

Appendix D: Cumulative General Social Survey 1972-2000

Sample

Data analysis is restricted to White respondents by means of filtering items:

No Ethnic Identity: Dichotomous measure constructed from the GSS summary variable *EthNum-774*, indicating those who could not name any country in response to the question posed in *Ethnic-773a*: “From what countries or part of the world did your ancestors come?”. Plus other secondary filters.

Endogenous Variables

Authoritarianism (*‘Authoritarian Predisposition’*): My measure of authoritarianism was constructed from respondents’ partial rank ordering of six (out of 13) child-rearing values, in response to the questions: “A. Which three qualities listed on this card would you say are the most desirable for a child to have?”; “B. Which one of these three is the most desirable of all?”; “C. All of the qualities listed on this card may be desirable, but could you tell me which three you consider least important?”; and “D. And which one of these three is least important of all?” Based on responses to the series of four questions, the GSS assigns each respondent a score for each value that locates it on the following scale: “1. One most desirable”; “2. Three most desirable”; “3. Not mentioned”; “4. Three least desirable”; “5. One least desirable”. After assigning “don’t know” and “no answer” responses to the scale mid-point (“3. Not mentioned”), my overall measure of authoritarianism summed the scores for three libertarian values (since high scores indicate that the values were deemed undesirable), subtracted the scores for three authoritarian values, and re-scored the result to be of one unit range, centered on a mean of ‘0’. The values considered authoritarian were: “that he/a child obeys his/or her parents well” (*Obey-167i/Obey-168i*); “that he/a child is neat and clean” (*Clean-167d/Clean-168d*); and “that he/a child has good manners” (*Manners-167a/Manners-168a*). The values considered libertarian were: “that he/a child is interested in how and why things happen” (*Interest-167l/Interest-168l*); “that he/a child has good sense and sound judgment” (*Judgment-167e/Judgment-168e*); and “that he/a child is responsible” (*Responsi-167j/Responsi-168j*). Note that authoritarianism was directly measured in this fashion for 6930 (27.26%) of the 25426 non-Hispanic White respondents, on eight of the surveys, specifically: (by question version 167, referring to “he”), 1973, 1975, 1976, 1978-Form 1, 1980-Form 1, and 1983, and (by question version 168, referring to “a child”), 1980-Form 2, 1984, and 1986-Form 1. The responses obtained by question version 167 (74.01% of all responses) and version 168 (25.99%) had very similar distributions and responded in like manner to the same core determinants. Thus I saw no reason not to treat these responses as if they were obtained by the same question wording. Where authoritarianism was not directly measured in this fashion (i.e. for those years and survey forms where these questions were not asked of respondents), scores on the overall authoritarianism scale were imputed using the 2SAIV procedure, with the predictive model consisting of a set of 22 fundamental exogenous variables (see below) reflecting basic socio-demographics and attributes of the family of origin.

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Political conservatism: Formed from responses to the standard question ‘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?’ (‘Extremely liberal’/ ‘Liberal’/ ‘Slightly liberal’/ ‘Moderate, middle of the road’/ ‘Slightly conservative’/ ‘Conservative’/ ‘Extremely conservative’) (*PolViews-64a*). ‘Don’t know’ and ‘no answer’ responses were assigned to the scale mid -point (‘Moderate, middle of the road’). Scale re-scored to be of one-unit range, and centered on a mean of ‘0’. Where the question was not asked of respondents (in 1972, 1973, and one survey form of 1983), scores were imputed using the 2SAIV procedure, as for the authoritarianism measure (see above).

‘Right-wing’ party identification: Formed from responses to the standard question: ‘Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?’ (*PartyId-56*). Responses were arrayed across a seven point scale (‘Strong Democrat’/ ‘Not very strong Democrat’/ ‘Independent, close to Democrat’/ ‘Independent, Neither’/ ‘Independent, close to Republican’/ ‘Not very strong Republican’/ ‘Strong Republican’), which was ultimately re-scored to range from ‘0’ to ‘1’ (identification with the ‘right -wing’ Republican Party scoring high). ‘Don’t know’ and ‘no answer’ responses were assigned to the scale mid - point (‘Independent, Neither’).

General intolerance of difference: formed from the following 12 items, imputing missing values from exogenous variables, but only where item was not asked, across four dimensions of intolerance (racial, political moral, punitive):

Racial Intolerance

Black President: ‘If your party nominated a black for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?’ (Yes / Don’t know / No) (*RacPres-135*). Scores ‘ 1’ on dummy if fails to say "yes".

Residential Segregation: ‘White people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and blacks should respect that right’ (Disagree strongly / Disagree slightly / No opinion / Agree slightly / Agree strongly) (*RacSeg-127b*). Scores ‘ 1’ on dummy if fails to "strongly disagree"

Ban Inter-Racial Marriage: Scores ‘ 1’ on dummy if fails to say "no".

Political Intolerance

Political Intolerance: Constructed from 15 items tapping, for each of five targets--atheist, communist, homosexual, racist, and militarist--whether respondents thought that such a person should be allowed to make a speech in their community (*SpkAth-75a, SpkCom-78a, SpkHomo-80a, SpkRac-77a, SpkMil-79a*) to teach in a college or university (*ColAth-75b, ColCom-78b, ColHomo-80b, ColRac-77b, ColMil-79b*), and whether they would favor removing a book that this person wrote from their public library (*LibAth-75c, LibCom-78c, LibHomo-80c, LibRac-77c, LibMil-79c*) (Yes / Don’t know / No).

