# Misanthropolis: Do Cities Promote Misanthropy?

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Highlights:

- Using US General Social Survey (GSS, 1972-2016) we study effect of urbanicity on misanthropy (distrust and dislike of humankind).
- Places larger than several hundred thousand versus places smaller than few thousand people (but not the countryside) are more misanthropic.
- The effect size of urbanicity is about half of that of income.
- Misanthropy remained highest in large cities until around 2005.
- Around 2000, misanthropy for large cities (>250k) started to decline, and misanthropy for the small places (<10k) started to increase steeply.

**Abstract**

We use pooled US General Social Survey (GSS, 1972-2016) to study the effect of urbanism on misanthropy (distrust and dislike of humankind). Human evolutionary history (small group living), psychological (homophily or ingroup 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: 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 is that smaller places have been left behind, and rural resentment has increased. Results may not generalize outside of the US. This is only the second quantitative study on urbanicity-misanthropy and more research is needed.

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

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

*"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

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

As urbanization rampantly adds tens of millions of people to cities every year, it is important to understand how urban way of life affects the human condition, particularly as it relates to social interactions. Amin (2006, p. 1011) argues that:

> "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."

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 due to fear of infection, particularly in the largest and densest cities.

We conduct empirical quantitative analysis over 1972-2016 of the effect of urbanization on misanthropy. We first define misanthropy, and start with theory. We set the stage by bringing together human evolutionary history (small group living), psychological (homophily or ingroup preference), and classical urban sociological theories suggesting that misanthropy should be observed in the most dense and heterogeneous places, such as large cities. Next we discuss ways that urbanism may lead to dislike and distrust of humankind (misanthropy). We conclude literature review by pointing to gaps and bias: remarkably, there is only one study on urbanicity-misanthropy done 37 years ago without any following in the literature that is dominated by pro-urban bias. Our empirical analysis follows, and concludes with a proposition of the misanthropolis, a misanthropic metropolis. The takeaway for policy and practice is that misanthropy should be of concern as it leads to tangible consequences—dissolution of social fabric and dysfunction. While some degree of misanthropy may be inherent to urbanism, some of it may be mitigated by poicies to bring people together. At the same time planners and practicioners must start paying attention to rural areas, which have been largely left behind with little resources—misanthropy has been growing most steeply in rural America.

## Misanthropy

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 frequently, misanthropy develops.

## Theory: Urbanism-Misanthropy Pathways

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

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 people as they evolved into more advanced societies (Maryanski and Turner, 1992).

Hunter gatherer bands of 50-80 or early societies of few thousand are not only quantitatively smaller, bul also fundamentally and qualitatively different from modern urbanism. Urbanization has deeply affected multiple aspects of social, political, and economic life (Kleniewski and Thomas, 2010). Before industrialization took off, in the early 1800s, only several percent of the world population lived in cities. The proportion more than doubled by 1900, 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`).

Early sociologists 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)).

Humans have ingroup 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).

## Literature: Urbanism and Distrust/Dislike of Humankind (Misanthropy)

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, 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 also up in a city that is 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 forces 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 (e.g., Misra, 2015, Florida and Schneider, 2018, Weinberg, 2011, Solari, 2019, Schuetz, 2019, Kotkin, 2013). 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, old cities carry melancholia (Pile, 2005b), which can arguably translate into misanthropy. Nietzsche, one of the greatest observers of the human condition suggested urban misanthropy by 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.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

The contribution of the present study is to build on the classic, often forgotten, theory, and to update and extend dated analysis with the current data.

Academic thinking about cities has for the most part swung in a pro-urban direction decades ago. There appears to be a pro-urban bias not only in the US (Hanson, 2015), but in general as it relates to world development (Lipton et al., 1977). 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). Much of the critical literature cited is dated—current literature tends to be pro-urban and dismiss the negative side of urbanism.

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).

Remarkably, Wilson (1985) is only cited by 4 studies according to Google Scholar –Smith (1997) and 3 others. And they all do not focus on misanthopy. Aside from Wilson (1985), there is simply no literature on this topic. Such gap in the literature is extraordinarily rare.

