Materialism and Immorality: More Urban than Rural?

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Metropolitan areas tend to be materialistic/consumerist, and materialism/consumerism is usually considered immoral. Some literature argues that in cities, in general, there is more vice and immorality. In this study, we explore empirically the relationship between urbanness and materialism/immorality using 1972-2018 US General Social Survey. We find much support for a hypothesis that urbanness is associated with higher materialism and immorality. Seven out of eight measures show some evidence of more materialism/immorality in large cities, and four measures remain significant even in the most oversaturated models. Yet, we caution, as it is one of the first quantitative studies in the area, the evidence is provisional. While there is much theory, more empirical quantitative research is needed. The study is associative, not causal, and results may not generalize outside of the US.

URBANISM, URBANNESS, CITIES, URBAN-RURAL, DEVIANCE, MORALITY, CORRUPTION, GREED, MONEY, LOVE OF MONEY (LOM), (US) GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY

"With urbanization comes disharmony" The Dalai Lama

1 Introduction

There are two broad trends that motivate the present study. Over past century, both urbanization and materialism/consumerism has been increasing and both are widespread today. The present research tests whether urbanites are more materialistic. In addition, we also test whether urbanites are more immoral as theory suggests that it may be the case as well. In the empirical part, we will focus on the US only.

Urbanization is rampant adding tens of millions of people to cities every year. Urban population has mushroomed more than 10-fold from <.2b in 1900 to 2.9b in 2000 (Zinkina et al. 2017), and it is further estimated to more than double at 6.7b in 2050 (`population.un.org/wup`). Urban is a norm, but it needs to be remembered that for almost all of our evolutionary history, almost all humans have lived without cities. Before industrialization took off, in the 1800s, only few percent of humans lived in cities (Davis 1955). Such unprecedented change in human habitat, arguably the most dramatic in our species history, calls for a broad research agenda into urbanization.

Another strong trend over past century or so is that of materialism and consumerism. Human pursuit of money and consumption seems without limit. For instance, we have so much consumer goods in the US today, that merely being only richer than the poorest ten percent of the society, a person is better off than ninety percent of the society around 1900 (Bok 2010). Humans were consuming astonishingly little (by today's standards) only few generations ago–before 1895, the

average person in West lived on a less than one dollar a day, adjusted for inflation (Peterson 2022). Average square footage per one inhabitant of a new home more than tripled in the US from 1950s till 2010s (Compass 2016). And so forth.

In what follows we explore the relationship between urbanness and materialism/immorality. Almost all of the literature is theoretical and qualitative–a quantitative test is largely missing. First, we present a general overview of the negative effects of urbanism based on classic sociology. Second, we cover other and more recent literatures to illuminate potential mechanisms or pathways between urbanism and materialism/immorality. Third, we devote an entire section to a recent key study, Joye et al. (2020), the only study similar to ours, where we also discuss nature in contrast to urbanism. Finally, we proceed to our person level quantitative study in the US.

2 The Negative Effects Of Urbanism (Classic Sociology)

"I think most people know exactly what New York values are" Ted Cruz[1]

Wirth (1938) observed that in a city "the pecuniary nexus tends to displace personal relations" (p. 1), and "the urban world puts a premium on visual recognition" (p. 14)–urbanites are more extrinsic and focused on success than rural folks (Morrison and Weckroth 2017). According to Wirth, urban communities more than rural communities are likely to suffer from: "personal disorganization, mental breakdown, suicide, delinquency, crime, corruption, and disorder" (Wirth 1938, p. 23).

Other classic urban sociologists have added similar strong critiques of urbanism. City intensifies materialism, consumerism, vice, crime, indifference, strangeness, aversion, repulsion, and indeed often results in hatred and conflict (Simmel 1903, Wirth 1938, Thrift 2005, Amin 2006, Veblen 2005, Park 1915, Park et al. [1925] 1984, Tönnies [1887] 2002, White and White 1977, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015). Urbanism negatively affects quality of nearly all social relationships and even produces fear, revulsion, and distrust (Wilson 1985).

City overstimulates human brain (Simmel 1903), to the point where it is neurologically unhealthy (Lederbogen et al. 2011). Reactions of an urbanite to stimuli are rational/economic, furthest possible from one true self.

Sociologists (and economists) have also established that urbanism and capitalism are linked and work together. Then sociological criticism of capitalism, at least in some respects, also applies to urbanism.

Simmel observed that "the metropolis has always been the seat of money economy" (Simmel 1971, p. 326). The hallmarks of capitalism, industrialization and commercialization, are closely linked with urbanization (e.g., O'Sullivan 2009, Glaeser 2011b). It is in the city where capitalism is most full-blown and felt most (Simmel 1903). Capitalism works

[1]Ted Cruz is neither a sociologist, nor any social scientist. The quote rather points to the folk wisdom about the negative side of cities, and as elaborated in this section, there are many negative effects of urbanism. To be fair, there are of course many advantages of urbanism as well, but the focus here is on materialism and immorality; for the bright side of urbanism see excellent Meyer (2013) and Florida (2008).

best at high density where agglomeration economies are possible (e.g., O'Sullivan 2009, Glaeser 2011b).

Marx observed that humans are alienated under capitalism (Freud et al. 1930, Struhl 2016, Byron 2016, Petrović 1963, Marx [1867] 2010, Wheeler 2015), and so humans are most alienated in cities, where capitalism is felt most: "urbanism makes alienation tangible" (Vaneigem 1997, p. 127).

Human density forces differentiation and specialization as already observed by Darwin and Durkheim (Wirth 1938, p. 15). City not only enables, but what is often missed, forces differentiation and specialization, because it's the only way high density can be supported (e.g., Burgess 1926). And humans, as most other animals, have not evolved to spend about half of their wake time performing a repetitive task–it is against human nature (Marx 1844, [1867] 2010)–indeed one ideally should be able to "to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner" (Marx and Engels [1845] 1965)

3 How Can Urbanism Result in Materialism/Consumerism and Immorality? (Mechanisms and Pathways)

This section focuses on the link between urbanicity and materialism/consumerism and immorality. In addition to illuminating the negative side of urbanism in general (previous section), the literature also specifically argues that urbanism results in materialism/consumerism and immorality. Additional mechanisms/pathways mostly due to nature are postponed to the next section.

Materialism is mostly concentrated in cities–urbanites tend to work longer hours (Rosenthal and Strange 2002, 2003, 2008, Snowdon 2015). Cities are consumerist and materialistic–e.g., urbanites try to classify others in terms of visible attributes such as dress (Wilson 1985). Consumption is concentrated in cities (Glaeser et al. 2001, Currid-Halkett et al. 2019, Joye et al. 2020). In particular luxury, positional, or conspicuous consumption is centered in the city (Rabiei-Dastjerdi et al. 2020). There is commodity fetishism (Pierce and Hankins 2019), and indeed city itself can be seen as a fetish (Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2017). City intensifies conspicuous consumption: urban etiquette, sophistication, manners and finish (White and White 1977, p. 169).

City compounds materialism–one mechanism is built environment–corporate buildings, shops, advertisements–they signal wealth and material possessions (Joye et al. 2020). Visual and social comparisons are more likely in urban areas as there are more people and more stimuli. Likewise, use of social media is higher in urban areas (Perrin 2015), and both visual and social comparisons in real life and on social media can make people seek status through money, material possessions, and conspicuous consumption (Taylor and Strutton 2016, Joye et al. 2020).

What about the relationship between materialism and immorality? Materialism is commonly considered immoral. For

instance, the Bible states: "For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil, for which some have strayed from the faith in their greediness, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows" (Timothy 6:10). A Confucius successor saw the root of all evil in selfishness or materialism (Hirst 1934, p. 332): "The source of disorder in a State lies in the lack of mutual love." Benjamin Franklin, who wrote on moral perfection, includes frugality, temperance, and moderation in his list of virtues.[2] Materialism and consumerism have been widely criticized and commonly considered vices and immoral (e.g., Kasser 2016, Dittmar et al. 2014, Kasser 2003, Schmuck et al. 2000, Kasser and Ryan 1993, Leonard 2010, Hirst 1934).

And again, there is an indication of a positive relationship between urbanness and immorality. There is a moral breakdown in cities in general–city itself intensifies vice, crime, indifference, strangeness, aversion, and repulsion (Bettencourt and West 2010, Simmel 1903, Wirth 1938, Thrift 2005, Amin 2006, Veblen 2005, Park 1915, Park et al. [1925] 1984, Tönnies [1887] 2002, White and White 1977).

4 A Recent Study by Joye et al. (2020); and Nature as a Contrast to Urbanism

Most of the literature about the relationship between urbanness and materialism/immorality is dated, theoretical and qualitative–there are no recent quantitative studies except Joye et al. (2020).

Joye et al. (2020) found that materialism is higher in urban areas, and argues that the mechanism is exposure to nature, i.e., the more nature, the less materialism. Clearly, nature (wilderness) is the opposite of large and dense city–the more built environment, the less nature. Sure, there are urban parks, and some urban nature, but in general, the more city, the less nature (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015). Joye et al. (2020) enumerates three pathways between urbanness and materialism:

- urban environment itself (commerce, ads, etc) amplifies materialism
- nature "provides an antidote to insecurities and worries about meeting one's psychological and physical needs, known to drive materialism" (p. 5)
- nature makes one value self-transcendent values such as altruism, and self-transcendent values are opposite of self-enhancement values to which materialism belongs and "nature decreases extrinsic aspirations (including the desire for wealth) through increased nature relatedness and autonomy" (p. 5)

In general, the benefits of nature for human flourishing are multiple and have been extensively documented (Frumkin 2001a,b, Maller et al. 2006, Mayer et al. 2009, Fromm 1964, Pretty 2012, Wilson 1980, Jerolmack 2012, Tesson 2013, Berman et al. 2012, White and White 1977, Mitchell and Popham 2008, Wells and Evans 2003, Alter 2013, Thoreau 1995 [1854]).

[2] "Benjamin Franklin on Moral Perfection"–Practical advice on obtaining a perfectly moral bearing. From his autobiography. `https://www.ftrain.com/franklin_improving_self`. American intellectuals tended to be ambivalent or hostile towards cities (White and White 1977).

