Misanthropolis: Do Cities Promote Misanthropy?

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Abstract

We use pooled U.S. General Social Survey (GSS, 1972-2016) to examine the effect of urbanism on misanthropy (distrust and dislike of humankind). Human evolutionary history (small group living), psychological (homophily or in-group preference), and classical urban sociological theories suggest that misanthropy should be observed in the most dense and heterogeneous places, such as large cities. Our results mostly agree: overall, over the past four decades, misanthropy is lowest in the smallest settlements (except for the countryside), and the effect size of urbanicity is about half of that of income. Yet, the rural advantage is disappearing—from 1990 to 2010, misanthropy has increased fastest in the smallest places ($< 10k$). One possible reason for this trend is that smaller places have been left behind, and rural resentment has increased. The analysis is for the U.S., and the results may not generalize to other places. This is only the second quantitative study on this topic and more research is needed to decisively find out whether cities are in fact more misanthropic.

KEYWORDS: CITY, URBANISM, TRUST, MISANTHROPY, DISTRUST, FAIRNESS, HELPFULNESS, HELP, US GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY (GSS)

"The more I learn about people, the more I like my dog." [1] *Mark Twain*

Urbanization has deeply affected many aspects of social, political, and economic life (Kleniewski and Thomas 2010). Before industrialization took off, in the early 1800s, only a small percent of the world population lived in cities; by 1900, however, the proportion more than doubled, to 13 percent, as people moved to be near factories and industrial sites (Davis 1955). In 1950, a third of the world population inhabited cities, and by 2050 it is estimated that city dwellers will represent approximately two thirds of the global population (`https://esa.un.org/unpd/wup`).

As urbanization rampantly adds tens of millions of people to cities every year, it is important to understand how city living affects the human condition, particularly as it relates to social interactions. Amin (2006) argues that urban discontent emerges from the fact that:

[1] Indeed, misanthropy can be a justified attitude towards humankind in light of how humans compare with certain animals (Cooper 2018).

> "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 or travel" (p. 1011).

Thrift (2005) proposes that "misanthropy is a natural condition of cities, one which cannot be avoided and will not go away" (p. 140). This leads to our research question: do cities promote misanthropy?

Such a hypothesis may seem incongruous, especially amid current pro-urbanism discourse (Thrift 2005, Amin 2006, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015b, Peck 2016). The current COVID19 pandemic, however, has brought this subject to the forefront as the need for social distancing might exacerbate misanthropy among urbanites. The avoidance and distrust of 'others' may intensify, particularly in the largest and densest cities, due to fear of infection.

In this paper, we provide an up to date empirical analysis of the effect of urbanization on misanthropy by exploring this novel area quantitatively. We begin by defining these terms and discussing the literature on urbanism and misanthropy, then present our model, documenting how we use the received literature to control for an extensive set of variables, discuss results, and conclude by highlighting the takeaway for policy and practice.

Urban Misanthropy

"Here is the great city: here have you nothing to seek and everything to lose." Nietzsche

Misanthropy stems from the Greek words *misos*, "dislike or hate," and *anthropos*, "humans." Misanthropy refers to the lack of faith in others and the dislike of people in general. Misanthropy is a critical judgment on human life caused by failings that are "ubiquitous, pronounced, and entrenched" (Cooper 2018, p. 7). Socrates (cited in Melgar et al. 2013) argued that misanthropy develops when one puts complete trust in somebody, thinking the person to be absolutely true,

sound, and reliable, only to later discover that the person is deceitful, untrustworthy, and fake. When this happens to someone often, they end up hating everyone.

How can cities produce misanthropy? There are several pathways or mechanisms.

Early sociologists[2] proposed that urbanization created malaise due to three core characteristics of cities: size, density, and heterogeneity—increased population size creates anonymity and impersonality, density creates sensory overload and withdrawal from social life, and heterogeneity leads to anomie and deviance, and to lower trust and wellbeing (Park et al. ([1925] 1984), Simmel (1903), Tönnies ([1887] 2002), Wirth (1938), Putnam (2007), Okulicz-Kozaryn (2015a), Herbst and Lucio (2014), Postmes and Branscombe (2002), Vogt Yuan (2007), Smelser and Alexander (1999)).

Living in large, dense, and heterogeneous settlements (city living) is, at least in some ways, incompatible with human nature. Throughout our evolutionary history, for thousands of years, humans have lived in small, low-density homogeneous groups. As hunter gatherers, humans lived in small bands of 50 to 80 people; later, they formed simple horticultural groups of 100 to 150 people, finally clustering in groups as large as 5,000-6,000 thousand people as they evolved into more advanced societies (Maryanski and Turner 1992).

Humans have in-group preference or homophily, and accordingly, lack preference for or dislike heterogeneity (Smith et al. 2014, McPherson et al. 2001, Bleidorn et al. 2016, Putnam 2007), which is a key defining feature of cities (Wirth 1938, Amin 2006, Thrift 2005). High diversity is related to lower trust and less social participation (Paper et al. 1999, Alesina and Ferrara 2000, Luttmer 2001, Alesina and La Ferrara 2002, Rodríguez-Pose and von Berlepsch 2019). Yet, at the same time, diversity can benefit the economy: create technological innovations, increase productivity levels, and enhance the supply and the quality of goods and services (Rodríguez-Pose and von Berlepsch 2019).

It is well-known that city life causes cognitive overload, stress, and coping (Simmel 1903, Milgram 1970, Lederbogen et al. 2011). An overloaded system can suppress stimuli resulting in blase attitude (Simmel 1903)—city life can cause withdrawal, impersonality, alienation, superficiality,

[2]White and White (1977) provides a wonderful summary of U.S. intellectual urban history. Interestingly, many urban critics lived and wrote in cities, e.g., Socrates in Athens, Benjamin Franklin in Boston and Philadelphia, Frank Wright in Chicago. Although Benjamin Franklin was not anti-urban, like Henry David Thoreau or Thomas Jefferson, he did note problems associated with urbanization (White and White 1977, e.g., p. 32). We thank an anonymous reviewer for this point. Also note that much of the critical literature cited is dated—current literature tends to be pro-urban and dismiss the dark side of urbanism—this is the contribution of the present study: to build on the classic, often forgotten, theory, and to update dated analyses with the most current data available.

transitiveness, and shallowness (Wirth 1938). Similarly, city life intensifies cunning and calculated behavior (Tönnies [1887] 2002), estrangement, antagonism, disorder, vice, and crime (Milgram 1970, Park 1915, Park et al. [1925] 1984, Bettencourt and West 2010), which can lead to aggressive responses when interacting with others. Urbanism negatively influences the quality of nearly all social relationships (Wilson 1985). Moreover, urbanites tend to be ill-mannered and unreliable, which can lead to misanthropy (e.g., Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015b, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2017). It is not just city living, but growing up in a city that is also associated with negative consequences later in life (Lederbogen et al. 2011, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2020).

Crowding can be a significant problem in large cities, which force a large number of people to live in close proximity (household crowding) and in a small amount of space (residential crowding). Crowding is associated not only with higher levels of stress and depression, but also with aggression (Regoeczi 2008, Calhoun 1962).

