

## Appendix E: Cumulative World Values Surveys 1990-1995

### Endogenous Variables

*Authoritarianism ('Authoritarian Predisposition')*:

*Status quo conservatism*: From: "Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between". Followed by (in a longer series) VI31: "One should be cautious about making major changes" v. "You will never achieve much in life unless you act boldly"; and VI32: "Ideas that have stood the test of time are generally best" v. "New ideas are generally better than old ones".

*Laissez faire conservatism*: Formed from VI25: "Incomes should be made more equal" v. "We need larger income differences as incentives for individual effort"; VI26: "Private ownership of business and industry would be increased" v. "Government ownership of business and industry should be increased"; VI27: "The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for" v. "People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves". Also the following item from a different series: V87: "There is a lot of discussion about how business and industry should be managed. Which of these four statements comes closest to your opinion?" (with the following response alternatives formed into an ordinal scale), "The owners should run their business or appoint the managers"; "The owners and the employees should participate in the selection of managers"; "The employees should own the business and should elect the managers"; "The government should be the owner and appoint the managers".

*General intolerance of difference*: formed from the following 10 items, imputing missing values for each individual item from exogenous variables, across four dimensions of intolerance (racial, political moral, punitive).

*Racial Intolerance / Ethnocentrism*

*National pride*: (v205)

*Reserve jobs for native-born*: (v63)

*Object to different race & immigrants as neighbors*: (v52 & v57)

### Political Intolerance

*Maintain order v. political freedom*: Constructed from two items, indicating the relative importance (as first and second choices) assigned to three (of four original) values, equally weighted here: maintaining order in the nation v. protecting freedom of speech (reversed) v. giving people more say in important government decisions (reversed).

### Moral Intolerance

*Homosexuality never justified*: (v197)

*Abortion never justified: (v199)*

*Divorce never justified: (v200)*

**Punitiveness**

*Fight crime v. more humane society:* Constructed from two items, indicating the relative importance (as first and second choices) assigned to two (of four original) values, equally weighted here: the fight against crime v. progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society (reversed).

**Table E.1: Univariate Statistics**

| Endogenous Variables  |  |               |
|---|--|---------------|
| <i>Scale Variables</i>  | <i>mean(sd)</i>  | <i>range</i>  |
| Authoritarianism ( <i>direct measure</i> )(N=108813)                      | .00(.24)   | -.55 -- .45   |