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Moral Intolerance

Compulsory School Prayer: “The United States Supreme Court has ruled that no state or local government may require the reading of the Lord’s Prayer or Bible verses in public schools. What are your views on this--do you approve or disapprove of the court ruling?” (Approve / No opinion / Disapprove) (*Prayer-119a*).

Ban Pornography:

Anti-Homosexuality:

Punitiveness/Willingness to Use Force

Sentencing: formed from *CapPun*, and *Courts* (see below).

Death Penalty: “Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder” (Oppose / Don’t know / Favor) (*CapPun-82*). This item was included on every survey with the exception of the first two years--1972 and 1973--which employed an alternative item asking respondents whether they were “in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder” (No / Don’t know / Yes) (*CapPun2-81*). With such close correspondence in the wording of the two capital punishment items, and their responses being quite similarly distributed (the main difference was a greater tendency for respondents to choose ‘not in favor’ in response to *CapPun2-81*, than to choose ‘oppose’ in response to *CapPun-82*), I saw no reason not to combine responses to the two items into one dependent variable.

Courts Too Soft: “In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?” (Too harshly / About right; Don’t know / Not harshly enough) (*Courts-90*).

Gun Owner: A dichotomous measure indicating an affirmative response to the question: “Do you happen to have in your home any guns or revolvers?” (No / Yes) (*OwnGun-237*).

Approve Wire-Tapping:

Explanatory Variables

Normative Threats

Protest demonstrations: the number of anti-government protest demonstrations occurring in the month preceding the respondent’s interview. The aggregate monthly protest figures were formed from daily event data (event type 700) provided by Taylor (1985). These protest data--and other event count data subsequently employed in the time series investigation (observations on political strikes, assassinations, riots, and political violence)--were originally collected by Charles Lewis Taylor, and published in Taylor (1985), a data file made available by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR 7761). Taylor relied mainly upon the *Associated Press* until 1967, and the *New York Times* thereafter--with occasional reference to *Keesing’s*--as the sources for his daily event data. Neither the collector of

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the original data nor the consortium bear any responsibility for the analyses or interpretations presented here. According to Taylor's classification scheme, a protest demonstration is a 'non-violent gathering of people organized for the announced purpose of protesting a regime, a government, or one of its leaders; its ideology, policy, or intended policy; or its previous action or intended action'. While the protest could be directed at any level and branch of U.S. government, the issues involved had to be 'perceived as significant at the national level'. Normal election meetings and rallies were excluded. While Taylor's data ends with the year 19xx, a research assistant I trained for the task continued the monthly count of protest activity from 19xx to 19xx, using the same criteria originally utilized and published by Taylor. This new series extending Taylor's series purposely included monthly scores throughout 19xx that overlapped with (but were formed independently, in ignorance of) Taylor's protest scores for those same months, thereby allowing the estimation of a simple bivariate regression model relating the two series. This allowed me to calibrate the two series--to adjust the scores from the new series appropriately (such that Taylor's and my assistant's counts of protest activity would be directly comparable)--and 'splice' the two series together to run, then, from 19xx to 19xx. Monthly protest scores for the remaining years of 19xx and 19xx were then imputed using a predictive model consisting of all of the remaining aggregate level threats described in this appendix.

Lack of confidence in government institutions: An overall index that sums responses to four (of twelve) items naming "some institutions in this country", where respondents are asked: "As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?" ('don't know' responses grouped together with 'only some') for each of the following: the executive branch of the federal government (*ConFed-165e*), the U.S. Supreme Court (*ConJudge-165j*), Congress (*ConLegis-165l*), and the military (*ConArmy-165m*).

Δ presidential approval (anti-threat): Change in presidential approval in the month preceding the respondent's interview. The monthly approval scores were constructed from *The Gallup Poll Monthly* reports, by averaging the percentages indicating that they approved of the President's performance across all readings taken that month, in response to the question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way President X is handling his job as president?". Where a poll reading straddled two months, it was assigned to that month to which it bore greater resemblance. Where no approval data had been collected by Gallup for a particular month, or months, the missing monthly figures (for 72:04, 86:02, and 88:02) were imputed based on the readings taken either side, and assuming linear growth (or decay) in approval. In the rare case of a missing January figure for a new president (Carter in 77:01), the approval figure was assumed to be the same as the reading taken in the following month of February.

Social Threats

Residential integration: Index constructed from responses to four items: "Are there any blacks living in this neighborhood now?" (No / Don't know / Yes) (*RacLive-129*); "Are there any black families living close to you?" (Not applicable, since no, or don't know if there are any, blacks living in this neighborhood now / No / Don't know / Yes) (*RacClos-129a*); "How many blocks (or miles) away do they (the black families who live closest to you) live?" (Not applicable, as above / Don't know / Over 8 blocks away; over 1 mile / 4-8 blocks away; 1/4 to 1 mile / 1-3

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blocks away; under 1/4 mile / On this block; a few doors or houses away) (*RacDis-129b*); and “Do you think this neighborhood will become all black in the next few years, or will it remain integrated?” (Not applicable, as above / Remain integrated; Mixed, but not black and white / Don’t know / All black) (*RacInteg-129c*).

Δ *murder rate*: Change in the rate of murder per million population, (incidents provided by the F.B.I.’s *Uniform Crime Reports*, with monthly population estimates from Citibase), in the month preceding the respondent’s interview.

