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American Nationalism and the "Curse of Rurality": Urban-Rural Differences and the Notion of National Belonging

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AMERICAN NATIONALISM AND THE "CURSE OF RURALITY":
URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENCES AND THE NOTION OF NATIONAL BELONGING

by

Milos Djeric

B.A., University of Belgrade, 2013
M.A., University of Belgrade, 2014

A Research Paper
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
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Approved by:

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Graduate School
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE RESEARCH PAPER

MILOS DJERIC, for the Master of Arts degree in SOCIOLOGY, approved on JULY 5, 2017, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: AMERICAN NATIONALISM AND THE "CURSE OF RURALITY": URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENCES AND THE NOTION OF NATIONAL BELONGING

MAJOR PROFESOR: Jean-Pierre Reed, PhD

Relationship between nationalism and urban or rural environment is not one that is often studied, apart from traditional historical interpretation of it being a modern, urban phenomenon, characterized by imagery and discourse of rurality. Yet it seems that, in the last several decades, not only have nationalist conflicts mostly been rooted within the countryside and nationalist agendas won on elections in them, but that there is a more fundamental connection between nationalism and rurality. While briefly addressing this issue, this paper focuses on the analysis of 2014 GSS data, exploring the relationship between the place of living and the notion of national belonging. What is presented is a clear, but not conclusive, evidence on the presence of more nationalistic attitudes among persons living in rural areas, especially among those who spent most of their childhood in them.

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INTRODUCTION

Elections and referendums in the past several years, in traditional countries of the "center", such as the United States or the United Kingdom, and other political developments around the world, such as the further rise of nationalism in India or Eastern Europe, have confirmed the need for the study of contemporary nationalism. The referendum on European Union, for example, demonstrates the impact of rural areas on national politics in Britain (Matti and Zhou 2017). Similarly, persons living in rural areas played important role in recent American presidential elections (Shrider 2017). The present study on national belonging aims to provide some answers the question of the relationship between rural and urban regions and nationalism.

To explore the relationship between urbanity and rurality vis-à-vis nationalism, I turn to GSS data (2014), and its module on national identity, looking at one of the main principles of nationalism – national belonging (Bonikowski 2016; Eriksen 2002; Kecmanović 2014). Using multiple regression, I analyze the relationship between national belonging and standard sociodemographic characteristics, including respondents' place of residence and self-identified childhood location. My main hypothesis is that persons who live in rural environments are more nationalistic, compared to those who live in urban cities. This would mean that persons who currently live or spent most of their childhood in rural areas—compared to persons who live or spent most of their childhood in primarily large urban areas—are more likely to be restrictive in whom they consider to be "truly" American.

Before focusing on empirical analysis, I outline currently most prominent sociological perspectives on nationalism, emphasizing notion of belonging and ethnic-civic dichotomy. Second, I explore the "curse of rurality", that is the relationship nationalism has to urban and rural spaces, arguing that urban-rural dynamics to some extent corresponds to civic-ethnic, and

that it manifests itself on historical, discursive, and everyday level. Third, I briefly evaluate the history of American nationalism, within this context, and provide an overview of some previous empirical research.

UNDERSTANDING NATIONALISM

In the last two decades one thing has become certain about nationalism, and that is that there cannot be a single unifying theory of nationalism (Jenkins 1997). This is the case in large part because the nature of nationalism is itself contingent on the particular socio-cultural and socio-political factors, as well as the historical circumstances, that condition its developments in individual regions and nation states (Hall 1993). This, of course, does not mean that there are no universal characteristics, processes or commonalities, but recognizing that nationalism comes in varied forms, has an important consideration for the study of nationalism itself. It also allows us to contextually understand and address limitations of theoretical and empirical research on nationalism (for more details see Malešević 2006, 2011).

The classical definition of nationalism assumes that it is "a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent", while "the cultures it claims to defend and revive are often its own inventions, or are modified out of all recognition" (Gellner 2008:1, 55). This political principle develops in 19th century Europe as a manifestation, or a consequence, of modernization and of all processes associated with modern state-formation, such as the division of labor, common language, or schools. Similar to Durkheim's understanding of religion, Gellner states that "in a nationalist age, societies worship themselves brazenly and openly, spurning the camouflage" (Gellner 2008:55).

In a shift towards the everyday practice of nationalism, Michael Billig identifies "banal nationalism" (banal in Ardentian tradition) as "ideological habits which enable the established

nations of the West to be reproduced" (Billig 1995:6). This approach relies somewhat more on Anderson, for whom the nation is an "imagined community", meaning that it lives in the minds of each member, and where "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 2006:6). In a more formal turn towards a complex discursive understanding of nationalism, Calhoun states that nationalism is "a more basic way of talking, thinking, and acting [where] national identities and the whole rhetoric of nationalism appear commonly to people as though they were always already there, ancient, or even natural" (Calhoun 1997:11–12).

