Material interests, Identity and Linked Fate in three Countries.

Donnelly, M. (2021). *British Journal of Political Science*, 51, 1119-1137.

Main idea: Linked fate is the idea that what happens to your group affects what happens to you personally.

Hypothesis 1: Individuals who feel less secure in their jobs will express a stronger belief that, what happens to others in the groups of which they are members, matters for their own lives.

Hypothesis 2: Union membership is associated with higher levels of working-class linked fate.

Hypothesis 3: Raising the salience of ethnic (regional) inequality increases perceptions that what happens to one's ethnic group (region) matters for one's own life.

Hypothesis 4: People who attend religious services more frequently express a stronger perception that what happens to others who share their religion matters to them.

Hypothesis 5: Individuals who more closely identify with their region will express a stronger belief that what happens to others in the region matters for their own lives.

Table 1. Hypotheses, ordered from most grounded in material concerns to most grounded in ideational concerns

	Determinant of linked fate	Hypothesis
Material/individual	Uncertainty	1
	Class appeals (union membership)	2
Mixed/social	Inequality appeals (priming)	3
	Religious appeals (religious attendance)	4
Ideational/national	Regional identity	5

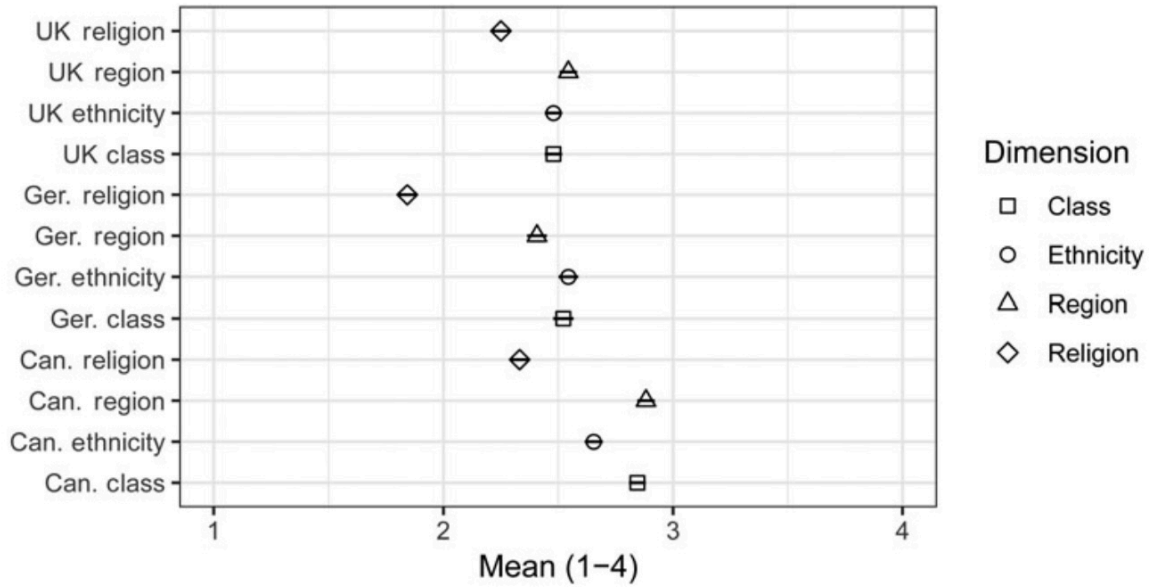


Figure 1. This shows the (weighted) mean and confidence interval for the linked fate measure across country and type of group

Figure 1:

* Religion seems to be relatively unimportant in the three countries.

* However when looked at separately, religion minorities seem to rate linked fate higher.

* The other three dimensions seem to be more important in Canada.