Economic Threats

Δ *leading indicators (anti-threat)*: Change in leading economic indicators (1982=100) in the month preceding the respondent’s interview (Citibase). Published monthly by the Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, this ‘cyclical indicator’ is a composite index of 11 items thought to presage economic growth, namely: housing starts, consumer expectations, change in inventories, change in sensitive materials prices, money supply, manufacturing production hours worked, unemployment insurance claims, consumer goods orders, vendor delivery performance, business investment in plant and equipment, and common stock prices.

Δ *unemployment rate*: Change in the unemployment rate of the (16 years plus) civilian non-institutional labor force, seasonally adjusted, in the month preceding the respondent’s interview (Citibase).

Δ *inflation rate*: Change in the inflation rate (based on monthly Consumer Price Index, all items, urban consumers, 1982-84=100, not seasonally adjusted) in the month preceding the respondent’s interview (Citibase). The monthly inflation rate was calculated using the standard formula: $100 * (CPI_t - CPI_{t-1}) / CPI_{t-1}$.

Personal Threats

Illness: hospitalized or disabled (*HosDis5-272*).

Depression:

Deaths in immediate family: A simple count of the number of recent deaths of immediate family members. Formed from three items where respondents indicate whether, in the year preceding their interview, they experienced the deaths of: child or child’s spouse (*ChldDth-275c*), sibling or sibling-in-law (*SibDeath-275d*), and spouse (*SpDeath-275e*).

Crime victimization: Constructed from three items: “Is there any area right around here --that is, within a mile--where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?” (No / Don’t know / Yes) (*Fear-233*); “During the last year --that is, between last March and now--did anyone break into or somehow illegally get into your (apartment/home)?” (No; Don’t know / Yes) (*Burglr-235*); and “During the last year, did anyone take something directly from you by using force--such as a stickup, mugging, or threat?” (No / Yes) (*Robbry-236*).

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Financial insecurity: Constructed from responses to two questions: ‘During the last few years, has your financial situation been getting better, worse, or has it stayed the same?’ (‘don’t know’ responses grouped together with ‘stayed the same’) (*FinAlter-187b*); and ‘Compared with American families in general, would you say your family income is far below average, below average, average, above average, or far above average?’ (‘don’t know’ responses grouped together with ‘average’) (*FinRela-188*).

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Table D.1: Univariate Statistics

Endogenous Variables		
<i>Scale Variables</i>	<i>mean(sd)</i>	<i>range</i>
Authoritarianism (<i>direct measure</i>)	.00(.17)	-.44 -- .56
Political conservatism (<i>direct measure</i>)	.00(.22)	-.53 -- .47
'Right-wing' party identification (<i>direct, Republican high</i>)	.49(.33)	0 – 1
Racial intolerance	.38(.23)	0 -- 1
Political intolerance	.45(.24)	0 -- 1
Moral intolerance	.60(.22)	0 -- 1
Punitiveness	.48(.18)	0 -- 1
General intolerance of difference	.47(.17)	0 – 1
Explanatory Variables		
<i>Scale Variables</i>	<i>mean(sd)</i>	<i>range</i>
Authoritarianism (<i>instrument</i>)	.00(.15)	-.51 -- .49
Authoritarianism (<i>direct, with missing values imputed</i>)	.00(.16)	-.49 -- .51
Political conservatism (<i>instrument</i>)	.00(.12)	-.62 -- .38
Political conservatism (<i>direct, w. missing values imputed</i>)	.00(.21)	-.54 -- .46
Age (<i>years</i>)	46.58(17.72)	18 – 89
Verbal ability (<i>word recognition test</i>)	.67(.15)	0 – 1
Father's years education	10.31(3.89)	0 – 20
Mother's years education	10.54(3.40)	0 – 20
Father's occupational prestige	.43(.15)	0 – 1
Family's fundamentalism @ 16	.52(.35)	0 – 1
Years of education	12.94(2.98)	0 – 20
Household head's occupational prestige	.44(.18)	.04 – 1
Family income (<i>1000s, constant \$</i>)	33.221(24.380)	.363 – 162.607
# babies in residence	.22(.55)	0 – 4
# pre-teens in residence	.28(.65)	0 – 6
# teens in residence	.22(.56)	0 – 6
Variance in public opinion	.00(.10)	-.31 -- .69
# protest demonstrations	.00(2.70)	-5.77 – 6.23
Lack of confidence in govt institutions	.00(.19)	-.48 -- .52
Δ presidential approval	.00(4.82)	-13.52 – 14.48
Neighborhood racial integration	.00(.25)	-.21 -- .79
Δ murder rate	.00(.57)	-1.44 – 1.57
Δ leading indicators	.00(.54)	-2.94 – 1.66
Δ unemployment rate	.00(.16)	-.38 -- .92
Δ inflation rate	.00(.31)	-.75 -- .77
Illness	.00(.19)	-.25 -- .75
Depression	.00(.14)	-.24 -- .76
# recent family deaths	.00(.17)	-.07 – 2.93
# recent experiences w. crime	.00(.47)	-.48 – 2.52
Family financial insecurity	.00(.24)	-.45 -- .55
<i>Categorical Variables</i>	<i>% in category</i>	
Male	45.06%	
Ethnic origin	<i>U.K./Ireland; Western Europe</i> 47.74%, 42.89%	
Region @ 16	<i>Mid-Atlantic, E.N.Central,</i> 19.15%, 23.60%, <i>Pacific, Mountain, W.N.Central,</i> 9.23%, 4.53%, 10.94%, <i>New England, South, Foreign</i> 6.50%, 22.74%, 3.30%	
Region	<i>Mid-Atlantic, E.N.Central,</i> 16.59%, 21.32%, <i>Pacific, Mountain, W.N.Central,</i> 13.14%, 6.30%, 9.18%, <i>New England, South</i> 6.40%, 27.07%	
Urban/rural@16	<i>city, town,</i> 28.19%, 32.88%, <i>suburb, country, farm</i> 11.45%, 10.35%, 17.14%	
Urban/rural	<i>city, town,</i> 18.53%, 40.10%, <i>suburb, rural</i> 27.78%, 13.59%	
Denom @ 16	<i>Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian,</i> 18.31%, 12.55%, 5.57%, <i>Lutheran, Episcopal, other Prot,</i> 9.93%, 2.63%, 10.99%, <i>Catholic, non-denominational,</i> 30.61%, 2.17%, <i>atheist, other religion, Jewish</i> 3.63%, 0.92%, 2.70%	

