groups included, at both state and national levels. Such a measure could most feasibly be developed using expert surveys of journalists and communication scholars who can speak to the quality of representations of these groups at each level.

The language used by news organizations to describe outgroups also speak to the quality of representation of social groups. Interviews should be conducted to construct a list of stereotypes associated with all types of social groups, both majority and minority, positive and negative, so that we can derive a more comprehensive picture of how social groups are stereotyped by different news organizations in a country. This can be a cumbersome task that could be sped up using automated content analysis. Kate-Johnson et al (2020) developed an open source algorithm (Syntax LCM) to quantify the level of abstractness or concreteness in a given sentence to generate a score ranging from 1-5 based on the rules set out by the Linguistic Category Model (Semin & Fiedler 1988). This is a useful algorithm since the model states that groups are more likely to describe positive outgroup and negative in group behavior in concrete ways, while describing negative outgroup and positive in group behavior in abstract ways. The reasons for this observed phenomenon is shown to come from the need for positive distinctiveness of social identities one holds, as outlined by SIT. Syntax LCM can be used to generate scores for news headlines as well as average LCM scores for full articles. For a given

news organization's corpus of articles, articles can be first categorized for the groups that are depicted in them. Syntax LCM combined with a sentiment analysis can be used to investigate entire datasets of different organizations in a given state or country. This can reveal the levels of abstractness or concreteness as well as the value associated by a given news organization for the social groups chosen. These values can be generated for archival news data as well as current and future news since this is an automated algorithm. The country level registry can reflect how each news organization represents various social groups in a country in terms of LCM which can indicate whether they see those groups as in groups or out groups based on their linguistic abstractness in their reporting of those groups. Each of these steps can also be followed for one or two social groups in a country or region at a time depending on feasibility. Once a comprehensive picture of the quality of representations is developed for even one or two social groups, we can start to make meaningful inroads into investigating the mechanisms of effects of such representations on attitudes like trust and intergroup prejudice.

The various aspects of the quality of representations of social groups discussed above — stereotypes, ownership and employment, phase of representation, and linguistic quality of representation, can all individually be investigated for attitudinal and behavioral effects varying from trust, identification with social groups including the national group, bias perceptions, and inter group prejudice. This evidence provided in this dissertation and elsewhere (Gunther, 1992; Tsfati & Cohen, 2005) suggests that such representations can also have a cumulative effect over time, which can be captured using longitudinal survey data. As discussed in the limitations section, a robust study design involving panel surveys combined with a content analysis of the quality of

representations is best suited for being able to derive causal inference from such survey data. A national registry that is continuously monitoring the quality of representations in the various mentioned ways could make it much more feasible to construct panel surveys around that can look for effects and mechanisms involved from different types of representations in the news.

Stereotypes is the type of representation that has received the most attention in terms of effects stemming from minority social identity related representations. Research shows that majority group members can start to develop cognitive representations of the "out group" minority group being stereotyped in the news which influences their attitudes towards members of the group as well as legislation like immigration laws involving members of those groups (Dixon et al., 2019). Stereotypical representations of minority groups also have a detrimental effect on members of those groups. Minority group members have been shown to feel alienated from national identification thanks to the quality of representations (Salem et al., 2021, Tsfati & Cohen, 2005). This line of inquiry should be extended into effects stemming from stereotypical representations of the majority group, as well as regional minority groups with some amount of self-rule at the state level. Majority group members are also stereotyped by the news, but the effects of such stereotypes on majority and minority group members has yet to be explored. Intriguing research by intergroup scholars point toward a cognitive phenomenon called in-group projection, which states that group members are more likely to mentally project characteristics of the in-group (for e.g., white/male) as being more representative of a superordinate group (e.g., American) compared to characteristics they associate with out groups (Wenzel, Mummendey & Waldzus, 2008). The role of stereotypes as well as other

types of representations in the news and its effects on in-group projection (and consequent attitudinal effects) promises to be an interesting line of inquiry for future research.