| Status quo conservatism ( <i>direct measure</i> )(N=103684)               | .00(.25)   | -.53 -- .47   |
| Laissez faire conservatism ( <i>direct measure</i> )(N=94573)             | .00(.20)   | -.58 -- .42   |
| Racial intolerance/ethnocentrism  | .56(.21)   | 0 -- 1        |
| Political intolerance   | .49(.29)   | 0 -- 1        |
| Moral intolerance   | .66(.26)   | 0 -- 1        |
| Punitiveness  | .50(.24)   | 0 -- 1        |
| General intolerance of difference   | .58(.16)   | 0 -- 1        |
| Explanatory Variables   |  |               |
| <i>Scale Variables</i>  | <i>mean(sd)</i>  | <i>range</i>  |
| Authoritarianism ( <i>instrument</i> )                                    | .00(.16)   | -.46 -- .54   |
| Authoritarianism ( <i>direct, with missing values imputed</i> )           | .00(.24)   | -.55 -- .45   |
| Status quo conservatism ( <i>instrument</i> )                             | .00(.14)   | -.43 -- .57   |
| Status quo conservatism ( <i>direct, with missing values imputed</i> )    | .00(.24)   | -.54 -- .46   |
| Laissez faire conservatism ( <i>direct, with missing values imputed</i> ) | .00(.20)   | -.57 -- .43   |
| Age ( <i>z-score within nation</i> )                                      | .00(1.00)  | -2.30 -- 5.36 |
| Length of survey interview ( <i>minutes</i> )                             | 67.17(21.71)   | 20 -- 180     |
| R's interest in the survey  | .70(.32)   | 0 -- 1        |
| Years of education  | 12.49(2.95)  | 7 -- 16       |
| Subjective social class   | .35(.29)   | 0 -- 1        |
| Family income ( <i>based on reported decile within nation</i> )           | .43(.28)   | 0 -- 1        |
| # children  | 1.76(1.58)   | 0 -- 8        |
| R's racial/ethnic dominance within nation                                 | .64(.29)   | 0 -- 1        |
| Population share of largest racial minority in nation                     | .09(.12)   | 0 -- .44      |
| # other languages spoken within nation                                    | 1.62(1.91)   | 0 -- 7        |
| Variance in public opinion  | .00(.18)   | -.51 -- .49   |
| Lack of confidence in institutions  | .00(.19)   | -.50 -- .50   |
| Family financial distress   | .00(.25)   | -.62 -- .38   |
| Ill health  | .00(.24)   | -.33 -- .67   |
| Personal unhappiness  | .00(.38)   | -.34 -- .66   |
| <i>Categorical Variables</i>  | <i>% in category</i>   |               |
| Male  | 48.10%   |               |
| Raised religious  | 63.06%   |               |
| Resides in rural area   | 31.48%   |               |
| Any college degree  | 15.87%   |               |
| Currently in workforce  | 60.87%   |               |
| Family's chief earner   | 49.63%   |               |
| White-collar occupation   | 26.70%   |               |
| Marital status  | <i>married, widowed, single,</i><br>60.66%, 6.79%, 22.36%,<br><i>defacto, separated, divorced</i><br>4.80%, 1.66%, 3.72% |               |
| lives in liberal democracy  | 49.33%   |               |