That is, the negative effect of urbanism can be contrasted with a positive effect of nature (and by definition, the more urbanism, the less nature). For elaboration in addition to Joye et al. (2020) also see Okulicz-Kozaryn (2015).

There are cyclic turns between rationalism and romanticism: 18th century was Age of Reason, 19th century was Romantic Era, 20th century was Age of Science and Technology (Martinson 2000). The current rational economic Zeitgeist of materialism and consumerism may perhaps soon change into a romantic period. There is a so called pastoral idyll, often expressed in lyrics, novels and paintings during Romanticism–it is visualized in figure 1.

Clearly such a natural setting invokes feelings of tranquility, peace, relaxation, harmony, etc; And it is antithetical to materialism, and perhaps immorality (except that it may somehow connote with idleness and laziness).

5 Data and Model

We use the 1972-2018 US General Social Survey (GSS) `gss.norc.org` cumulative file. The GSS is collected face-to-face and is nationally representative. Since 1994, the GSS is collected every other year (earlier, it was collected mostly annually).

The unit of analysis is a person and data are collected in face-to-face in-person interviews (Davis et al. 2007). The full dataset contains about 60 thousand observations pooled over 1972-2018.

Marsden et al. (2020) provides an useful overview of the GSS, one of the most widely used datasets in contemporary social science. The GSS has a wide range of attitude and behavior data, together with wide and deep body of background information including socioeconomic status, social mobility, social control, the family, civil liberties, and morality.

Materialism is rather a straightforward concept and can be measured using several items in GSS listed in table 1. We faced a challenge, however, in choice of measures of immorality/dishonesty as there is not a standard set of measures. Likewise, there is not an agreed model and a set of predictors.

GSS lists under 'morality' tag the following variables: PUNSIN, BLKWHITE, ROTAPPLE, PERMORAL, GODRIGHT, SOCRIGHT, PERRIGHT, LESSPAIN. But we do not use several of them because morality is confounded with religiosity: PUNSIN "r agrees that sinners must be punished," GODRIGHT "god's laws should decide right and wrong," PERRIGHT "conscience should decide right and wrong." Likewise, we do not use another two as they may confound with secularism: SOCRIGHT "society's laws should decide right and wrong," LESSPAIN "feel deep sense of respect for reducing pain." Our measures of outcomes, materialism and immorality, are listed in table 1. All dependent variables were re-coded in such a way that the higher value means more materialistic or immoral. Distributions of all variables are shown in SOM (Supplementary Online Material).

Figure 1: Pastoral idyll.

(a) Jan Thomas van Ieperen: Pastoral Idyll

(b) Georges Philibert Charles Maroniez: Rural Landscape

Table 1: Dependent variable definitions.

name	description
materialism:	
next to health, money is most important	"Now I'm going to read you several more statements. Some people agree with a statement, others disagree. As I read each one, tell me whether you more or less agree with

The main independent variable, urbanicity, is measured using GSS variable `xnorcsiz` with the following categories: (base: country), lt 2.5k, 2.5-10k, 10-50k, uninc med (unincorporated medium area), uninc lrg (unincorporated large area), med sub (medium suburb), lrg sub (large suburb), 50-250k, gt 250k. In addition, as a robustness check, we use alternative measurement using GSS variable `srcbelt` in SOM (Supplementary Online Material) (results are similar). The detailed definitions of urbanicity variables are in SOM under the table 6.

There are multiple correlates of immorality/dishonesty: age, religiosity, political orientation, and social class (e.g., Clerke et al. 2018). Notably higher social class predicts unethical behavior (Piff et al. 2012). And higher social class is likely to be more urban than rural, and hence urbanicity and social class may confound. As discussed earlier, materialism is at least moderately related to immorality/dishonesty, and so its predictors should be similar. Duh (2015) presents a useful listing of materialism antecedents–we control for basic socio-demographics such as gender, age, and income. The control variables' definitions are listed in SOM in table 6.

But we do not find good GSS measures for the following predictors of materialism: birth order, childhood experience, family/consumer socialization, peer influence, self-esteem, subjective experience of economic deprivation, insecurity during one's formative years (Duh 2015). In general, we cannot capture well the social influence of family and peers to shape materialistic orientations (Ahuvia 2002). But many of our control variables somewhat proxy the missing predictors, e.g., we control for income, social class, education, race, and religiosity. Still, future research can improve greatly by including better control variables.

The dependent variables are ordinal or binary–for simplicity OLS results are presented. As a robustness check, SOM (Supplemetary Online Material) includes multinomial logit results, which are very similar.

We have used Stata Version 15. Data are publicly available, and code is available upon request. No conflict of interest or funding are declared.

6 Results

OLS regression results for four dependent variables, measures of materialism and immorality, as defined in table 1, are shown in tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 below. Each table presents several models elaborated sequentially with increasing number of control variables. Note that there are two models #2: 2a and 2b showing alternative measurement of social class as subjective identification in model 2a, and as income and education in model 2b.

In general, larger places (variable `urbanism`) exhibit more materialism and immorality, most consistently the top category, `gt 250k`, except in table 5: `job is just a way to earn money`–is higher in many places as compared to the base case, country. In general, larger places are more materialistic or immoral, and the largest places, `gt 250k`, most

consistently so.

While there is some indication that the largest places, `gt 250k`, are most materialistic/immoral, urbanism in general is associated with more materialism/immorality. This agrees with Joye et al. (2020)–exposure to nature is arguably one of the key mechanisms, and the smaller the place, the more nature.

	a1	a2a	a2b	a3	a4	a5
urbanism (base: country)						
lt 2.5k	-0.04	-0.02	-0.05	-0.03	-0.03	-0.00
2.5-10k	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.05
10-50k	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	-0.01
uninc med	-0.08+	-0.09+	-0.07	-0.08+	-0.06	-0.07
uninc lrg	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.01
med sub	0.02	-0.00	0.03	-0.01	0.01	0.02
lrg sub	0.08*	0.09*	0.07+	0.08*	0.06	0.03
50-250k	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.07	0.07	0.09
gt 250k	0.16***	0.19***	0.16***	0.18***	0.16**	0.13*
subjective class identification		0.00		0.00	0.02	0.03
family income in $1986, millions			0.02	-0.34	0.53	0.16
highest year of school completed			0.00	0.01*	0.01	0.01+
age					-0.01**	-0.01*
age squared					0.00*	0.00*
male					0.07**	0.07*
married					-0.01	-0.00
number of persons in household					-0.00	0.00
health					-0.03+	-0.03+
white					-0.07	-0.11+
liberal						0.01
conservative						-0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
religious denomination dummies	no	no	no	no	no	yes
census region dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
constant	2.01***	1.99***	1.95***	1.86***	2.41***	2.24***
N	8059	6491	7483	6050	3899	3032

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 2: Immorality: OLS regressions of `honest least desirable`.

	b1	b2a	b2b	b3	b4	b5
urbanism (base: country)						
lt 2.5k	0.01	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.02	0.04
2.5-10k	0.06+	0.09*	0.10**	0.11**	0.11**	0.09*
10-50k	0.07*	0.07*	0.09**	0.09*	0.07*	0.07+
uninc med	-0.00	0.02	0.05	0.06+	0.07*	0.10*
uninc lrg	0.00	0.02	0.08*	0.08*	0.08*	0.07+
med sub	0.01	0.04	0.07+	0.07+	0.08+	0.10*
lrg sub	0.04	0.06*	0.12***	0.12***	0.12***	0.12***
50-250k	0.05	0.07*	0.09**	0.10**	0.09**	0.09**
gt 250k	0.09***	0.12***	0.14***	0.15***	0.11***	0.10**
subjective class identification		-0.04***		0.02+	0.02	0.03+
family income in $1986, millions			-1.48***	-1.56***	-1.25***	-1.07*
highest year of school completed			-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***
age					0.00	0.00
age squared					0.00	0.00
male					0.02	0.03+
married					0.03+	0.04+
number of persons in household					-0.00	-0.00
health					-0.02+	-0.01
white					-0.23***	-0.25***
liberal						-0.02
conservative						-0.02
how often r attends religious services						-0.02***
religious denomination dummies	no	no	no	no	no	yes
census region dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
constant	0.32***	0.41***	0.76***	0.68***	0.69***	0.65***
N	4463	3694	4120	3410	3395	2573

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 3: Materialism: OLS regressions of `next to health, money is most important`.

	e1	e2a	e2b	e3	e4	e5
urbanism (base: country)						
lt 2.5k	0.08	0.08	0.05	0.05	0.14	0.17
2.5-10k	0.10	0.11+	0.11+	0.11+	0.08	0.10
10-50k	0.13*	0.12*	0.09	0.08	0.10	0.08
uninc med	0.13**	0.10*	0.09+	0.08	0.11	0.12+
uninc lrg	0.15**	0.13*	0.11*	0.10+	0.08	0.09
med sub	0.13*	0.12*	0.13*	0.13*	0.09	0.09
lrg sub	0.17***	0.14***	0.13**	0.13**	0.13*	0.12*
50-250k	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.03
gt 250k	0.11**	0.11*	0.12*	0.12*	0.11+	0.10+
subjective class identification		0.08***		0.02	0.02	0.03
family income in $1986, millions			1.38***	1.27**	1.06+	0.94+
highest year of school completed			0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***
age					0.01**	0.02***
age squared					-0.00**	-0.00**
male					0.04	0.01
married					-0.11**	-0.07*
number of persons in household					-0.01	0.00
health					0.03	0.04*
white					0.10**	0.09*
liberal						0.10**
conservative						-0.13***
how often r attends religious services						-0.04***
religious denomination dummies	no	no	no	no	no	yes
census region dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
constant	2.53***	2.34***	2.24***	2.21***	1.72***	1.60***
N	8323	8278	7361	7337	4822	4702

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 4: Immorality: OLS regressions of `r disagrees immoral person corrupts society`.

	i1	i2a	i2b	i3	i4	i5
urbanism (base: country)						
lt 2.5k	0.24*	0.27*	0.14	0.21+	0.37**	0.29*
2.5-10k	0.13	0.21*	0.10	0.24*	0.39***	0.39**
10-50k	-0.01	0.06	0.04	0.12	0.12	0.12
uninc med	-0.03	0.00	0.08	0.14	0.15	0.12
uninc lrg	-0.06	0.11	0.14+	0.25*	0.28*	0.28*
med sub	0.02	0.13	0.11	0.22*	0.29**	0.25*
lrg sub	0.04	0.13	0.21**	0.26**	0.25*	0.21*
50-250k	0.08	0.13	0.17*	0.26**	0.26*	0.25*
gt 250k	0.17*	0.21*	0.26***	0.33***	0.25*	0.23*
subjective class identification		-0.33***		-0.15***	-0.12**	-0.09*
family income in $1986, millions			-4.07***	-3.39***	-2.90**	-3.39***
highest year of school completed			-0.10***	-0.10***	-0.09***	-0.08***
age					0.00	-0.00
age squared					-0.00	0.00
male					0.07+	0.07
married					-0.05	-0.06
number of persons in household					0.02	0.03
health					-0.04	-0.03
white					-0.43***	-0.46***
liberal						-0.07
conservative						-0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
religious denomination dummies	no	no	no	no	no	yes
census region dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
constant	2.48***	3.27***	3.83***	4.10***	4.28***	4.25***
N	5567	4040	4958	3657	2781	2644

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 5: Materialism: OLS regressions of `job is just a way to earn money`.