Along some similar theoretical assumptions, Brubaker defines nationalism as "a heterogeneous set of 'nation'-oriented idioms, practices, and possibilities that are continuously available or 'endemic' in modern cultural and political life" (Brubaker 1996:10). In a more empirical research of discourses, Wodak at. al. (2009) through introduction of habitus contribute significantly to this approach, since they try to understand how are individuals motivated to reproduce discursive practice of nationalism. Following Stuart Hall's thesis that nation is also "system of cultural representation" where meaning of self-understanding and identification is created, they argue that these constructed cultural national identities and national cultures are not uniformed, but on the contrary, that various discursive practices, characteristic of certain social groups, classes, or even genders, are joined under practice of cultural power of national identity, creating, in the end, modern nation, which is a "cultural hybrid" united in contradictions (Wodak et al. 2009:22–23). Intriguingly, this contradictory, or paradoxical, nature of nationalism seems to be a commonality that persists across social, historical, and theoretical borders (see Kešić and Duyvendak 2016; Taylor 1998).

Jus Sanguinis, Jus Soli, and Beyond

From another, social-psychological point, (ethno)nationalism is a fundamental need for group belonging (Kecmanović 2014). Here, the boundary between us and the other becomes a paramount. Understanding the conceptions of criteria of national membership may be vital for understanding nationalism (Bonikowski 2016). As initially outlined by Ferdinand Barth, ethnic groups are defined through boundaries that delineate between members and non-members, which are not solid but change through time, and "like ethnic ideologies, nationalism stresses the cultural similarity of its adherents and, by implication, it draws boundaries vis-a-vis other, who thereby become outsiders" (Eriksen 2002:7).

One of the probably most influential typologies of nationalism is also related to the idea of belonging. Hans Kohn articulates the distinction between "civic" and "ethnic" nationalism, where civic is characterized by commitment for state institutions and civil society, while ethnic emphasizes cultural uniformity and common descent (Özkirimli 2010). This is widely criticized on theoretical, empirical, and normative grounds (Billig 1995; Brubaker 2004; Calhoun 1997; Özkirimli 2010; Xenos 1996). Recent research shows that explanatory power of the strict dichotomy is declining, especially in the United States (Alemán and Woods forthcoming; Bonikowski and DiMaggio 2016; Raney 2016). Yet, both principles coexist within every nationalism, which can be seen in other empirical research (see Ariely 2013; Hjerm 1998; Jones and Smith 2001b, 2001a; Pehrson, Vignoles, and Brown 2009), and in the recent theoretical and methodological work (see Jayet 2012; Mycock 2012; Pehrson and Green 2010; Wright, Citrin, and Wand 2012). The distinction between the two, for example, can manifest itself in a question if the person that respects the laws and society of the state can truly belong to the nation without having a lineage descent.

As pointed by Bonikowski (2016), studies of criteria of belonging have shown that it varies not only across different nations, but also that there is a significant intranational disagreement on who can be a legitimate member of the nation. What has been demonstrated is that sociodemographic characteristics affect it, in a way where older, less educated, poorer, more religious, and those who belong to the dominant group tend to have more restrictive views (Bonikowski 2016:436). Criteria of belonging can thus be understood, not as its approximation, but as a fundamental concept which can indicate more nationalistic attitudes, whether it is based on civic, ethnic, or some amalgam of the two principles.

Nationalism and Rurality

While nationalism is closely related to modernity, "its symbolism is drawn from the healthy, pristine, vigorous life of the peasants, of the *Volk*, the *narod*" (Gellner 2008:56). The nationalist projects of the 19th century and "the awakening of the peoples" of 1848 presented themselves as mass movements, yet were confined to small urban areas (Gellner 2008; Hobsbawm 1996). It would take decades of nation-building modernizing projects for peasants to become conscious members of the nation (Weber 1976), and, of course, "print capitalism" is inseparable from this process of imagining the nation (Anderson 2006). Among others, visual art shaped identification between nation and its people and contributed to the spread of national imagery and cultural nationalism through artists of the 19th century Western Europe, who were inspired by Rousseuan "return to Nature" and Romantic "cult of authenticity" and started to identify with "land and its people" (Smith 2013b, 2013a).

> "By revaluing rural habitats and intimate or sublime landscapes, these early Romantic painters provided (whether intentionally or not) a new test of authenticity: evocation of the 'homeland', its landscapes, and its inhabitants. For where, if not in one's native landscapes, could one discover the 'true essence' and genuine lifestyle of its inhabitants? Where, if not in the 'unspoilt countryside', could one expect to discover the 'true nature' of 'the people', and of oneself? For increasing number of artists, 'the land and its people'

became a site of self-identification, a place to feel 'at home', and the source of the simple virtues that an increasingly urbanized society and its elites felt they had lost and yearned to repossess." (Smith 2013b:83)

It is not surprising, then, that rural landscape still shapes national identity and achieves the status of "national icons": outback for Australia, countryside and greens for England, prairies and heartland for America (Daniels 1993; Darby 2000). For the most part, the central role rural imagery has remained uncontested by scholars, yet not much attention is dedicated to understanding of contemporary nationalisms within the context of environment, especially rurality.