The Linguistic Category Model (Semin & Fiedler, 1988) and Construal Level Theory (Trope & Lieberman, 2008) offer a theoretical framework to understand the abstractness in language that groups can use to describe each other. The effects of abstract outgroup language about social groups in the news on attitudes like trust or bias perceptions has yet to be explored. Linguistic abstraction could have instantaneous attitudinal effects as well as long term effects if the representations of linguistic abstraction are sustained. Syntax LCM offers a robust, feasible, and standardized metric to measure to level of linguistic abstractness in a given text whose effects in different contexts promise to be an interesting area of research.

Furthermore, all the above mentioned analysis of effects can be extended to the state or regional levels to paint a more nuanced picture of the ways social groups and the news influence each other — for both countries with and without minorities with self-rule at the state level. Comparisons can be drawn between how groups are represented across various states but also across countries with varying political features of governance (federalism, unitary structure, self-rule at the state level, etc). Feasibility will require that this research occurs one group, one region, one country at a time. Comparisons can also be drawn between countries for different levels of social capital as discussed by Putnam (2000). The ability to access and accrue social capital within and across various social groups in a given national context could certainly influence intergroup relations, including how groups are represented in the media and its associated effects. Quantifying

social capital as a consistent concept across countries (especially in countries that can trace their origins to processes of decolonization and not Westphalian ideals of democracy) that accommodates for macro level social processes like decolonization and the resulting intergroup structures that allow for social interactions promises to be a challenging but promising endeavor that once offered can contribute to further contextualizing attitudes towards the news across countries. Comparisons will become a useful way to generate parsimonious theoretical insights about identity related phenomenon given the multiple ways identity can be construed and conceptualized in various contexts.

Conclusions

The exploration of social group identity as a determinant of trust in news media, as illuminated by this study through the lenses of social identity theory and self-categorization theory, reveals significant insights into the complex dynamics shaping public trust. The findings underscore the pivotal role of perceptions of fairness in news coverage towards various social groups, spanning political, ethnic, class, age, gender, and regional affiliations, in influencing global trust in the news. Importantly, the analysis demonstrates that individuals are more likely to trust news sources that they perceive as fair in their coverage of groups with which they identify. This highlights the need to broaden the scope of traditional explanations for news trust, moving beyond mere accuracy and impartiality considerations to encompass the nuanced interplay between social group identities and media perceptions.

Moreover, the study delves into the association between national identification and trust in the news, revealing a robust link wherein individuals with stronger national

identity exhibit higher levels of trust in national news sources. This quantifies Anderson's seminal notion of the press as a nation-building force, indicating that news consumption serves not only informational but also identity-affirming functions within the context of the nation as a social group. By extending the principles of social identity theory to national identity, this research opens avenues for deeper investigations into the intricate interactions between diverse social identities and media consumption patterns across different cultural contexts where notions of what constitutes being a member of the national group is contested.

Furthermore, the examination of Spain as a case study elucidates the dynamics of trust within the backdrop of regional ethnolinguistic minority identities. The findings underscore a significant negative correlation between membership in ethnolinguistic majority states and trust in national Spanish language news outlets, highlighting the impact of regional politics and federalist structures on news trust perceptions. Importantly, these relationships persist even after accounting for ideological considerations, underscoring the salience of identity beyond partisan affiliations in shaping news trust dynamics. The differential trust levels across national Spanish language news outlets among regional minority citizens hint at the complex interplay of framing, bias perception, and political representation, warranting further inquiry into the causal mechanisms driving these disparities. Additionally, this research sheds light on the distinct experiences of minority groups in Spain with regional demographic and political authority, offering valuable insights into the role of positive representation in shaping trust dynamics. While minority groups with significant self-rule exhibit agency in shaping their own representations, the impact of national representations on their attitudes

toward nation group membership as well as other majority social groups remains underexplored. Contrasting this with experiences in other countries, such as the United States, where minority groups lack comparable levels of self-representation, underscores the need for a nuanced understanding of the interplay between media representation, political structures, and trust dynamics. In conclusion, this study advances our understanding of the multifaceted relationship between social group identity and trust in the news, emphasizing the need for a holistic approach that considers the intersecting influences of identity, fairness perceptions, and national dynamics.

