Misanthropolis: Do Cities Promote Misanthropy?

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Highlights:

- Using US General Social Survey (GSS, 1972-2016) we study the effect of urbanicity on misanthropy (distrust and dislike of humankind).
- The effect size of urbanicity is about half of that of income.
- Places with a population larger than several hundred thousand people versus places with a population smaller than a few thousand (but not the countryside) are more misanthropic.
- Misanthropy remained highest in the large cities until around 2005–in large cities (>250k) it declined over 2000-2010, and in small places (<10k) it increased steeply over 1990-2010.

Abstract

We use pooled US General Social Survey (GSS, 1972-2016) to study the effect of urbanism on misanthropy (distrust and dislike of humankind). Evolution (small group living), homophily or ingroup preference, and classical urban sociological theory suggest that misanthropy should develop 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, MISANTHROPOLIS, 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

1 Introduction

As urbanization rampantly adds tens of millions of people to cities every year, it is important to understand how the urban way of life affects the human condition, particularly as it relates to social interactions. Urbanism is not only a built environemnt–urbanism is a way of life with profound social consequences. The concern is longstanding–the effect of urbanism on human condition has been studied at least since Aristotle (Jowett et al., 1920) including intelectuals such as Jefferson (White and White, 1977), and arguably most insight produced by classic urban sociology (Wirth, 1938; Tönnies, [1887] 2002; Simmel, 1903). But the topic of misanthropy is largely overlooked.

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.

The present study is largely inspired by Amin (2006) and Thrift (2005), whose sharp observation of the urban way of life suggest the existence of urban misanthropy:

> 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 (Amin, 2006, p. 1011).

> 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).

Notably 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 present research—to conduct an empirical

quantitative test of Thrift's hypothesis.

The urban misanthropy thesis 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 arguably exacerbates misanthropy among urbanites. The avoidance and distrust of 'others' may intensify due to fear of infection, particularly in the largest and densest cities.

TODO make sure this summary (and actual text in lit!!) follows rev2 first point well We conduct empirical quantitative analyses over the years 1972-2016 to test the urban misanthropy thesis. The paper is structured as follows: We start with a brief overview of benefits of cities. Next we present the underlying theory by bringing together human evolutionary history (small group living), homophily or ingroup preference, and classic urban sociological theory suggesting that misanthropy should be observed in the most dense and heterogeneous places, such as large cities. We end the literature review by pointing to gaps and pro-urban proclivity: remarkably, there is only one quantitative study on urbanicity-misanthropy conducted thirty seven years ago without any other study following up in a literature that is dominated by pro-urban scholarship. Our empirical analysis follows, and concludes with takeaway for policy and practice.

Literature

Advantages of City Life (Pro-Urbanism)

The 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 has emerged due to the many real benefits that cities provide.

Many people, are drawn to metropolitan areas 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). Cities have more amenities compared to smaller places (O'Sullivan, 2009), and there are greater returns from education in cities than smaller places, while also providing more economic opportunities (Florida et al., 2013). 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 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 the countryside. 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).

Urbanism-Misanthropy Pathways

How can cities produce misanthropy? There are several pathways or mechanisms. In theorizing about urban misanthropy we draw on evolution, homophily preferences, and classic urban sociology.

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).

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). All of these factors are likely to lead to urban misanthropy.

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)).

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 only city living, but also growing up in a city that is associated with negative consequences later in life (Lederbogen et al., 2011; Okulicz-Kozaryn and Valente, 2020).

Of the many urban problems, next to crime, crowding may be especially conducive to misanthropy. 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).

There is only a handful of writings focusing on misanthropy: Thrift (2005); Melgar et al. (2013); Keeling (2013); Smith (1997); Bloch and Ferguson (1987); Wilson (1985); Ray (1981); Rosenberg (1957, 1956). Gibson (2017) argues that his treatment of the subject is the most complete, and he makes two references indicative of urban misanthropy (p. 220): "Houellebecq matches this vision of hell with an insistent evocation of the anomic urban and metropolitan cityscapes," and on p. 153:

> Sitwell's city is the citta infernale [hell city], and the city is where one confronts essential truth; nature, by contrast, is incidental, exists as nooks and byways. In the urban 'circles of hell,' Sitwell writes, all the forms of misery congregate together. Here one learns all one needs about the 'old tyrannies and cruelties,' 'the rankness of all human nature,' 'this muddle and waste that we have made of the world.' Cities are places where 'men have created and known fear' as a consequence of 'the man-made chasms' between them.