There are striking examples of crowding in the largest and densest cities around the world. New York City, for example, offers 250 or even 100 sq feet apartments (Charlesworth 2014, Yoneda 2012, Weichselbaum 2013). Some "cubbyholes," are yet smaller at 40 sq feet (Velsey 2016). In other dense cities, like Hong Kong, crowding can be even worse (Stevenson and Wu 2019). To be sure, the majority of the urban population does not live in such extreme crowding conditions, and crowding is also an issue in smaller areas—some people crowd in houses in small towns or villages. While high density is not the same as crowding, the two concepts are often correlated (Meyer 2013), and urban crowding is probably becoming more common as cities are becoming less affordable.[3] Concurrently, crime, traffic congestion, and incidence of infectious diseases (case in point, the current COVID19 crisis) do increase with population size (Bettencourt et al. 2010, Bettencourt and West 2010, Bettencourt et al. 2007).

Steve Pile in his colorful writings about cities often invokes urban folklore characters that prey on humans in cities, e.g., vampires, werewolves, ghosts (Pile 2005a,b, Pile et al. 1999). Specifically,

[3]See for instance: Misra (2015), Florida and Schneider (2018), Weinberg (2011), Solari (2019), Schuetz (2019), Kotkin (2013). Density may impact pathology more than crowding (Levy and Herzog 1974). Yet, it is not only density and crowding, other factors such as social support and expectations matter as well (Cassel 2017, Chan 1978). However, results are mixed; some studies didn't find negative effects of density or crowding (Collette and Webb 1976). While it seems reasonable to assume that density and crowding are usually positively related, some studies do not find this to be the case (Webb 1975, Rodgers 1982). The literature about density and crowding is mostly dated as well. Current research should address this gap in the literature, especially as crowding is probably becoming more widespread. For a discussion and overview of density, crowding and human behavior see Boots (1979), Choldin (1978) and Ramsden (2009).

old cities carry melancholia (Pile 2005b), which can arguably translate into misanthropy. Nietzsche, one of the greatest observers of the human condition, expressed misanthropic views himself (e.g., Avramenko 2004) and made a powerful analogy using one the most iconic and crowded places in a city, the marketplace, while referring to urbanites as "the flies in the market-place" (Nietzsche and Parkes 2005).

The aforementioned arguments suggest that city life can make one become more distant from or hostile toward other human beings.[4] Urban life is being "lonely in the midst of a million" (Twain), "lonesome together" (Thoreau), alienated (Wirth 1938, Nettler 1957), "awash in a sea of strangers" (Merry cited in Wilson 1985, p. 99) in a "mosaic of little worlds which touch, but do not interpenetrate" (Park et al. [1925] 1984, p. 40). Thus, we hypothesize:

Urbanicity contributes to increased levels of misanthropy.

Gaps (and Bias) in the Literature

Academic thinking about cities has for the most part swung in a pro-urban direction decades ago.[5] The classical sociological urban theory (Wirth 1938, Milgram 1970, Park 1915, Park et al. [1925] 1984, Simmel 1903, Tönnies [1887] 2002) gave way to sub-cultural theory (Fischer 1975, 1995, Wilson 1985, Palisi and Canning 1983), while debates about the optimal size of a city (Richardson 1972, Singell 1974, Alonso 1960, 1971, Elgin 1975, Capello and Camagni 2000) emanated in the-bigger-the-better ideology (Glaeser 2011).

As a result, there is no recent interest in the urbanicity-misanthropy relationship—only two studies examine this relationship employing quantitative methods (Wilson 1985, Smith 1997). Smith (1997) lists only a simple bivariate correlation between urbanicity and misanthropy among dozens of other bivariate correlations in a General Social Survey technical report. The only quantitative study focusing on the urbanicity-misanthropy relationship is Wilson (1985)—such gap in the literature is rare.

Wilson (1985) uses dated 1972-1980 GSS dataset, controls for only a handful of variables,

[4]There are, however, multiple advantages of city life as discussed in the next section.

[5]There appears to be a pro-urban bias not only in the U.S. (Hanson 2015), but in general as it relates to world development (Lipton et al. 1977).

and does not show trends over time. Arguably, like other contemporary social scientists such as Veenhoven (e.g., 1994), Meyer (e.g., 2013) and Fischer (e.g., 1982), Wilson has a slight urban bias—under-emphasizing and discounting urban problems.

The dearth of research on the link between urbanicity-misanthropy in urban studies seems to emerge from an avoidance to focus on the darker and misanthropic side of cities. As Nigel Thrift stated, there is "a more deep-seated sense of misanthropy which urban commentators have been loath to acknowledge, a sense of misanthropy which is too often treated as though it were a dirty secret" (Thrift 2005, p. 134):

> Many key urban experiences are the result of juxtapositions which are, in some sense, dysfunctional, which jar and scrape and rend. What do surveys show contemporary urban dwellers are most concerned by in cities? Why crime, noisy neighbors, a whole raft of intrusions by unwelcome others. There is, in other words, a **misanthropic** thread that runs through the modern city, a distrust and avoidance of precisely the others that many writers feel we ought to be welcoming in a world increasingly premised on the mixing which the city first brought into existence (Thrift 2005, p. 140 ("misanthropic" bolded by us).

Advantages of City Life

The vast majority of recent urban research has focused on the positive aspects of cities, a case in point being the bestselling book, the "Triumph of the City: How Our Greatest Invention Makes Us Richer, Smarter, Greener, Healthier, and Happier" (Glaeser 2011). While Glaeser (2011) is remarkably misguided (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015b, Peck 2016), it is important to underscore that this pro-urban trend emerged due to the many benefits cities can provide.

Many people, notably Millennials, are drawn to metropolitan areas (Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2018) given the many bright sides and positive aspects of city life: amenities, freedom, productivity, research and innovation, economic growth, wages, and multiple efficiencies related to density in transportation, public goods provision, and lower per capita pollution (Tönnies [1887] 2002, O'Sullivan 2009, Meyer 2013, Rosenthal and Strange 2002, Bettencourt et al. 2010). In general, there is no doubt that cities are the economic engines of today's economy. Even in terms of social relationships, cities have some advantages and score better than suburbs—although city life

is related to impersonal social relations, cities have higher levels of social interaction, participation in religious groups and volunteering than the suburbs (Nguyen 2010, Mazumdar et al. 2018).

Much of the impersonal social relations observed in cities is only for neighbor relation (Nguyen 2010, Mazumdar et al. 2018). Concurrently, urbanites tend to have larger social networks and to socialize more frequently while having more opportunities to meet new friends or a partner (Mouratidis 2018, 2017). Urbanites are able to more easily create their own communities in cities (e.g., shop in a particular bodega, use a specific laundromat, worship in a well-liked church/temple, frequent a preferred gym) and will socialize and trust those in their social bubble. If that trust is broken, it's easier to find another bodega, another laundromat, and so forth in a city.[6]

"City air makes men free (Stadt Luft macht frei)" (Park et al. [1925] 1984, p.12)–diversity and the heterogeneity found in urban centers translate into increased tolerance and acceptance of others (Tuch 1987, Wirth 1938, Stephan and McMullin 1982, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2020). These are all important benefits of living in a city, as opposed to living in a village, the suburbs, or in a farm.

Urban living has drastically improved many aspects of life, notably cities are less polluted than they used to be and there is more redevelopment (e.g., Glaeser 2011), which is perhaps why Millennials are happier in cities Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente (2018). Cities and large urban centers have more amenities compared to other places (O'Sullivan 2009). In addition, there are greater returns from education in cities than smaller places, while also providing more economic opportunities (Florida et al. 2013).