Probably most detailed accounts on the relationship between nationality, its associated phenomena, and rurality exist in the case of England, most likely due to historically strong and articulated awareness of the relationship between Englishness and its countryside (Neal 2009), yet still, most literature focuses on the issues of immigration, racism, and ethnic hatred (see for example: Chakraborti and Garland 2013; Matless 1998; Neal 2016). Sarah Neal (2009) points that concepts of rurality, ethnicity, and community are so closely connected because they are ways of making sense of reality, from below, which share pre-modern materiality that appeals in the period of late modernity. In an interesting case study of a Portugal village that was created into a medieval tourist attraction, Silva and Leal (2015) show how for visitors historic site, emphasized by rural location, evokes nationalism through pride in history, while for local residents it creates feelings that conflict with their personal memories. On the other side of the border, Molina and Macho (2016) explore how rural imagery was used in Francoist Spain by all three sides: Spanish, Basque, and Galician nationalists.

In its most extreme, often violent, form, majority of nationalist conflicts happen in rural areas of Basque, Georgia (Laitin 1995), or Ireland, Rwanda, Cambodia, and even Scotland (Nairn 1997). Thus, Sabrina Petra Ramet (1996) argues that countryside is the "true hearth of

nationalism" concerned about the threats to nation, particularly from foreigners, juxtaposing it to city, which is the heart of patriotism, or civic nationalism. Along this line, Tom Narin (1997) maintains that 'raw material' of rurality, which can be captured in the fullness of the meaning and history of 'chauvinism', in fact has significantly greater role in the overall genesis of nationalism, or, in other words, that modern nationalism is constrained by determinate parameters of the past peasant experience. This "curse of rurality" still lives in and constrains even within most civic nationalism of today, that of the France and even European Union, often being manifesting in the conflict between apparent two types of nationalism. Thus, we could argue that dichotomy between civic and ethnic nationalism is not so much the distinction between two different types, or kinds of nationalism, but it is the nationalism's fundamental dynamics between urban and rural.

Particularly, the reintroduction of the term *urbicide*, by Marshall Berman and Bogdan Bogdanović (Coward 2007, 2008), where Bogdanović specifically characterizes the war conflict in Yugoslavia as a direct nationalist activities fueled by aggression towards the urban centers, which had centuries long tradition of multicultural life: Vukovar, Mostar, Sarajevo, and Dubrovnik (Bogdanović 1994).[1] In this sense, nationalism is understood as fundamentally anti-urban.

In the Middle East, cities, as centers of symbolic and sacred, are mechanisms to control the meaning of signifier and nations, and while instrumentally exploited they are center of power

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[1] Indeed, even the occasional personal accounts testify that once each of these cities was sieged and attacked by the army, persons belonging to the ethnic group of aggressor, remained in it defending it. Also, the term "urbicide" is sometimes used in relation to devastation in Palestine (Graham 2003)

enabling particular form of collective identity (Friedland and Hecht 1998). Considerably more studies explore the relationship between city and nation, than between rurality and nation: multiple French cities as arenas for (re)definition of national belonging (Downing 2015); city as a place of long-standing nationalist conflict and multiple power structures (Thirkell 2015); or historical European city as not only a hub for interaction of plurality of diverse ruralities and nationalisms but also city as national cultural assimilator, modular duplicator that spreads nationalist ideas from one to another, and part of the process in which multiple cities link to connect federative networks (Leerssen 2015).

What clearly emerges is that cities are, after all, places of real and symbolic power. As Göran Therborn (2017) most recently show, capital cities especially, while ancient, in the past 200 years have been going through transformations imposed by the nation-state and capital. Now, under the current "urban globalism" they are not so much under control of transnational capital as is often argued, but by local upper classes that belongs to "imagined global tribe" characterized by rich world "lifestyle" of leisure (Therborn 2017).

Nationalism in United States

Hans Kohn (1957) was one of the first authors to introduce the thesis that American nationalism exists, arguing that unlike many European nationalisms it is primarily predicated on the notion of individualistic religion and the idea of liberty that derived from the British. He further argues that American nationalism is strong with its mostly unchanged roots in 18th century. Kohn characterizes American nationalism as "civic", yet this notion has been contested with the recognition that an "ethnic" component manifests itself through various racial and gendered exclusionary practices as it has been evident in the close relationship between American nationalism and eugenics (Ordover 2003).

Smith (1999) identifies three political traditions that shape American nationalism: (1) liberal, focusing on universal rights and individualism; (2) civic republican, focusing on self-governance and collective rights and obligations; and (3) ethnocultural. Looking at post 9/11 media coverage, Schildkraut (2002) concludes that two main narratives dominate it: a narrow image, "ascriptivist" view of American national identity, that prevails among ordinary citizens; and inclusive "incorporationinst" promoted by elites. In her later, more detailed study, combining surveys and focus group data, she in fact identifies three traditions, as outlined by Smith, identifying incorporationinst tradition, which sees America as continually strengthen by immigration, as fourth (Bonikowski and DiMaggio 2016). Bonikowski and DiMaggio (2016) approach American nationalism from an empirical perspective, and using a GSS dataset and latent class analysis identify four different types: creedal, disengaged, restrictive, and ardent. They advance the notion that the classical distinction between civic and ethnic nationalism lacks analytical power.