The above tables presented predictions of only 4 outcomes. Remaining other 4 measures of materialism and immorality as defined in table 1 are left for SOM–urbanicity measures are mostly insignificant in more elaborate models predicting these 4 measures. But we do note that for all measures except: `r agrees that morality a personal matter`, the coefficient on `gt 250k` is positive and significant at least in less elaborated specifications, and never it is negative and significant. In sum, 7 out of 8 measures indicate at least some positive relationship between urbanicity and materialism/immorality, and in 4 cases even in the most elaborated/oversaturated models results remain significant. In addition SOM includes results using an alternative measure of urbanicity, `srcbelt`, rank of MSA–results are similar but weaker arguably due to lower precision of that measure of urbanicity.

7 Conclusion and Discussion

"In the city [..], only the upper strata, the rich and the cultured, are really active and alive." "City life [..] down the common people to decay and death." Ferdinand Toennies

"When we get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall become as corrupt as Europe." "I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health and the liberties of man." Thomas Jefferson

Great thinkers such as Toennies, Simmel, and Jefferson have pointed out the materialistic and immoral side of urbanism. The present study has offered a preliminary quantitative test of the classic arguments.

Curiously, it is urbanites who often feel more moral or righteous than rural folks (Haidt 2012, Hanson 2015, Fuller 2017). And yet our findings point to the contrary–we find much support for the thesis that urbanness is associated with higher materialism and immorality. Seven out of eight measures show some evidence of greater materialism/immorality in large cities, and four measures remain significant even in the final most oversaturated model. Yet, we caution, that as it is one of the first studies in the area, it is provisional evidence; more research is needed in this new research area–while there is much theory, empirical research is virtually nonexistent.

The classic sociological urban literature is remarkably critical of cities. The authors must admit that we could not fully agree with very strong statements that city intensifies materialism, consumerism, vice, crime, indifference, strangeness, aversion, and repulsion (Simmel 1903, Wirth 1938, Thrift 2005, Amin 2006, Veblen 2005, Park 1915, Park et al. [1925] 1984, Tönnies [1887] 2002, White and White 1977, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015). But our results support the thesis that urbanism is associated with materialism and immorality.

In terms of the literature foundation for future research in this area, there could be several directions. One could engage with economic approach, notably that by Ed Glaeser Glaeser et al. (2016), Glaeser (2011b,a, 2007), Glaeser and Gottlieb (2006), Glaeser et al. (2001), as for instance in Peck (2016) and Okulicz-Kozaryn (2015). Then, there is a curious emerging interest in cities by neuroscience Adli et al. (2017), Pykett et al. (2020), Lederbogen et al. (2011). Future research can also build on and engage with contemporary Marxist scholarship such as that by David Harvey (Harvey 2012, 1987, 1985, Berry 1974, Harvey 1974, Lefebvre 1991).

We use only the US data–while the results results may not generalize outside of the US, the results may actually be stronger outside of the US. If materialism/consumerism is anywhere accepted, it is the US (Gershuny 2005, Musk 2018, Robinson and Murphy 2009, Mogilner 2010, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010). But at the same time, materialism and consumerism are also most rampant in the US, and hence its effects outside of the US may not be that strong.

We use secondary data and hence our results are associative and not causal. An important limitation of the present

study is measurement of materialism and especially immorality, and also somewhat limited controls–future research using better data is needed.

Due to the cross-sectional design, there are threats to internal validity. There may be reverse causality and self-selection: materialistic and immoral people may move or chose to stay in cities. As discussed throughout, cities are more welcoming to materialism/immorality–and hence may attract people with such characteristics. But also as discussed throughout, cities are likely to produce or intensify materialism/immorality. Hence, we speculate, that at least some of the effect would still be present in a quasi- or experimental research design. Also see discussion in Joye et al. (2020).

The role of the present study is rather to spark more research in this overlooked area than provide definitive evidence. As highlighted in introduction, urbanism is rampant, and extent of contemporary materialism/consumerism is overlooked and rarely evaluated from historical perspective. There is clearly a need for more research into rampant urbanism and widespread materialism/consumerism.[3]

Research into negative effects of urbanism is also important for another reason–those who suffer negative consequences, urbanites, are often urbanites not fully voluntarily. People are often rather forced into cities than urbanize voluntarily (Molotch 1976).

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8 SOM (Supplementary Online Material)/ Online Appendix

8.1 Auxiliary Theory

Urbanism is not only aggressive (Burgess 1926), but also oppressive (Vaneigem 1997). Some striking examples are seen where urbanism is currently most rife, in China (Yang 2013).[4] Not only industrialization, but also postindustrialization has

[4]It is a phenomenon of such massive magnitude that China, the country that has been urbanizing the most in the world recently, consumed 6,500 million tons of cement between 2011 and 2014–in one hundred years the United States has consumed only 4,500 million tons (Harvey 2016).

produced more alienation (Choi 2016). While there is much evidence of urbanism-alienation link, calls for more research (Parker 1978) have been largely unanswered.

Greatest cities are clearly the most competitive, aggressive, and dominant places–think of New York City, Chicago, London, Shanghai, etc. It is no wonder that aggressiveness and city are closely linked as remarked in a classic observation of city life (Burgess 1926, p. 82):

> If a metropolite would "get ahead" he usually must become "aggressive," but aggressiveness on the part of one person or of a group is often an invasion of the status of other persons or groups. Hence social-distance reactions are kept in turmoil.

High density increases aggressiveness in many forms: urbanites toil longer hours (Rosenthal and Strange 2008, 2003, 2002), and there is more violence and crime in cities (Bettencourt et al. 2010, Bettencourt and West 2010, Bettencourt et al. 2007). Other animals suffer at high densities, too. Rats, for instance, become more stressed, aggressive, and kill each other (Calhoun 1962). Some species like ants and bees do thrive at high densities, and Glaeser (2011b) likes to point it out, but human nature is unlike that of bees: by one estimate we're 90% chimp and only 10% bee (Haidt 2012). Cities combine people and things in an often conflicting or even dysfunctional way:

> Cities bring people and things together in manifold combinations. Indeed, that is probably the most basic definition of a city that is possible. But it is not the case that these combinations sit comfortably with one another. Indeed, they often sit very uncomfortably together. Many key urban experiences are the result of juxtapositions which are, in some sense, dysfunctional, which jar and scrape and rend. (Thrift 2005, p. 140).

And there is a clear remarkably dark side to an urban experience, the dark side that is seldom talked about:

> Cities are polluted, unhealthy, tiring, overwhelming, confusing, alienating. They are places of low-wage work, insecurity, poor living conditions and dejected isolation for the many at the bottom of the social ladder daily sucked into them. They hum with the fear and anxiety linked to crime, helplessness and the close juxtaposition of strangers. They symbolize the isolation of people trapped in ghettos, segregated areas and distant dormitories, and they express the frustration and ill-temper of those locked into long hours of work (Amin 2006, p. 1011)

Steve Pile in his colorful writings about cities, for example, often invokes urban folklore characters that prey on humans in cities (e.g., vampires, werewolves, ghosts) (Pile 2005a,b, Pile et al. 1999). And city is referred to as 'labyrinth' 'nightmare, or 'jungle' (Knox and Pinch 2014), or 'cancer' (White and White 1977).

8.2 Variable definitions and distributions.

Table 6: Inependent variable definitions.

name	description
xnorcsiz (urban-rural)	EXPANDED N.O.R.C. SIZE CODE (see below table for details)
srcbelt (urban-rural)	SRC BELTCODE (see below table for details)
family income in $1986, millions	Income variables (INCOME72 , INCOME , INCOME77 , INCOME82 , INCOME86 , INCOME91 , INCOME98 , INCOME06) are recoded in six-digit numbers and converted to 1986 dollars. The collapsed numbers above are for convenience of display only. Since this variable is based on categorical data, income is not continuous, but based on categorical mid-points and imputations. For details see GSS Methodological Report No. 64.
highest year of school completed	HIGHEST YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED A. "What is the highest grade in elementary school or high school that (you/your father/ your mother/your [husband/wife]) finished and got credit for? " CODE EXACT GRADE.; B. IF FINISHED 9th-12th GRADE OR DK*: "Did (you/he/she) ever get a high school diploma or a GED certificate?" [SEE D BELOW.]; C. "Did (you/he/she) complete one or more years of college for credit–not including schooling such as business college, technical or vocational school?" IF YES: "How many years did (you/he/she) complete?"
subjective class identification	"If you were asked to use one of four names for your social class, which would you say you belong in: the lower class, the working class, the middle class, or the upper class? "
age	age of respondent
male	male
married	MARITAL STATUS "Are you currently–married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?" NOTE: variable recoded to 1 if married, 0 otherwise
number of persons in household	NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD "Household Size and Composition"
health	CONDITION OF HEALTH "Would you say your own health, in general, is excellent, good, fair, or poor?"
white	RACE "What race do you consider yourself?"
liberal	"We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal–point 1–to extremely conservative– point 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale?" "SLGHTLY LIBERAL" or "LIBERAL" or "EXTRMLY LIBERAL"
conservative	"We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal–point 1–to extremely conservative– point 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale?" "SLGHTLY CONSERVATIVE" or "CONSERVATIVE" or "EXTRMLY CONSERVATIVE"
how often r attends religious services	"How often do you attend religious services? (USE CATEGORIES AS PROBES, IF NECESSARY.)" 0='never' to 8='more thn once wk'
r's religious preference	"In what religion were you raised?" protestant, catholic, jewish, none, other, buddhism, hinduism, other eastern, moslem/islam, orthodox-christian, christian, native american, internondenominational