Despite all of the benefits of city life, the question nonetheless, remains: *could urban areas increase misanthropy?* We explore and attempt to answer this question next.

Method

Data

We use unique data from the U.S. General Social Survey (GSS; `http://gss.norc.org`). The GSS is a cross-sectional, nationally representative survey, administered annually since 1972 until 1994 when it became biennial. The unit of analysis is a person and data are collected in face-to-face

[6]In rural and small communities, on the other hand, if trust is broken, it is more difficult to find a replacement and life can become cumbersome as gossip spreads.

in-person interviews (Davis et al. 2007). The full dataset contains about 60 thousand observations pooled over 1972-2016. All variables were recoded in such a way that a higher value means more.

As explained in the next subsection, the dependent variable, misanthropy, is continuous. Hence, we simply use ordinary least squares (OLS) to analyze the relationship between misanthropy and urbanicity. Multilevel techniques are not useful as the GSS is only representative of large census regions, and we do not have the restricted GSS data with finer geographical information.

Misanthropy

We measure misanthropy, the dislike of humankind, with a three item Rosenberg's misanthropy index (Rosenberg 1956, Smith 1997):

TRUST. "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?" 1 ="cannot trust," 2 = "depends," 3 = "can trust."

FAIR. "Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?" 1 ="take advantage," 2 = "depends," 3 = "fair."

HELPFUL. "Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?" 1 ="lookout for self," 2 = "depends," 3 = "helpful."

Rosenberg defines misanthropy as a general uneasiness, dislike, and apprehensiveness towards strangers (Rosenberg 1956). Using these three questions, we utilized factor analysis with varimax rotation to produce an index, and we reversed it so that it measures misanthropy. Cronbach's alpha is .67. The distributions of these, as well as the descriptive statistics for all other variables, are in the Supplementary Online Material (SOM).

This measurement encompasses "faith in people," "attitudes towards human nature," and an "individual's view of humanity." Although, much controversy about the assessment of misanthropy exists in the literature, the Rosenberg scale has become the standard measure for self-reported misanthropy and was designed to assess one's degree of confidence in the trustworthiness, goodness, honesty, generosity and brotherliness of people in general (Rosenberg 1956). The Rosenberg Misanthropy Scale has been a cornerstone on the GSS since 1972, and the measurement is not contaminated by social desirability bias (Ray 1981). The Rosenberg Misanthropy scale is not only

mainstream, but also the most popular and widely cited measurement of misanthropy. Some authors (e.g., Wuensch et al. 2002) have used other scales, but their approaches are disjoint from the mainstream literature, and there is not much discussion of the concept or measurement that they used in their research.

As per the survey questions, strictly speaking, it is not the dislike of "all people," but of "most people" that we are measuring. Wilson (1985) suggests it is dislike of strangers, specifically. Likewise, recently Delhey et al. (2011) have argued that "most people" predominantly connotes out-groups. Note that this relates to homophily/in-group theory—a dislike for an out-group typically means relative preference for the in-group.

Urbanicity

Urbanicity is measured in three ways to show that the results are robust to the definition. First, it is measured using deciles of population size (SIZE). Deciles are used to investigate if there are any nonlinear effects on misanthropy. Then, two other variables are used to measure urbanism under their original GSS names: XNORCSIZ and SRCBELT.[7] Both variables categorize places into metropolitan areas, big cities, suburbs, and unincorporated areas. The advantage of SIZE is that it allows us to calculate a misanthropy gradient by the exact size of settlement. XNORCSIZ and SRCBELT take into account the fact that populations cluster at different densities (e.g., suburbs are less dense than cities). The GSS does not provide a density variable.

The SRC BELTCODE measurement is arguably the best fitting to illustrate the urban vs. rural divide: the divide is between metropolitan areas vs. smaller areas (Hanson 2015), and SRC BELTCODE identifies the MSAs (metropolitan statistical areas). The GSS codebook descriptions are in SOM.

Controls

In the choice of the control variables we follow Welch et al. (2007) and Smith (1997). The higher the social standing, the more favorable view of others—thus we control for income, education, and

[7]Wilson (1985) uses these two variables in his study. One technical problem, however, is that he assumes that these variables are continuous. Wilson (1985) explicitly states that xnorcsiz is an ordinal variable, and we disagree: one cannot really say whether a suburb is larger than an unincorporated large area and smaller than an area of 50 thousand people.

race. Social class literature suggests that individuals' social class should be assessed by using both objective (e.g., income and education) and subjective indicators (e.g., Kraus et al. 2009).[8] Thus, a control for people's perceived social class is included as well.

Negative experiences are likely to increase misanthropy, therefore we control for fear of crime (there is no good measurement for actual victimization in the GSS). Crime is important because the larger the place, the more crime (Bettencourt and West 2010, Wirth 1938, White and White 1977), and the more crime, the more misanthropy (Wilson 1985). As explained by (Glaeser and Sacerdote 1999), cities may create greater returns to crime because cities provide criminals more access to the wealthy and a greater range of victims in urban areas. Likewise, lower probability of arrest, and lower probability of recognition are features of urban life that make crime more likely (for a thorough discussion refer to Glaeser and Sacerdote (1999). The higher crime rates in big cities are particularly salient to our research given that fear of crime can result in social problems such as lower interpersonal and institutional trust, change in behavioral patterns and lifestyle, and integration into the society (see (Krulichová et al. 2018)).

We also control for unemployment, self-reported health and age. Since divorce is a predictor of misanthropy, we control for it and other marital statuses as well. Misanthropy should be higher among cultural groups and minorities that have been discriminated against, so we also control for race, being born in the United States, and religious denomination. Religious belief may reduce misanthropy–religions commonly promote philanthropy and altruism. This is especially true of social religiosity (services attendance, church membership), but individual religiosity or believing (prayer, closeness and belief in God) may actually increase misanthropy (Valente and Okulicz-Kozaryn 2020). Misanthropy may be lower among older people, and there may be a curvilinear relationship, therefore we control for age and age^2. Men tend to be more misanthropic, so we control for gender. Recent movers may be more misanthropic. There is not a good control for recent moving in the GSS, but we use a proxy for international moving by controlling for being born in the US.

[8] We thank an anonymous reviewer for this important point. Subjective class correlates with education and income moderately at about .4 (either continuous or polychoric). On one hand, subjective class and urbanicity are likely to be confounded. On the other hand, it turns out that correlations of urbanicity measures and subjective class are very small, below .1 (either continuous or polychoric). The social class item in the GSS reads: "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?" and is coded from 1 (lower) to 4 (upper). We will just treat it as a control variable and enter it as a continuous variable without using a set of dummies for simplicity.

In addition, we control for subjective wellbeing[9] and health—the goal is to alleviate possible problem of spuriousness. It may be not the size of a place that causes higher misanthropy but it may be lack of success, poor quality of life/unhappiness, or poor health that makes a person both move to a city and dislike other people. Concurrently, liberals and immigrants are more likely to live in cities and both groups are less satisfied with their lives (Berry and Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011, Okulicz-Kozaryn et al. 2014) and potentially more misanthropic. Thus, we control for political ideology and immigration status.

Data were pooled over many years, and hence we include year dummies. Also, there may be regional differences across the US, and we include a region "South" dummy variable. All variables are defined along with survey questions in SOM.