Wilson (1985) uses dated 1972-1980 GSS dataset, controls for only a handful of variables, and does not show trends over time. Arguably, like other contemporary social scientists such as Veenhoven (1994), Meyer (2013) and Fischer (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. [...] 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).

## 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 due to neighbor relations (Nguyen, 2010, Mazumdar et al., 2018). Concurrently, urbanites tend to have larger social networks and 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. 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. Urban heterogeneity and 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).

Concurrently, "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 cities are becoming more happy recently (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 misanthropy measure from the 1972-2016 US 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 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.

Marsden et al. (2020) provides an useful overview of the GSS, one of the most widely used datasets in contemporary social science. The GSS has a wide range of attitude and behavior data, together with wide and deep body of background information including socioeconomic status, social mobility, social control, the family, race relations, sex relations, civil liberties, and morality. Misanthropy scale items and urbanicity meaures have been part of GSS since its first wave in 1972. The GSS takes care to ensure the over-time comparability of measures for trend analyses (Marsden et al., 2020), which is utilized in a current study of urbanicity and misanthropy over 4 decades. According to Marsden et al. (2020), the GSS prioritizes survey quality, maintaining response rates above the survey industry standard.

# 1 Research Design and Model

Research design is simply ex post facto (Mohr, 1995). Data are secondary, without any experimental manipulation, and our study is observational or correlational. Observational or correlational studies are not without merit —many scientific breakthroughs were first discovered in observational studies– for instance that smoking is related to cancer (e.g., Blanchflower and Oswald, 2011, Oswald, 2014). Furthermore, experiments suffer from many critical problems that are not inherent in observational studies such as lack of external validity, small sample size, artificial laboratory setting. For a discussion see for instance Pawson and Tilley (1997).

As explained in the next subsection, the dependent variable, misanthropy, is continuous. Hence, we use ordinary least squares (OLS) to analyze the relationship between misanthropy and urbanicity. Multilevel techniques are not applicable as the GSS is only representative of large census regions, and we do not have the restricted GSS data with finer geographical information. GSS is a repeated cross-sections with different persons in each wave, hence panel data techniques are not applicable either.

### Misanthropy

We measure misanthropy, the distrust and 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 the three items, 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 items, as well as the descriptive statistics for all other variables, are in the Supplementary Online Material (SOM).

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 measurement encompasses "faith in people," "attitudes towards human nature," and an "individual's view of humanity." 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 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.

Strictly speaking, The Rosenberg scale does not measure the dislike of "all people," but "most people." Wilson (1985) suggests it is dislike of strangers, specifically. Likewise, recently Delhey et al. (2011) have argued that "most people" predominantly connotes outgroups. Note that this relates to homophily/ingroup theory—a dislike for an outgroup typically means relative preference for the ingroup.

### 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. Two other variables are used to measure urbanism under their original GSS names: XNORCSIZ and SRCBELT.

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.

Both XNORCSIZ and SRCBELT 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 SRCBELT 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 SRCBELT identifies the metropolitan areas (as Metropolitan Statistical Areas) and it classifies metros by their rank and size: small rur, small urb, 13-100 sub, 1-12 sub, 13-100 msa, 1-12 msa. The GSS detailed 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—we control for income, education, and race. Social class literature suggests that individuals' social class should be assessed using both objective (e.g., income and education) and subjective indicators (e.g., Kraus et al., 2009). Thus, we control for person's perceived social class.

Negative experiences are likely to increase misanthropy, therefore we control for fear of crime (there is no adequate measurement of actual victimization in the GSS). Crime is relevant 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). 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. We control for divorce, a predictor of misanthropy. Misanthropy should be higher among cultural groups and minorities that have

been discriminated against—we control for race, being born in the US, 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—we control for gender. Recent movers may be more misanthropic. There is not an adequate measure of recent moving in the GSS, but we use a proxy for international moving by controlling for being born in the US.