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APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

TABLE 9. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF VARIABLES BY COUNTRY - WVS WAVE 7

			Generalized Trust		Strength of National Identification		Interest in Politics		Ideology	
		Range: 1-4	Range: 1-4		Range: 1-4		Range: 1-4		Range: 1-9	
	COUNTRY	N	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D
1	AD	1004	2.245	0.743995	3.450734	0.6861356	2.318273	1.0351158	4.857612	1.948202
2	AL	1435	1.841772	0.8265029	3.732256	0.5730648	1.866713	0.9835343	5.4023803	3.524274
3	AM	2723	1.963087	0.8335739	3.562868	0.6903675	2.441973	0.8897788	4.9607765	2.669096
4	AR	1003	2.094008	0.7853659	3.470468	0.7313035	2.170512	0.9553343	5.8898428	2.145852
5	AT	1644	2.137122	0.7804074	3.450704	0.6927848	2.722899	0.934451	5.1677112	1.6710064
6	AU	1813	1.975501	0.663796	3.522093	0.6671728	2.650843	0.8915182	5.2698072	2.086568
7	AZ	1800	2.565163	0.774071	3.645327	0.5407474	2.021837	0.8808472	6.3736617	2.24424
8	BA	1724	1.845657	0.7995109	2.967645	0.8461554	2.002226	0.9507146	5.3408037	2.558398
9	BD	1200	2.892617	0.7754931	3.813178	0.44566	2.032265	0.9994702	7.1716667	2.139551
10	BG	1558	1.969655	0.6923943	3.295728	0.7856396	2.31351	0.9320191	5.7992266	2.743798
11	BO	2067	2.150272	0.8445781	3.662943	0.6708141	1.957808	0.9385096	5.3639809	2.403787
12	BR	1762	2.121105	0.9471481	2.779582	0.9356055	2.1020776	1.0478821	5.4082	2.7760668
13	BY	1548	2.274118	0.6507313	3.253984	0.6783652	2.3099961	0.8894237	5.3440017	1.819451
14	CA	4018	2.344948	0.8051215	3.381716	0.7342864	2.729965	0.9262058	5.2498076	2.044752
15	CH	3174	2.182683	0.8654115	3.300952	0.7470082	2.616772	0.8201543	5.2852247	2.019316
16	CL	1000	2.392929	0.6070409	3.094845	0.8347918	1.955751	0.9018288	5.0800566	1.852674
17	CN	3036	2.768135	0.6776012	3.360546	0.634531	2.510066	0.8302381	NaN	NA
18	CO	1520	2.017783	0.7805011	3.738492	0.6176579	1.959868	1.0064152	6.0756658	2.926034
19	CY	1000	2.24359	0.854345	3.316533	0.8642262	2.211168	0.9732589	5.4709814	2.593037
20	CZ	1811	1.917265	0.7328738	3.172711	0.7838654	2.364699	0.9486659	5.5096655	2.318701
21	DE	3698	2.253039	0.7458395	3.040932	0.84754	3.067707	0.8716138	4.8404441	1.73632
22	DK	3362	2.193083	0.6717707	3.412004	0.6533167	2.792374	0.8152094	5.2519808	2.229465

TABLE 9 (continued). DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF VARIABLES BY COUNTRY – WVS WAVE 7