Along traditional line of civic-ethnic dynamics, Lieven (2012) draws on numerous parallels between formation of American nationalism and its European counterparts, demonstrating that they are more similar than what is usually assumed. He argues that, as in Europe, American rural population mostly remained medieval deep into 19th century. This situation was further exaggerated in the newly settled "frontier" in that it lacked either a fully functional state or traditional upper classes. However, unlike in the other Western countries, protestant churches played a paradoxical role in "modernization of the large parts of the United States: on the one hand, they chastened frontier medievalism, and laid the basis for a modern social and economic order; on the other, they created a religious culture that has been in many

ways at odds with modern culture as understood in the rest of the Western world" (Lieven 2012:129).

In terms of empirical survey research on the nationalism, for the most part focus has not been solely on the United States, but often on a more global comparative perspective. While authors identify individual macro-level factors that distinguish between different nations, in general it has been confirmed that certain socio-demographic factors are consistently related to what can be identified as stronger nationalism. These are primarily lower household income, lower education, stronger religious affiliation, and higher age (Ariely 2011; Hjerm 1998; Jones and Smith 2001b; Kunovich 2009). As expected, minority status influences lower level of nationalism, while being male can be connected to stronger nationalism (Kunovich 2009), or is not connected at all (Jones and Smith 2001b).

Specifically focusing on the United States, Bonikowski and DiMaggio (2016) find that slightly over 60% of Americans can clearly be divided in groups between ethnic and civil nationalism, while the rest are equally divided between strong adherence and rejection of both forms of it. Mostly older, less educated white Evangelical Republicans from the South belong to the group with stronger nationalism, being completely opposite to higher-income, highly educated, secular Democrats from the coasts. Interestingly, restrictive nationalist, i.e. those with low pride in United States, but very strict notion of who can truly belong to American nation, were mostly born in the United States, female, non-white, evangelical or black protestants, with low income and education, while on the other side, those with creedal nationalist notions (moderate to high attachment to nation, and lower criteria of belonging) lived outside South, were highly educated, and included few Protestants (Bonikowski and DiMaggio 2016).

HYPOTHESES

Main hypothesis of this research is that person who live in rural areas are going to have more restrictive notion of national belonging, compared to persons who live in large urban cities. Secondary hypothesis is that persons who spent majority of their childhood in rural areas are also going to have more closed notion of who can be considered to be truly American.

METHODS

This research uses publicly available General Social Survey data for 2014, produced by National Opinion Research Center at University of Chicago. GSS is nationally representative survey of adults living in American households, who speak English or Spanish (Smith, Marsden, and Hout 2016). Total sample was 2538, however, International Social Survey Programme's module on national identity was asked to 1274 respondents. It is a recurring module, used world-wide in 1994, 2004, and 2014. Final sample for this research numbered 1071 respondents.

Measuring Criteria of Belonging

There has been a substantive empirical research on the ISSP's data on "national identity". While it doesn't mean that any empirical, either qualitative or quantitative attempt is futile, it is important to recognize that in their totality "ethnic and national identities are concepts of limited use in empirical research" (Malešević 2006:37). The issue of measuring national identity becomes further complicated once potential overlapping identities are included (Henderson 2007).

Most authors agree that national identity is a multidimensional concept (Ariely 2012; Bonikowski 2016). The two dominant ways of measuring either follow the empirical line, thus using exploratory factor analysis, or theoretical line, where measured concepts are sometimes confirmed through some form of factor and reliability process (Hjerm 1998; Jones and Smith

2001b, 2001a; Kunovich 2009). Most recently, Bonikowski and DiMaggio (2016) used an elaborate latent class model to identify different types of nationalism in United States, in order to demonstrate their overall stability over the period of ten years. On the other side it can be argued that conventional research questions obscure the distinction between civic and ethnic national identities, favoring for more effective "ranking" methods (Wright et al. 2012).

Table 1. Questions on national belonging and constructed index.

	1. Very important	2. Fairly important	3. Not very important	4. Not important at all	No answer	Mean	*SD*
Some people say the following things are important for being truly American. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?							
To have been born in America	41.74	23.06	22.50	10.92	1.77	2.03	1.05
To have American citizenship	71.62	21.20	4.20	2.43	.56	1.37	.68
To have lived in America for most of one's life	40.71	28.76	22.88	6.91	.75	1.96	.96
To be able to speak English	71.62	21.29	4.39	2.24	.47	1.37	.68
To be a Christian	31.47	12.04	21.48	32.49	2.52	2.56	1.25
To respect America's political institutions and laws	63.68	28.29	4.48	2.24	1.31	1.45	.69
To feel American	56.96	25.96	10.27	4.20	2.61	1.61	.84
To have American ancestry	24.46	16.71	31.75	25.77	1.31	2.60	1.12
Nation-belonging criteria	29.88	55.00	14.19	.93		1.86	.68
Average values on at least six indicators, rounded to whole numbers for easier presentation in table. Lower value denotes more restrictive criteria.							