Variable xnorcsiz : EXPANDED N.O.R.C. SIZE CODE

Literal Question

NORC SIZE OF PLACE

PostQuestion Text

a A suburb is defined as any incorporated area or unincorporated area of 1,000+ (or listed as such in the U.S. Census PC (1)-A books) within the boundaries of an SMSA but not within the limits of a central city of the SMSA. Some SMSAs have more than one central city, e.g., Minneapolis-St. Paul. In these cases, both cities are coded as central cities.

b If such an instance were to arise, a city of 50,000 or over which is not part of an SMSA would be coded '7'.

c Unincorporated areas of over 2,499 are treated as incorporated areas of the same size. Unincorporated areas under 1,000 are not listed by the Census and are treated here as part of the next larger civil division, usually the township.

The source of the data is the 1970 U.S. Census population figures published in the PC (1) -A series, Tables 6 and 10. Practically, the codes '6' and '10' are localities not listed in Table 6 (Population of Incorporated Places and Unincorporated Places over 1,000). For the 1980 frame cases analogous tables from the 1980 Census were used.

Descriptive Text

See Appendix T, GSS Methodological Report No. 4.

Variable srcbelt : SRC BELTCODE

Literal Question

SRC (SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN) NEW BELT CODE

Descriptive Text

The SRC belt code is described in Appendix D: Recodes. See Appendix N for changes across surveys. See Appendix T, GSS Methodological Report No. 4.

Intent of Recode

The SRC belt code (a coding system originally devised to describe rings around a metropolitan area and to categorize places by size and type simultaneously) first appeared in an article written by Bernard Laserwitz (American Sociological Review, v. 25, no. 2, 1960), and has been used subsequently in several SRC surveys.
Its use was discontinued in 1971 because of difficulties particularly evident in the operationalization of "adjacent and outlying areas."
For this study, however, I have revised the SRC belt code for users who might find such a variable useful. The new SRC belt code utilizes "name of place" information contained in the sampling units of the NORC Field Department.

Method of Recode

This recode assigns codes to the place of interview. City characteristics were determined by reference to the rank ordering of SMSAs in the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1972, Table 20. Suburb characteristics were determined by reference to the urbanized map in the U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census ofPopulation, Number of Inhabitants, Series PC (1) -A. The "other urban" codes were assigned on the basis of county characteristics found in Table 10 of the 1970 Census of Population, Number of Inhabitants. For cases from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 frames analogous tables from the 1980 or 1990 Census were used.

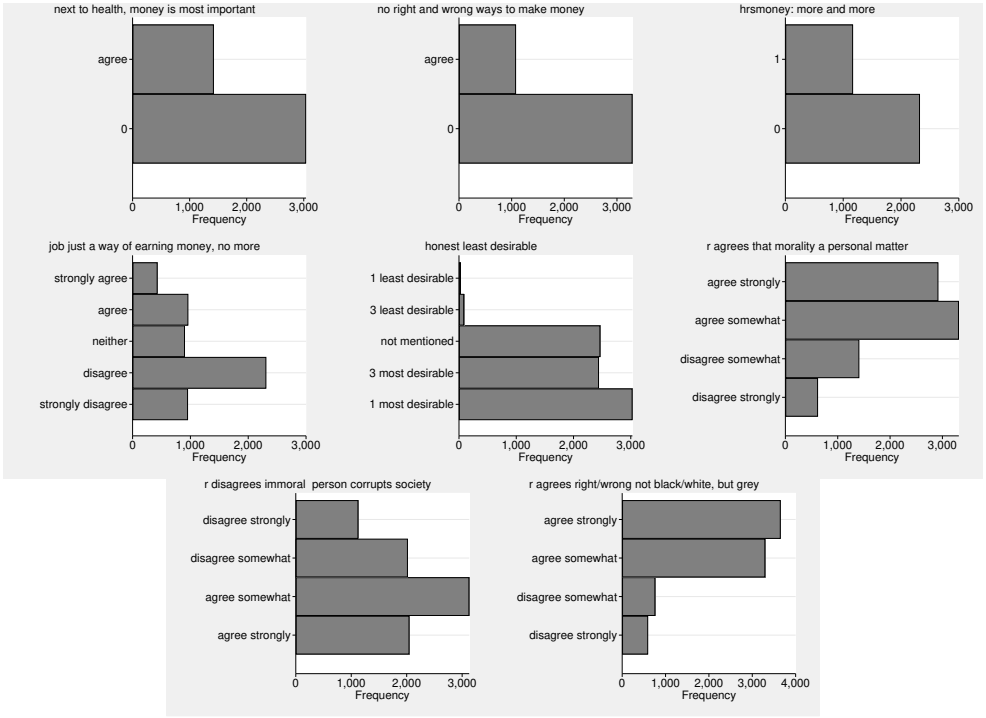

Figure 2: Variables' distribution.

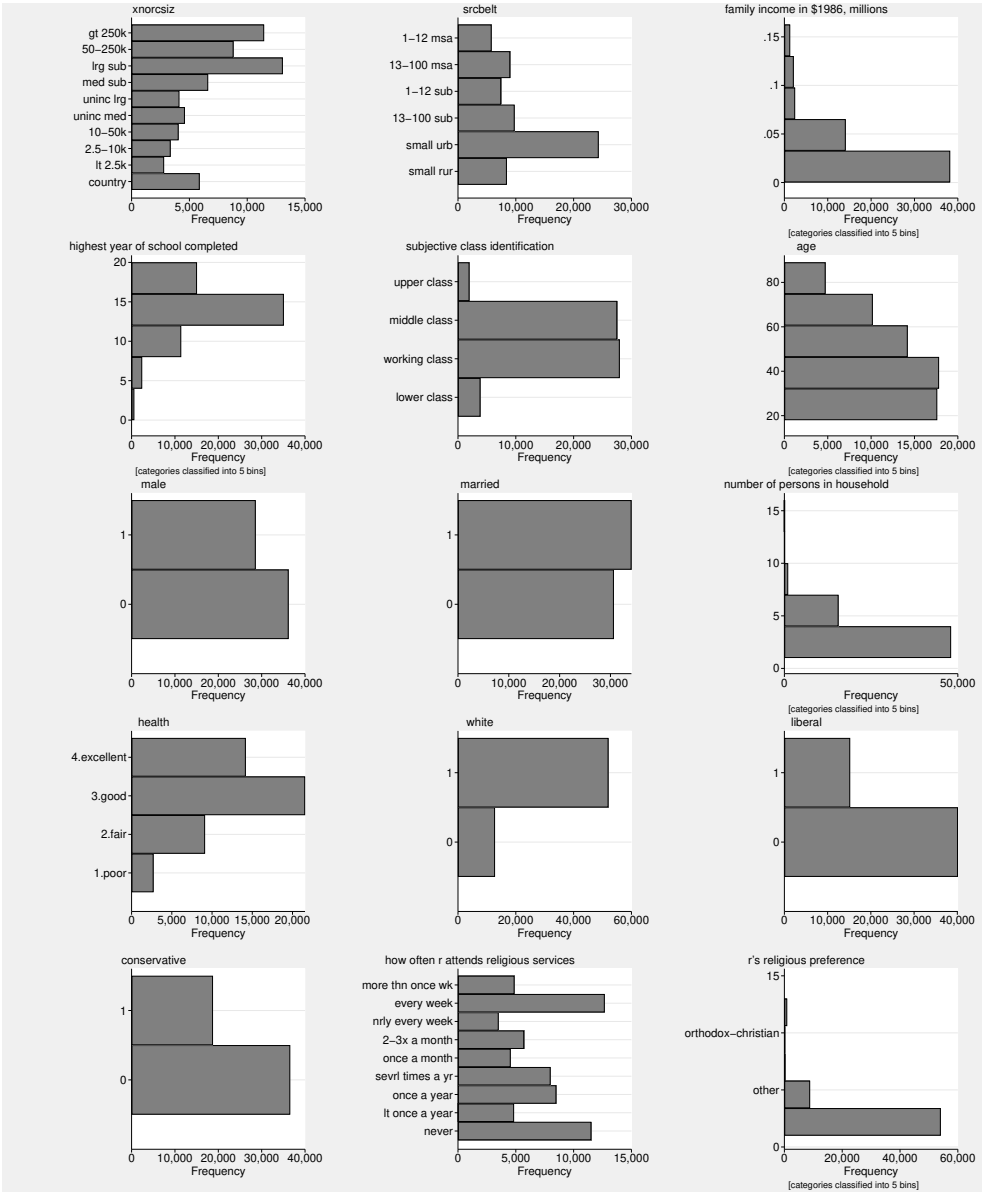

Figure 3: Variables' distribution.