Results

Table 1 shows the regression results. We use three measures of urbanicity, and each urbanicity measure is entered as a set of dummy variables to explore nonlinearities and the base case is the smallest place in the case of SIZE and SRCBELT and the second smallest category on XNORCSIZ: "<2.5k, but not countryside." Coefficients of interest are those on the largest places such as the second largest category "192-618k", and especially the largest ones "618k-" in Table 1, and corresponding the very largest and second largest places in Tables 2 and 3.

In the first column of each table (a1, b1, c1) the largest increase in misanthropy occurs in the largest place, as expected. In the case of SIZE and SRCBELT, the second largest effects tend to be on the second largest place. In the case of XNORCSIZ, in addition to largest cities, the countryside (variable "country") is quite misanthropic, perhaps countrymen are not used to swarms of people or perhaps they are countrymen because they dislike people.

The second columns (a2, b2, c2) in the tables add controls following Welch et al. (2007) and Smith (1997). An interesting result on the XNORCSIZ variable is misanthropic suburbs, "places of nowhere," thus confirming Kunstler (2012)'s critique of suburbs. We find that the larger the place, the more misanthropy.

The addition of marital status in model 3 attenuates the effect slightly. The addition of extra

[9]Unhappiness with city life is common in developed countries (Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015b, Sørensen 2014, Morrison and Weckroth 2017, Ala-Mantila et al. 2018, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2020, 2021)— and quality of life/wellbeing may arguably impact misanthropy.

controls in model 4[10] attenuates the slopes considerably by about a third or half. The "192-618k" size decile is similar in magnitude to midsize places—they are all more misanthropic than the base case, which in this case is places smaller than 2k. And "618k-" is markedly larger, about twice as large as "192-618k."

Model 4a adds "AFRAID TO WALK AT NIGHT IN NEIGHBORHOOD" to model 4, and model 4b adds a "WHITE HOUSEHOLD" dummy to model 4, and finally model 4c adds both variables. In Table 1 in a4c and Table 2 in b4c, the largest places remain significantly more misanthropic than the smallest places (<2-2.5k, but not countryside, yet the magnitude is not greater than that for mid-sized places, suburbs, and even the countryside). As argued earlier, SRCBELT is the variable that measures best the urban-rural divide, and in Table 3 in model c4c, it is the very largest places that are markedly different from other places. The overall conclusion is that the places housing few thousand people are the most liking and trusting humankind or least misanthropic. In other words, there is misanthropy in the larger places versus the smallest places (less than a few thousand people, and not the countryside).

The effect sizes are considerable—all tables report beta coefficients and the effect size of the largest place is about as large as half of the effect of income. In addition, city living has an enormous practical effect size due to the urbanization scale—each year cities grow by tens of millions of people. To summarize, we find support for our initial hypothesis that urbanicity is related to increased misanthropy. Yet, there are caveats to this conclusion as elaborated in the discussion section.

[10]While the fullest specifications are the least biased in terms of omitted variables, the sample size is less than half of the more basic models due to missing observations on additional variables. These most elaborate specifications are rather over-saturated models with too many non-essential controls and collinearity. This is only a robustness check, not the most final or appropriate model. Note that Smith (1997) and Wilson (1985) did not control for political affiliation, or subjective wellbeing.

Table 1: OLS regressions of misanthropy. Beta (fully standardized) coefficients reported. All models include year dummies. Size deciles (base: <2k).

	a1	a2	a3	a4	a4a	a4b	a4c
2-4k	0.01	0.02**	0.01**	0.01*	0.02	0.01*	0.01
4-8k	0.02***	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.02**	0.02***	0.02
8-14k	0.01**	0.04***	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.02***	0.02**
14-24k	0.00	0.03***	0.03***	0.02***	0.02*	0.02**	0.01
24-41k	0.01	0.04***	0.03***	0.02***	0.02**	0.02**	0.02*
41-79k	0.01*	0.04***	0.04***	0.03***	0.02*	0.02**	0.01
79-192k	0.03***	0.04***	0.04***	0.03***	0.01	0.02**	-0.00
192-618k	0.04***	0.05***	0.05***	0.04***	0.02**	0.02***	0.01
618k-	0.09***	0.09***	0.09***	0.07***	0.05***	0.05***	0.02**
South	0.12***	0.10***	0.09***	0.10***	0.09***	0.09***	0.07***
subjective class identification		-0.10***	-0.10***	-0.09***	-0.09***	-0.08***	-0.08***
family income in $1986, millions		-0.08***	-0.07***	-0.05***	-0.04***	-0.05***	-0.04***
protestant		-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.01
catholic		-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.01	-0.02*	-0.01	-0.02
unemployed		0.01**	0.01**	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
age		-0.32***	-0.34***	-0.39***	-0.47***	-0.41***	-0.50***
age squared		0.13***	0.14***	0.18***	0.25***	0.20***	0.28***
highest year of school completed		-0.24***	-0.24***	-0.22***	-0.21***	-0.22***	-0.20***
male		0.03***	0.03***	0.02***	0.04***	0.03***	0.05***
married			0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
widowed			0.02***	0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.01
divorced			0.04***	0.02***	0.02*	0.02***	0.02*
separated			0.04***	0.03***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02**
never married			0.01	-0.01	-0.02**	-0.02**	-0.03***
conservative				0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01
liberal				-0.03***	-0.02**	-0.03***	-0.02***
born in the U.S.				-0.02***	-0.02**	-0.00	-0.00
SWB				-0.13***	-0.14***	-0.12***	-0.13***
afraid to walk at night in neighborhood					0.09***		0.09***
white household						-0.12***	-0.12***
N	38236	33549	33545	27522	14034	27082	13799

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; robust std err

Table 2: OLS regressions of misanthropy. Beta (fully standardized) coefficients reported. All models include year dummies. Xnorcsiz (base: <2.5k, but not country).

	b1	b2	b3	b4	b4a	b4b	b4c
countryside	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.04***	0.05***	0.04***	0.04***
2.5-10k	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02**	0.02**	0.02
10-50k	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.02**
uninc med	0.00	0.02***	0.02***	0.03***	0.03**	0.03***	0.03**
uninc lrg	0.00	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.03**	0.02***	0.02*
med sub	0.02**	0.04***	0.04***	0.05***	0.05***	0.04***	0.04***
lrg sub	0.03***	0.08***	0.08***	0.08***	0.07***	0.06***	0.05***
50-250k	0.04***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.03**	0.03***	0.01
gt 250k	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.09***	0.07***	0.07***	0.04***
South	0.12***	0.10***	0.09***	0.10***	0.09***	0.09***	0.07***
subjective class identification		-0.10***	-0.10***	-0.09***	-0.09***	-0.08***	-0.08***
family income in $1986, millions		-0.08***	-0.07***	-0.06***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.04***
protestant		-0.01	-0.01	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.01
catholic		-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.01	-0.02*	-0.01	-0.02
unemployed		0.01**	0.01**	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
age		-0.32***	-0.34***	-0.39***	-0.47***	-0.41***	-0.50***
age squared		0.12***	0.13***	0.17***	0.25***	0.20***	0.28***
highest year of school completed		-0.24***	-0.24***	-0.22***	-0.21***	-0.22***	-0.20***
male		0.03***	0.03***	0.02***	0.04***	0.03***	0.05***
married			0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
widowed			0.02***	0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.01
divorced			0.04***	0.02***	0.02*	0.02***	0.02*
separated			0.04***	0.03***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02**
never married			0.01	-0.01	-0.02**	-0.02**	-0.03***
conservative				0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01
liberal				-0.03***	-0.02**	-0.03***	-0.03***
born in the U.S.				-0.02***	-0.02**	-0.00	-0.00
SWB				-0.13***	-0.14***	-0.12***	-0.13***
afraid to walk at night in neighborhood					0.09***		0.09***
white household						-0.12***	-0.12***
N	38236	33549	33545	27522	14034	27082	13799