In addition, we control for subjective wellbeing—the goal is to alleviate a potential problem of spuriousness. It may be not the size of a place that causes higher misanthropy, but poor quality of life or unhappiness (Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente, 2021) that correlates with both urbanicity and misanthropy. In addition, we control for health which may vary across urbanicity (e.g., Chen et al., 2019), and arguably unhealthy persons are more likely to be misanthropic. 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 1972-2016, and hence we include year dummies. Also, there are substantial regional differences across the US—we include a "South" dummy variable. All variables are defined along with survey questions in SOM.

## Results

Tables 1, 2, and 3 show the regression results of misanthropy. We use three measures of urbanicity, one in each table, 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 one "618k-" in table 1, and corresponding the second largest and the very largest places in tables 2 and 3.

The first column of each table (a1, b1, c1) shows coefficients from a basic regression of misanthropy on a set of dummy vairables for a given urbanicity measure without any control variables except South and year (not shown) dummies. The largest negative effect of urbanicity on misanthropy is observed for the largest places, as expected. In the case of SIZE and SRCBELT, the second largest effects tend

**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

to be on the second largest place, also as expected. In the case of XNORCSIZ, in addition to largest cities, the countryside is quite misanthropic. This is an unexpected result—we have not hypothesized misanthropic countryside. Perhaps countrymen are not used to swarms of people or perhaps they are countrymen because they are misanthropic and distrust and dislike people.

The second columns (a2, b2, c2) in the tables add controls following Welch et al. (2007) and Smith (1997). The change in estimates is substantial across all three urbanicity measures—midsize places become much more misanthropic—now they are about half or third as misanthropic as the largest place (all urbanicity estimates are relative to the base case. In table 2 an interesting result on the XNORCSIZ dummmies is misanthropic suburbs, so called "places of nowhere" (Kunstler, 2012), thus confirming critique of social fabric in American suburbia (Duany et al., 2001, Kunstler, 2012, Kay, 1997). Overall, we find that the midsize places now become more misanthropic and still the largest places are most misanthropic than smallest places (the base case for all estimates). The larger the place, the more misanthropy.

The addition of marital status in model 3 doesn't change the estimates, and the addition of extra

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

| | 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

controls in model 4 attenuates the slopes only slighhtly across all three measures of urbanicity. While the fullest specifications are the least biased in terms of omitted variables, the sample size is much smaller than 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 serves as 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.

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. The rationale for three models 4a, 4b, and 4c is that the sample size drops by about half due to missing data when adding "AFRAID TO WALK AT NIGHT IN NEIGHBORHOOD" to the model. Furthermore, race is likely to play role not only with respect to urbanicity and misanthropy, but it may also correlate with being "AFRAID TO WALK AT NIGHT IN NEIGHBORHOOD," e.g., whites may be more afraid than others. We use three models 4a, 4b, and 4c with different combinations of the two variables to test robustness of the results.

**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

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 of the effect on the largest places is not greater than that for mid-sized places, suburbs, and even the countryside. Such result could be puzzling. But as argued earlier, SRCBELT is the variable that probably captures best the urban-rural divide, and using SRCBELT in table 3 in model c4c, it is the very largest places (both 1-12 msa, and 1-12 sub) that are markedly more misanthropic than smallest places. The overall conclusion is that the places housing upto few thousand people (except countryside) are the most liking and trusting humankind (least misanthropic). In other words, there is misanthropy in larger places, especially the largest places—these bigger than several hundred thousand people versus the smallest places (upto 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 at least about as large as half of the effect of income. 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.

## Analysis Over Time

We complement our pooled data analysis with an investigation of over-time change in the relationship between urbanicity and misanthropy. The advantage of the GSS is a long time span of 1972-2016. Figure 1 plots misanthropy by size of place over time.