				Generalized Trust		Strength of National Identification		Interest In Politics		Ideology
		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 9
	COUNTRY	N	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D
23	EC	1200	2.198653	0.8387809	3.816275	0.5221896	1.93578	1.0033562	5.769719	2.602091
24	EE	1304	2.18369	0.7228356	3.404505	0.6337214	2.489231	0.8942762	5.632675	2.006014
25	EG	1200	1.594747	0.6705968	3.421273	0.6189923	1.933891	0.8843405	NaN	NA
26	ES	1209	2.192851	0.7999888	3.236283	0.8182552	2.276949	1.0264143	4.871951	2.3342
27	ET	1230	2.287893	0.8947772	3.820179	0.5066814	2.00493	1.0699124	6.459504	3.444512
28	FI	1199	2.453006	0.7181909	3.646859	0.5615047	2.478261	0.8295963	5.883944	2.219714
29	FR	1870	2.073833	0.7944535	3.411932	0.7074482	2.282655	0.9875383	5.168714	2.10939
30	GB	1788	1.877666	0.6815657	3.397444	0.734345	2.537773	0.992751	5.280024	1.995476
31	GE	2194	2.133806	0.8821613	3.609095	0.6309787	2.179616	0.9883665	6.30227	2.556598
32	GR	1200	1.812816	0.6550326	3.689201	0.5838912	2.052568	0.9092888	5.384152	2.056401
33	GT	1229	2.016273	0.743963	3.56493	0.6791313	2.378089	0.8800515	5.790073	2.469989
34	HK	2075	2.522584	0.682681	2.769156	0.7811908	2.135749	0.7861951	5.687566	1.539795
35	HR	1487	1.704952	0.6607803	3.143759	0.8391848	2.083727	1.0219278	5.342282	2.620456
36	HU	1514	1.878543	0.7612038	3.351223	0.7381135	2.311289	0.9752756	6.038951	2.409391
37	ID	3200	2.513352	0.8661492	3.780038	0.4594228	2.150173	0.8401867	6.37486	2.723328
38	IQ	1200	2.324348	1.0546504	3.461861	0.8816334	2.184277	0.9663665	NaN	NA
39	IR	1499	2.550403	1.0164153	3.780405	0.5812205	2.473262	0.9721646	NaN	NA
40	IS	1624	2.218634	0.627246	3.568327	0.6099228	2.709181	0.8906741	5.237364	2.212602
41	IT	2277	2.187724	0.7456263	3.253464	0.7231434	2.167035	0.9291575	5.599516	2.353823
42	JO	1203	2.188042	0.9909368	3.883682	0.4221979	2.274937	1.0157405	NaN	NA
43	JP	1353	2.727896	0.603738	3.155105	0.7251521	2.653293	0.7401925	5.745902	2.000252
44	KE	1266	2.814103	0.9223553	3.3744	0.8175325	2.466932	1.0423174	5.50945	2.687332
45	KG	1200	2.41059	0.8677997	3.721943	0.5788136	2.054212	0.9161308	NaN	NA

TABLE 9 (continued). DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF VARIABLES BY COUNTRY – WVS WAVE 7

				Generalized Trust	Strength of National Identification			Interest In Politics		Ideology
		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 9
	COUNTRY			S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D
46	KR			0.6715097	2.905221	0.5489072	2.4	0.6507478	5.26506	1.755224
47	KZ	1276	2.694202	0.8148403	3.408	0.665951	2.3864	0.8183097	NaN	NA
48	LB	1200	2.021922	0.7218296	3.4175	0.7327855	2.320833	0.888007	NaN	NA
49	LT	1448	2.621465	0.6795823	3.087772	0.7221977	2.262411	0.8283942	5.884501	2.035623
50	LV	1335	2.159021	0.7788931	3.177433	0.701003	2.277778	0.9484149	6.004132	2.062113
51	LY	1196	1.723752	0.7677413	3.802179	0.4717829	2.540722	0.8666438	5.748328	2.479244
52	MA	1200	2.0725	0.7849143	3.3175	0.6723619	2.4775	0.8737639	5.793333	2.330268
53	ME	1003	1.94332	0.8354033	3.251326	0.6177109	2.135271	0.9948405	5.028384	2.609791
54	MK	1117	2.026436	0.8693028	3.019048	0.9454215	2.141569	0.9738335	5.387548	2.67844
55	MM	1200	2.5725	0.8662385	3.833333	0.4367087	2.941667	0.8730592	NaN	NA
56	MN	1638	2.344106	0.8562317	3.130597	0.8357948	2.231334	0.7851015	6.181649	2.089466
57	MO	1023	2.59882	0.6847025	2.964108	0.6721639	2.197458	0.724274	5.150451	1.374405
58	MV	1039	2.012585	0.8484119	3.587609	0.7100615	1.947876	0.9933038	5.967742	2.588159
59	MX	1741	1.985524	0.9224376	3.619321	0.701794	2.055172	0.9158697	5.648802	2.747799
60	MY	1313	2.344775	0.7163104	3.047256	0.8703393	2.422696	0.8293417	5.904798	1.824022
61	NG	1237	2.605565	0.9130423	3.571197	0.7478632	2.576642	1.1632241	5.976068	2.778897
62	NI	1200	1.920833	0.8823537	3.805833	0.588859	1.9625	1.0009639	5.586682	3.192881
63	NL	4549	2.251446	0.7039386	3.07561	0.7360247	2.632658	0.9028526	5.478228	2.130958
64	NO	1122	2.366637	0.6842046	3.628571	0.5815807	2.836007	0.8123848	5.360146	2.162244
65	NZ	1057	2.153082	0.6885166	3.648871	0.5382719	2.805233	0.8108453	5.467801	2.311217
66	PE	1400	1.973208	0.8209259	3.663082	0.6198815	1.914102	0.9043401	6.097458	2.272712
67	PH	1200	2.855	0.7838923	3.867389	0.4125685	2.9225	0.8956351	6.6575	2.541438
68	PK	1995	2.557672	1.0914301	3.812563	0.5205598	2.292261	1.0810841	NaN	NA