8.3 The less significant or insignificant results.

	c1	c2a	c2b	c3	c4	c5
urbanism (base: country)						
lt 2.5k	-0.03	0.03	-0.01	0.04	0.05	0.06
2.5-10k	-0.02	0.02	-0.00	0.03	0.04	0.04
10-50k	0.05	0.07*	0.06+	0.07*	0.07*	0.06
uninc med	-0.03	-0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	-0.00
uninc lrg	-0.06+	-0.02	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.01
med sub	-0.07*	-0.02	-0.02	0.01	0.02	0.00
lrg sub	-0.03	0.00	0.03	0.05+	0.04	0.02
50-250k	-0.00	0.01	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.05
gt 250k	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.05+	0.02	-0.02
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	-0.02	-0.05	-0.01	-0.04	-0.04	-0.01
e. nor. central	-0.06+	-0.08*	-0.05	-0.07	-0.06	-0.04
w. nor. central	-0.03	-0.06	-0.04	-0.07	-0.07	-0.06
south atlantic	-0.03	-0.05	-0.05	-0.07	-0.08+	-0.04
e. sou. central	-0.17***	-0.19***	-0.18***	-0.20***	-0.20***	-0.15**
w. sou. central	-0.09*	-0.09*	-0.08*	-0.08+	-0.08+	-0.02
mountain	-0.07	-0.10*	-0.07	-0.10+	-0.08	-0.04
pacific	-0.12**	-0.15***	-0.11**	-0.13**	-0.13**	-0.11*
subjective class identification		-0.07***		-0.02	-0.01	-0.01
family income in $1986, millions			-1.52***	-1.26***	-0.96**	-0.82*
highest year of school completed			-0.03***	-0.02***	-0.03***	-0.02***
age					-0.00	-0.01+
age squared					0.00	0.00
male					0.06***	0.06***
married					0.01	0.02
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.01
health					-0.03***	-0.03**
white					-0.10***	-0.15***
liberal						-0.05*
conservative						-0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.09***
jewish						0.13*
none						0.04
other						0.04
constant	0.33***	0.47***	0.65***	0.67***	0.96***	1.00***
N	4376	3622	4049	3352	3339	2534

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 7: no right and wrong ways to make money

	d1	d2a	d2b	d3	d4	d5
urbanism (base: country)						
lt 2.5k	-0.11	-0.11	-0.15	-0.15+	-0.05	-0.04
2.5-10k	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.09	-0.08
10-50k	-0.05	-0.04	-0.05	-0.05	-0.04	-0.06
uninc med	-0.08+	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.10	-0.09
uninc lrg	-0.08+	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.10+	-0.10+
med sub	-0.05	-0.04	-0.05	-0.04	-0.11+	-0.11+
lrg sub	-0.05	-0.04	-0.06	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05
50-250k	-0.06	-0.06	-0.07+	-0.07+	-0.09+	-0.08
gt 250k	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.03
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	-0.07	-0.08	-0.06	-0.06	-0.11	-0.08
e. nor. central	-0.09	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.14*	-0.10
w. nor. central	-0.02	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.10	-0.05
south atlantic	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.14*	-0.09
e. sou. central	-0.10	-0.11+	-0.10	-0.11	-0.24**	-0.13
w. sou. central	-0.10+	-0.11+	-0.12*	-0.12*	-0.20**	-0.10
mountain	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.17*	-0.14+
pacific	-0.00	-0.01	-0.00	-0.00	-0.09	-0.09
subjective class identification		-0.04**		-0.02	-0.00	0.01
family income in $1986, millions			-0.49	-0.39	-0.75	-0.79
highest year of school completed			-0.01**	-0.01**	-0.01	-0.01
age					-0.00	-0.00
age squared					0.00	0.00
male					0.10***	0.06*
married					-0.11***	-0.05
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.01
health					-0.00	0.01
white					-0.01	-0.04
liberal						0.04
conservative						-0.17***
how often r attends religious services						-0.05***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.00
jewish						0.15
none						0.00
other						-0.01
buddhism						0.22
hinduism						-0.62*
other eastern						0.15
moslem/islam						-0.12
orthodox-christian						-0.49
christian						-0.05
native american						0.43*
inter-nondenominational						0.00
constant	3.10***	3.21***	3.28***	3.30***	3.55***	3.60***
N	8269	8226	7329	7305	4797	4676

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 8: r agrees that morality a personal matter

	f1	f2a	f2b	f3	f4	f5
urbanism (base: country)						
lt 2.5k	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.08	0.04	0.01
2.5-10k	0.11*	0.11+	0.11*	0.11+	0.08	0.06
10-50k	0.03	0.05	0.07	0.07	0.04	0.03
uninc med	-0.03	0.01	0.00	0.02	-0.04	-0.07
uninc lrg	-0.06	0.04	0.01	0.05	0.01	-0.03
med sub	0.01	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.05
lrg sub	0.01	0.07	0.07+	0.10*	0.05	0.02
50-250k	0.04	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.02	0.00
gt 250k	0.08*	0.10*	0.10**	0.10*	0.05	0.02
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.05	0.10*	0.04	0.08+	0.09+	0.09+
e. nor. central	0.02	0.06	0.00	0.03	0.04	0.04
w. nor. central	-0.03	0.03	-0.07	-0.02	0.01	0.02
south atlantic	0.07+	0.11*	0.06	0.09+	0.07	0.09+
e. sou. central	0.08	0.09+	0.04	0.04	0.09	0.11
w. sou. central	0.09*	0.12*	0.05	0.09+	0.06	0.07
mountain	-0.02	-0.01	-0.05	-0.04	-0.00	-0.00
pacific	0.02	0.06	0.00	0.04	0.05	0.07
subjective class identification		-0.10***		-0.05**	-0.05*	-0.06**
family income in $1986, millions			-2.34***	-2.31***	-1.55***	-1.58***
highest year of school completed			-0.02***	-0.01**	-0.01**	-0.01**
age					0.00	0.00
age squared					-0.00	-0.00
male					0.11***	0.09***
married					-0.07**	-0.08**
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.00
health					-0.02	-0.02
white					-0.11***	-0.11***
liberal						0.01
conservative						0.06*
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.03
jewish						0.19*
none						-0.01
other						-0.04
buddhism						0.07
hinduism						-0.16
other eastern						-0.18*
moslem/islam						-0.09
orthodox-christian						0.60***
christian						-0.03
native american						-0.15+
inter-nondenominational						-0.21
constant	0.26***	0.46***	0.57***	0.58***	0.82***	0.82***
N	3495	2481	3195	2309	1758	1688

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 9: hrsmoney: more and more

	g1	g2a	g2b	g3	g4	g5
urbanism (base: country)						
lt 2.5k	-0.05	-0.06	-0.04	-0.05	-0.03	-0.05
2.5-10k	0.02	0.02	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01	0.00
10-50k	0.04	0.04	-0.02	-0.02	-0.04	-0.07
uninc med	0.03	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.03	0.02
uninc lrg	0.02	0.01	-0.03	-0.03	-0.01	-0.02
med sub	0.05	0.05	0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.02
lrg sub	0.11**	0.10*	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.02
50-250k	0.07+	0.06	0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.00
gt 250k	0.10*	0.09*	0.03	0.03	-0.00	-0.04
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	-0.08	-0.08	-0.07	-0.08	-0.06	-0.03
e. nor. central	-0.14**	-0.14**	-0.10*	-0.11*	-0.07	-0.01
w. nor. central	-0.12*	-0.12*	-0.12*	-0.12*	-0.09	-0.02
south atlantic	-0.27***	-0.26***	-0.26***	-0.27***	-0.22***	-0.12+
e. sou. central	-0.36***	-0.36***	-0.35***	-0.36***	-0.40***	-0.25**
w. sou. central	-0.28***	-0.28***	-0.28***	-0.28***	-0.31***	-0.17*
mountain	-0.18**	-0.18**	-0.17**	-0.18**	-0.15*	-0.08
pacific	-0.18***	-0.18***	-0.16**	-0.17**	-0.16*	-0.15*
subjective class identification		0.04**		-0.00	-0.01	0.00
family income in $1986, millions			-0.31	-0.27	0.23	0.15
highest year of school completed			0.03***	0.03***	0.04***	0.04***
age					-0.00	0.00
age squared					0.00	0.00
male					-0.06*	-0.09***
married					-0.11***	-0.05+
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.00
health					-0.02	-0.00
white					0.00	-0.02
liberal						0.03
conservative						-0.21***
how often r attends religious services						-0.05***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.11***
jewish						0.19**
none						0.02
other						0.02
buddhism						0.16
hinduism						0.13
other eastern						0.28
moslem/islam						0.11
orthodox-christian						-0.17
christian						0.06
native american						0.01
inter-nondenominational						-0.05
constant	3.31***	3.22***	2.97***	2.98***	3.11***	3.01***
N	8311	8267	7351	7327	4808	4687
+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err						

Table 10: r agrees right/wrong not black/white

8.4 Results using alternative measure of urbanicity, rank of MSA.

Results are similar but weaker arguably due to lower precision of this measure of urbanicity.

	a1	a2a	a2b	a3	a4	a5
small rur	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
small urb	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.03
13-100 sub	0.08*	0.08*	0.07+	0.07	0.04	0.03
1-12 sub	0.09*	0.11*	0.08+	0.10*	0.11+	0.03
13-100 msa	0.06+	0.10*	0.05	0.08+	0.04	0.03
1-12 msa	0.28***	0.31***	0.29***	0.31***	0.25***	0.24***
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.02	-0.02	0.04	-0.01	-0.11	-0.09
e. nor. central	-0.05	-0.08	-0.04	-0.07	-0.17*	-0.13
w. nor. central	-0.10+	-0.15*	-0.08	-0.13+	-0.14	-0.08
south atlantic	-0.12*	-0.14*	-0.11*	-0.11+	-0.23**	-0.15+
e. sou. central	-0.07	-0.09	-0.06	-0.07	-0.18*	-0.10
w. sou. central	0.03	0.01	0.05	0.03	-0.04	-0.03
mountain	0.02	-0.00	0.02	0.01	-0.07	-0.04
pacific	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03	-0.03	-0.14+	-0.12
subjective class identification		0.00		0.01	0.02	0.03
family income in $1986, millions			0.01	-0.39	0.50	0.02
highest year of school completed			0.00	0.01*	0.01	0.01+
age					-0.01**	-0.01*
age squared					0.00*	0.00*
male					0.07**	0.07*
married					-0.01	-0.00
number of persons in household					-0.00	0.00
health					-0.03+	-0.03
white					-0.08	-0.10+
liberal						0.02
conservative						-0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.10*
jewish						0.10
none						0.09
other						0.14
constant	2.00***	1.96***	1.94***	1.84***	2.41***	2.25***
N	8059	6491	7483	6050	3899	3032
+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err						