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Education level	<i>no diploma, high school diploma, assoc degree, bach deg, grad deg</i>	19.53%, 53.83%, 4.70%, 15.09%, 6.84%
Work status	<i>full-time employed, part-time, other work, absence, unemployed, homemaker, retired, student</i>	49.39% , 10.40% , 1.27%, 2.15% , 2.37% , 17.69%, 14.09% , 2.63%
White-collar occ		39.13%
Marital status	<i>never married, ever divorced/now estranged</i>	17.15%, 23.77%
Lives alone		21.88%
Presid. election	<i>(preceding R's interview)</i>	19.70%
Partisan turnover	<i>(preceding R's interview)</i>	7.64%

Source: GSS72-00, Whites only, N=25426.

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Table D.2: Determinants of Authoritarianism

<i>Explanatory Variables</i>	1 st stage estimates	2 nd stage, basic model	2 nd stage, adding threats
Political conservatism (<i>instrument</i>) _a		.1174(.0366)**	.1173(.0368)**
<i>Exogenous Variables</i>			
Male	.0157(.0046)**	.0111(.0044)**	.0116(.0048)**
Age (<i>years</i>)	.0017(.0002)**	.0011(.0002)**	.0011(.0002)**
Verbal ability (<i>word recognition test</i>)	-.1571(.0185)**	-.1459(.0187)**	-.1445(.0188)**
Ethnic origin: U.K./Ireland	-.0159(.0048)**	-.0159(.0047)**	-.0138(.0048)**
Ethnic origin: Western Europe	-.0076(.0046)	-.0092(.0046)**	-.0072(.0047)
Father's years education	.0005(.0007)	--	--
Mother's years education	-.0009(.0008)	-.0012(.0008)*	-.0011(.0008)*
Father's occupational prestige	-.0310(.0149)**	-.0292(.0137)**	-.0295(.0136)**
Raised Mid-Atlantic v. South	.0072(.0097)	--	--
Raised E.N.Central v. South	-.0146(.0090)**	-.0197(.0046)**	-.0192(.0046)**
Raised Pacific v. South	.0032(.0115)	--	--
Raised Mountain v. South	.0090(.0133)	--	--
Raised W.N.Central v. South	-.0170(.0110)*	--	--
Raised New England v. South	-.0139(.0132)	-.0193(.0080)**	-.0196(.0080)**
Raised Foreign v. South	-.0033(.0125)	--	--
Resides Mid-Atlantic v. South	-.0089(.0093)	--	--
Resides E.N.Central v. South	-.0116(.0088)*	--	--
Resides Pacific v. South	-.0382(.0096)**	-.0282(.0061)**	-.0262(.0061)**
Resides Mountain v. South	-.0389(.0115)**	-.0304(.0082)**	-.0306(.0083)**
Resides W.N.Central v. South	.0033(.0115)	--	--
Resides New England v. South	-.0145(.0131)	--	--
Raised country v. farm	-.0030(.0076)	--	--
Raised suburb v. farm	-.0367(.0081)**	-.0286(.0069)**	-.0275(.0069)**
Raised town v. farm	-.0039(.0059)	--	--
Raised city v. farm	-.0186(.0064)**	-.0127(.0048)**	-.0123(.0048)**
Resides suburb v. rural	-.0155(.0066)**	-.0146(.0064)**	-.0145(.0066)**
Resides town v. rural	-.0187(.0060)**	-.0174(.0058)**	-.0180(.0059)**
Resides city v. rural	-.0152(.0072)**	-.0088(.0072)	-.0077(.0075)
Raised Baptist v. Jewish	.0063(.0181)	--	--
Raised Methodist v. Jewish	.0329(.0145)**	.0166(.0061)**	.0156(.0061)**
Raised Presbyterian v. Jewish	.0230(.0149)	--	--
Raised Lutheran v. Jewish	.0249(.0149)	.0121(.0065)*	.0124(.0065)*
Raised Episcopalian v. Jewish	.0527(.0169)**	.0336(.0124)**	.0337(.0125)**
Raised other Protestant v. Jewish	.0166(.0158)	--	--
Raised Catholic v. Jewish	.0272(.0139)**	.0160(.0049)**	.0166(.0049)**
Raised non-denom v. Jewish	.0038(.0190)	--	--
Raised atheist v. Jewish	.0267(.0164)	--	--
Raised other religion v. Jewish	.0162(.0221)	--	--
Family's fundamentalism @ 16	.0361(.0119)**	.0152(.0080)**	.0140(.0081)**
Years of education	-.0027(.0015)**	-.0025(.0015)**	-.0025(.0015)**
High-school diploma v. no diploma	-.0089(.0072)	-.0139(.0074)**	-.0131(.0074)**
Associate degree v. no diploma	-.0370(.0142)**	-.0422(.0143)**	-.0414(.0143)**
Bachelor's degree v. no diploma	-.0299(.0126)**	-.0341(.0126)**	-.0330(.0127)**
Graduate degree v. no diploma	-.0349(.0165)**	-.0252(.0166)*	-.0204(.0166)
Full-time employed v. student	.0214(.0112)**	--	--
Part-time employed v. student	.0182(.0123)*	--	--
Other work v. student	.0415(.0203)**	--	--
Temp. away from work v. student	.0216(.0165)*	--	--
Unemployed v. student	-.0009(.0156)	--	--
Homemaker v. student	.0188(.0122)*	--	--
Retired v. student	.0302(.0134)**	.0133(.0073)**	.0130(.0072)**
White-collar occupation	-.0158(.0051)**	-.0154(.0050)**	-.0156(.0050)**
Household head's occupational prestige	-.0243(.0137)**	-.0349(.0143)**	-.0344(.0142)**
Family income (<i>1000s, constant \$</i>)	-.0003(.0001)**	-.0004(.0001)**	-.0005(.0001)**
Never married	.0216(.0068)**	.0264(.0067)**	.0268(.0067)**
Ever divorced/now estranged	-.0063(.0051)	--	--
Lives alone	-.0148(.0059)**	-.0133(.0058)**	-.0143(.0058)**