TABLE 9 (continued). DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF VARIABLES BY COUNTRY – WVS WAVE 7

				Generalized Trust		Strength of National Identification		Interest In Politics		Ideology
		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 9
	COUNTRY	N	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D
69	PL	1352	2.119658	0.7745829	3.632653	0.5469413	2.360595	0.9014338	6.30352	2.32833
70	PR	1127	2.13125	0.9813754	3.848624	0.4829726	1.879821	1.0566945	5.344137	3.333666
71	PT	1215	2.46944	0.7148146	3.683478	0.5349297	1.95132	0.921407	5.019846	1.871608
72	RO	2870	2.16858	0.9002586	3.377699	0.7120958	2.014075	0.9224482	5.693954	2.738705
73	RS	2545	1.773959	0.714121	3.18005	0.7550187	1.991723	0.9153498	5.12381	2.23394
74	RU	3635	2.181484	0.8211087	3.373011	0.6944828	2.320232	0.8786396	5.963104	2.026321
75	SE	1194	2.345763	0.6946596	3.473175	0.6735913	2.771812	0.8624711	5.481223	2.093915
76	SG	2012	2.578466	0.681539	3.435263	0.6662864	2.17515	0.8465732	5.077364	2.01948
77	SI	1075	2.203565	0.7086497	3.464775	0.6757532	2.181903	0.9286039	4.782871	1.995441
78	SK	1432	2.333572	0.7582193	3.256815	0.6283904	2.180799	0.8683923	5.515073	2.039689
79	TH	1500	2.594909	0.7815952	3.683858	0.6031536	2.650602	0.8675185	5.986551	1.874375
80	TJ	1200	2.790885	0.9537925	3.74	0.4788086	2.494167	0.9304232	7.548333	2.255047
81	TN	1208	2.00339	0.8480814	3.502085	0.7443414	2.086076	0.8868504	6.030364	2.33798
82	TR	2415	2.332634	0.8399441	3.559441	0.6605625	2.448319	0.8344826	6.292422	2.572761
83	TW	1223	2.091896	0.6987156	2.955774	0.7308269	2.110384	0.8534603	3.959935	1.851048
84	UA	2901	2.122206	0.8024422	3.167778	0.7745002	2.230582	0.8520021	5.789798	2.19342
85	US	2596	2.120589	0.8303534	3.155617	0.8788843	2.793398	0.9126768	5.220733	2.516381
86	VE	1190	2.042857	0.8278247	3.700254	0.6637655	1.967227	0.937815	6.288235	2.672184
87	VN	1200	2.871296	0.6095545	3.54	0.603078	2.444167	0.9323485	NaN	NA
88	ZW	1215	2.118687	0.9198115	3.400331	0.9647083	2.289843	1.0520602	5.431233	3.280063

TABLE 10. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF VARIABLES BY COUNTRY– WVS WAVE 6

