

Materialism and Immorality: More Urban than Rural

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Many argue positive relationships among urbanness and materialism/immorality. Materialism is higher in urban areas, and commonly considered vice or immoral. Some argue that there is also more vice and immorality in cities. In this study, we explore the relationship between urbanness and materialism/immorality using US General Social Survey. We find much support for our thesis that urbanness is associated with higher materialism and immorality. Yet, we caution, that as it is one of the first studies in the area, it is provisional evidence; more research needed in this new research area—while there is much theory, empirical research is virtually nonexistent. The study is associative, not causal.

URBANISM, URBANNESS, CITIES, URBAN-RURAL, DEVIANCE, MORALITY, CORRUPTION, GREED, MONEY, LOVE OF MONEY

“With urbanization comes disharmony” The Dalai Lama

The hallmarks of capitalism, industrialization and commercialization, are closely linked with urbanization (e.g., O’Sullivan 2009, Glaeser 2011). It is in the city where capitalism is most full-blown and felt most (Simmel 1903). Capitalism works best at high density where agglomeration economies are possible (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015). City is where “rat race” and money chase is concentrated—urbanites tend to work longer (Rosenthal and Strange 2002, 2003, 2008, Snowdon 2015). Capitalism alienates (Petrović 1963).

City is where consumption is concentrated (Glaeser et al. 2001, Currid-Halkett et al. 2019, Joye et al. 2020). In particular luxury, positional, or conspicuous consumption is centered in the very center of the city (Rabiei-Dastjerdi et al. 2020). There is commodity fetishism (Pierce and Hankins 2019), indeed city itself is 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 success is 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 there; 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).

Materialism and consumerism have been widely criticized and commonly considered vices and immoral (e.g., Dittmar et al. 2014, Kasser 2003, Schmuck et al. 2000, Kasser and Ryan 1993, Leonard 2010, Hirst 1934). City 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).

In what follows we explore the relationship between urbanness and materialism/immorality.

1 Basic Theory

Already in 1938 Wirth (1938, p. 1) observed that in a city “the pecuniary nexus tends to displace personal relations”, and “the urban world puts a premium on visual recognition” (p. 14)—we know that urbanites are more extrinsic and focused on success than rural folks (Morrison and Weckroth 2017). 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).

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 produces fear, revulsion, and distrust (Wilson 1985). Cities are consumerist and materialistic—e.g., urbanites try to classify others in terms of visible evidence such as dress (Wilson 1985). Marx observed that humans are alienated under capitalism (Freud et al. 1930, Struhl 2016, Byron 2016, Petrović 1963, whe 2015), and so humans are most alienated in cities, where capitalism is felt most: “urbanism makes alienation tangible” (Vaneigem 1997, p. 127). Urbanism is not only aggressive, but also oppressive (Vaneigem 1997). Some striking examples are seen where urbanism is currently most rife, in China (Yang 2013). Not only industrialization, but also postindustrialization has produced more alienation (Choi 2016). While there is much evidence of urbanism-alienation link, calls for more research (Parker 1978) have been largely unanswered.

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, furthestest possible from one true self.

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, criticise after dinner” (Marx and Engels [1845] 1965)

2 Urbanness, Aggressiveness and Misanthropy

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, 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).

3 Urbanness and Materialism, Immorality

It is urbanites who often feel more moral or righteous (Haidt 2012, Hanson 2015, Fuller 2017), and yet the evidence points to the contrary.

Most of the writing about urbanness, materialism and immorality is decades old, mostly theoretical and qualitative—there are no modern quantitative studies on the topic except one. Joye et al. (2020) found that materialism is higher in urban areas.