Note: N = 1071, percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Adhering to the theoretical line, I identify eight four-level questions that undoubtedly relate to the issue of national belonging, and are framed around the idea of what is necessary to be truly American (exact phrasing and distribution of answers can be found in *Table 1*). Principal component analysis with varimax rotation for three underlying factors provides unsatisfactory solution with multiple items loadings between .40 and .50 across factors (detailed tables and correlations in Appendix A). Two factor solution is somewhat better, where three out of four items that clearly note ethnic principle of belonging load above .80, while forth, "to be Christian"

loads .66. However, second factor is mostly driven by the question that to be truly American one must respect political institutions and laws, with loading of .91 (this question is also least correlated with others). Also, three items, which could be characterized as principle of "civic" belonging, load between .41 and .52 on both factors making it impossible to accept the solution. Exclusion of the problematic question does not resolve the problem.[2] While seemingly underlying distinction between ethnic and civic conception of national belonging definitely follows previous research and theory (for example Jones and Smith 2001a; Pehrson et al. 2009), the difficulty to clearly delineate between the two is present in more recent literature (for example Bonikowski and DiMaggio 2016; Raney 2016). In addition, most researchers who do manage to analytically distinguish between the two types, do so within international comparative analysis using more advance models (Jones and Smith 2001b; Kunovich 2009; Shulman 2002).

Finally, one factor solution is imposed as the most reasonable option, with Cronbach's Alpha of .83. Exclusion of the problematic question from the index only marginally increases it (α = .84), thus it will be kept within it. From the eight items, index "criteria of belonging" is computed as average of values on at least six items, in order to increase the sample size. As with original questions, lower value denotes more restrictive, or close, understanding of American national belonging, while the highest theoretical value of 4 indicates completely open notion. In this sample, the highest value is 3.86, and mean is 1.86 (*SD* = .68). Variable is skewed to the right, and as can be seen from the *Table 1*. (values rounded for easier presentation) almost 85% of the sample has the score on the index of 2.5 or less.

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[2] Hierarchical cluster analysis for three solutions groups ethnic, civic, and problematic question in three different categories.

Measures of Rural and Urban

Two measures of urban and rural are used. First identifies the place where respondents live, based of University of Michigan's Survey Research Center's classification. The classification that has six levels and is two dimensional – on one side it follows Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, while on the other distinguishes between urban and suburban or urban and rural character. The variable is recoded as four level, categorical: (1) urban centers of 100 largest SMSA, comprising of two original levels with 12 largest and next 100 largest centers; (2) suburban area surrounding 100 largest SMSA, comprising of two original levels with 12 largest and next 100 largest suburban areas surrounding corresponding city centers; (3) other urban areas; (5) other rural areas. In the past several decades, 100th largest area usually numbered more than between half a million and six hundred thousand inhabitants. The second measure is self-reported, where respondents identify the place where she or he lived until the age of 16. This is recoded to three levels: (1) city larger than quarter million and its suburbs; (2) city between fifty thousand and quarter million inhabitants; and (3) rural, which comprises of nonfarm country and farms.

Other Measures

Region was recoded to four levels variable (Northeast, Midwest, South, West) while age, sex, and race were not recoded. Religion was initially recoded from three variables, religion, denomination, and other, following Sherkat's twelve level classification (Sherkat and Lehman 2016). They were later grouped in six categories: (1) Sects or Baptists; (2) Moderate or Liberal Protestants; (3) Lutherans, Episcopalians, or Mormons; (4) Catholics or Orthodox Christians; (5) Christian – no group given; and (6) Jews, other religions, or persons without religion. Indicator of immigrant background is a constructed dichotomous variable. Respondent is considered to

have immigrant background if any of the three conditions was met: (1) respondent is not United States citizen; (2) respondent was not born in the United States; or (3) at least one parent was not United States citizen.[3]

Dichotomous veteran variable designates if the person served any time in the military. Recoding of two variables on the parent's education created variable that indicates if at least one parent had obtained bachelor's level or higher. Respondent's education was recoded to three levels: (1) less than high school; (2) high school or junior college; and (3) bachelors' degree or more. Question on political views were coded as a seven-level scale, from "extremely liberal" to "extremely conservative".

Statistical Procedures

Analysis was conducted using R language (R Core Team 2016) in RStudio environment mostly relying on "car" package (Fox and Weisberg 2011).[4] Dataset was reduced in four waves. First, respondents that did not participate in the ISSP module on national identity were excluded ($N = 1274$). Second, 29 cases were removed, where persons answered "I am not American" on the question "How proud are you of being American?". Third, sample was reduced for the final regression ($N = 1072$). In the end, one outlier was removed, reducing the total sample to 1071 respondents. After bivariate analysis, which consisted of ANOVA, Tukey's HSD, t-tests, and

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[3] It is important to note that although people who answered "I am not American" are excluded from the analysis, it is still possible that persons who are not born here or do not have citizenship, feel American. Of course, alternative is also possible, that excluded are persons who have citizenship and were born here. In other words, criteria for exclusion of these cases was based on their subjective identification.