Table 11: honest least desirable

	b1	b2a	b2b	b3	b4	b5
small rur	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
small urb	0.00	0.00	0.04*	0.03	0.04+	0.05+
13-100 sub	0.05+	0.07*	0.11***	0.11***	0.12***	0.13***
1-12 sub	0.05	0.05	0.12***	0.12***	0.12***	0.11**
13-100 msa	0.03	0.03	0.06*	0.06*	0.04	0.04
1-12 msa	0.14***	0.18***	0.18***	0.20***	0.16***	0.16***
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.01
e. nor. central	-0.03	-0.04	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02
w. nor. central	-0.04	-0.06	-0.05	-0.07	-0.06	-0.06
south atlantic	0.00	-0.00	-0.03	-0.03	-0.04	-0.03
e. sou. central	-0.06	-0.08	-0.08+	-0.10*	-0.10*	-0.07
w. sou. central	-0.05	-0.07	-0.05	-0.06	-0.04	-0.02
mountain	-0.06	-0.06	-0.08+	-0.07	-0.06	-0.07
pacific	-0.08*	-0.10*	-0.07+	-0.09*	-0.08+	-0.07
subjective class identification		-0.04***		0.02+	0.02	0.02
family income in $1986, millions			-1.60***	-1.71***	-1.40***	-1.25**
highest year of school completed			-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.03***	-0.03***
age					0.00	0.00
age squared					0.00	0.00
male					0.02	0.03+
married					0.04*	0.04+
number of persons in household					-0.00	-0.00
health					-0.02+	-0.01
white					-0.21***	-0.23***
liberal						-0.02
conservative						-0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.02***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.05*
jewish						0.08
none						-0.03
other						-0.01
constant	0.33***	0.43***	0.77***	0.71***	0.69***	0.67***
N	4463	3694	4120	3410	3395	2573
+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err						

Table 12: next to health, money is most important

	c1	c2a	c2b	c3	c4	c5
small rur	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
small urb	0.05**	0.06**	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.04+
13-100 sub	0.02	0.05+	0.07**	0.09**	0.08**	0.05
1-12 sub	0.02	0.03	0.08**	0.08**	0.07*	0.03
13-100 msa	0.03	0.03	0.05*	0.04+	0.03	0.02
1-12 msa	0.07**	0.06*	0.09**	0.08**	0.05	-0.04
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	-0.02	-0.05	-0.01	-0.04	-0.04	-0.02
e. nor. central	-0.04	-0.06	-0.04	-0.06	-0.05	-0.04
w. nor. central	-0.01	-0.04	-0.02	-0.06	-0.06	-0.05
south atlantic	-0.00	-0.03	-0.03	-0.05	-0.07+	-0.04
e. sou. central	-0.14***	-0.16***	-0.16***	-0.18***	-0.19***	-0.16**
w. sou. central	-0.06	-0.07	-0.05	-0.06	-0.06	-0.03
mountain	-0.05	-0.09+	-0.05	-0.09+	-0.08	-0.05
pacific	-0.11**	-0.13***	-0.10**	-0.12**	-0.12**	-0.11*
subjective class identification		-0.07***		-0.02+	-0.01	-0.01
family income in $1986, millions			-1.64***	-1.39***	-1.08**	-0.94*
highest year of school completed			-0.03***	-0.02***	-0.03***	-0.02***
age					-0.00	-0.01+
age squared					0.00	0.00
male					0.06***	0.06***
married					0.01	0.02
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.01
health					-0.03***	-0.03**
white					-0.11***	-0.16***
liberal						-0.04*
conservative						-0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.09***
jewish						0.13*
none						0.05
other						0.04
constant	0.26***	0.43***	0.60***	0.64***	0.94***	1.00***
N	4376	3622	4049	3352	3339	2534
+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err						

Table 13: no right and wrong ways to make money

	d1	d2a	d2b	d3	d4	d5
small rur	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
small urb	0.00	0.01	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
13-100 sub	-0.02	-0.00	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03
1-12 sub	0.00	0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.03
13-100 msa	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.02	-0.03	-0.05
1-12 msa	0.06	0.07	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.02
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	-0.06	-0.07	-0.05	-0.05	-0.10	-0.08
e. nor. central	-0.08	-0.08	-0.07	-0.06	-0.13+	-0.09
w. nor. central	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.07	-0.03
south atlantic	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.13+	-0.08
e. sou. central	-0.08	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.21*	-0.10
w. sou. central	-0.08	-0.09	-0.10+	-0.11+	-0.18*	-0.08
mountain	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	-0.16*	-0.13+
pacific	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	-0.06	-0.06
subjective class identification		-0.05**		-0.02	-0.00	0.01
family income in $1986, millions			-0.50	-0.39	-0.74	-0.77
highest year of school completed			-0.01**	-0.01**	-0.01	-0.01
age					-0.01	-0.00
age squared					0.00	0.00
male					0.10***	0.06*
married					-0.11***	-0.05
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.01
health					-0.00	0.01
white					-0.01	-0.04
liberal						0.04
conservative						-0.17***
how often r attends religious services						-0.05***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.00
jewish						0.16
none						0.01
other						-0.01
buddhism						0.22
hinduism						-0.61*
other eastern						0.15
moslem/islam						-0.11
orthodox-christian						-0.49
christian						-0.05
native american						0.41*
inter-nondenominational						-0.01
constant	3.03***	3.15***	3.23***	3.25***	3.49***	3.55***
N	8269	8226	7329	7305	4797	4676
+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err						

Table 14: r agrees that morality a personal matter

	e1	e2a	e2b	e3	e4	e5
small rur	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
small urb	0.02	0.01	-0.00	-0.00	-0.02	-0.04
13-100 sub	0.07	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.02	-0.00
1-12 sub	0.13**	0.10*	0.08	0.07	0.10	0.08
13-100 msa	0.06	0.05	0.01	0.01	-0.00	-0.04
1-12 msa	-0.01	-0.02	0.02	0.02	-0.02	-0.03
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	-0.16**	-0.15*	-0.11+	-0.12+	-0.05	-0.03
e. nor. central	-0.10	-0.08	-0.07	-0.07	-0.03	0.00
w. nor. central	-0.13+	-0.12+	-0.09	-0.10	-0.05	-0.01
south atlantic	-0.21***	-0.20***	-0.16**	-0.16**	-0.10	-0.02
e. sou. central	-0.26***	-0.25***	-0.24**	-0.24**	-0.16+	-0.03
w. sou. central	-0.30***	-0.29***	-0.25***	-0.26***	-0.22*	-0.13
mountain	-0.10	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.04	-0.01
pacific	-0.13*	-0.11+	-0.10	-0.10	-0.01	-0.02
subjective class identification		0.08***		0.03	0.02	0.03
family income in $1986, millions			1.44***	1.30**	1.06+	0.96+
highest year of school completed			0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***
age					0.01**	0.02***
age squared					-0.00**	-0.00**
male					0.04	0.01
married					-0.11**	-0.06+
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.00
health					0.03	0.05*
white					0.10**	0.08*
liberal						0.10**
conservative						-0.13***
how often r attends religious services						-0.04***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.08*
jewish						-0.06
none						0.11*
other						0.36**
buddhism						0.03
hinduism						-0.06
other eastern						-0.54*
moslem/islam						-0.23
orthodox-christian						0.09
christian						0.01
native american						0.37
inter-nondenominational						-0.16
constant	2.59***	2.39***	2.30***	2.27***	1.79***	1.69***
N	8323	8278	7361	7337	4822	4702
+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err						

Table 15: r disagrees immoral person corrupts society

	f1	f2a	f2b	f3	f4	f5
small rur	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
small urb	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.05
13-100 sub	-0.01	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.04
1-12 sub	-0.02	0.03	0.06	0.08+	0.07	0.05
13-100 msa	0.06+	0.07	0.08*	0.07+	0.07	0.06
1-12 msa	0.06	0.06	0.08*	0.07	0.05	0.04
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.06	0.11*	0.05	0.09+	0.09+	0.10+
e. nor. central	0.03	0.07	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.05
w. nor. central	-0.01	0.05	-0.05	0.01	0.03	0.04
south atlantic	0.07+	0.12**	0.07	0.10*	0.07	0.09+
e. sou. central	0.08	0.10+	0.04	0.06	0.10	0.11+
w. sou. central	0.11*	0.13**	0.07+	0.11*	0.08	0.08
mountain	-0.00	0.01	-0.02	-0.01	0.00	0.00
pacific	0.03	0.07	0.02	0.06	0.06	0.07
subjective class identification		-0.11***		-0.05**	-0.05*	-0.06**
family income in $1986, millions			-2.41***	-2.37***	-1.58***	-1.60***
highest year of school completed			-0.02***	-0.01**	-0.01**	-0.01**
age					0.00	0.00
age squared					-0.00	-0.00
male					0.11***	0.10***
married					-0.07*	-0.08**
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.00
health					-0.02	-0.02
white					-0.10***	-0.11***
liberal						0.01
conservative						0.06*
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.03
jewish						0.18*
none						-0.01
other						-0.04
buddhism						0.08
hinduism						-0.17
other eastern						-0.17*
moslem/islam						-0.10
orthodox-christian						0.57***
christian						-0.02
native american						-0.11
inter-nondenominational						-0.21
constant	0.27***	0.48***	0.58***	0.59***	0.81***	0.80***
N	3495	2481	3195	2309	1758	1688
+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err						