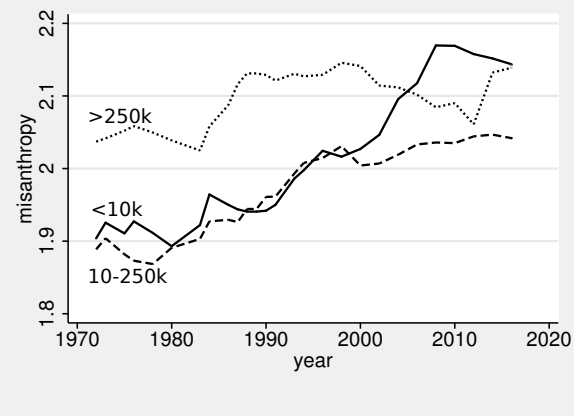


**Figure 1:** Misanthropy by size of population over time. Smoothed with moving average filter using 3 lagged, current, and 3 forward terms.

Overall, misanthropy remained highest in the large cities until about 2005. Around 2000, the trends have changed—misanthropy for the largest cities (>250k) started to decline, and misanthropy for the smallest places (<10k) started to increase steeply. Misanthropy for medium sized places (10-250k) has been mostly increasing over 1972-2016. Hence, the finding of urban misanthropy for the largest places is due to pre-2005 period. These patterns are similar when controlling for predictors of misanthropy. Predicted values from regression a3a in table 6 in the SOM are plotted in figure 2.

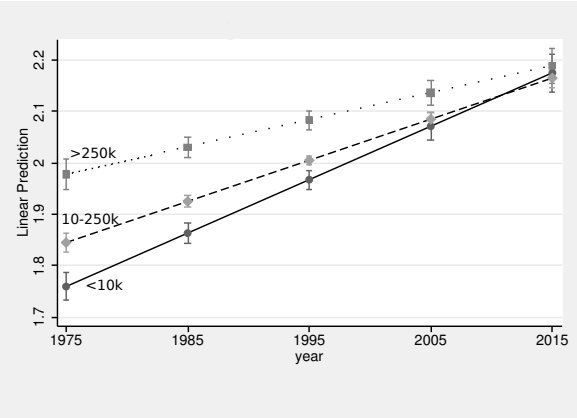


**Figure 2:** Misanthropy by size of population over time. Predicted values from the regression on column a3a from table 6 in the SOM. 95% CI shown.

There is convergence in misanthropy across urbanicity over time, with the smallest places increasing their level of misanthropy the most. Misanthropy has increased across urbanicity in the US over 1972-2016, but it has increased more in smaller places. Note that the regression specification used to produce the predicted values plotted in figure 2 is for simplicity linear and does not allow for nonlinearities observed for raw values in figure 1.

In few years as data become available, it will be instructive to find out whether COVID19 pandemic has caused the trends to reverse. Largest cities have likely become more misanthropic again.

## Conclusion and Discussion

This study seeks to spark debate on an overlooked area of urban studies. Our results suggest the existence of *Misanthropolis*—a misanthropic metropolis, where distrust and dislike for humankind abound. Term *misanthropolis* is coined by one of the authors.

In this article we have focused on a remarkably novel area, the urbanicity-misanthropy nexus. Evolutionary history (small group living), psychological theory (homophily or ingroup 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 caveats, however.

First, it is only the second study (after Wilson, 1985) on the topic and more data and research are needed to form reliable conclusions. Second, the urban misanthropy thesis holds up relatively robustly only for the large cities (larger than several hundred thousand people). Some places in between, such as larger towns or suburbs, are not misanthropic depending on the model specification. Third, the level of misanthropy in smaller areas is now reaching about the same level as in large cities. Fourth, our study uses the US data only, and conclusions may not generalize outside of the US. Fifth, this is correlational study, and causality may not be present.

For these reasons, the evidence in support of the urban misanthropy thesis is not strong. We would like to stress, however, that 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 (e.g., Glaeser, 2011). In addition, even small to moderate effect sizes of urbanicity on misanthropy found in this study have an enormous practical combined effect size due to the sheer scale of urbanism—half of world population is urban and growing by tens of millions every year.