				Generalized Trust	Strength of National Identification			Interest In Politics		Ideology
		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 9
	COUNTRY	N	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D
1	ALG	1168	2.193519	0.9464605	3.556507	0.6086146	2.168569	0.9883481	6.043233	2.096543
2	ARG	989	2.228662	0.7884854	3.361982	0.7382072	2.139774	0.9466156	5.378446	1.845918
3	ARM	1068	2.09372	0.7903609	3.697566	0.5639213	2.066479	0.9643505	5.70523	2.313924
4	AUL	1469	1.970139	0.6604671	3.665078	0.5784613	2.627397	0.9407768	5.332394	2.152912
5	AZE	1002	2.397206	0.9072426	3.608782	0.7086188	2.073852	0.8886761	5.909091	2.043215
6	BLR	1437	2.278437	0.7703948	3.102992	0.784937	2.285514	0.837459	5.401154	1.597145
7	BRA	1473	2.268544	0.929841	3.059742	0.8631742	2.029952	1.0157755	5.375531	2.820602
8	CHL	991	2.514344	0.823874	3.427851	0.624897	1.907598	0.9065729	5.100709	1.961942
9	CHN	2017	2.821101	0.7016837	3.131383	0.6042933	2.391919	0.9408668	NaN	*NA*
10	COL	1510	2.210386	0.9160345	3.769536	0.493697	1.809019	0.9376719	6.153846	2.414282
11	CYP	961	2.454162	0.8972861	3.396462	0.6996636	2.259916	0.9795617	5.206776	2.6742
12	ECU	1199	2.386989	0.8841193	3.89241	0.3888266	2.095913	0.9608227	5.56942	2.48567
13	EGY	1523	2.261042	0.9155025	3.581747	0.5870775	2.883125	0.9649564	6.250821	2.195472
14	EST	1497	2.359407	0.7196098	2.883768	0.8026425	2.2723	0.8368389	5.382775	1.873124
15	GHA	1550	2.716129	0.8392782	3.940645	0.2947128	2.358065	1.0714543	5.537419	2.725597
16	GMY	1866	2.361874	0.7379859	3.030547	0.7849997	2.759249	0.9044783	4.878316	1.802628
17	GRG	1198	2.028085	0.7161279	3.719533	0.5572961	2.16778	0.9263958	5.598549	2.223231
18	HAI	1935	1.991205	0.8825577	3.460465	0.5915318	2.568841	1.3296297	2.710731	2.43958
19	HKG	978	2.367769	0.6979616	2.871166	0.7990314	2.223711	0.8255808	5.405858	1.67973
20	IND	3997	3.039534	0.9065531	3.675757	0.5345381	2.141489	1.0076493	5.692911	2.310863
21	IRQ	1176	2.132209	0.7778579	3.404762	0.6849962	2.372294	0.8830747	6.213915	2.406664
22	JOR	1194	2.214834	0.8926424	3.832496	0.4299156	2.143216	0.9630691	NaN	*NA*

TABLE 10 (continued). DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF VARIABLES BY COUNTRY– WVS WAVE 6