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; robust std err

Table 3: OLS regressions of misanthropy. Beta (fully standardized) coefficients reported. All models include year dummies. Srcbelt (base: small rur).

	c1	c2	c3	c4	c4a	c4b	c4c
small urb	-0.01	0.02**	0.02*	0.01*	0.02*	0.01	0.02
13-100 sub	-0.01	0.04***	0.04***	0.03***	0.02*	0.02***	0.02
1-12 sub	-0.00	0.06***	0.05***	0.04***	0.04***	0.03***	0.03***
13-100 msa	0.03***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***	0.02	0.02***	-0.00
1-12 msa	0.08***	0.09***	0.08***	0.07***	0.05***	0.05***	0.03***
South	0.12***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.09***	0.09***	0.08***
subjective class identification		-0.10***	-0.10***	-0.09***	-0.09***	-0.08***	-0.08***
family income in $1986, millions		-0.08***	-0.07***	-0.06***	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.04***
protestant		-0.01	-0.00	0.00	0.01	-0.01	-0.01
catholic		-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.01*	-0.02*	-0.01	-0.02
unemployed		0.01**	0.01**	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
age		-0.33***	-0.35***	-0.39***	-0.47***	-0.41***	-0.50***
age squared		0.13***	0.14***	0.18***	0.25***	0.21***	0.29***
highest year of school completed		-0.24***	-0.24***	-0.22***	-0.21***	-0.22***	-0.20***
male		0.03***	0.03***	0.02***	0.04***	0.03***	0.05***
married			0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
widowed			0.02***	0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.01
divorced			0.04***	0.02***	0.02*	0.02***	0.02*
separated			0.04***	0.03***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02*
never married			0.01	-0.01	-0.02**	-0.02***	-0.03***
conservative				0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01
liberal				-0.03***	-0.02**	-0.03***	-0.03***
born in the U.S.				-0.02***	-0.01*	-0.00	0.00
SWB				-0.13***	-0.14***	-0.12***	-0.13***
afraid to walk at night in neighborhood					0.09***		0.09***
white household						-0.12***	-0.12***
N	38236	33549	33545	27522	14034	27082	13799

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; robust std err

A Look over Time

Next, we complement our analysis by exploring the relationship between urbanicity and misanthropy over time. The advantage of the GSS is that it allows us to compare a span of over four decades. Figure 1 shows misanthropy by size of place over time. Overall, misanthropy remained highest in the large cities until recently. Yet, around 2000, the trends have changed—misanthropy for the largest cities (>250k) started to decline, and it started to increase steeply for the smallest places (<10k). Over the four decades, misanthropy has been increasing steadily for medium sized places. Hence, the overall urban misanthropy is arguably due to earlier time periods. These

patterns are similar when controlling for predictors of misanthropy. Predicted values are plotted in Figure 2, based on the regression from column a3a from Table 5 in the SOM. There is convergence in misanthropy across urbanicity over time, with the smallest places increasing their level of misanthropy the most.

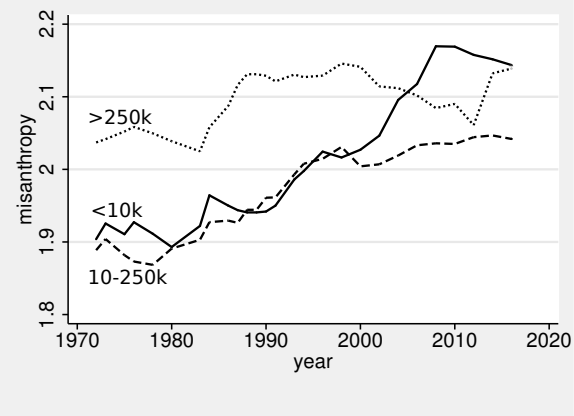

Figure 1: Misanthropy by size of population over time. Smoothed with moving average filter using 3 lagged, current, and 3 forward terms.

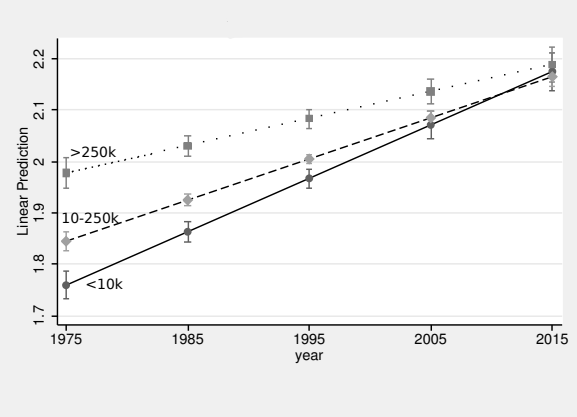

Figure 2: Misanthropy by size of population over time. Predicted values from the regression on column a3a from Table 5 in the Appendix. 95% CI shown.

Conclusion and Discussion

"Real misanthropes are not found in solitude, but in the world; since it is experience of life, and not philosophy, which produces real hatred of mankind." Giacomo Leopardi

In this article, we have focused on a novel area, the urbanicity-misanthropy nexus.[11] Evolutionary history (small group living), psychological theory (homophily or in-group preference), and classical urban sociological theory, all suggest that human dislike for other humans should be observed in the most dense and heterogeneous places such as cities. Our results mostly agree: misanthropy is lowest in the smallest settlements (but not in the countryside), and the effect size of urbanicity is about half of that of income. There are important caveats, however.

First, it is only the second study on the topic and more data and research are needed to form more reliable conclusions. Second, the urban misanthropy thesis holds up relatively robustly for the large cities only (with more than several hundred thousand people). Some places in between, such as larger towns or suburbs, are not misanthropic depending on the model analyzed. Third, the level of misanthropy in smaller areas is now reaching about the same level as in large cities.

As compared to the most complete study to date on the relationship between misanthropy and urbanicity, Wilson (1985), our analysis uses more data, an extensive set of control variables, and levels of size variables without forcing untenable assumption of interval/ratio scale and linear effects. Our results do not necessarily contradict, but rather extend Wilson (1985): there is misanthropy in the largest places for everyone (we find more robust evidence than Wilson (1985); and concurrently confirm the finding by Fischer (1981) of a relatively strong relationship between community size and distrust). In addition, we also find that there is especially misanthropy for whites, and that rural misanthropy is on the rise.

The magnitude of the effect of urbanicity is important to consider. There is evidence of a large magnitude effect on trusting behavior. In one experiment, trust differed several-folds between city and town, a larger difference than across gender—the trust benefit of being female over male is smaller than the benefit of town over city (Milgram 1970). While our results do not indicate a very strong effect of urbanicity on misanthropy, we do find a substantial effect—about half of the effect of income in our analysis —contraposing Wilson (1985), who argued that there is only a small effect.