Table 16: hrsmoney: more and more

	g1	g2a	g2b	g3	g4	g5
small rur	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
small urb	0.08*	0.07*	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.01
13-100 sub	0.09*	0.08*	0.05	0.05	0.01	-0.01
1-12 sub	0.18***	0.17***	0.13**	0.14**	0.07	0.04
13-100 msa	0.18***	0.18***	0.14**	0.15***	0.08	0.05
1-12 msa	0.08+	0.08+	0.03	0.03	-0.06	-0.10
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	-0.06	-0.06	-0.06	-0.07	-0.05	-0.02
e. nor. central	-0.13**	-0.13**	-0.10*	-0.11*	-0.08	-0.01
w. nor. central	-0.10+	-0.10+	-0.09	-0.10+	-0.09	-0.03
south atlantic	-0.26***	-0.26***	-0.27***	-0.27***	-0.24***	-0.14*
e. sou. central	-0.36***	-0.36***	-0.35***	-0.36***	-0.41***	-0.26**
w. sou. central	-0.28***	-0.27***	-0.27***	-0.28***	-0.32***	-0.19*
mountain	-0.17**	-0.16**	-0.16**	-0.17**	-0.16*	-0.09
pacific	-0.18***	-0.18***	-0.16**	-0.17***	-0.17*	-0.16*
subjective class identification		0.04*		-0.00	-0.00	0.00
family income in $1986, millions			-0.41	-0.36	0.24	0.16
highest year of school completed			0.03***	0.03***	0.04***	0.04***
age					-0.00	0.00
age squared					0.00	0.00
male					-0.06*	-0.09***
married					-0.11***	-0.05+
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.00
health					-0.02	-0.00
white					0.00	-0.02
liberal						0.03
conservative						-0.20***
how often r attends religious services						-0.05***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.11***
jewish						0.20**
none						0.01
other						0.02
buddhism						0.14
hinduism						0.11
other eastern						0.28
moslem/islam						0.10
orthodox-christian						-0.16
christian						0.06
native american						0.05
inter-nondenominational						-0.05
constant	3.27***	3.18***	2.93***	2.93***	3.09***	3.00***
N	8311	8267	7351	7327	4808	4687

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 17: r agrees right/wrong not black/white

	i1	i2a	i2b	i3	i4	i5
small rur	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
small urb	-0.11*	-0.16**	0.00	-0.04	-0.09	-0.09
13-100 sub	-0.15*	-0.17*	0.06	0.01	-0.09	-0.10
1-12 sub	-0.04	-0.06	0.22**	0.15+	0.02	0.01
13-100 msa	-0.04	-0.05	0.12+	0.13+	-0.06	-0.06
1-12 msa	0.14+	0.05	0.24**	0.19*	-0.03	-0.02
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.02	0.04	-0.02	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02
e. nor. central	-0.06	-0.12	-0.09	-0.13	-0.16+	-0.14
w. nor. central	-0.16+	-0.15	-0.20*	-0.17+	-0.23*	-0.20+
south atlantic	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.02
e. sou. central	0.01	-0.01	-0.11	-0.13	-0.16	-0.15
w. sou. central	0.21*	0.11	0.18*	0.11	0.04	0.04
mountain	-0.19*	-0.18+	-0.19*	-0.18+	-0.24*	-0.21+
pacific	-0.09	-0.14	-0.06	-0.09	-0.13	-0.11
subjective class identification		-0.33***		-0.15***	-0.12**	-0.09*
family income in $1986, millions			-4.20***	-3.46***	-2.99***	-3.49***
highest year of school completed			-0.10***	-0.10***	-0.09***	-0.08***
age					0.00	-0.00
age squared					-0.00	0.00
male					0.07+	0.07
married					-0.05	-0.06
number of persons in household					0.02	0.03
health					-0.03	-0.03
white					-0.43***	-0.46***
liberal						-0.07
conservative						-0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.04
jewish						-0.14
none						-0.02
other						0.01
buddhism						-0.56**
hinduism						-0.31
other eastern						-0.12
moslem/islam						-0.44
orthodox-christian						-0.31
christian						-0.02
native american						-0.27+
inter-nondenominational						-0.27
constant	2.59***	3.48***	3.87***	4.25***	4.56***	4.50***
N	5567	4040	4958	3657	2781	2644

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 18: job is just a way to earn money

8.5 results using multinomial logit

For ease of exposition, we only present the full model #5 Results are very similar. For the first variable: "honest least desirable," we have combined top 3 categories, as the top category had only 32 observations and second top only 88 observations.

	a5	
	most_desiral	not_mentioned_or_least_desirable
country	0.00	0.00
lt 2.5k	0.00	-0.03
2.5-10k	0.00	0.14
10-50k	0.00	-0.07
uninc med	0.00	-0.26
uninc lrg	0.00	-0.08
med sub	0.00	0.07
lrg sub	0.00	-0.06
50-250k	0.00	0.21
gt 250k	0.00	0.30*
family income in $1986, millions	0.00	0.43
highest year of school completed	0.00	0.04*
subjective class identification	0.00	0.06
new england	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.00	-0.16
e. nor. central	0.00	-0.36
w. nor. central	0.00	-0.28
south atlantic	0.00	-0.39+
e. sou. central	0.00	-0.35
w. sou. central	0.00	-0.21
mountain	0.00	-0.38
pacific	0.00	-0.31
age	0.00	-0.03*
age squared	0.00	0.00*
male	0.00	0.15+
married	0.00	-0.04
number of persons in household	0.00	0.01
health	0.00	-0.06
white	0.00	-0.20
liberal	0.00	-0.02
conservative	0.00	-0.11
how often r attends religious services	0.00	-0.04**
protestant	0.00	0.00
catholic	0.00	0.19+
jewish	0.00	-0.07
none	0.00	0.13
other	0.00	0.41
constant	0.00	-0.10
N	3032	

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 19: honest least desirable

	b5	
	0	agree
country	0.00	0.00
lt 2.5k	0.00	0.22
2.5-10k	0.00	0.51*
10-50k	0.00	0.38
uninc med	0.00	0.57*
uninc lrg	0.00	0.39+
med sub	0.00	0.61*
lrg sub	0.00	0.69***
50-250k	0.00	0.55**
gt 250k	0.00	0.58**
family income in $1986, millions	0.00	-6.55*
highest year of school completed	0.00	-0.14***
subjective class identification	0.00	0.13
new england	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.00	0.24
e. nor. central	0.00	-0.00
w. nor. central	0.00	-0.24
south atlantic	0.00	-0.04
e. sou. central	0.00	-0.40
w. sou. central	0.00	-0.13
mountain	0.00	-0.28
pacific	0.00	-0.27
age	0.00	0.01
age squared	0.00	0.00
male	0.00	0.14
married	0.00	0.21+
number of persons in household	0.00	-0.01
health	0.00	-0.07
white	0.00	-1.20***
liberal	0.00	-0.15
conservative	0.00	-0.10
how often r attends religious services	0.00	-0.09***
protestant	0.00	0.00
catholic	0.00	0.29*
jewish	0.00	0.59*
none	0.00	-0.08
other	0.00	0.11
constant	0.00	0.69
N	2573	

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 20: next to health, money is most important

	c5	
	0	agree
country	0.00	0.00
lt 2.5k	0.00	0.39
2.5-10k	0.00	0.20
10-50k	0.00	0.33
uninc med	0.00	-0.01
uninc lrg	0.00	0.07
med sub	0.00	0.03
lrg sub	0.00	0.11
50-250k	0.00	0.28
gt 250k	0.00	-0.16
family income in $1986, millions	0.00	-6.97*
highest year of school completed	0.00	-0.15***
subjective class identification	0.00	-0.04
new england	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.00	-0.04
e. nor. central	0.00	-0.18
w. nor. central	0.00	-0.30
south atlantic	0.00	-0.23
e. sou. central	0.00	-1.08**
w. sou. central	0.00	-0.11
mountain	0.00	-0.14
pacific	0.00	-0.69*
age	0.00	-0.03+
age squared	0.00	0.00
male	0.00	0.35***
married	0.00	0.12
number of persons in household	0.00	-0.05
health	0.00	-0.18**
white	0.00	-0.81***
liberal	0.00	-0.29*
conservative	0.00	-0.07
how often r attends religious services	0.00	-0.09***
protestant	0.00	0.00
catholic	0.00	0.54***
jewish	0.00	0.84**
none	0.00	0.24
other	0.00	0.30
constant	0.00	3.39***
N	2534	

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 21: no right and wrong ways to make money

	d5			
	disagree_stro	disagree_son	agree_somew	agree_strongly
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
lt 2.5k	-0.31	0.49	0.00	0.05
2.5-10k	0.15	0.22	0.00	-0.05
10-50k	0.30	0.16	0.00	0.04
uninc med	0.48+	0.38+	0.00	0.16
uninc lrg	0.03	0.18	0.00	-0.23
med sub	0.60*	0.35+	0.00	0.13
lrg sub	0.28	0.44*	0.00	0.21
50-250k	0.03	0.31+	0.00	-0.06
gt 250k	-0.11	0.10	0.00	-0.05
family income in $1986, millions	1.28	0.48	0.00	-1.61
highest year of school completed	0.02	0.02	0.00	-0.01
subjective class identification	-0.32**	-0.02	0.00	-0.11+
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	-0.11	-0.22	0.00	-0.42*
e. nor. central	0.20	-0.16	0.00	-0.32+
w. nor. central	0.09	-0.22	0.00	-0.24
south atlantic	0.16	-0.23	0.00	-0.31
e. sou. central	0.29	-0.27	0.00	-0.39+
w. sou. central	0.31	0.08	0.00	-0.14
mountain	0.56	-0.21	0.00	-0.29
pacific	0.30	0.03	0.00	-0.13
age	0.09***	0.00	0.00	0.02
age squared	-0.00**	-0.00	0.00	-0.00
male	0.05	-0.08	0.00	0.16*
married	-0.01	0.08	0.00	-0.11
number of persons in household	0.04	0.00	0.00	-0.01
health	0.07	-0.01	0.00	0.05
white	-0.13	0.34**	0.00	0.02
liberal	0.09	0.07	0.00	0.21*
conservative	0.74***	0.27**	0.00	-0.03
how often r attends religious services	0.18***	0.02	0.00	-0.06***
protestant	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
catholic	-0.19	-0.13	0.00	-0.15+
jewish	0.22	0.03	0.00	0.50+
none	0.35	0.12	0.00	0.20+
other	-1.48	0.09	0.00	-0.30
buddhism	-0.55	-0.40	0.00	0.36
hinduism	1.77+	0.19	0.00	-1.29
other eastern	-12.39***	-13.32***	0.00	-0.89
moslem/islam	0.45	0.83	0.00	0.26
orthodox-christian	1.70*	-0.93	0.00	-0.44
christian	0.41	0.06	0.00	0.07
native american	-13.11***	-12.61***	0.00	-0.09
inter-nondenominational	0.61	0.78	0.00	0.64
constant	-5.35***	-1.42**	0.00	0.11
N	4676			