Table 2. Effect of job uncertainty on linked fate, UK

	Ethnicity 1	Religion 2	Region 3	Class 4
Likelihood of job loss	0.07***	0.12***	0.09***	0.08***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Demographic controls	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Group FE	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*No*
Observations	1,233	1,230	1,232	1,232
R^2	0.04	0.13	0.05	0.04

Note: the table shows the results in the UK of regressing a five-category linked fate measure on a five-category likelihood of job loss measure, while controlling for age, income, education, marital status and being a member of a union, as well as fixed effects for each ethnicity, religion and region in their respective models. The sample is restricted to employed respondents, as the likelihood of job loss was not asked of those who were not employed. *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Table 3. Effect of job uncertainty on linked fate, Germany

	Ethnicity 1	Religion 2	Region 3	Class 4
Likelihood of job loss	0.08***	0.04	0.04	0.08***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Demographic controls	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Group FE	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*No*
Observations	1,327	1,321	1,326	1,324
R^2	0.06	0.10	0.05	0.03

Note: the table shows the results in Germany of regressing a five-category linked fate measure on a five-category likelihood of job loss measure, while controlling for age, income, education, marital status and being a member of a union, as well as fixed effects for each ethnicity, religion and region in their respective models. The sample is restricted to employed respondents, as the likelihood of job loss was not asked of those who were not employed. *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Table 4. Effect of job uncertainty on linked fate, Canada

	Ethnicity 1	Religion 2	Region 3	Class 4
Likelihood of job loss	0.06*	0.13***	0.05*	−0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Demographic controls	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Group FE	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*No*
Observations	1,150	1,150	1,150	1,150
R^2	0.05	0.15	0.04	0.03

Note: the table shows the results in Canada of regressing a five-category linked fate measure on a five-category likelihood of job loss measure, while controlling for age, income, education, marital status and being a member of a union, as well as fixed effects for each ethnicity, religion and region in their respective models. The sample is restricted to employed respondents, as the likelihood of job loss was not asked of those who were not employed. *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Table 5. Effect of union membership on working class linked fate

	All 1	Canada 2	UK 3	Germany 4
Union	0.05	0.13	0.28**	−0.05
	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)
Demographic controls	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Observations	1,613	634	510	469
R^2	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.04

Note: the table shows the results in three countries of regressing a five-category class linked fate measure on union membership, while controlling for age, income, education and marital status. The samples are restricted to respondents whose income placed them in our definition of working class (and so they were asked about linked fate with reference to the working class). *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Tables 2-4: Significant relationship between likelihood of job loss and linked fate. Stronger in the UK.

Table 5: Union membership and working class linked fate. Restricted to working class, only seems significant in the UK.

Table 6. Effect of inequality prime on linked fate

	Ethnicity			Region	
	Canada	UK	Germany	Canada	Germany
	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic prime	0.05	0.11**	−0.05		
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)		
Regional prime				0.08*	0.12**
				(0.05)	(0.05)
Observations	1,281	1,313	1,300	1,353	1,293
R^2	0.001	0.004	0.001	0.002	0.004

Note: the table displays the impact of priming ethnic or regional inequalities on perceptions of linked fate. The ethnic models include only those respondents who received the ethnic prime or the control prime (inequality only) and the regional models include only those who received the regional prime or the control prime. *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Table 7. Effect of inequality prime on linked fate (out-groups only)

	Ethnicity			Region	
	Canada	UK	Germany	Canada	Germany
	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic prime	0.27**	0.22**	0.01		
	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.18)		
Regional prime				0.15**	0.19***
				(0.06)	(0.06)
Observations	262	351	144	704	1,016
R^2	0.002	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01

Note: the table displays the impact of priming ethnic or regional inequalities on perceptions of linked fate. The samples exclude ethnic-majority members (whites/white British/Germans) and residents of the advantaged regions (Ontario and British Columbia/Bavaria and Berlin. Note that the ethnic models include only those respondents who received the ethnic prime or the control prime (inequality only) and the regional models include only those who received the regional prime or the control prime. *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Table 8. Effect of religious attendance on religious linked fate