Source: WVS90-95, all national samples, N=110298 unless otherwise indicated.

**Table E.2: Determinants of Authoritarianism**

| <i>Explanatory Variables</i>                                    | 1 <sup>st</sup> stage estimates | 2 <sup>nd</sup> stage, basic model | 2 <sup>nd</sup> stage, adding threats |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Status quo conservatism ( <i>instrument</i> ) <sub>a</sub>      |                                 | .1183(.0094)**                     | .0964(.0097)**                        |
| <i>Exogenous Variables</i>                                      |                                 |                                    |                                       |
| Male  | .0079(.0016)**                  | .0123(.0016)**                     | .0116(.0016)**                        |
| Age ( <i>z-score within nation</i> )                            | .0091(.0009)**                  | --                                 | --                                    |
| Length of survey interview ( <i>minutes</i> )                   | -.0004(.0000)**                 | -.0004(.0000)**                    | -.0004(.0000)**                       |
| R' s interest in the survey                                     | -.0111(.0022)**                 | --                                 | --                                    |
| Raised religious  | .0503(.0016)**                  | .0481(.0016)**                     | .0437(.0016)**                        |
| Resides in rural area   | .0112(.0015)**                  | .0100(.0015)**                     | .0082(.0015)**                        |
| Years of education  | -.0122(.0003)**                 | -.0115(.0003)**                    | -.0110(.0003)**                       |
| Any college degree  | -.0268(.0025)**                 | -.0254(.0025)**                    | -.0242(.0025)**                       |
| Currently in the workforce                                      | -.0115(.0017)**                 | -.0092(.0017)**                    | -.0073(.0017)**                       |
| Family' s chief earner  | -.0076(.0017)**                 | -.0071(.0017)**                    | -.0072(.0017)**                       |
| White-collar occupation   | -.0185(.0018)**                 | -.0203(.0018)**                    | -.0212(.0018)**                       |
| Subjective social class   | -.0155(.0027)**                 | -.0101(.0028)**                    | -.0214(.0029)**                       |
| Family income ( <i>based on decile within nation</i> )          | -.0338(.0029)**                 | -.0212(.0031)**                    | -.0282(.0031)**                       |
| De facto married ( <i>v. married/widowed/single</i> )           | -.0132(.0034)**                 | --                                 | --                                    |
| divorced  | -.0189(.0038)**                 | -.0105(.0038)**                    | -.0102(.0038)**                       |
| separated   | -.0074(.0056)                   | <i>excl.</i>                       | <i>excl.</i>                          |
| # children  | .0041(.0005)**                  | .0029(.0005)**                     | .0027(.0005)**                        |
| R' s racial/ethnic dominance within nation                      | .0075(.0031)**                  | .0124(.0032)**                     | .0022(.0032)                          |
| Population share of largest racial minority in nation           | .0617(.0072)**                  | .0595(.0072)**                     | .0507(.0072)**                        |
| # other languages spoken within nation                          | .0188(.0004)**                  | .0171(.0004)**                     | .0149(.0004)**                        |
| lives in a liberal democracy                                    | -.0291(.0015)**                 | -.0180(.0018)**                    | -.0288(.0019)**                       |
| <i>Experience of Threat</i>                                     |                                 |                                    |                                       |
| Variance in public opinion                                      |                                 |                                    | .0407(.0042)**                        |
| Lack of confidence in institutions                              |                                 |                                    | -.0981(.0038)**                       |
| Family financial distress                                       |                                 |                                    | -.0476(.0034)**                       |
| Ill health  |                                 |                                    | .0177(.0034)**                        |
| Personal unhappiness  |                                 |                                    | .0091(.0022)**                        |
| <i>Status Quo Conservatism<sub>a</sub>*Experience of Threat</i> |                                 |                                    |                                       |
| Status quo*variance in public opinion                           |                                 |                                    | .5521(.0284)**                        |
| Status quo*lack of confidence in institutions                   |                                 |                                    | .4537(.0260)**                        |
| Status quo*family financial distress                            |                                 |                                    | -.1407(.0227)**                       |
| Status quo*ill health   |                                 |                                    | .0268(.0227)                          |
| Status quo*personal unhappiness                                 |                                 |                                    | -.1063(.0154)**                       |
| constant  | .1545(.0054)**                  | .1260(.0055)**                     | .1531(.0056)**                        |
| R <sup>2</sup>  | .11                             | .11                                | .12                                   |

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 E.1 for univariate statistics.

<sub>a</sub> See Table E.3, '1<sup>st</sup> stage estimates', for the variables and estimates used to construct the instrument for status quo conservatism.

Source: WVS90-95, all national samples, N=108813.