Joye et al. (2020) argues that the mechanism is exposure to nature. Clearly, the opposite of large and dense city is nature (wilderness)—the more built environment, the less nature. Sure, there are urban parks, and some urban nature, but in general it holds that the more city, the less nature Okulicz-Kozaryn (2015). (Joye et al. 2020) enumerates three pathways between urbanness and materialism: 1) urban environment itself (commerce, ads, etc) amplifies materialism, 2) nature “provides an antidote to insecurities and worries about meeting one’s psychological and physical needs, known to drive materialism” (Joye et al. 2020, p. 5), 3) 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” (Joye et al. 2020, p. 5).

In general, the benefits of nature for human flourishing are multiple and have been discussed extensively (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])

What about the relationship between materialism and immorality? Materialism is commonly considered immoral. For instance, the Bible states that “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.... A thief loves his own family, but because he has not a similar love for the families of others, he proceeds to steal from their homes to add to his own Rulers of States love their own territory, but having no love for other States, they proceed to attack them in order to increase their own possessions. What is the remedy for this state of things? . . . If we were to regard the property of others as we regard our own, who should steal? If we were to have the same regard for the territory and people of another State as we have for our own, who would conduct aggressive warfare? . . . If we were to have the same regard for others as we have for ourselves, who would do anyone an injustice

Benjamin Franklin, who wrote on moral perfection, includes frugality, temperance, and moderation in his list of virtues.¹

And there is indication of a positive relationship between urbanness and immorality. As discussed earlier, classic sociological urban literature in general points to a moral breakdown in cities. Likewise, American intellectuals tended to be ambivalent or hostile towards cities White and White (1977).

¹“Benjamin Franklin on Moral Perfection”—Practical advice on obtaining a perfectly moral bearing. From his autobiography. https://www.ftrain.com/franklin_improving_self

4 Data and Model

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

The biggest challenge is in choice of measures of immorality, dishonesty etc; not there is a standard set of measures. Likewise, there is not an agreed model, or set of predictors. we have found only one study (a master's thesis) that modeled morality using similar variables CITE and the set of predictors was TODO add region or south at least

we followed 3 DV from master thesis and in addition identified 5 more for a total of 8

GSS lists many morality measures: PUNSIN, BLKWHITE, ROTAPPLE, PERMORAL, GODRIGHT, SOCRIGHT, PERRIGHT, LESSPAIN. But we do not use several 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." And also, 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 resp for reducing pain"

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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 it, or more or less disagree." "A. Next to health, money is the most important thing in life" 0='disagree', 1='agree'
no right and wrong ways to make money	"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 it, or more or less disagree." "C. To make money, there are no right and wrong ways any more, only easy and hard ways" 0='disagree', 1='agree'
hrs money: more and more	"Think of the number of hours you work and the money you earn in your main job, including any regular overtime. If you had only one of these three choices, which of the following would you prefer?" 1='Work longer hours and earn more money', 0='Work the same number of hours and earn the same money' OR 'Work fewer hours and earn less money'
job just a way of earning money, no more	"Thinking of work in general, please circle one number for each statement below to show how much you agree or disagree with each." "A. A job is just a way of earning money - no more" 1='disagree strongly' to 5='agree strongly'
immorality:	
honest least desirable	"A. Which three qualities listed on this card would you say are the most desirable for a child to have? B. Which one of these three is the most desirable of all? C. All of the qualities listed on this card may be desirable, but could you tell me which three you consider least important? D. And which one of these three is least important of all?" "3. That he is honest" 1='1 most desirable' to 5='1 least desirable'
r agrees that morality a personal matter	"Please consider the following statements and tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly with each statement." "D. Morality is a personal matter and society should not force everyone to follow one standard" 1='disagree strongly' to 4='agree strongly'
r disagrees immoral person corrupts society	"Please consider the following statements and tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly with each statement" "C. Immoral actions by one person can corrupt society in general." 1='agree strongly' to 4='disagree strongly'
r agrees right/wrong not black/white, but grey	"Please consider the following statements and tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly with each statement." "B. Right and wrong are not usually a simple matter of black and white; there are many shades of gray" 1='disagree strongly' to 4='agree strongly'