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 22: r agrees that morality a personal matter

	e5			
	agree_strong	agree_somew	disagree_son	disagree_strongly
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
lt 2.5k	-0.64+	0.00	0.22	-0.12
2.5-10k	-0.06	0.00	0.13	0.29
10-50k	-0.09	0.00	0.25	0.09
uninc med	-0.09	0.00	0.26	0.23
uninc lrg	-0.36*	0.00	0.04	-0.08
med sub	-0.14	0.00	0.21	0.08
lrg sub	0.10	0.00	0.49**	0.32+
50-250k	-0.06	0.00	0.27+	-0.16
gt 250k	0.07	0.00	0.31+	0.32
family income in $1986, millions	-1.53	0.00	2.22	0.83
highest year of school completed	-0.05***	0.00	-0.00	0.02
subjective class identification	-0.15*	0.00	-0.07	-0.01
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	-0.16	0.00	0.02	-0.39
e. nor. central	-0.21	0.00	0.01	-0.23
w. nor. central	-0.25	0.00	-0.07	-0.31
south atlantic	-0.06	0.00	0.08	-0.21
e. sou. central	0.16	0.00	0.35	-0.15
w. sou. central	-0.09	0.00	-0.15	-0.58*
mountain	-0.21	0.00	-0.06	-0.34
pacific	-0.02	0.00	-0.21	-0.07
age	0.04**	0.00	0.04**	0.10***
age squared	-0.00*	0.00	-0.00**	-0.00***
male	0.14+	0.00	-0.00	0.21*
married	0.10	0.00	0.05	-0.20+
number of persons in household	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
health	-0.03	0.00	0.03	0.13*
white	-0.34***	0.00	0.11	-0.17
liberal	-0.05	0.00	0.23*	0.23*
conservative	0.36***	0.00	-0.08	-0.05
how often r attends religious services	0.05**	0.00	-0.04**	-0.07***
protestant	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
catholic	-0.09	0.00	0.13	0.10
jewish	0.63+	0.00	0.27	0.28
none	-0.16	0.00	0.18	0.17
other	-0.72	0.00	0.76*	0.43
buddhism	0.35	0.00	0.85+	-0.09
hinduism	1.35	0.00	0.72	1.12
other eastern	0.30	0.00	-0.89	-14.25***
moslem/islam	0.81	0.00	0.34	-0.25
orthodox-christian	-0.03	0.00	0.74	-0.41
christian	0.26	0.00	0.10	0.32
native american	15.27***	0.00	0.30	16.14***
inter-nondenominational	1.32*	0.00	0.74	0.84
constant	-0.33	0.00	-1.51**	-3.18***
N	4702			

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 23: r disagrees immoral person corrupts society

	f5	
	0	1
country	0.00	0.00
lt 2.5k	0.00	0.06
2.5-10k	0.00	0.27
10-50k	0.00	0.11
uninc med	0.00	-0.38
uninc lrg	0.00	-0.17
med sub	0.00	0.22
lrg sub	0.00	0.09
50-250k	0.00	-0.01
gt 250k	0.00	0.10
family income in $1986, millions	0.00	-9.62***
highest year of school completed	0.00	-0.06**
subjective class identification	0.00	-0.28**
new england	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.00	0.52+
e. nor. central	0.00	0.27
w. nor. central	0.00	0.17
south atlantic	0.00	0.52+
e. sou. central	0.00	0.61+
w. sou. central	0.00	0.37
mountain	0.00	0.04
pacific	0.00	0.39
age	0.00	0.02
age squared	0.00	-0.00
male	0.00	0.47***
married	0.00	-0.37**
number of persons in household	0.00	-0.02
health	0.00	-0.10
white	0.00	-0.49***
liberal	0.00	0.03
conservative	0.00	0.29*
how often r attends religious services	0.00	-0.04
protestant	0.00	0.00
catholic	0.00	0.18
jewish	0.00	0.91*
none	0.00	-0.05
other	0.00	-0.16
buddhism	0.00	0.39
hinduism	0.00	-0.93
other eastern	0.00	-13.02***
moslem/islam	0.00	-0.53
orthodox-christian	0.00	15.19***
christian	0.00	-0.10
native american	0.00	-12.79***
inter-nondenominational	0.00	-1.44
constant	0.00	1.47+
N	1688	
+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err		

Table 24: hrsmoney: more and more

	g5			
	disagree_stro	disagree_son	agree_somew	agree_strongly
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
lt 2.5k	-0.07	0.35	0.43	0.00
2.5-10k	-0.30	0.38	-0.14	0.00
10-50k	0.30	0.28	-0.16	0.00
uninc med	0.01	-0.20	-0.04	0.00
uninc lrg	-0.11	0.24	0.16	0.00
med sub	0.11	-0.00	-0.06	0.00
lrg sub	-0.10	-0.08	-0.05	0.00
50-250k	-0.05	-0.03	0.07	0.00
gt 250k	-0.06	0.30	0.08	0.00
family income in $1986, millions	-0.50	-0.44	-0.99	0.00
highest year of school completed	-0.16***	-0.12***	-0.08***	0.00
subjective class identification	-0.11	0.10	0.11+	0.00
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.10	-0.04	0.18	0.00
e. nor. central	-0.11	0.01	0.23	0.00
w. nor. central	0.09	0.12	0.10	0.00
south atlantic	0.45	0.38	0.32+	0.00
e. sou. central	0.86+	0.66+	0.39+	0.00
w. sou. central	0.73+	0.39	0.22	0.00
mountain	0.38	0.26	0.06	0.00
pacific	0.78+	0.28	0.25	0.00
age	0.03	-0.03	-0.03*	0.00
age squared	-0.00	0.00	0.00*	0.00
male	0.24+	0.43***	0.25***	0.00
married	0.18	0.14	0.17*	0.00
number of persons in household	0.02	0.02	-0.04	0.00
health	0.09	-0.11	-0.04	0.00
white	0.06	0.03	-0.06	0.00
liberal	-0.02	-0.19	-0.22**	0.00
conservative	0.79***	0.66***	0.05	0.00
how often r attends religious services	0.24***	0.12***	0.04**	0.00
protestant	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
catholic	-0.83***	-0.13	0.10	0.00
jewish	-14.22***	-0.09	-0.56*	0.00
none	-0.02	0.02	-0.27*	0.00
other	0.34	-0.35	-0.54+	0.00
buddhism	-0.82	-0.08	-0.66	0.00
hinduism	-13.90***	-0.04	-0.62	0.00
other eastern	-14.67***	0.33	-15.67***	0.00
moslem/islam	-14.69***	0.42	-0.38	0.00
orthodox-christian	0.70	0.55	0.30	0.00
christian	0.06	-0.47	-0.62**	0.00
native american	-20.04***	1.09	-19.26***	0.00
inter-nondenominational	0.70	-0.74	-0.67	0.00
constant	-2.29**	-0.38	1.24**	0.00
N	4687			

+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err

Table 25: r agrees right/wrong not black/white

	i5				
	strongly_dis	disagree	neither	agree	strongly_agree
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
lt 2.5k	-0.45	0.00	0.36	0.36	0.77
2.5-10k	0.03	0.00	0.57+	0.98**	1.11+
10-50k	0.36	0.00	-0.38	0.49	1.01+
uninc med	0.28	0.00	0.16	0.09	1.14+
uninc lrg	-0.16	0.00	-0.09	0.72+	0.80
med sub	0.04	0.00	0.18	0.41	1.20*
lrg sub	-0.20	0.00	-0.00	0.47	0.60
50-250k	-0.00	0.00	-0.21	0.63+	1.02+
gt 250k	0.15	0.00	-0.12	0.53	1.13*
family income in $1986, millions	0.55	0.00	-5.30+	-7.51*	-15.56**
highest year of school completed	0.10***	0.00	-0.06*	-0.13***	-0.17***
subjective class identification	0.14	0.00	-0.14	-0.14	-0.14
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.21	0.00	0.12	-0.24	0.49
e. nor. central	0.56+	0.00	0.13	-0.24	0.23
w. nor. central	0.72*	0.00	0.09	-0.18	-0.23
south atlantic	0.54+	0.00	0.14	0.11	0.59
e. sou. central	0.54	0.00	-0.19	-0.38	0.40
w. sou. central	0.25	0.00	0.35	-0.08	0.57
mountain	0.36	0.00	-0.13	-0.48	-0.23
pacific	0.70*	0.00	0.46	-0.22	0.26
age	0.02	0.00	-0.04+	0.00	0.03
age squared	-0.00	0.00	0.00+	0.00	-0.00
male	0.06	0.00	0.18	0.30*	0.09
married	-0.07	0.00	-0.02	-0.10	-0.31
number of persons in household	-0.03	0.00	0.04	0.07	0.05
health	0.05	0.00	-0.09	-0.00	-0.04
white	0.37+	0.00	-0.19	-0.73***	-0.97***
liberal	0.25+	0.00	-0.09	-0.19	0.17
conservative	0.07	0.00	-0.17	-0.17	0.30
how often r attends religious services	0.01	0.00	0.02	-0.04+	-0.01
protestant	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
catholic	0.13	0.00	0.08	0.14	0.22
jewish	-0.10	0.00	-0.08	-1.13	-0.16
none	-0.03	0.00	-0.03	-0.28	0.23
other	0.46	0.00	-0.19	0.48	0.22
buddhism	0.42	0.00	-0.28	-14.43***	-13.95***
hinduism	-0.74	0.00	-14.64***	-0.44	-14.21***
other eastern	0.70	0.00	-14.06***	1.13	-13.44***
moslem/islam	-0.50	0.00	0.17	-15.15***	-0.82
orthodox-christian	0.16	0.00	-14.51***	-0.11	-14.43***
christian	1.45**	0.00	0.49	0.65	1.19+
native american	-15.98***	0.00	-15.21***	-14.58***	-13.50***
inter-nondenominational	0.47	0.00	0.95	-0.61	-13.77***
constant	-4.26***	0.00	1.34+	1.22	-0.19
N	2644				
+ 0.10 * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001; robust std err					

Table 26: job is just a way to earn money