**Table E.3: Determinants of Status Quo Conservatism**

| <i>Explanatory Variables</i>                             | 1 <sup>st</sup> stage estimates | 2 <sup>nd</sup> stage, basic model | 2 <sup>nd</sup> stage, adding threats |
|--|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Authoritarianism ( <i>instrument</i> ) <sub>a</sub>      |                                 | .0864(.0086)**                     | .0930(.0088)**                        |
| <i>Exogenous Variables</i>                               |                                 |                                    |                                       |
| Male   | -.0143(.0017)**                 | -.0160(.0015)**                    | -.0140(.0015)**                       |
| Age ( <i>z-score within nation</i> )                     | .0315(.0010)**                  | .0297(.0010)**                     | .0266(.0010)**                        |
| Length of survey interview ( <i>minutes</i> )            | .0001(.0000)*                   | .0001(.0000)**                     | .0001(.0000)**                        |
| R' s interest in the survey                              | -.0331(.0025)**                 | -.0313(.0025)**                    | -.0259(.0025)**                       |
| Raised religious   | .0071(.0016)**                  | --                                 | --                                    |
| Resides in rural area                                    | .0043(.0017)**                  | --                                 | --                                    |
| Years of education                                       | -.0022(.0003)**                 | --                                 | --                                    |
| Any college degree                                       | -.0048(.0026)*                  | --                                 | --                                    |
| Currently in the workforce                               | -.0070(.0018)**                 | -.0052(.0018)**                    | -.0027(.0018)                         |
| Family' s chief earner                                   | -.0023(.0019)                   | --                                 | --                                    |
| White-collar occupation                                  | .0056(.0019)**                  | .0083(.0020)**                     | .0090(.0020)**                        |
| Subjective social class                                  | -.0177(.0031)**                 | -.0153(.0031)**                    | -.0030(.0032)                         |
| Family income ( <i>based on decile within nation</i> )   | -.0414(.0032)**                 | -.0355(.0033)**                    | -.0264(.0034)**                       |
| De facto married ( <i>v. married/widowed/single</i> )    | -.0330(.0033)**                 | -.0308(.0033)**                    | -.0274(.0033)**                       |
| divorced   | -.0272(.0040)**                 | -.0244(.0040)**                    | -.0261(.0040)**                       |
| separated  | -.0242(.0059)**                 | -.0234(.0059)**                    | -.0260(.0059)**                       |
| # children   | .0035(.0006)**                  | .0029(.0006)**                     | .0025(.0006)**                        |
| R' s racial/ethnic dominance within nation               | -.0162(.0036)**                 | -.0166(.0031)**                    | -.0157(.0032)**                       |
| Population share of largest racial minority in nation    | .0063(.0089)                    | <i>excl.</i>                       | <i>excl.</i>                          |
| # other languages spoken within nation                   | .0056(.0005)**                  | .0023(.0006)**                     | .0016(.0006)**                        |
| lives in a liberal democracy                             | -.0369(.0017)**                 | -.0320(.0016)**                    | -.0260(.0019)**                       |
| <i>Experience of Threat</i>                              |                                 |                                    |                                       |
| Variance in public opinion                               |                                 |                                    | .0096(.0047)**                        |
| Lack of confidence in institutions                       |                                 |                                    | -.0552(.0044)**                       |
| Family financial distress                                |                                 |                                    | .0250(.0039)**                        |
| Ill health   |                                 |                                    | .0340(.0037)**                        |
| Personal unhappiness                                     |                                 |                                    | .0179(.0024)**                        |
| <i>Authoritarianism<sub>a</sub>*Experience of Threat</i> |                                 |                                    |                                       |
| Authorit*variance in public opinion                      |                                 |                                    | .4344(.0283)**                        |
| Authorit*lack of confidence in institutions              |                                 |                                    | .1509(.0272)**                        |
| Authorit*family financial distress                       |                                 |                                    | .1024(.0224)**                        |
| Authorit*ill health                                      |                                 |                                    | -.0008(.0224)                         |
| Authorit*personal unhappiness                            |                                 |                                    | -.0575(.0151)**                       |
| constant   | .0936(.0060)**                  | .0643(.0044)**                     | .0518(.0046)**                        |
| R <sup>2</sup>   | .05                             | .05                                | .05                                   |

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 E.1 for univariate statistics.

<sub>a</sub> See Table E.2, '1<sup>st</sup> stage estimates', for the variables and estimates used to construct the instrument for authoritarianism. Source: WVS90-95, all national samples, N=103684.

**Table E.4: Effects of Authoritarianism on General Intolerance of Difference Given Varying Experience of Normative Threat**

| <i>Explanatory Variables</i>                | General Intolerance of Difference |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| authoritarianism                            | .2285(.0020)**                    |
| variance in public opinion                  | -.0664(.0026)**                   |
| authoritarianism*variance in public opinion | .3294(.0116)**                    |
| constant                                    | .5780(.0005)**                    |
| $R^2$                                       | .13                               |

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

Source: WVS90-95, all national samples, N=110298.