Table 2: Independent variable definitions.

name	description
xnorsiz	EXPANDED N.O.R.C. SIZE CODE (see appendix for details)
srcbelt	SRC BELTCODE (see appendix 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?" "SLIGHTLY LIBERAL" or "LIBERAL" or "EXTREMELY 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?" "SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE" or "CONSERVATIVE" or "EXTREMELY 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 than 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, inter-nondenominational

and these of immorality: so there are these measures of materialism:

TODO put hline List of all variables is in ??, the first panel shows our outcome variables, measures of measures of immorality/dishonesty, the control variables are in the second panel. Urbanicity is measured as:

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.

5 Results

so the results show for honest anomia1 and anomia3 that largest cities are the worst; not so for other measures, but all other measures are mostly higher in non-rural areas; therefore the conclusion is that while there is some indication that the largest places are the worst; overall conclusion is that in general urban v rural are worse; that makes sense as per Joye et al. (2020)—it is exposure to nature that is the mechanism and there is much more nature in smallest places v everything else than at any other step

note that for all measures except one—do say which one! it is positive and significant for some urban areas at least in earlier specs; for no measure it is ever negative and significant

	a1	a2a	a2b	a3	a4	a5
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
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**	0.14*
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.05	-0.01	0.06	0.01	-0.09	-0.05
e. nor. central	-0.04	-0.08	-0.03	-0.06	-0.16*	-0.10
w. nor. central	-0.10+	-0.16*	-0.07	-0.13+	-0.14	-0.07
south atlantic	-0.12*	-0.15*	-0.10+	-0.11+	-0.22**	-0.13
e. sou. central	-0.09	-0.11	-0.08	-0.09	-0.19*	-0.08
w. sou. central	-0.01	-0.03	0.01	-0.01	-0.08	-0.04
mountain	-0.02	-0.05	-0.01	-0.04	-0.11	-0.05
pacific	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.12	-0.09
subjective class identification		0.00		0.00	0.02	0.03
family income in \$1986, millions			0.02	-0.34	0.53	0.14
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+
think of self as liberal or conservative						-0.00
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.10*
jewish						0.11
none						0.09
other						0.17
constant	2.01***	1.99***	1.95***	1.86***	2.41***	2.26***
N	8059	6491	7483	6050	3899	3032

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

Table 3: honest least desirable

	b1	b2a	b2b	b3	b4	b5
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
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**
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.05
e. nor. central	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.00
w. nor. central	-0.05	-0.06	-0.07	-0.08	-0.07	-0.05
south atlantic	-0.00	-0.00	-0.03	-0.03	-0.04	-0.01
e. sou. central	-0.08+	-0.09+	-0.10*	-0.11*	-0.11*	-0.07
w. sou. central	-0.08+	-0.09*	-0.08+	-0.09*	-0.06	-0.02
mountain	-0.09+	-0.08	-0.09*	-0.08	-0.06	-0.06
pacific	-0.06	-0.08+	-0.06	-0.07	-0.06	-0.05
subjective class identification		-0.04***		0.02+	0.02	0.03
family income in \$1986, millions			-1.48***	-1.56***	-1.25***	-1.08*
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***
think of self as liberal or conservative						0.00
how often r attends religious services						-0.02***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.06*
jewish						0.11+
none						-0.01
other						0.01
constant	0.32***	0.41***	0.76***	0.68***	0.69***	0.64***
N	4463	3694	4120	3410	3395	2573