As in any correlational study, we cannot claim causality. There are, however, reasons to believe

[11] For a long time social scientists have tried to understand how urbanization affects human beings. Yet, the most sharp and critical observations were published decades ago—it is our contribution to connect with the illuminating classical studies amid current pro-urbanism trends. We offer the first up to date quantitative test based on a classic theoretical background.

that urbanism can cause misanthropy. Size, density, and heterogeneity are theoretically linked to many negative emotions (Wirth 1938), and make general dislike for humankind likely. Homophily and evolutionary arguments discussed earlier also support this reasoning.[12]

Reverse causality would not make sense: misanthropy or hatred of people, should not lead someone to live in places like cities, unless one perhaps wants to harm people in some way, clearly these cases are rare.[13] This rationale should also exclude self-selection—if anything, people who love to be among many people, would choose to move to cities and not misanthropes. This can also perhaps explain the result that while misanthropy is high in the largest cities, it is also high in the smallest places of all: the countryside. Arguably many people tired of urban crowds move to smaller rural areas (e.g., Dewey 2017).

Can the relationship between urbanicity and misanthropy be spurious? Cities have many problems: notably urban poverty and urban crime—these problems could intensify misanthropy. In other words, if it were not for urban problems, then urbanicity would not cause misanthropy. There are many urban problems, and we cannot control for all of them, but we controlled for the key urban problem leading to misanthropy: fear of crime, and we also controlled for personal income. But what about an ideal city? Should we expect misanthropy in a city with low crime rates, low levels of inequality, with lots of amenities, parks, and public spaces, etc.? Possibly yes, but not at the same magnitude. All large cities have high population by definition, moderate-high or high density (as compared to smaller places), and are also relatively heterogeneous as compared to smaller places, and these core characteristics are the likely drivers of misanthropy.

Two apparently important missing variables are measures of discontent and inequality. However, both inequality (e.g., Daley 2020)[14] and arguably discontent[15] are higher in rural areas. Therefore, potential left out variable bias in our results is actually conservative—our results would have been stronger, had we controlled for these variables. Still, only future research could decisively answer this question.

[12]Furthermore, there is neurological evidence that city living is unhealthy to the human brain (Lederbogen et al. 2011) and experimental evidence that city living causes lower trust (Milgram 1970).

[13]Another potential reason for a misanthrope, or any non-conformist type, to live in a city is anonymity.

[14]While inequality is rising fastest in urban areas, it was still higher in rural areas over the period of the study.

[15]One may debate where the level of discontent is higher (Florida 2021), but much research points to rural areas: (e.g., Case and Deaton 2015, Hanson 2015, Fuller 2017). Likewise, one may argue that both inequality and discontent are making Americans blame others and therefore become more misanthropic. Again, if anything this should be observed even more in rural areas. And Americans are actually quite resilient to inequality, at least as compared to Europeans (Alesina et al. 2004).

Our analysis is limited by the dataset used. Future research should control for numerous urban amenities (e.g. parks, public spaces) affecting quality of life in cities, and examine the urbanity-misanthropy nexus of specific metropolitan areas in the United States.

Another venue for future research is to examine the effect of urbanicity during one's childhood: does urban upbringing affect one's misanthropy later in life? We know that urban upbringing has negative consequences on neural processing and subjective wellbeing (SWB) later in life (Lederbogen et al. 2011, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2020).

Why are smaller places becoming more misanthropic like cities? One possible explanation is that rural folks and smaller places are being left behind (Fuller 2017, Hanson 2015, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2018, Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2018, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2015b)—rural areas are economically disadvantaged (Glaeser 2011, O'Sullivan 2009, Florida 2021)—economic and educational opportunities, as well as other social benefits seem to abound in cities as previously discussed, and in general there is a pro-urban bias in world development (Lipton et al. 1977). There is clearly rural resentment which could lead to increasing rural misanthropy, which we observed in this study,[16] particularly as rural folks feel that they are being governed by an urbanized elite (Wuthnow 2018). As stated by a Californian farmer (Fuller 2017, p. 2), "They've devastated the jobs, timber jobs, mining jobs with their environmental regulations, so yes, we have a harder time sustaining the economy, and therefore there's more people that are in a poorer situation."

This is only the second quantitative study on this topic and more research is needed to decisively find out whether cities are more misanthropic. Yet, we do find strong evidence that cities are not less misanthropic than smaller places, and this in itself is a counter-intuitive finding worth reporting amidst current pro-urbanism discourse.

Major Takeaway for Policy and Practice

"Whenever I tell people I'm a misanthrope they react as though that's a bad thing [...] I live in London, for God's sake. Have you walked down Oxford Street recently? Misanthropy's the only

[16] Although, the rural resentment may be more against cities or urbanites, rather than people in general. We thank an anonymous reviewer for this point. As a sidenote, our results confirm the findings of research examining subjective wellbeing (SWB) in cities—rural folks have also always been at an advantage when it comes to SWB (at least since the U.S. GSS started collecting data in 1972), but very recently this advantage has disappeared (Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente 2018). We interpret this as evidence of a rural-urban divide and the fact that rural areas have been left behind.

thing that gets you through it. It's not a personality flaw, it's a skill." Charlie Brooker[17]

This study seeks to spark debate on an overlooked area of urban studies. Our results find support for the existence of *Misanthropolis*[18]—metropolitan areas where distrust and dislike for humankind abound.

It is undeniable that there are many economic, environmental, and social advantages to cities as briefly discussed. Advocating for living in smaller areas for most people is problematic and unrealistic. The U.S. and world populations are projected to grow for some time and perhaps level off, but a dramatic decline is unlikely. Low-density non-urban living for most people is simply impossible, but more consideration should be given to smaller areas that have been left behind, as lamented by some (e.g., Fuller 2017, Hanson 2015), but not heard by most. Redirecting resources away from smaller places should be given more thought and consideration.

Although heterogeneity can contribute to misanthropy in cities, if mechanisms are in place to facilitate dialogue across different groups and if people are encouraged to interact with each other, that is, if the "melting pot" really happens, and the "other" becomes a fellow human being, then diversity can yield important social and economic benefits (Rodríguez-Pose and von Berlepsch 2019). There is a case to be made in favor of more recreational opportunities and events, community services, and social spaces in the largest cities to promote social connections and create a sense of community. It is up for future research to determine whether these recommendations can in fact curtail misanthropy in cities.

Misanthropy may not seem tangible or meaningful for practitioners at a first glance. However, when consideration is given to how misanthropy can cause negative outcomes, there is a reason to be concerned. Misanthropy reduces people's desire to invest and to be involved in their communities and may remove social bonds that deter people from harming others (Weaver 2006, Hirschi and Gottfredson 1993, Fafchamps and Minten 2006, Walters and DeLisi 2013). Furthermore, misanthropy is correlated with dysfunctional and animus behaviors such as homophobia, sexism, racism, and ageism (Cattacin et al. 2006).

It is impossible to overlook the current COVID19 pandemic—infectious disease spread the

[17] This echoes Simmel's blase attitude—in order to survive in a city, one must withdraw; see also Milgram (1970) and Lederbogen et al. (2011).

[18] Term coined by one of the authors.

worst in large cities (Bettencourt et al. 2010). This health crisis will arguably further exacerbate misanthropy in the largest metropolitan areas, as fear and suspicion of the 'other' increases—many people fled New York City, for example, to stay away from other people.