We fill an extraordinary gap in the literature, where there exists only one study conducted 37

years ago without any following in the literature. Our study improves, extends, and updates the research by Wilson (1985). Our analysis uses much more data spanning 4 decades, larger 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) did). Concurrently we confirm the finding by Fischer (1981) of a relatively strong relationship between community size and distrust. In addition, we also find 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 of urbanicity 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 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. 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).

Reverse causality would not make sense: misanthropy or distrust/dislike of people, should not lead someone to live in close proximity to many people, in a city, unless perhaps one wants to harm people—clearly such cases are rare. This rationale should also exclude self-selection—if anything, people who love to be among people, not misanthropes, would choose to move to cities. This can also perhaps explain the result that while misanthropy is high in the largest cities, it is also high in the smallest places, the countryside. Arguably many people tired of urban crowds move to the countryside (e.g., Dewey, 2017). On the other hand, another potential reason for a misanthrope, or any non-conformist type, to live in a city, is anonymity.

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, urban areas without urban problems may not cause misanthropy. We cannot control for all urban problems, but we have controlled for the key urban problem leading to misanthropy: fear of crime, and we also accounted for poverty by controlling for family income.

Still, would there be urban misanthropy if there were no urban problems? Should we expect misanthropy in a city with low crime rates, low levels of inequality, plentiful affordable amenities, parks, public spaces, and so forth? There is still likely to be urban misanthropy even in the absence of urban problems. All large cities have large population, moderate-high or high density, and usually moderate or high heterogeneity as compared to smaller places—these are the likely drivers of misanthropy.

Two apparently important missing variables are measures of discontent and inequality. However, both inequality (e.g., Daley, 2020) and arguably discontent (e.g., Case and Deaton, 2015, Hanson, 2015, Fuller, 2017) 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. In addition, Americans are quite resilient to inequality, at least as compared to Europeans (Alesina et al., 2004), and hence inequality may not matter much for misanthropy in the US. Still, future research should test whether inequality and discontent affect the results.

Future research should also 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. The US GSS public version of the dataset used here does not allow for identification of municipalities.

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? 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, 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 ag 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."

Smith (1997) argued that the more subordinate a group is, and the more isolated the members of the group are, the greater the misanthropy. This could help to explain rural misanthropy. Although,

the rural resentment may be more against cities or urbanites, rather than people in general. We thank an anonymous reviewer for this point.

## Takeaway for Policy and Practice

It is undeniable that there are multiple economic, environmental, and social advantages to cities. Cities are largely necessary, and so is perhaps urban misanthropy—to survive and function in a city. This echoes Simmel's blase attitude of an urbanite—in order to survive and function in a city, one must withdraw Simmel (1903). Recent neurological evidence confirms Simmel's observations—urban way of life is unhealthy to human brain (Lederbogen et al., 2011). Also see Milgram (1970) for experminetal evidence documenting negative effects of urban way of life. There are serious disandvantages of urban way of life, and they should be taken into account by planners and practicioners in order mitigate them.

The US and world populations are projected to grow for some time and perhaps level off, but a dramatic decline is unlikely. Achieving low-density non-urban living for most people is problematic and unrealistic, 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. An alarming emergency is so called "deaths of despair"—Americans killing themselves out of despair—and the problem is more rural than urban or suburban (Case and Deaton, 2015, 2020). Denying resources to 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. Future research should determine whether these recommendations can curtail misanthropy in cities. Auxiliary evidence already exists. Again, distrust and dislike are largerly about strangers and outgroups (Wilson, 1985, Delhey et al., 2011), and we know interventions to turn outgroups into ingroups, e.g., a new group such as a sports team can be formed to turn strangers into an ingroup (e.g., Smith et al., 2010).

Misanthropy may not seem tangible or meaningful for urban planners and practitioners at a first glance. When consideration is given to how misanthropy can cause negative outcomes, however, there are reasons 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 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)

## 1.1 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 US 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 US 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.