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

Table 4: next to health, money is most important

	e1	e2a	e2b	e3	e4	e5
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
lt 2.5k	0.08	0.08	0.05	0.05	0.14	0.18
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	0.09
uninc med	0.13**	0.10*	0.09+	0.08	0.11	0.13+
uninc lrg	0.15**	0.13*	0.11*	0.10+	0.08	0.10
med sub	0.13*	0.12*	0.13*	0.13*	0.09	0.10
lrg sub	0.17***	0.14***	0.13**	0.13**	0.13*	0.13*
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+
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	-0.18**	-0.17**	-0.13+	-0.13*	-0.07	-0.05
e. nor. central	-0.10	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.03	-0.00
w. nor. central	-0.13+	-0.12+	-0.10	-0.10	-0.06	-0.02
south atlantic	-0.22***	-0.20***	-0.17**	-0.17**	-0.10	-0.03
e. sou. central	-0.25***	-0.23***	-0.24**	-0.24**	-0.17+	-0.04
w. sou. central	-0.29***	-0.29***	-0.25***	-0.26***	-0.22*	-0.13
mountain	-0.12+	-0.11	-0.10	-0.10	-0.07	-0.03
pacific	-0.13*	-0.12+	-0.11	-0.11+	-0.03	-0.05
subjective class identification		0.08***		0.02	0.02	0.03
family income in \$1986, millions			1.38***	1.27**	1.06+	0.93+
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	0.04*
white					0.10**	0.09*
think of self as liberal or conservative						-0.08***
how often r attends religious services						-0.04***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.07+
jewish						-0.07
none						0.10*
other						0.35**
buddhism						0.02
hinduism						-0.05
other eastern						-0.60*
moslem/islam						-0.26
orthodox-christian						0.10
christian						0.01
native american						0.35
inter-nondenominational						-0.15
constant	2.53***	2.34***	2.24***	2.21***	1.72***	1.90***
N	8323	8278	7361	7337	4822	4702

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

Table 5: r disagrees immoral person corrupts society

	i1	i2a	i2b	i3	i4	i5
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
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*	0.27*
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*	0.22*
new england	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
middle atlantic	0.03	0.03	-0.03	-0.04	-0.04	-0.03
e. nor. central	-0.08	-0.14	-0.12	-0.16+	-0.17+	-0.14
w. nor. central	-0.19*	-0.17+	-0.25**	-0.21*	-0.25*	-0.22+
south atlantic	0.03	0.05	0.00	-0.00	-0.01	0.00
e. sou. central	-0.03	-0.02	-0.15	-0.16	-0.16	-0.15
w. sou. central	0.20*	0.10	0.15+	0.08	0.04	0.04
mountain	-0.25**	-0.22*	-0.24**	-0.23*	-0.26*	-0.23+
pacific	-0.13	-0.16+	-0.10	-0.12	-0.16	-0.14
subjective class identification		-0.33***		-0.15***	-0.12**	-0.09*
family income in \$1986, millions			-4.07***	-3.39***	-2.90**	-3.43***
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***
think of self as liberal or conservative						0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.03
jewish						-0.15
none						-0.03
other						-0.00
buddhism						-0.59***
hinduism						-0.28
other eastern						-0.04
moslem/islam						-0.44
orthodox-christian						-0.35
christian						0.01
native american						-0.03
inter-nondenominational						-0.28
constant	2.48***	3.27***	3.83***	4.10***	4.28***	4.19***
N	5567	4040	4958	3657	2781	2644

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

Table 6: job is just a way to earn money

In sum, 6 out of 8 measures indicate at least some positive relationship between urbanicity and materialism and immorality, and in 4 cases even in the most elaborated/oversaturated models.—only the 4 shown here, the rest in SOM.

the sixth measure *r* agrees that morality a personal matter shows no relationship²

do say in abs and conclusion that in 7/8 measures some evidence of immorality/dishonesty in cities and in 4/8 even in the final most oversaturated model

TODO drop freaking relig and region dummies from reg and say i control for them go again quickly thru dofile

6 Conclusion and Discussion

We find much support for our thesis that urbanness is associated with higher materialism and immorality. Yet, we caution, that as it is one of the first studies in the area, it is provinsional evidence; mire research 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 it saying 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 recults agree: urbanism is associated with materialism and immorality.