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# babies in residence	.0059(.0037)	--	--
# pre-teens in residence	.0019(.0030)	--	--
# teens in residence	-.0084(.0032)**	-.0110(.0032)**	-.0113(.0032)**
<i>Experience of Threat</i>			
Variance in public opinion			-.1030(.0244)**
Presidential election preceding interview			-.0222(.0110)**
Partisan turnover election preceding interview			<i>n.a.</i>
# protest demonstrations			-.0024(.0010)**
Lack confidence govt institutions			-.0230(.0089)**
Δ presidential approval (<i>anti-threat</i>)			-.0006(.0008)
Neighborhood racial integration			.0029(.0093)
Δ murder rate			-.0020(.0039)
Δ leading indicators (<i>anti-threat</i>)			.0043(.0048)
Δ unemployment rate			.0080(.0147)
Δ inflation rate			.0138(.0102)
Illness			.0096(.0107)
Depression			.0058(.0133)
# recent family deaths			.0063(.0112)
# recent experiences w. crime			.0017(.0054)
Family financial insecurity			-.0115(.0087)
<i>Political Conservatism_a*Experience of Threat</i>			
Conserv*variance in public opinion			--
Conserv*presidential election preceding			--
Conserv*partisan turnover election preceding			<i>n.a.</i>
Conserv*# protest demonstrations			--
Conserv*lack confidence govt institutions			.1543(.0724)**
Conserv*Δ presidential approval (<i>anti-threat</i>)			--
Conserv*neighborhood racial integration			--
Conserv*Δ murder rate			--
Conserv*Δ leading indicators (<i>anti-threat</i>)			--
Conserv*Δ unemployment rate			--
Conserv*Δ inflation rate			--
Conserv*illness			--
Conserv*depression			-.2972(.1062)**
Conserv*# recent family deaths			--
Conserv*# recent experiences w. crime			--
Conserv*family financial insecurity			--
constant	.0974(.0261)**	.1645(.0214)**	.1593(.0222)**
<i>R</i> ²	.17	.17	.17

Note: Cell entries are unstandardized 2SLS regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). ** p < .05, * p < .10 (one-tailed tests applied as appropriate). *excl.* indicates variable excluded for identification; -- indicates variable dropped for lack of effect; *n.a.* indicates not applicable. See Table D.1 for univariate statistics.

^a See Table D.3, '1st stage estimates', for the variables and estimates used to construct the instrument for political conservatism.

Source: GSS72-00, Whites only, N=6930.

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Table D.3: Determinants of Political Conservatism