				Generalized Trust	Strength of National Identification			Interest In Politics		Ideology
		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 9
	COUNTRY	N	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D
23	JPN	2232	2.773821	0.5853361	2.969534	0.7887398	2.78643	0.7421067	5.63472	1.908119
24	KUW	1225	2.211785	0.9371157	3.769796	0.5105764	2.70306	0.9413244	NaN	*NA*
25	KYR	1472	2.555252	0.853031	3.506114	0.5979486	2.790872	0.9077406	6.555478	2.33444
26	KZK	1494	2.504685	0.8352046	3.56091	0.6156897	2.368139	0.8440023	6.180723	2.177213
27	LEB	1181	2.229956	0.9109279	3.146486	0.8086701	2.522904	0.9497054	6.428916	2.183198
28	LIB	2077	1.953309	0.8968205	3.737602	0.5929878	2.667493	1.0193681	6.062455	2.747704
29	MAL	1293	2.832043	0.7408379	3.613302	0.5596405	2.402166	0.7961177	6.611756	1.919652
30	MEX	1998	2.020603	0.9125005	3.783784	0.5520457	2.04664	0.9307865	6.246065	2.721702
31	MOR	1189	2.486792	0.9395391	3.568545	0.6961073	1.64	0.8223171	5.514423	2.352875
32	NEW	779	2.157319	0.685374	3.632863	0.5988407	2.639842	0.8482454	5.676364	2.109219
33	NIG	1758	2.740614	0.8304534	3.535267	0.7074341	2.564278	1.03832	5.589306	2.438017
34	NTH	1830	2.271905	0.6266217	3.022951	0.68213	2.711209	0.8642572	5.556173	2.022097
35	PAK	1182	2.315425	0.8742165	3.739425	0.5564972	2.434635	0.976124	7.392555	1.987653
36	PER	1203	2.090833	0.8646587	3.548628	0.6410171	1.984087	0.9103566	5.520309	2.164144
37	PHI	1199	2.818562	0.7993868	3.819016	0.4620185	2.634696	0.953859	6.753367	2.734955
38	POL	952	2.163934	0.6965135	3.557773	0.5951279	2.271579	0.8925004	5.561074	2.233503
39	PSE	991	2.302128	0.7901118	3.624622	0.5599055	2.602261	0.8743457	5.983471	2.31749
40	QAT	1057	3.092381	0.8970022	3.985809	0.1183341	2.7132	0.8695233	NaN	*NA*
41	ROK	1173	2.615713	0.7332581	3.099744	0.5866329	2.313036	0.8207303	5.350427	2.066542
42	ROM	1483	2.091223	0.8784962	3.270398	0.7664395	2.152336	0.9608616	5.645191	2.691831
43	RUS	2362	2.160969	0.7928576	3.07663	0.7752881	2.200086	0.8091457	5.417668	2.215121
44	RWA	1527	2.554028	0.7451427	3.799607	0.4180399	2.657498	0.7980446	5.437459	1.935015
45	SAF	3480	2.625443	0.9627989	3.521264	0.6987087	2.452994	1.0494999	6.289027	2.075606

TABLE 10(continued). DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF VARIABLES BY COUNTRY– WVS WAVE 6

				Generalized Trust	Strength of National Identification			Interest In Politics		Ideology
		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 4		Range: 1- 9
	COUNTRY	N	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D	M	S.D
46	SIN	1968	2.643293	0.7456334	3.346545	0.7078816	2.258393	0.8946367	NaN	*NA*
47	SLV	1016	2.108242	0.6267731	3.384843	0.7311012	2.167323	0.906221	5.122324	2.19641
48	SPN	1119	2.203636	0.7166202	3.476318	0.7197212	2.019713	0.8520965	4.783673	1.926679
49	SWD	1125	2.252679	0.719629	3.269333	0.7204388	2.673778	0.8964523	5.517958	2.458003
50	TAW	1166	2.17263	0.6701745	2.824185	0.7577683	2.011178	0.8435514	4.582956	1.926075
51	THI	1198	2.425217	0.817066	3.792154	0.4725075	2.936295	0.8370402	5.94524	2.167023
52	TRI	990	2.234747	0.7391118	3.854545	0.4207155	2.203236	1.0121477	6.405018	2.398558
53	TUN	1198	1.81982	0.8450588	3.502504	0.6587833	2.212585	0.9810345	5.581006	1.845161
54	TUR	1508	2.331522	0.8773211	3.755968	0.5330462	2.414047	0.8737987	6.285296	2.480485
55	UKR	1403	2.481112	0.7564508	2.920884	0.900237	2.208125	0.876556	5.515324	1.954259
56	URU	987	2.315954	0.8879064	3.433637	0.651417	1.940756	0.9827572	4.653272	2.474999
57	USA	2126	2.07346	0.6681871	3.5254	0.6630157	2.694851	0.9438073	5.795106	2.046684
58	UZB	1480	3.268091	0.8198875	3.877703	0.3496972	2.344874	0.9508305	6.532787	2.140333
59	YEM	992	1.717185	0.6746391	3.790323	0.4986228	2.326531	0.9617348	5.677291	2.461593
60	ZIM	1498	2.271696	0.772965	3.722296	0.5522017	2.316422	1.0214846	5.222296	2.622926