	All	Canada	UK	Germany
	1	2	3	4
Religious attendance	0.33***	0.28***	0.33***	0.36***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Demographic controls	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Religion FE	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Observations	3,658	1,272	1,209	1,177
R^2	0.21	0.21	0.24	0.17

Note: the table shows the results in three countries of regressing a five-category religious linked fate measure on a four-category religious attendance measure, while controlling for age, income, education, marital status, and being a member of a union, as well as fixed effects for each religion. The samples are restricted to respondents who identified a religious affiliation. *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Table 9. Effect of regional identification on linked fate

	All	Canada	UK	Germany
	1	2	3	4
Regional ID	0.06***	0.11***	0.04**	0.05**
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Demographic controls	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Region FE	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Observations	5,587	1,926	1,857	1,804
R^2	0.08	0.04	0.05	0.04

Note: the table shows the results in three countries of regressing a five-category regional linked fate measure on a five-category Moreno-style regional identity measure, while controlling for age, income, education, marital status and being a member of a union, as well as fixed effects for each region. *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Table 6: Ethnic inequality is more related to linked fate in the UK, while regional inequality is stronger linked to linked fate in Germany and is somewhat weaker in Canada.

Table 7: White Canadians, Ethnically German Germans and white British were excluded and the inequality prime was stronger related to linked fate. Especially in Canada.

Table 8: Across three countries religious attendance was significantly related to linked fate.