**Table E.5: Simple Models of Authoritarianism, Status Quo Conservatism and Laissez Faire Conservatism**

| <i>Independent Variables</i>                                   | All nations, basic model | All nations, adding lib democ as IV | Max. effect of each IV <sub>a</sub> | Added variance explained by each IV <sub>b</sub> | Basic model, estimated for lib democ only | Basic model, estimated for non-democ only |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|---|
| <b>Table E.5.1: Determinants of Authoritarianism</b>           |                          |                                     |                                     |  |   |   |
| yrs of education   | -.0168(.0002)**          | -.0172(.0002)**                     | .15                                 | .0494  | -.0209(.0003)**                           | -.0145(.0003)**                           |
| # nat. languages   | .0202(.0003)**           | .0202(.0003)**                      | .14                                 | .0304  | .0252(.0004)**                            | .0114(.0006)**                            |
| raised religious   | .0482(.0015)**           | .0558(.0015)**                      | .06                                 | .0087  | .0576(.0024)**                            | .0550(.0020)**                            |
| lives in lib democ   |                          | -.0370(.0014)**                     | -.04                                | .0056  |   |   |
| constant   | .1481(.0034)**           | .1669(.0034)**                      |                                     |  | .1655(.0047)**                            | .1460(.0051)**                            |
| R <sup>2</sup>   | .0885                    | .0941                               |                                     | .0941  | .1235                                     | .0672                                     |
|  | N=108813                 | N=108813                            |                                     |  | N=54407                                   | N=54406                                   |
| <b>Table E.5.2: Determinants of Status Quo Conservatism</b>    |                          |                                     |                                     |  |   |   |
| relative age   | .0373(.0008)**           | .0375(.0008)**                      | .29                                 | .0255  | .0353(.0010)**                            | .0398(.0012)**                            |
| family income  | -.0649(.0028)**          | -.0611(.0028)**                     | -.06                                | .0044  | -.0724(.0035)**                           | -.0501(.0043)**                           |
| # nat. languages   | .0078(.0004)**           | .0078(.0004)**                      | .05                                 | .0035  | .0117(.0006)**                            | .0004(.0007)                              |
| lives in lib democ   |                          | -.0417(.0015)**                     | -.04                                | .0070  |   |   |
| constant   | .0163(.0015)**           | .0354(.0017)**                      |                                     |  | -.0076(.0020)**                           | .0427(.0024)**                            |
| R <sup>2</sup>   | .0334                    | .0404                               |                                     | .0404  | .0438                                     | .0277                                     |
|  | N=103684                 | N=103684                            |                                     |  | N=51538                                   | N=52146                                   |
| <b>Table E.5.3: Determinants of Laissez Faire Conservatism</b> |                          |                                     |                                     |  |   |   |
| subjective class   | .1594(.0022)**           | .1430(.0022)**                      | .14                                 | .0574  | .1294(.0029)**                            | .1600(.0034)**                            |
| interest in survey   | .0486(.0020)**           | .0293(.0020)**                      | .03                                 | .0058  | .0255(.0029)**                            | .0315(.0028)**                            |
| male   | .0291(.0012)**           | .0284(.0012)**                      | .03                                 | .0054  | .0236(.0017)**                            | .0331(.0018)**                            |
| lives in lib democ   |                          | .0672(.0013)**                      | .07                                 | .0269  |   |   |
| constant   | -.1075(.0018)**          | -.1202(.0018)**                     |                                     |  | -.0421(.0027)**                           | -.1294(.0024)**                           |
| R <sup>2</sup>   | .0686                    | .0955                               |                                     | .0955  | .0495                                     | .0569                                     |
|  | N=94573                  | N=94573                             |                                     |  | N=46365                                   | N=48208                                   |

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 E.1 for univariate statistics.

<sub>a</sub> 'Maximum effect' multiplies the coefficient in column 3 by the observed range of the independent variable (from Table E.1).

<sub>b</sub> Indicates increase in R<sup>2</sup> due to successive addition of each independent variable to the (column 3) model.

Source: WVS90-95, all national samples; N=110298 overall.