This quote reminds of Engels' famous description of industrial city, which for the sake of brevity is postponed to the Supplemental Online Material (SOM).

The aforementioned arguments suggest that city life can make people 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 in the Literature, and Study's Contribution

The gap in the literature is two-fold. First, the current urban literature tends to be pro-urban (Peck, 2016), specifically avoiding urban misanthropy as if it were "a dirty secret" (Thrift, 2005, p. 134). Thus, we bring together here largely overlooked literature from across different fields. Second, there is only one quantitative study on the urbanicity-misanthropy relationship. Thus, we extend the empirical

analysis. Therefore, a major contribution of this study is to build on the largely overlooked literature and extend it with empirical analysis using novel data.

Academic thinking about cities has for the most part swung in a pro-urban direction for many decades. There appears to be a pro-urban proclivity not only in the US (Hanson, 2015), but in world development generally (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 brought to light here is overlooked—the current literature tends to be pro-urban and dismisses the negative side of urbanism.

As a result, there is no recent interest in the urbanicity-misanthropy relationship—only two studies examined 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 without discussing the topic. Therefore, the only quantitative study focusing on the urbanicity-misanthropy relationship is Wilson (1985)

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 pro-urban proclivity—under-emphasizing and discounting urban problems.

The lack 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 aptly observed, 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).

Method

Data

We use unique 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, civil liberties, and morality.

Misanthropy scale items and urbanicity measures 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.

Research Design and Model

Research design is 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, experimental data suffer from many critical problems that are not inherent in observational data such as lack of external validity, small sample size, and artificial laboratory setting. For a discussion see 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 urbanicity and misanthropy. 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 dataset 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, Delhey et al. (2011) have recently argued that "most people" predominantly connotes outgroups. Note that this relates to the 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 the SRCBELT 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 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 the SRCBELT variable 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 the SOM.

Controls

In the choice of 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 as well.

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 urban areas provide criminals more access to the wealthy and to a greater range of victims. Likewise, the lower probability of arrest, and the lower probability of recognition are features of urban life that make crime more likely (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 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. Reli-

gious 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 not be 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 possibly 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 their survey questions in the SOM.

Results

This section reports the empirical results of our hypothesis test: urbanicity contributes to increased levels of misanthropy.

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 variables for a given urbanicity measure without any control variables except South and year dummies (not shown). 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 to

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

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 had not hypothesized that the countryside would be misanthropic. Perhaps countrymen are not used to swarms of people or perhaps they are countrymen because they are misanthropic and distrust and dislike people. Keeling (2013) argues that the links between wilderness and misanthropy are false.

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 dummies is misanthropic suburbs, the so called "places of nowhere" (Kunstler, 2012), thus confirming the thesis of a poor social fabric in American suburbia (Duany et al., 2001; Kunstler, 2012; Kay, 1997). Overall, we find that having controlled for a standard set of misanthropy predictors, the midsize places are more misanthropic, and still the largest places are the most misanthropic in comparison to the smallest places (the base case for all estimates). Thus, the larger the place, the more misanthropy.

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

The addition of marital status in model 3 doesn't change the estimates, and the addition of extra controls in model 4 attenuates the slopes only slightly 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 collinearity and too many non-essential controls. These models rather serve as a robustness check, and are not the most final or appropriate models. Note that Wilson (1985) did not control for variables added in model 4.

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 the 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 a 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 the three models 4a, 4b, and 4c with different combinations of the two variables to test robustness

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

of the results.

In table 1 in model a4c and table 2 in model b4c, the largest places remain significantly more misanthropic than the base case. 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 best captures the urban-rural divide, and using SRCBELT in table 3, even oversaturated model c4c shows that it is the largest places (both 1-12 msa, and 1-12 sub) that are markedly more misanthropic than all other places vs. the base case, the smallest places.

The overall conclusion is that the places housing up to a few thousand people (except for the countryside) are the most liking and trusting of humankind (the least misanthropic). In other words, there is misanthropy in larger places, especially the largest places—places that have a population bigger than several hundred thousand people versus the smallest places (up to 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 at least about as large as half of the effect of income. To summarize, we find a weak to moderate support for our initial hypothesis that urbanicity is related to increased misanthropy. The results are

only weak to moderate, and not strong, because the effect sizes are small to moderate, and not large. In addition, there are caveats to the results 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—again, the advantage of the GSS is a long time span of 1972-2016. Figure 1 plots misanthropy by size of place over time.