[4] Other packages used: dplyr, foreign, ggplot2 (Wickham 2009), MASS (Venables and Ripley 2002), gvlma (Peña and Slate 2006), psych (Revelle 2017), corrplot, rms.

correlations, six OLS regression models were constructed. Smallest model consisted of nine, basic demographic predictors. Following four models were created by individual addition of variables, about region, religion, political views, and place of residence in childhood, where each model consisted of only ten predictors. In the end, the final model was made using all thirteen predictors.

Greatest concern for the model is non-normality of the dependent variable, however, given the size of the sample and lack of other issues it is acceptable. There was also a potential issue with heteroskedasticity, as can be observed from the scatterplot (Figure 1). However, one sided Breusch-Pagan test indicates that variance doesn't changes with the level of responses or linear combination of predictors. There is also no collinearity among variables (both visually inspected and using VIF scores). Using the global validation procedure (Peña and Slate 2006) it was confirmed that assumptions for heteroskedasticity, link function, and kurtosis are acceptable, while assumption for skewness was not satisfied.

Figure 1. Q-Q plot and residuals vs. fitted values plot.
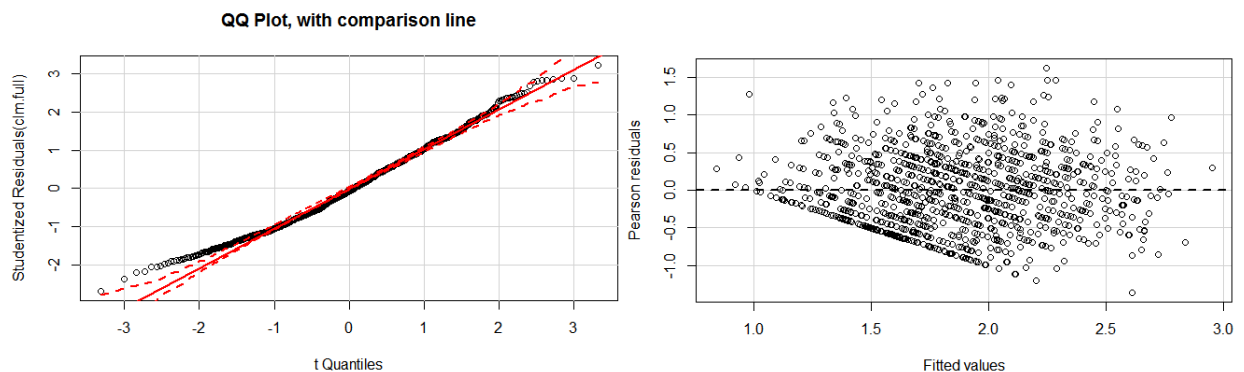
Initial inspection of partial regression plots indicated that there might be two significant outliers (#2451 and #111), while further inspection of hat-values, Cook's distance, and studentized residuals indicated higher score for case #2451 (black female, 43 years old, from rural south, with highly open notion of criteria of national belonging), which was removed and

slighly increased significance only for variable of respondents place of childhood, and specifically category "rural". Removal of case #111 did not have significant effect on the model.

RESULTS

Univariate and Bivariate Statistics

Average age of the sample is slightly less than 49 years, and the sample is gender balanced (47.1% male) with average family income of around $50,000. About three quarters of the sample are whites (76.7%), and 16.2% of participants has some form of immigrant background. Slightly below 60% of the respondents (57.3%) has either high school or junior college diploma, and 12.6% spent some time in the US Army. Most dominant political views are self-identified as moderate, that is 39.5%. Almost one third (32.8%) of the persons live in suburbs of 100 largest SMSA, almost one quarter (24.8%) lives in respective urban centers, while 12.3% lives in rural. In term of growing up, almost half (48.1%) of the sample spent majority of their life, to the age of 16, in cities sized between 50,000 and 250,000 inhabitants, while 32.4% lived in larger cities or suburbs. Slightly less than one fifth (19.5%) of the persons in sample spent majority of their childhood in rural areas.

As can be seen from the Table 2, every variable, except for the immigrant background, is as a whole significantly related to the criteria of belonging. However, contrary to some traditional literature (Bonikowski 2016), women ($M = 1.79$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$) and blacks ($M = 1.60$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$), who do not belong to dominant groups of men ($M = 1.95$, $SE = .03$) and whites ($M = 1.91$, $SE = .05$), have more restrictive view of American national belonging. In terms of place of residence, persons living in rural ($M = 1.71$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$) and other urban ($M = 1.77$, $SE = .03$, $p < .01$) areas have more restrictive notion of who can be "truly" American,

Table 2. Distribution of variables with bivariate analysis on criteria of belonging.