<i>Explanatory Variables</i>	1 st stage estimates	2 nd stage, basic model	2 nd stage, adding threats
Authoritarianism (<i>instrument</i>) _a		.1063(.0274)**	.0840(.0277)**
<i>Exogenous Variables</i>			
Male	.0269(.0032)**	.0234(.0034)**	.0278(.0035)**
Age (<i>years</i>)	.0019(.0001)**	.0016(.0001)**	.0016(.0001)**
Verbal ability (<i>word recognition test</i>)	-.0418(.0125)**	--	--
Ethnic origin: U.K./Ireland	-.0011(.0032)	--	--
Ethnic origin: Western Europe	.0061(.0030)**	.0072(.0029)**	.0059(.0029)**
Father's years education	.0005(.0006)	--	--
Mother's years education	.0013(.0006)**	.0018(.0006)**	.0014(.0006)**
Father's occupational prestige	-.0046(.0112)	--	--
Raised Mid-Atlantic v. South	-.0172(.0069)**	-.0199(.0063)**	-.0188(.0063)**
Raised E.N.Central v. South	-.0114(.0065)**	-.0098(.0058)**	-.0088(.0058)**
Raised Pacific v. South	.0006(.0084)	--	--
Raised Mountain v. South	.0086(.0097)	--	--
Raised W.N.Central v. South	-.0203(.0081)**	-.0199(.0050)**	-.0185(.0050)**
Raised New England v. South	-.0170(.0100)**	-.0150(.0097)**	-.0147(.0096)**
Raised Foreign v. South	-.0188(.0096)**	-.0186(.0090)**	-.0175(.0089)**
Resides Mid-Atlantic v. South	-.0162(.0068)**	-.0128(.0064)**	-.0138(.0063)**
Resides E.N.Central v. South	-.0115(.0063)**	-.0076(.0057)**	-.0066(.0057)**
Resides Pacific v. South	-.0313(.0073)**	-.0215(.0051)**	-.0204(.0051)**
Resides Mountain v. South	-.0151(.0084)**	--	--
Resides W.N.Central v. South	-.0026(.0082)	--	--
Resides New England v. South	-.0195(.0098)**	-.0147(.0095)**	-.0155(.0095)**
Raised country v. farm	-.0133(.0055)**	-.0123(.0055)**	-.0146(.0055)**
Raised suburb v. farm	-.0245(.0060)**	-.0149(.0064)**	-.0161(.0064)**
Raised town v. farm	-.0098(.0043)**	-.0082(.0043)**	-.0113(.0043)**
Raised city v. farm	-.0172(.0047)**	-.0120(.0049)**	-.0149(.0049)**
Resides suburb v. rural	.0037(.0048)	--	--
Resides town v. rural	.0019(.0043)	--	--
Resides city v. rural	-.0176(.0054)**	-.0202(.0039)**	-.0195(.0040)**
Raised Baptist v. Jewish	.0891(.0124)**	.0896(.0122)**	.0855(.0121)**
Raised Methodist v. Jewish	.0970(.0103)**	.0913(.0102)**	.0887(.0101)**
Raised Presbyterian v. Jewish	.1044(.0111)**	.1010(.0109)**	.0995(.0109)**
Raised Lutheran v. Jewish	.0826(.0110)**	.0780(.0111)**	.0763(.0110)**
Raised Episcopalian v. Jewish	.0940(.0127)**	.0842(.0127)**	.0813(.0126)**
Raised other Protestant v. Jewish	.1090(.0114)**	.1069(.0113)**	.1031(.0112)**
Raised Catholic v. Jewish	.0851(.0101)**	.0803(.0101)**	.0769(.0100)**
Raised non-denom v. Jewish	.0969(.0137)**	.0975(.0136)**	.0933(.0135)**
Raised atheist v. Jewish	.0892(.0118)**	.0844(.0117)**	.0822(.0116)**
Raised other religion v. Jewish	.1093(.0175)**	.1066(.0174)**	.0971(.0173)**
Family's fundamentalism @ 16	.0416(.0073)**	.0336(.0076)**	.0347(.0075)**
Years of education	-.0008(.0012)	--	--
High-school diploma v. no diploma	.0223(.0053)**	.0234(.0045)**	.0171(.0046)**
Associate degree v. no diploma	.0248(.0092)**	.0318(.0085)**	.0263(.0085)**
Bachelor's degree v. no diploma	.0228(.0094)**	.0277(.0076)**	.0231(.0076)**
Graduate degree v. no diploma	-.0306(.0122)**	-.0255(.0096)**	-.0279(.0096)**
Full-time employed v. student	.0170(.0096)**	.0144(.0041)**	.0118(.0042)**
Part-time employed v. student	.0143(.0103)**	.0124(.0056)**	.0096(.0056)**
Other work v. student	-.0048(.0163)	--	--
Temp. away from work v. student	.0061(.0130)	--	--
Unemployed v. student	-.0089(.0135)	--	--
Homemaker v. student	.0303(.0103)**	.0280(.0048)**	.0268(.0048)**
Retired v. student	.0059(.0110)	--	--
White-collar occupation	.0009(.0036)	.0045(.0037)	.0040(.0037)
Household head's occupational prestige	.0468(.0102)**	.0519(.0103)**	.0512(.0103)**
Family income (<i>1000s, constant \$</i>)	.0005(.0001)**	.0005(.0001)**	.0005(.0001)**
Never married	-.0325(.0050)**	-.0364(.0048)**	-.0388(.0048)**
Ever divorced/now estranged	-.0253(.0035)**	-.0237(.0035)**	-.0245(.0035)**
Lives alone	-.0028(.0040)	<i>excl.</i>	<i>excl.</i>

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# babies in residence	.0102(.0029)**	.0090(.0029)**	.0087(.0029)**
# pre-teens in residence	.0076(.0023)**	.0071(.0023)**	.0075(.0023)**
# teens in residence	.0079(.0026)**	.0096(.0026)**	.0104(.0027)**
<i>Experience of Threat</i>			
Variance in public opinion			-.0257(.0178)
Presidential election preceding interview			-.0058(.0050)
Partisan turnover election preceding interview			.0018(.0066)
# protest demonstrations			.0035(.0006)**
Lack confidence govt institutions			-.0334(.0074)**
Δ presidential approval (<i>anti-threat</i>)			-.0008(.0003)**
Neighborhood racial integration			-.0102(.0059)*
Δ murder rate			-.0037(.0024)
Δ leading indicators (<i>anti-threat</i>)			.0016(.0028)
Δ unemployment rate			-.0115(.0088)
Δ inflation rate			-.0005(.0050)
Illness			-.0031(.0084)
Depression			.0229(.0114)**
# recent family deaths			-.0163(.0085)*
# recent experiences w. crime			.0132(.0033)**
Family financial insecurity			-.0218(.0065)**
<i>Authoritarianism_a*Experience of Threat</i>			
Authorit*variance in public opinion			.7882(.1243)**
Authorit*presidential election preceding			-.0728(.0339)**
Authorit*partisan turnover election preceding			.0824(.0452)**
Authorit*# protest demonstrations			-.0111(.0037)**
Authorit*lack confidence govt institutions			.3128(.0516)**
Authorit*Δ presidential approval (<i>anti-threat</i>)			--
Authorit*neighborhood racial integration			.1959(.0396)**
Authorit*Δ murder rate			--
Authorit*Δ leading indicators (<i>anti-threat</i>)			-.0411(.0180)**
Authorit*Δ unemployment rate			--
Authorit*Δ inflation rate			-.1161(.0342)**
Authorit*illness			-.1512(.0513)**
Authorit*depression			-.1954(.0739)**
Authorit*# recent family deaths			--
Authorit*# recent experiences w. crime			--
Authorit*family financial insecurity			--
constant	-.2183(.0205)**	-.2451(.0154)**	-.2248(.0156)**
R ²	.07	.07	.08