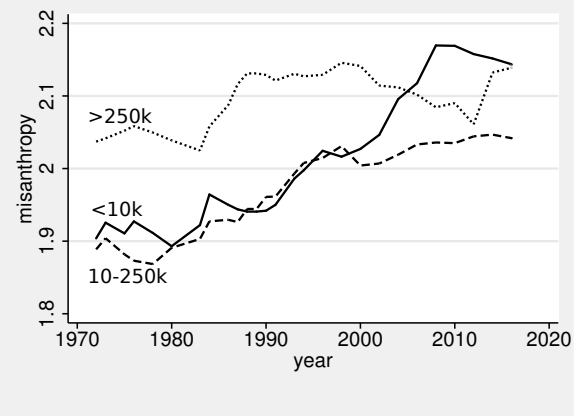

Figure 1: Misanthropy by size of population over time. Smoothed with moving average filter using 3 lagged, current, and 3 forward terms.

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 the pre-2005 period. These patterns are similar when controlling for predictors of misanthropy. Predicted values from the regression model a3a in table 6 in the SOM are plotted in figure 2.

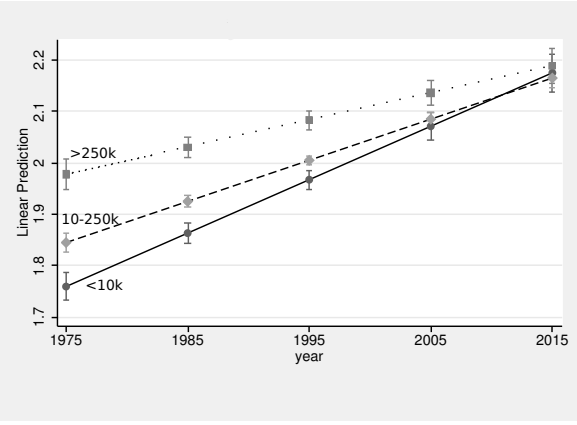

Figure 2: Misanthropy by size of population over time. Predicted values from the regression on column a3a from table 6 in the SOM. 95% CI shown.

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

In a few years as data become available, it will be instructive to find out whether the COVID19 pandemic has caused the trends to reverse. It's likely that the largest cities have become more misanthropic due to the pandemic.

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. The term *misanthropolis* has been coined by one of the authors.

In this article we have focused on a remarkably novel area, the urbanicity-misanthropy nexus. Evolution (small group living), classical urban sociological theory, and homophily or ingroup preference 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 levels are the lowest in the smallest settlements (but not in the countryside). There are caveats, however.

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

For these reasons, the evidence in support of our urban misanthropy thesis is weak to moderate. We would like to stress, however, that we do find strong evidence that, overall, cities are not less misanthropic than smaller places, and this in itself is a counter-intuitive finding worth of reporting amidst current pro-urbanism discourse (e.g., Glaeser, 2011). In addition, even the small to moderate effect size of urbanicity on misanthropy as found in this study, has 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. Hence, the small to moderate effect size found in the present study translate into large or very large effect in the aggregate.

We fill an extraordinary gap in the literature, where there exists only one study conducted thirty-seven years ago. Our study improves, extends, and updates the research by Wilson (1985). Our analysis uses much more data spanning 4 decades, a 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 and we find more robust evidence than Wilson (1985) in this regard. 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 discuss. 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 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 is self-destructive or wants to harm others—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 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 (or wilderness; but not in a village or small town), 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. Indeed, some degree of misanthropy arguably is a natural state of urban life—we concur with Thrift: "misanthropy is a natural condition of cities, one which cannot be avoided and will not go away" (Thrift, 2005).

Two apparently important missing variables are measures of discontent and inequality. However, both inequality (e.g., Daley, 2020) and arguably discontent, especially recently (e.g., Case and Deaton, 2015; Hanson, 2015; Fuller, 2017) are higher in rural areas. Therefore, potential left out variable bias makes our results conservative—our pooled results would have been stronger, had we controlled for these variables. And our over-time analysis would arguably have indicated smaller increase (if any) in rural misanthropy, had we controlled for inequality and especially discontent. 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 these 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 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 proclivity 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; Fuller, 2017).

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 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). Or as put commonsensically by Charlie Brooker: "I live in London [...] Misanthropy's the only thing that gets you through it. It's not a personality flaw, it's a skill." 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 experimental evidence documenting negative effects of urban way of life. There are serious disadvantages of urban way of life, and they should be taken into account by planners and practitioners.