What the results can mean practically. they shed light on why there is lower trust and happiness in the cities (Gurin et al. 1960, Campbell et al. 1976, Berry and Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Mazelis 2016, Senior 2006, Office for National Statistics

²Appendix show results using alternative measure of urbanicity, rank of msa, results are similar but weaker arguably due to lower precision of that measure of urbanicity.

2011, Chatterji 2013, Morrison 2015, Lenzi and Perucca 2016, Morrison 2011, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2020)—given immoral and unethical nature of cities, no wonder trust is lower in the city—can't trust urbanites.

Materialism and over-consumption, which are centered in cities, do not lead to happiness, but unhappiness (Dittmar et al. 2014, Kasser 2003, Schmuck et al. 2000, Kasser and Ryan 1993), and consumption creates pollution and climate change (Leonard 2010, Pachauri et al. 2014).

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7 SOM/ OnlineAppendix

7.1 the less significant or insignificant ones

	c1	c2a	c2b	c3	c4	c5
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
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**	-0.83*
highest year of school completed			-0.03***	-0.02***	-0.03***	-0.03***
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***
think of self as liberal or conservative						0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.09***
jewish						0.13*
none						0.04
other						0.03
constant	0.33***	0.47***	0.65***	0.67***	0.96***	0.95***
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
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
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	-0.07
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	-0.08
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*	-0.08
e. sou. central	-0.10	-0.11+	-0.10	-0.11	-0.24**	-0.12
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*	-0.13
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	-0.83
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***	-0.04
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.01
health					-0.00	0.01
white					-0.01	-0.03
think of self as liberal or conservative						-0.07***
how often r attends religious services						-0.05***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.00
jewish						0.14
none						-0.01
other						-0.03
buddhism						0.21
hinduism						-0.59+
other eastern						0.14
moslem/islam						-0.12
orthodox-christian						-0.49
christian						-0.04
native american						0.41*
inter-nondenominational						0.01
constant	3.10***	3.21***	3.28***	3.30***	3.55***	3.84***
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
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
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	-0.02
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	0.03
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	0.03
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	0.10
w. sou. central	0.09*	0.12*	0.05	0.09+	0.06	0.06
mountain	-0.02	-0.01	-0.05	-0.04	-0.00	-0.01
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***	-1.56***
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	-0.01
health					-0.02	-0.02
white					-0.11***	-0.11***
think of self as liberal or conservative						0.02*
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.04
jewish						0.20*
none						-0.01
other						-0.03
buddhism						0.08
hinduism						-0.17
other eastern						-0.17*
moslem/islam						-0.11
orthodox-christian						0.62***
christian						-0.04
native american						-0.14+
inter-nondenominational						-0.20
constant	0.26***	0.46***	0.57***	0.58***	0.82***	0.76***
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
country	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
lt 2.5k	-0.05	-0.06	-0.04	-0.05	-0.03	-0.04
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	-0.01
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	-0.00
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***	-0.24**
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*	-0.07
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	0.10
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	-0.01
think of self as liberal or conservative						-0.08***
how often r attends religious services						-0.05***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.11***
jewish						0.17*
none						0.00
other						-0.01
buddhism						0.14
hinduism						0.18
other eastern						0.27
moslem/islam						0.11
orthodox-christian						-0.18
christian						0.07
native american						-0.03
inter-nondenominational						-0.04
constant	3.31***	3.22***	2.97***	2.98***	3.11***	3.31***
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