Note: Cell entries are unstandardized 2SLS regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). ** p < .05, * p < .10 (one-tailed tests applied as appropriate). *excl.* indicates variable excluded for identification; -- indicates variable dropped for lack of effect. See Table D.1 for univariate statistics.

^a See Table D.2, '1st stage estimates', for the variables and estimates used to construct the instrument for authoritarianism.

Source: GSS72-00, Whites only, N=22974.

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Table D.4: The Interaction of Authoritarianism and Political Conservatism on 'Right-Wing' Party Identification

<i>Explanatory Variables</i>	'Right-Wing' Party Identification
Authoritarianism (<i>instrument</i>) _a	-.3532(.0152)**
Political Conservatism (<i>instrument</i>) _b	.5048(.0189)**
Authoritarianism _a *Conservatism _b	-.9529(.1088)**
constant	.4942(.0021)**
R^2 (<i>with conservatism only</i>)	.02
R^2 (<i>adding authoritarianism</i>)	.04

Note: Cell entries are unstandardized multiple regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$ (one-tailed tests applied as appropriate). See Table D.1 for univariate statistics.

_a See Table D.2, '1st stage estimates', for the variables and estimates used to construct the instrument for authoritarianism.

_b See Table D.3, '1st stage estimates', for the variables and estimates used to construct the instrument for political conservatism.

Source: GSS72-00, Whites only; N=25426.

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Table D.5: Effects of Authoritarianism on General Intolerance of Difference Given Varying Experience of Normative Threat

<i>Explanatory Variables</i>	<i>b(se)</i>
authoritarianism	.6026(.0056)**
variance in public opinion	-.0500(.0094)**
authoritarianism*variance in public opinion	.9166(.0575)**
constant	.4722(.0009)**
R^2	.32

Note: Cell entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses), ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$ (one-tailed tests applied as appropriate). See Table D.1 for univariate statistics.

Source: *GSS72-00*, Whites only; $N=25426$.

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Table D.6: The Conjunction of Authoritarianism and Political Conservatism

		AUTHORITARIANISM			
		Libertarian	Neutral	Authoritarian	
POLITICAL CONSERVATISM	Conservative	<i>N</i> =1011 = 54.7% of Conservatives = 33.0% of Libertarians = 18.5% of population	<i>N</i> =266 = 14.4% of Conservatives = 35.5% of Neutrals = 4.9% of population	<i>N</i> =572 = 30.9% of Conservatives = 34.4% of Authoritarians = 10.4% of population	<i>N</i> =1849 = 33.8% of population
	Moderate	<i>N</i> =1162 = 51.1% of Moderates = 37.9% of Libertarians = 21.2% of population	<i>N</i> =323 = 14.2% of Moderates = 43.1% of Neutrals = 5.9% of population	<i>N</i> =790 = 34.7% of Moderates = 47.5% of Authoritarians = 14.4% of population	<i>N</i> =2275 = 41.6% of population
	Liberal	<i>N</i> =890 = 65.9% of Liberals = 29.1% of Libertarians = 16.3% of population	<i>N</i> =160 = 11.9% of Liberals = 21.4% of Neutrals = 2.9% of population	<i>N</i> =300 = 22.2% of Liberals = 18.1% of Authoritarians = 5.5% of population	<i>N</i> =1350 = 24.7% of population
		<i>N</i> =3063 = 56.0% of population	<i>N</i> =749 = 13.7% of population	<i>N</i> =1662 = 30.4% of population	<i>N</i> =5474 = 100% of population

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 82.5424$
 $p = .000$

Source: *GSS72-00*, Whites only; *N*=5474 (being respondents asked both the political conservatism and authoritarianism items, in 1975, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1983, 1984 and 1986).

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Table D.7: The Conjunction of Authoritarianism and ‘Right-Wing’ Party Identification

		AUTHORITARIANISM			
		Libertarian <i>N=1476</i>	Neutral <i>N=349</i>	Authoritarian <i>N=759</i>	
PARTY IDENTIFICATION	Republican <i>(Right-Wing)</i>	= 57.1% of Republicans = 38.1% of Libertarians = 21.3% of population	= 13.5% of Republicans = 37.4% of Neutrals = 5.0% of population	= 29.4% of Republicans = 35.7% of Authoritarians = 11.0% of population	<i>N=2584</i> = 37.3% of population
	Independent	<i>N=521</i> = 55.7% of Independents = 13.5% of Libertarians = 7.5% of population	<i>N=137</i> = 14.6% of Independents = 14.7% of Neutrals = 2.0% of population	<i>N=278</i> = 29.7% of Independents = 13.1% of Authoritarians = 4.0% of population	<i>N=936</i> = 13.5% of population
	Democrat <i>(Left-Wing)</i>	<i>N=1874</i> = 55.0% of Democrats = 48.4% of Libertarians = 27.0% of population	<i>N=448</i> = 13.1% of Democrats = 48.0% of Neutrals = 6.5% of population	<i>N=1088</i> = 31.9% of Democrats = 51.2% of Authoritarians = 15.7% of population	<i>N=3410</i> = 49.2% of population
		<i>N=3871</i> = 55.9% of population	<i>N=934</i> = 13.5% of population	<i>N=2125</i> = 30.7% of population	<i>N=6930</i> = 100% of population

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 5.8709$
p = .209

Source: GSS72-00, Whites only; N=6930 (being respondents asked both the party identification and authoritarianism items, in 1973, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1983, 1984 and 1986).