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 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 the 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 largely 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 Google Scholar's citation counts of Wilson (1985)

Remarkably, Wilson (1985) is only cited by 4 studies according to Google Scholar —Smith (1997) and 3 others, and none of these studies focus on misanthropy. Thus, aside from Wilson (1985), there is simply no literature on this topic. Indeed, given a thirty seven year gap in the literature (since Wilson (1985)), the present study is pioneering ground breaking research in the current generation of urban scholarship.

1.2 Auxiliary Writings On Urbanism and Misanthropy

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). Also recall the initial quote by Nietzsche at the beginning of the paper: "Here is the great city: here have you nothing to seek and everything to lose."

Engels Description of Industrial City

"In a rather deep hole, in a curve of the Medlock and surrounded on all four sides by tall factories and high embankments, covered with buildings, stand two groups of about two hundred cottages, built chiefly back to back, in which live about four thousand human beings, most of them Irish. The cottages are old, dirty, and of the smallest sort, the streets uneven, fallen into ruts and in part without drains or pavement; masses of refuse, offal and sickening filth lie among standing pools in all directions; the atmosphere is poisoned by the effluvia from these, and laden and darkened by the smoke of a dozen tall factory chimneys. A horde of ragged women and children swarm about here, as filthy as the swine that thrive upon the garbage heaps and in the puddles. In short, the whole rookery furnishes such a hateful and repulsive spectacle as can hardly be equalled in the worst court on the Irk. The race that lives in these ruinous cottages, behind broken windows, mended with oilskin, sprung doors, and rotten doorposts, or in dark, wet cellars, in measureless filth and stench, in this atmosphere penned in as if with a purpose, this race must really have reached the lowest stage of humanity."

The quote is from `https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/condition-working-class/ch04.htm`, where there is more elaboration and description.

It is important to remember that the modern city and urbanization have started with the industrial revolution. The main rationale for urbanism has been capitalistic and economic (O'Sullivan, 2009; Glaeser, 2011).

1.3 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.

1.4 Variable Definitions. Descriptive Statistics, and Additional Results.

Below we show the 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? "

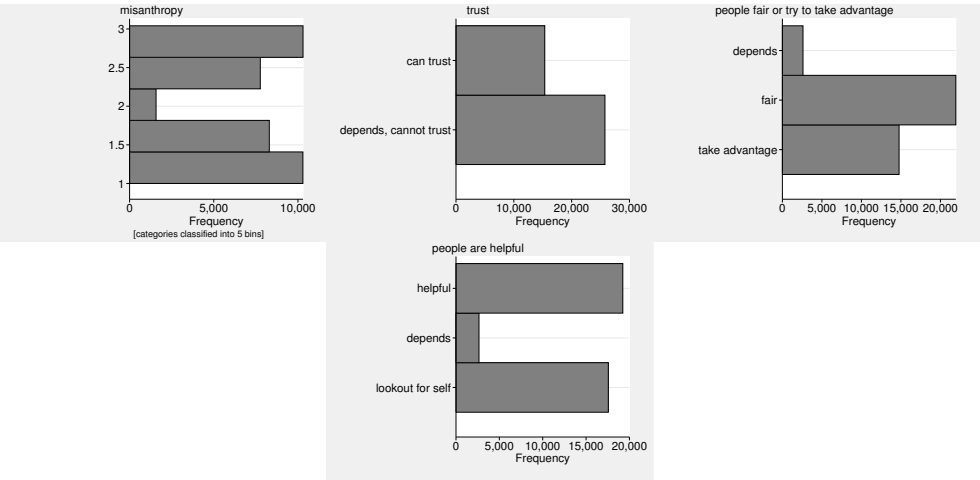

Figure 3: Variables' distribution.

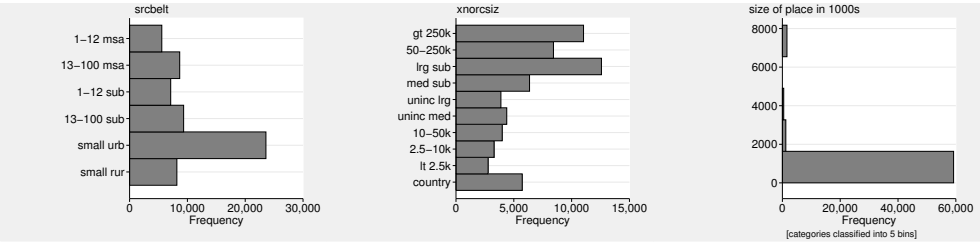

Figure 4: Variables' distribution.