Table 9 : Regional identification is related to linked fate

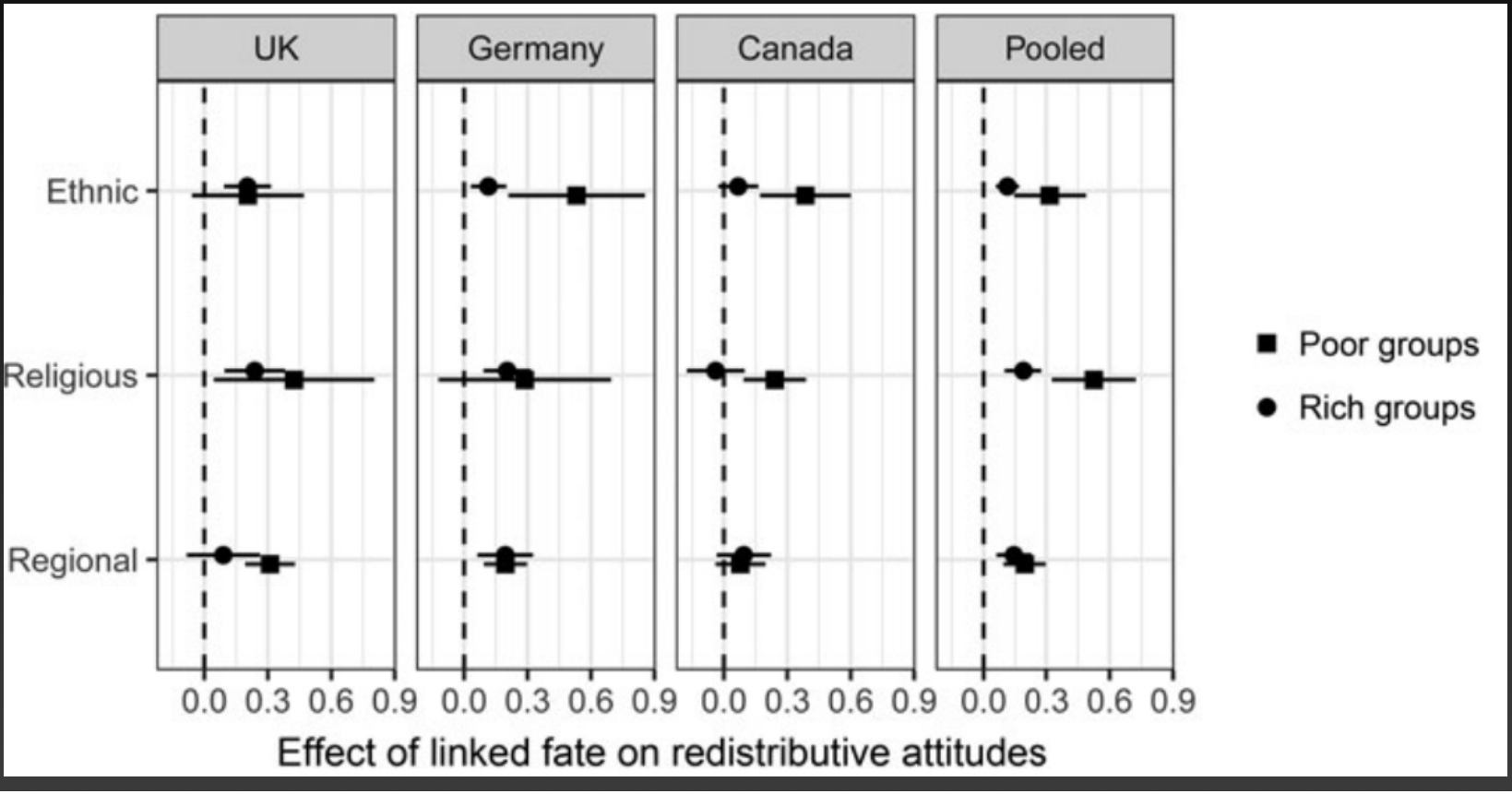
```
mod1can <- lm(racelink ~ joblossnum + Male + agecat + union+ marital + race + educsimple +incnum,
              data = canworking, weights = weight)
mod2can <- lm(religionlink ~ joblossnum + Male + agecat + union+ marital + religion + educsimple +incnum,
              data = canworking, weights = weight)
mod3can <- lm(regionlink ~ joblossnum + Male + agecat + union+ marital + region + educsimple +incnum,
              data = canworking, weights = weight)
mod4can <- lm(classlink ~ joblossnum + Male + agecat + union+ marital +  educsimple +incnum,
              data = canworking, weights = weight)

mod1ger <- lm(racelink ~ joblossnum + Male + agecat + union+ marital + educsimple +incnum + race,
              data = gerworking, weights = weight)
mod2ger <- lm(religionlink ~ joblossnum + Male + agecat + union+ marital+ educsimple + religion +incnum ,
              data = gerworking, weights = weight)
mod3ger <- lm(regionlink ~ joblossnum + Male + agecat + union+ marital + educsimple + region +incnum,
              data = gerworking, weights = weight)
mod4ger <- lm(classlink ~ joblossnum + Male + agecat + union+ marital+ educsimple + incnum,
              data = gerworking, weights = weight)
```

Snippet of the original code for linear regression for the first tables, showing four models for Canada and four models for Germany.

Hypothesis 6: Members of poor groups with high levels of linked fate will express higher demands for redistribution.

Hypothesis 7: Members of rich groups with high levels of linked fate will express lower demands for redistribution

Redistribution: Person who feels their interests are bound to those of a poor group should anticipate a larger likelihood of need and therefore want a larger welfare state. While a a member of a rich group who feels tied to that group, membership in the group should serve as a substitute for the welfare state and increase their (perceived) likelihood of upward mobility and decrease their support for redistribution.



My contribution:

* too many variables and subsets of the data.
* It was hard to keep track of changes in all the regression models.
* many regression models for each table.
* So I removed the “marital” variable because it did not seem to be connected to any of the hypothesis or significant variables, to see if it would make any change to figure 2

```
gerpoorRels <- c("Muslim", "Hindu", "Sikh", "Buddhist")
gerrichRels <- c("Catholic", "Protestant")

mod13ger <- lm(taxnum ~ religionlink + union+ Male +
                 agecat +  marital + Bachelor +incnum + taxarg + jl2 + religion,
               data = subset(ger, religion %in%gerpoorRels),
               weights = weight)
mod14ger <- lm(taxnum ~ religionlink + union+ Male +
                 agecat +  marital + Bachelor +incnum + taxarg + jl2 + religion,
               data = subset(ger, religion %in%gerrichRels),
               weights = weight)

stargazer(list(mod15ger, mod16ger, mod13ger, mod14ger, mod17ger, mod18ger),
          out = "Figs/TaxSubgrpsger.html",
          keep = c("racelink", "religionlink", "regionlink"),
          type = "html",
          align = TRUE,
          covariate.labels = c("Ethnic linked fate", "Religious linked fate",
```

```
gerpoorRels <- c("Muslim", "Hindu", "Sikh", "Buddhist")
gerrichRels <- c("Catholic", "Protestant")

mod13Ger <- lm(taxnum ~ religionlink + union+ Male +
                 agecat + Bachelor +incnum + taxarg + jl2 + religion,
               data = subset(ger, religion %in%gerpoorRels),
               weights = weight)
mod14Ger <- lm(taxnum ~ religionlink + union+ Male +
                 agecat + Bachelor +incnum + taxarg + jl2 + religion,
               data = subset(ger, religion %in%gerrichRels),
               weights = weight)

stargazer(list(mod15Ger, mod16Ger, mod13Ger, mod14Ger, mod17Ger, mod18Ger),
          out = "Figs/TaxSubgrpsGer.html",
          keep = c("racelink", "religionlink", "regionlink"),
          type = "html",
          align = TRUE,
```

	Poor (1)	Rich (2)	Poor (3)	Rich (4)	Poor (5)	Rich (6)
Ethnic linked fate	0.21	0.20***				
	(0.13)	(0.06)				
Religious linked fate			0.42**	0.24***		
			(0.19)	(0.07)		
Regional linked fate					0.31***	0.09
					(0.06)	(0.09)
Observations	128	1,050	74	698	875	438
R^2	0.25	0.07	0.40	0.09	0.09	0.10
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Poor (1)	Rich (2)	Poor (3)	Rich (4)	Poor (5)	Rich (6)
Ethnic linked fate	0.21	0.20***				
	(0.13)	(0.06)				
Religious linked fate			0.44**	0.24***		
			(0.20)	(0.07)		
Regional linked fate					0.31***	0.09
					(0.06)	(0.09)
Observations	128	1,050	74	698	875	438
R^2	0.25	0.07	0.37	0.09	0.09	0.10
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

UK poor & rich association with linked fate.

Left hand side: Article's original output.

Right hand side: output from my code

	Poor (1)	Rich (2)	Poor (3)	Rich (4)	Poor (5)	Rich (6)
Ethnic linked fate	0.53***	0.12***				
	(0.16)	(0.04)				
Religious linked fate			0.29	0.20***		
			(0.21)	(0.06)		
Regional linked fate					0.20***	0.19***
					(0.05)	(0.07)
Observations	126	1,763	90	1,018	1,153	802
R^2	0.49	0.04	0.44	0.05	0.07	0.06
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Poor (1)	Rich (2)	Poor (3)	Rich (4)	Poor (5)	Rich (6)
Ethnic linked fate	0.46***	0.12***				
	(0.16)	(0.04)				
Religious linked fate			0.29	0.21***		
			(0.21)	(0.06)		
Regional linked fate					0.19***	0.21***
					(0.05)	(0.07)
Observations	126	1,763	90	1,018	1,153	802
R^2	0.47	0.04	0.40	0.05	0.06	0.06
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Germany poor & rich association with linked fate.

Left hand side: Article's original output.