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Table D.8: Simple Models of Authoritarianism, ‘Political Conservatism’ and ‘Right-Wing’ Party Identification

<i>Independent Variables</i>	All U.S., basic model	All U.S., adding South as IV	Max. effect of each IV _a	Added variance explained by each IV _b	Basic model, estimated for South only	Basic model, estimated for non-South only
Table D.8.1: Determinants of Authoritarianism						
yrs of education	-.0086(.0009)**	-.0087(.0009)**	-.1731	.1022	-.0064(.0019)**	-.0094(.0010)**
verbal ability	-.2299(.0171)**	-.2249(.0172)**	-.2249	.0124	-.2539(.0384)**	-.2170(.0193)**
age	.0016(.0001)**	.0016(.0001)**	.1106	.0215	.0016(.0002)**	.0015(.0001)**
raised in South	.0144(.0047)**	.0144(.0047)**	.0144	.0012		
constant	.1860(.0118)**	.1809(.0119)**			.1827(.0238)**	.1858(.0135)**
R ²	.1361	.1373		.1373	.1385	.1338
	N=6930	N=6930			N=1542	N=5388
Table D.8.2: Determinants of ‘Political Conservatism’						
age	.0017(.0001)**	.0017(.0001)**	.1213	.0165	.0019(.0002)**	.0017(.0001)**
raised Jewish	-.1396(.0090)**	-.1361(.0090)**	-.1361	.0098	-.1230(.0233)**	-.1371(.0097)**
family income	.0006(.0001)**	.0006(.0001)**	.1020	.0047	.0010(.0001)**	.0005(.0001)**
raised in South	.0324(.0033)**	.0324(.0033)**	.0324	.0039		
constant	-.0963(.0046)**	-.1045(.0047)**			-.0917(.0097)**	-.0987(.0053)**
R ²	.0310	.0349		.0349	.0345	.0304
	N=22974	N=22974			N=5273	N=17701
Table D.8.3: Determinants of ‘Right-Wing’ Party Identification						
Mom’s yrs educ	.0109(.0006)**	.0109(.0006)**	.2170	.0164	.0132(.0012)**	.0100(.0007)**
raised Jewish	-.2095(.0109)**	-.2110(.0109)**	-.2110	.0091	-.1695(.0351)**	-.2161(.0114)**
family income	.0012(.0001)**	.0012(.0001)**	.1992	.0078	.0016(.0002)**	.0011(.0001)**
raised in South	-.0140(.0049)**	-.0140(.0049)**	-.0140	.0004		
constant	.3378(.0070)**	.3416(.0071)**			.2900(.0139)**	.3543(.0081)**
R ²	.0333	.0337		.0337	.0412	.0317
	N=25426	N=25426			N=5782	N=19644

Note: Cell entries in columns 2, 3, 6 and 7 are unstandardized OLS multiple regression coefficients (standard errors in parentheses). ** p < .05, * p < .10 (one-tailed tests applied as appropriate). See Table D.1 for univariate statistics.

^a ‘Maximum effect’ multiplies the coefficient t in column 3 by the observed range of the independent variable (from Table D.1).

^b Indicates increase in R² due to successive addition of each independent variable to the (column 3) model.

Source: GSS72-00, Whites only; N=25426 overall.

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**Table D.9: Influence of Authoritarianism, ' Political Conservatism' & ' Rightwing' Party Identification
Across Varying Targets of Political Intolerance**

	Political intolerance of atheists	Political intolerance of communists	Political intolerance of homosexuals	Political intolerance of militarists	Political intolerance of racists
authoritarianism	.81(.01).47**	.78(.01).44**	.79(.01).44**	.83(.01).43**	.62(.01).29**
' political conservatism'	.14(.01).11**	.13(.01).11**	.16(.01).13**	.14(.01).10**	.11(.01).07**
' rightwing' party id.	-.03(.01)-.04**	-.02(.01)-.03**	-.01(.01)-.02**	-.03(.01)-.03**	-.03(.01)-.03**
constant	.45(.00)**	.45(.00)**	.42(.00)**	.47(.00)**	.46(.00)**
R^2 (full model)	.24	.21	.22	.21	.10
R^2 (authorit. alone)	.23	.20	.21	.20	.09
R^2 (pol. conserv. alone)	.02	.02	.03	.02	.01
R^2 (party id. alone)	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00

Note: Cell entries are unstandardized OLS multiple regression coefficients (with standard errors in parentheses) and their associated standardized coefficients, in that order. ** p < .05, * p < .10 (one-tailed tests applied as appropriate). See Table D.1 for univariate statistics.

Source: GSS72-00, Whites only, using 16 samples taken between 1976 and 2000 only, N=21,577 throughout.