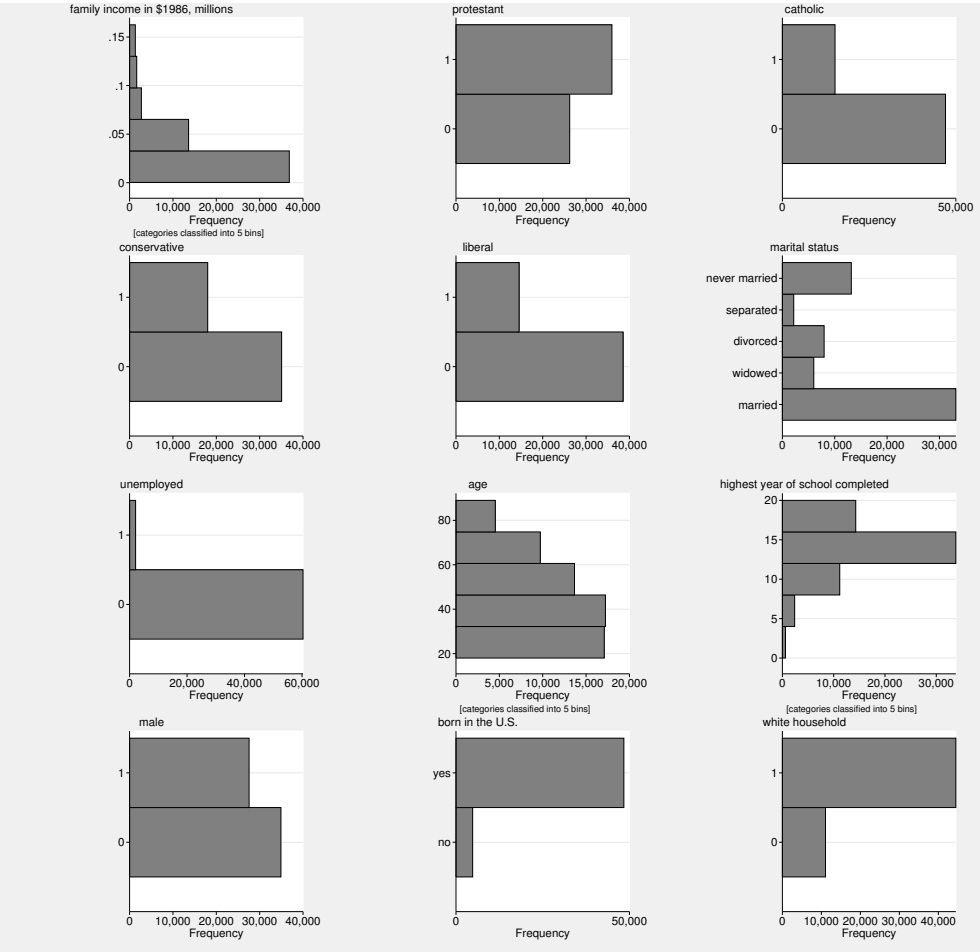

Figure 5: Variables' distribution.

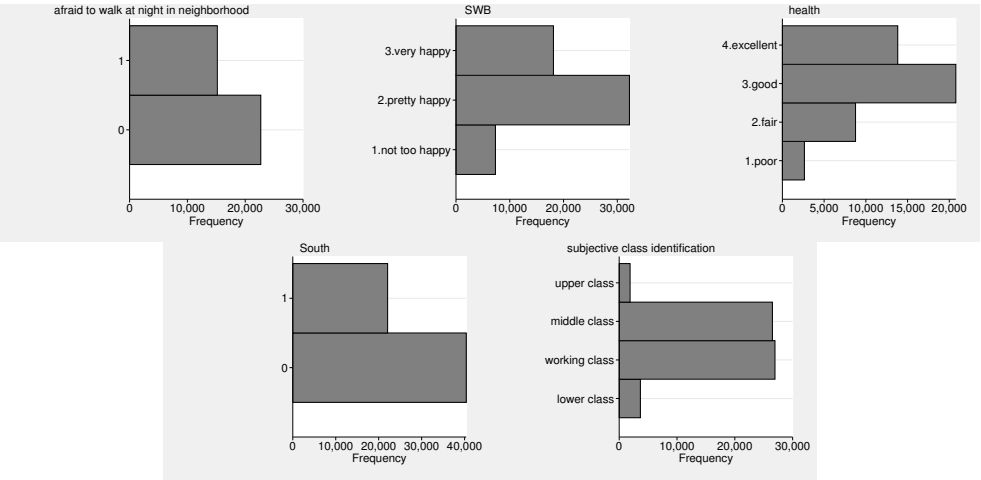

Figure 6: Variables' distribution.

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 a dummy variable 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 model 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			