## 1.2 Variable Definitions. Descriptive Statistics, and Additional Results.

Below we show variable definitions, 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." |

**Table 5:** Variable definitions (continued).

| name | description |
|---|---|
| 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?" |
| male | male |
| born in the U.S. | "Were you born in this country?" |
| white household | "Race of household" |
| afraid to walk at night in neighborhood | "Is there any area right around here–that is, within a mile–where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" |
| SWB | GENERAL HAPPINESS "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days–would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" |
| health | CONDITION OF HEALTH "Would you say your own health, in general, is excellent, good, fair, or poor?" |
| 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? " |

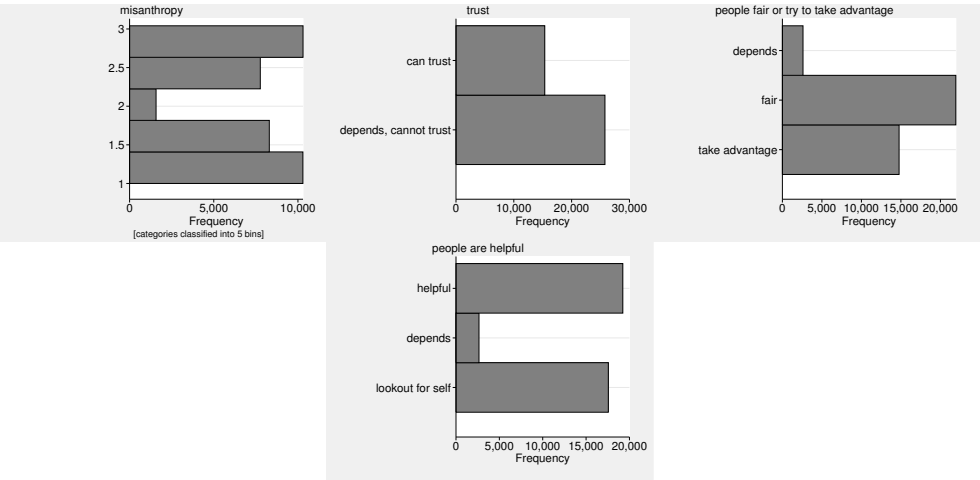


**Figure 3:** Variables' distribution.

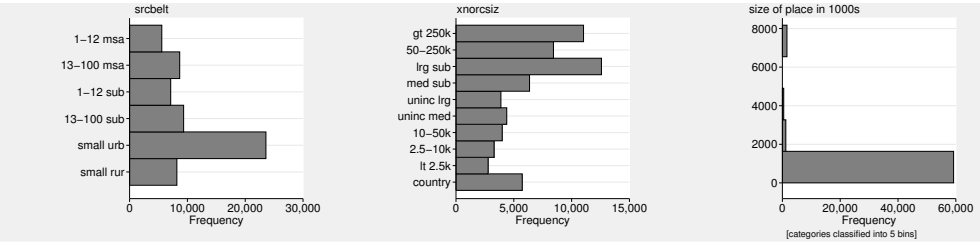


**Figure 4:** Variables' distribution.

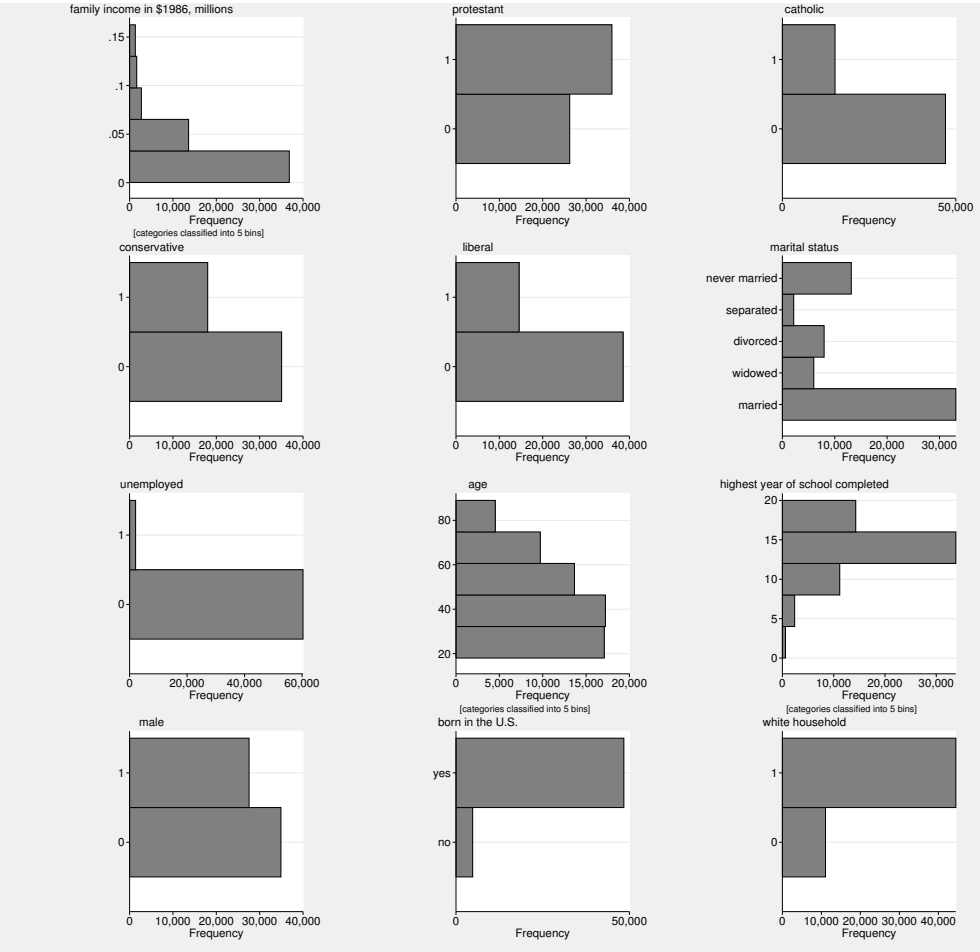


**Figure 5:** Variables' distribution.

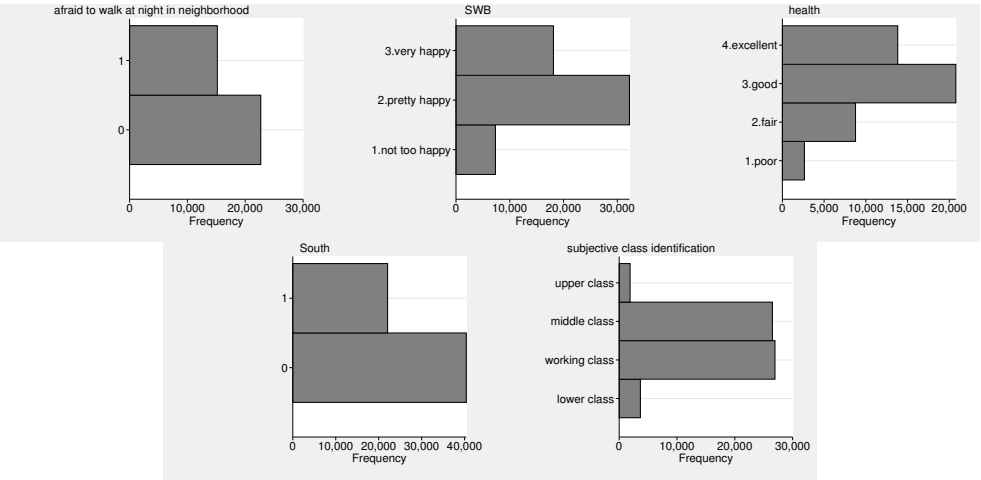


**Figure 6:** Variables' distribution.

In the manuscript, we have plotted results from the simple specification a3a from table 6, but note that more elaborate specifications with more variables and dummy for time are similar.

**Table 6:** 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 7 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 7:** OLS regressions of misanthropy. All models include year dummies. Size deciles (base: <2k). Srcbelt (base: small rur). Xnorcsiz (base: <2.5k, but not countryside).

| | 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 | | | |