	Percent or mean and standard deviation	Mean and standard deviation on criteria or correlation with it	F and *df* or t and *df*
Age	48.86 *(16.91)*	-.01 ***	
Sex			4.18 *(1049.30) ***
Male	47.06	1.95 *(.03)*	
Female	52.94	1.79 *(.03)*	
Race			16.48 *(2, 1068) ***
White	76.66	1.91 *(.02)* [2]	
Black	14.19	1.60 *(.05)* [1, 3]	
Other	9.15	1.87 *(.06)* [2]	
Immigrant background			-1.10 *(258.60) n.s.*
True	16.15	1.91 *(.05)*	
False	83.85	1.86 *(.02)*	
Veteran			2.73 *(184.93) ***
Yes	12.61	1.74 *(.05)*	
No	87.39	1.88 *(.02)*	
Parents' education			-7.48 *(498.75) ***
At least one parent with BA	25.96	2.10 *(.06)*	
No parents with BA	74.04	1.78 *(.02)*	
Education			49.37 *(2, 1068) ***
Less than high school	10.64	1.56 *(.06)* [2, 3]	
High school or junior college	57.33	1.78 *(.02)* [1, 3]	
Bachelor or higher	32.03	2.11 *(.03)* [1, 2]	
Family income in constant dollars			
In dollar amount	50,756.16 *(44,638)*	.00[1] ***	
In $20,000s	2.54 *(2.23)*	.07 ***	
Place of residence			8.92 *(3, 1067) ***
Urban (100 largest SMSA)	24.84	1.94 *(.04)* [3, 4]	
Suburban (100 largest SMSA)	32.77	1.96 *(.03)* [3, 4]	
Other urban	30.07	1.77 *(.03)* [1, 2]	
Rural	12.32	1.71 *(.05)* [1, 2]	
Region			21.68 *(3, 1067) ***
Midwest	24.37	1.89 *(.04)* [3, 4]	
Northeast	15.97	1.98 *(.05)* [3]	
South	36.13	1.68 *(.03)* [1, 2, 4]	
West	25.53	2.05 *(.04)* [1, 3]	
Political views			16.3 *(6, 1064) ***
Extremely liberal	4.20	2.24 *(.09)* [4, 5, 6, 7]	
Liberal	11.30	2.17 *(.05)* [4, 5, 6, 7]	
Slightly liberal	11.86	2.07 *(.05)* [4, 5, 6, 7]	
Moderate	39.50	1.79 *(.03)* [1, 2, 3]	
Slightly conservative	13.73	1.84 *(.05)* [1, 2, 3, 6]	
Conservative	15.22	1.63 *(.05)* [1, 2, 3, 5]	
Extremely conservative	4.20	1.69 *(.09)* [1, 2, 3]	
Religion			32.66 *(5, 1065) ***
Moderate or liberal Protestant	11.58	1.69 *(.05)* [4, 6]	
Catholic or Orthodox	24.28	1.82 *(.04)* [5, 6]	
Christian - no group given	12.61	1.80 *(.05)* [5, 6]	
Lutheran, Episcopalian, or Mormon	6.26	1.96 *(.07)* [1, 5, 6]	
Sectarian or Baptist	19.79	1.58 *(.04)* [2, 3, 4, 6]	
None, Jewish, or "other religions"	25.49	2.21 *(.04)* [1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6]	
Place where lived until age 16			28.23 *(2, 1068) ***
Large city or suburb	32.40	2.02 *(.03)* [2, 3]	
City	48.09	1.86 *(.03)* [1, 3]	
Rural	19.51	1.62 *(.04)* [1, 2]	

Notes: [1—7] group in variable to which particular mean is different at p < .05 in Tukey HSD; *n.s.* not significant; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; [1] not .00, but .0000035

compared to persons living in 100 largest urban areas (*M* = 1.94, *SE* = .04). The distinction is

also evident with the place of life in childhood, where persons who mostly grew up in rural areas

have most restrictive notion (*M* = 1.62, *SE* = .04, *p* < .001), compared to those from medium

cities (M = 1.86, SE = .03), who have more restrictive understanding than persons who spent their childhood in large cities or their suburbs (M = 2.02, SE = .03, p < .001).

Multivariate Analysis

First linear model (R^2 = 0.22, $F(13, 1075)$ = 24.06, p < .001) indicates that if controlling for age, sex, race, veteran status, parent's education, education, family income, and place of residence, there is no statistically significant difference in the restrictiveness of national criteria between persons with and without immigrant background (Table 3, OLS regression models; Table 4, significance of individual variables in each of the models). Also, negative relationship of age (b = -.01, SE = .00, p < .001) and positive of family income (for $20,000 increase b = .03, SE = .01, p < .001) will remain mostly unchanged across all six models. Urban or rural place of residence, in this model, is statistically associated with the level of openness of criteria of national belonging ($F(3)$ = 5.12, p < .01). The direction of relationship is as expected, and persons living in urban areas smaller than 100 largest SMSA (b = -.16, SE = .05, p < .001) and rural areas (b = -.17, SE = .06, p <.01) have more restrictive understanding of who can truly be American, compared to those living in hundred largest cities.