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SOM-R (Supplementary Online Material-for Review)

0.1 GSS Codebook Descriptions of Urbanicity Measures.

SIZE. This code is the population to the nearest 1,000 of the smallest civil division listed by the U.S. Census (city, town, other incorporated area over 1,000 in population, township, division, etc.) which encompasses the segment. If a segment falls into more than one locality, the following rules apply in determining the locality for which the rounded population figure is coded. If the predominance of the listings for any segment are in one of the localities, the rounded population of that locality is coded. If the listings are distributed equally over localities in the segment, and the localities are all cities, towns, or villages, the rounded population of the larger city or town is coded. The same is true if the localities are all rural townships or divisions. If the listings are distributed equally over localities in the segment and the localities include a town or village and a rural township or division, the rounded population of the town or village is coded.

XNORCSIZ. Expanded N.O.R.C. size code. 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.

SRCBELT. SRC beltcode. 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, we 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.

0.2 Descriptive Statistics and Additional Results.

Below we show basic descriptive statistics and additional regression results.

Table 4: Variable definitions.

name	description
misanthropy	(misanthropy scale)
trust	"Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?"
people fair or try to take advantage	"Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?"
people are helpful	"Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves? (HELPFUL)"
srcbelt	SRC BELTCODE (see appendix for details)
xnorcsiz	EXPANDED N.O.R.C. SIZE CODE (see appendix for details)
size of place in 1000s	SIZE "Size of Place in thousands-A 4-digit number which provides actual size of place of interview."
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.
protestant	"What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion?"
catholic	"What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion?"
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"
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"
marital status	"What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion?"
unemployed	"Last week were you working full time, part time, going to school, keeping house, or what?" "Unemployed, laid off, looking for work"
age	age of respondent
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?"

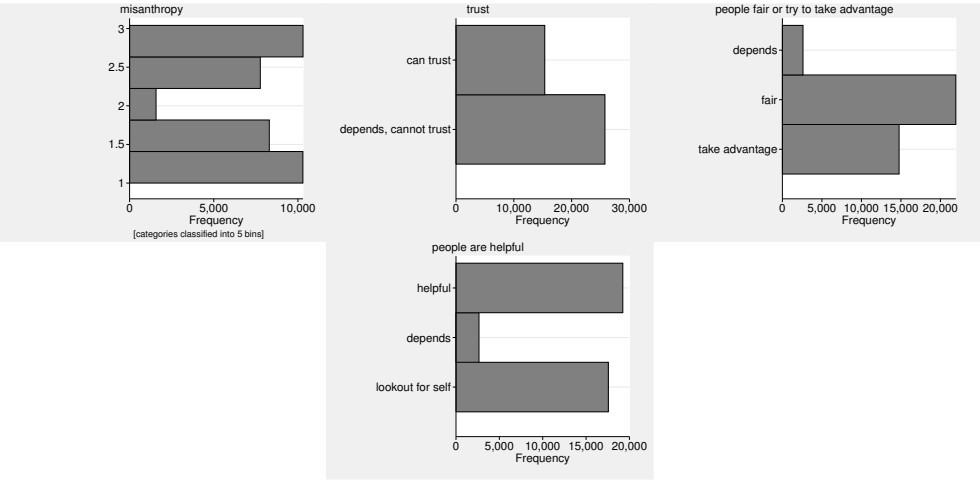

Figure 3: Variables' distribution.

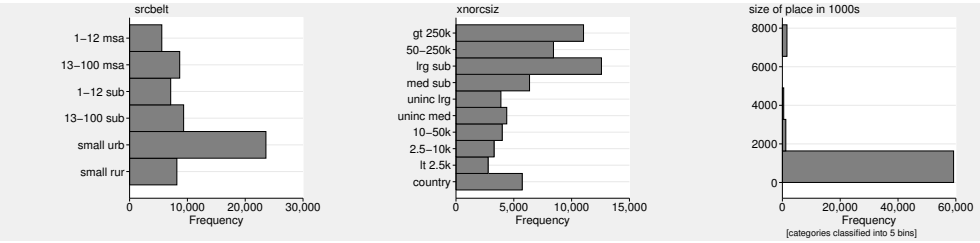

Figure 4: Variables' distribution.

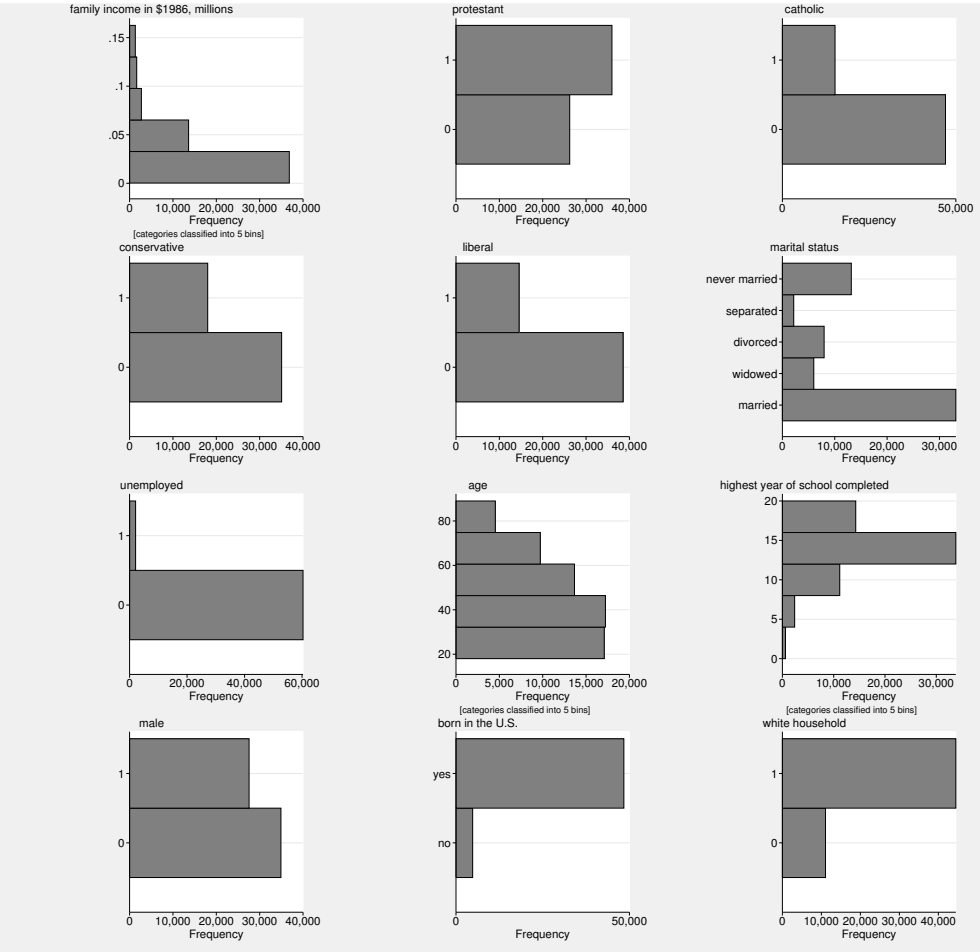

Figure 5: Variables' distribution.