7.2 results using alternative measure of urbanicity, rank of msa

Results are similar but weaker arguably due to lower precision of that 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	0.01
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+
think of self as liberal or conservative						-0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.10*
jewish						0.10
none						0.09
other						0.15
constant	2.00***	1.96***	1.94***	1.84***	2.41***	2.28***
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	-0.06
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***	-1.26**
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***
think of self as liberal or conservative						0.00
how often r attends religious services						-0.02***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.05*
jewish						0.08
none						-0.03
other						-0.02
constant	0.33***	0.43***	0.77***	0.71***	0.69***	0.65***
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	0.01
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**	-0.95*
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***
think of self as liberal or conservative						0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.09***
jewish						0.13*
none						0.04
other						0.03
constant	0.26***	0.43***	0.60***	0.64***	0.94***	0.95***
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	0.01
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+	-0.07
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*	-0.12
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	-0.81
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***	-0.04
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.01
health					-0.00	0.01
white					-0.01	-0.04
think of self as liberal or conservative						-0.07***
how often r attends religious services						-0.05***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.00
jewish						0.15
none						-0.00
other						-0.03
buddhism						0.21
hinduism						-0.58+
other eastern						0.15
moslem/islam						-0.11
orthodox-christian						-0.49
christian						-0.04
native american						0.39*
inter-nondenominational						-0.00
constant	3.03***	3.15***	3.23***	3.25***	3.49***	3.81***
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	0.07
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	-0.04
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	-0.02
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+	-0.02
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	-0.00
pacific	-0.13*	-0.11+	-0.10	-0.10	-0.01	-0.03
subjective class identification		0.08***		0.03	0.02	0.03
family income in \$1986, millions			1.44***	1.30**	1.06+	0.95+
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	0.04*
white					0.10**	0.09*
think of self as liberal or conservative						-0.08***
how often r attends religious services						-0.04***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.07*
jewish						-0.06
none						0.10*
other						0.35**
buddhism						0.03
hinduism						-0.05
other eastern						-0.56*
moslem/islam						-0.24
orthodox-christian						0.09
christian						0.01
native american						0.36
inter-nondenominational						-0.15
constant	2.59***	2.39***	2.30***	2.27***	1.79***	1.99***
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+	0.09+
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	0.03
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***	-1.58***
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***	0.10***
married					-0.07*	-0.08**
number of persons in household					-0.01	-0.01
health					-0.02	-0.02
white					-0.10***	-0.11***
think of self as liberal or conservative						0.02*
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.04
jewish						0.19*
none						-0.01
other						-0.03
buddhism						0.09
hinduism						-0.18
other eastern						-0.16*
moslem/islam						-0.11
orthodox-christian						0.59***
christian						-0.03
native american						-0.11
inter-nondenominational						-0.20
constant	0.27***	0.48***	0.58***	0.59***	0.81***	0.74***
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	0.00
13-100 sub	0.09*	0.08*	0.05	0.05	0.01	-0.02
1-12 sub	0.18***	0.17***	0.13**	0.14**	0.07	0.03
13-100 msa	0.18***	0.18***	0.14**	0.15***	0.08	0.04
1-12 msa	0.08+	0.08+	0.03	0.03	-0.06	-0.11+
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***	-0.25**
w. sou. central	-0.28***	-0.27***	-0.27***	-0.28***	-0.32***	-0.18*
mountain	-0.17**	-0.16**	-0.16**	-0.17**	-0.16*	-0.08
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	0.12
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	-0.01
think of self as liberal or conservative						-0.08***
how often r attends religious services						-0.05***
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.11***
jewish						0.19**
none						-0.00
other						-0.01
buddhism						0.12
hinduism						0.16
other eastern						0.27
moslem/islam						0.11
orthodox-christian						-0.17
christian						0.07
native american						0.01
inter-nondenominational						-0.04
constant	3.27***	3.18***	2.93***	2.93***	3.09***	3.31***
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	-0.03
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	-0.01
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***	-3.53***
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***
think of self as liberal or conservative						0.01
how often r attends religious services						-0.01
protestant						0.00
catholic						0.04
jewish						-0.15
none						-0.03
other						0.01
buddhism						-0.57**
hinduism						-0.32
other eastern						-0.14
moslem/islam						-0.43
orthodox-christian						-0.33
christian						-0.02
native american						-0.31*
inter-nondenominational						-0.27
constant	2.59***	3.48***	3.87***	4.25***	4.56***	4.44***
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