Right hand side: output from my code

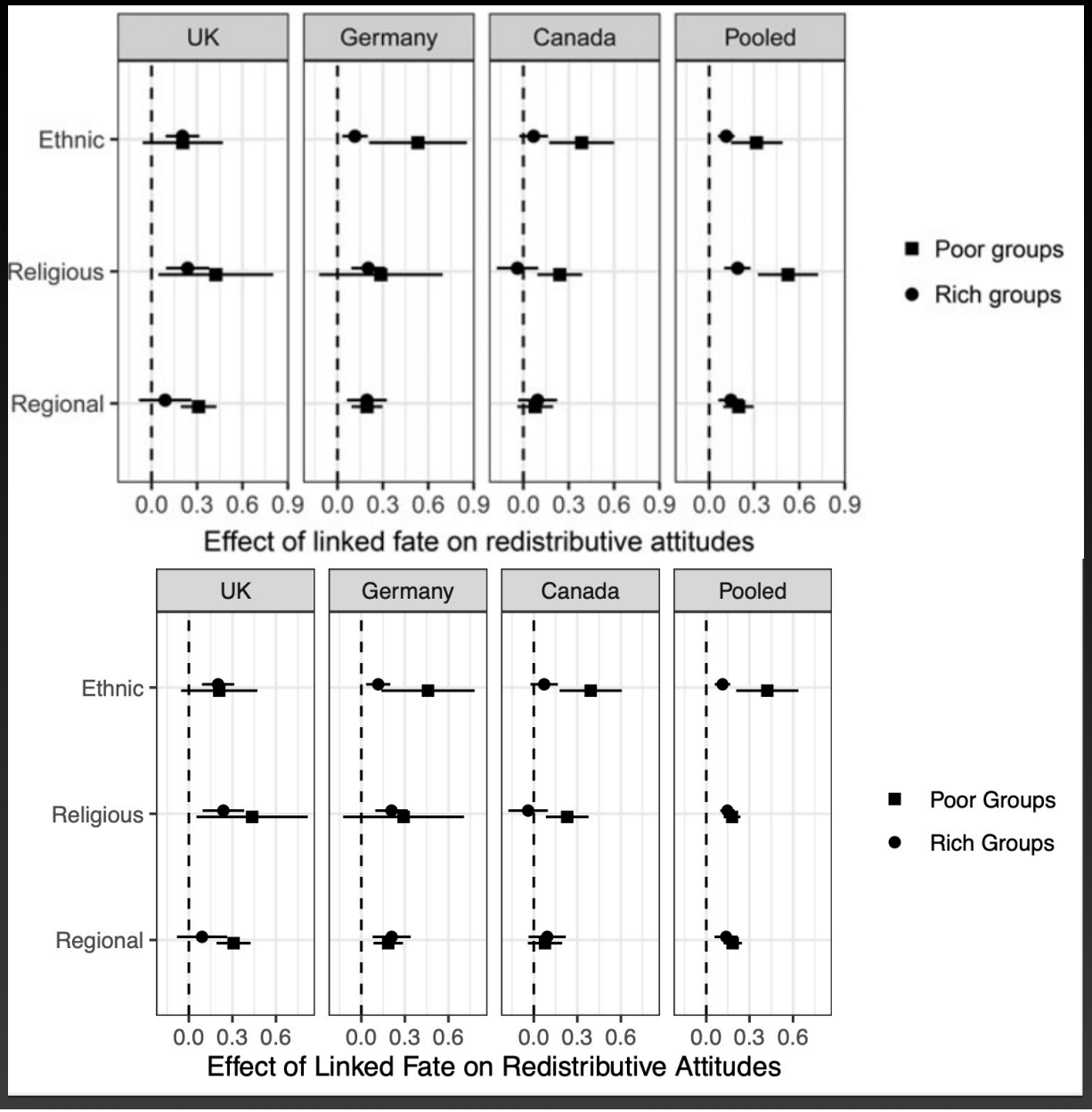


Figure 2.

Top: article's original figure 2.

Botton: figure 2 without the variable "marital"

Conclusion: Removing the variable "marital" seems to have little to no effect on the linear models about rich & poor individual attitudes towards linked fate and to redistribution.