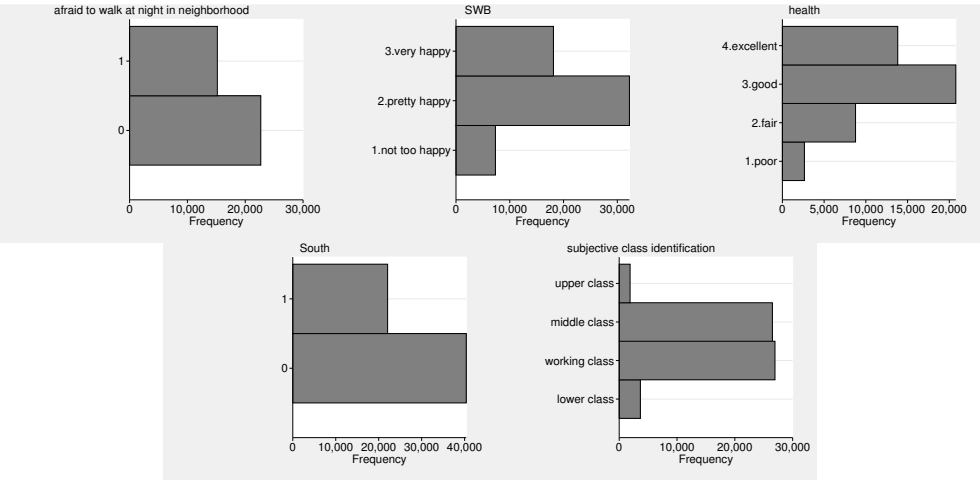

Figure 6: Variables' distribution.

In the manuscript, we have plotted results from the simple specification a3a from Table 5, but note that more elaborate specifications with more variables and dummy for time are similar:

Table 5: OLS regressions of misanthropy. Beta (fully standardized) coefficients reported. All models include year dummies.

	a4c2	a3a	b4c2	c4c2
-2k	0.00			
2-4k	10.92**			
4-8k	1.52			
8-14k	8.44*			
14-24k	12.92***			
24-41k	5.52			
41-79k	14.73***			
79-192k	4.02			
192-618k	15.40***			
618k-	13.37***			
year	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***	0.01***
-2k × year	0.00			
2-4k × year	-0.01**			
4-8k × year	-0.00			
8-14k × year	-0.00*			
14-24k × year	-0.01***			
24-41k × year	-0.00			
41-79k × year	-0.01***			
79-192k × year	-0.00			
192-618k × year	-0.01***			
618k- × year	-0.01***			
subjective class identification	-0.10***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.10***
family income in $1986, millions	-1.12***	-1.73***	-1.12***	-1.18***
protestant	0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.01
catholic	-0.03	-0.03***	-0.03*	-0.03*
unemployed	0.01	0.04*	0.01	0.01
age	-0.02***	-0.01***	-0.02***	-0.02***
age squared	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
highest year of school completed	-0.05***	-0.06***	-0.05***	-0.05***
male	0.07***	0.05***	0.07***	0.07***
married	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
widowed	-0.01	0.06***	-0.01	-0.02
divorced	0.04*	0.09***	0.03*	0.03*
separated	0.10***	0.17***	0.10***	0.10***
never married	-0.03*	0.02**	-0.03*	-0.04**
afraid to walk at night in neighborhood	0.15***		0.15***	0.14***
conservative	0.01		0.01	0.01
liberal	-0.03**		-0.03**	-0.04**
born in the U.S.	-0.05**		-0.05**	-0.04*
SWB	-0.17***		-0.17***	-0.17***
South	0.14***	0.15***	0.14***	0.14***
small		0.00		
med		4.56***		
big		9.42***		
small × year		0.00		
med × year		-0.00***		
big × year		-0.00***		
country			0.00	
lt 2.5k			-5.13	
2.5-10k			-3.52	
10-50k			3.05	
uninc med			0.76	
uninc lrg			11.72**	
med sub			10.94**	
lrg sub			10.78***	
50-250k			7.95*	
gt 250k			13.20***	
country × year			0.00	
lt 2.5k × year			0.00	
2.5-10k × year			0.00	
10-50k × year			-0.00	
uninc med × year			-0.00	
uninc lrg × year			-0.01**	
med sub × year			-0.01**	
lrg sub × year			-0.01***	
50-250k × year			-0.00*	
gt 250k × year			-0.01***	
small rur				0.00
small urb				14.15***
13-100 sub				15.26***
1-12 sub				16.36***
13-100 msa				19.40***
1-12 msa				20.60***
small rur × year				0.00
small urb × year				-0.01***
13-100 sub × year				-0.01***
1-12 sub × year				-0.01***
13-100 msa × year				-0.01***
1-12 msa × year				-0.01***
N	14034	33545	14034	14034

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; robust std err

In Table 6 the results show that while whites are in general less misanthropic than minorities, they are more misanthropic in larger places, thus confirming Wilson (1985). Note, the column names correspond with earlier tables. In a4c1 we interact urbanicity with the white household dummy—indeed we find confirmation for Wilson (1985)—clearly whites experience more misanthropy in urban areas. Wilson (1985) explains this pattern using Fischer's sub-cultural theory.

Table 6: OLS regressions of misanthropy. All models include year dummies. Size deciles (base: <2k). Srcbelt (base: small rur). Xnorcsiz (base: <2.5k, but not country).

	a4c1	b4c1	c4c1
-2k	0.00		
2-4k	-0.12		
4-8k	-0.14**		
8-14k	-0.13**		
14-24k	-0.20***		
24-41k	-0.10		
41-79k	-0.11*		
79-192k	-0.18***		
192-618k	-0.14***		
618k-	-0.11*		
white household	-0.40***	-0.23***	-0.34***
-2k × white household	0.00		
2-4k × white household	0.17**		
4-8k × white household	0.19***		
8-14k × white household	0.21***		
14-24k × white household	0.26***		
24-41k × white household	0.16**		
41-79k × white household	0.13*		
79-192k × white household	0.19***		
192-618k × white household	0.17***		
618k- × white household	0.18***		
subjective class identification	-0.10***	-0.10***	-0.10***
family income in $1986, millions	-0.97***	-1.01***	-1.04***
protestant	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01
catholic	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03
unemployed	0.01	0.01	0.01
age	-0.02***	-0.02***	-0.02***
age squared	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
highest year of school completed	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05***
male	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***
married	0.00	0.00	0.00
widowed	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02
divorced	0.04*	0.04*	0.04*
separated	0.07**	0.07**	0.07*
never married	-0.06***	-0.05***	-0.06***
afraid to walk at night in neighborhood	0.14***	0.15***	0.14***
conservative	0.02	0.02	0.02
liberal	-0.04***	-0.04***	-0.04***
born in the U.S.	-0.01	-0.00	0.00
SWB	-0.16***	-0.16***	-0.16***
South	0.12***	0.12***	0.12***
country		0.00	
lt 2.5k		0.08	
2.5-10k		-0.01	
10-50k		-0.03	
uninc med		-0.10	
uninc lrg		-0.09	
med sub		-0.10	
lrg sub		-0.01	
50-250k		-0.07	
gt 250k		-0.04	
country × white household		0.00	
lt 2.5k × white household		-0.21**	
2.5-10k × white household		-0.06	
10-50k × white household		-0.02	
uninc med × white household		0.06	
uninc lrg × white household		0.04	
med sub × white household		0.09	
lrg sub × white household		-0.01	
50-250k × white household		-0.03	
gt 250k × white household		0.00	
small rur			0.00
small urb			-0.08*
13-100 sub			-0.09
1-12 sub			-0.04
13-100 msa			-0.12**
1-12 msa			-0.03
small rur × white household			0.00
small urb × white household			0.12**
13-100 sub × white household			0.14**
1-12 sub × white household			0.13**
13-100 msa × white household			0.14**
1-12 msa × white household			0.12*
N	13799	13799	13799
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; robust std err			