Once we include region in the model (R^2 = .23, $F(16, 1054)$ = 21.25, p < .001), place of residence as a variable does not reaches the standard levels of significance. The same happens to parents' education, and remains as such to the last model. However, region itself does have statistically significant influence ($F(3)$ = 7.23, p < .001), where, compared to persons living in Midwest, those living in Northeast do not have different level of criteria restrictiveness, while Westerners have more open (b = .11, SE = .05, p < .05) and Southerners more strict criteria (b = -.11, SE = .05, p < .05) of belonging to American nation.

Table 3. OLS regression models.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(intercept)	2.25 *(.09)* ***	2.21 *(.09)* ***	2.19 *(.09)* ***	2.06 *(.10)* ***	2.24 *(.09)* ***	2.01 *(.11)* ***
Age						
One year increase	-.01 *(.00)* ***	-.01 *(.00)* ***	-.01 *(.00)* ***	-.01 *(.00)* ***	-.01 *(.00)* ***	-.01 *(.00)* ***
Sex (male)						
Female	-.15 *(.04)* ***	-.15 *(.04)* ***	-.13 *(.04)* **	-.11 *(.04)* **	-.15 *(.04)* ***	-.10 *(.03)* **
Race (white)						
Black	-.30 *(.05)* ***	-.24 *(.05)* ***	-.35 *(.05)* ***	-.22 *(.05)* ***	-.31 *(.05)* ***	-.27 *(.05)* ***
Other	-.11 *(.07)* ***	-.13 *(.07)*	-.12 *(.06)*	-.11 *(.06)*	-.13 *(.07)*	-.14 *(.06)* *
Immigrant background (no)						
Yes	.03 *(.05)*	.03 *(.05)*	.03 *(.05)*	.02 *(.05)*	.01 *(.05)*	.03 *(.05)*
Veteran (no)						
Yes	-.15 *(.06)* **	-.13 *(.06)* *	-.10 *(.05)*	-.12 *(.05)* *	-.15 *(.06)* **	.09 *(.05)*
Parents' education (no bachelors')						
At least one parent with bachelors'	.09 *(.04)* *	.08 *(.04)*	.06 *(.04)*	.08 *(.04)*	.08 *(.04)*	.05 *(.04)*
Education (less than high school)						
High school or junior college	.16 *(.06)* **	.15 *(.06)* *	.15 *(.06)* **	.12 *(.06)* *	.14 *(.06)* *	.12 *(.06)* *
Bachelor or higher	.38 *(.07)* ***	.36 *(.07)* ***	.33 *(.07)* ***	.23 *(.07)* ***	.35 *(.07)* ***	.27 *(.06)* ***
Family income in constant dollars						
Increase of $20,000	.03 *(.01)* ***	.03 *(.01)* ***	.04 *(.01)* ***	.03 *(.01)* ***	.03 (.01) ***	.03 *(.01)* ***
Residence (100 largest SMSA cities)						
Suburban (100 largest SMSA)	-.06 *(.05)*	-.05 *(.05)*	-.04 *(.04)*	-.05 *(.04)*	-.05 *(.05)*	-.02 *(.04)*
Other urban	-.16 *(.05)* ***	-.12 *(.05)* *	-.14 *(.05)* **	-.13 *(.05)* **	-.12 *(.05)* *	-.06 *(.05)*
Rural	-.17 *(.06)* **	-.09 *(.05)*	-.12 *(.06)* *	-.11 *(.06)*	-.10 *(.06)*	.01 *(.06)*
Region (Midwest)						
Northeast		.04 *(.06)*				.00 *(.05)*
South		-.11 *(.05)* *				-.06 *(.04)*
West		.11 *(.05)* *				.07 *(.05)*
Political views (moderate)						
Extremely liberal			.45 *(.09)* ***			.38 *(.08)* ***
Liberal			.28 *(.06)* ***			.21 *(.06)* ***
Slightly liberal			.19 *(.05)* ***			.18 *(.05)* **
Slightly conservative			.00 *(.05)*			.04 *(.05)*
Conservative			.20 *(.05)* ***			-.15 *(.05)* **
Extremely conservative			.12 *(.08)*			-.05 *(.08)*
Religion (moderate or liberal Protestant)						
Catholic or Orthodox				.04 *(.06)*		.01 *(.06)*
Christian, no group given				.05 *(.07)*		.06 *(.07)*
Lutheran, Episcopalian, or Mormon				.17 *(.08)* *		.17 *(.08)* *
Sectarian or Baptist				-.04 *(.06)*		-.01 *(.06)*
None, Jewish, or "other religions"				.37 *(.06)* ***		.28 *(.06)* ***
Place where lived until age 16 (city)						
Large city or suburb					.10 *(.04)* *	.09 *(.04)* *
Rural					-.14 *(.05)* ***	-.09 *(.04)* *
Adjusted R²	.22	.23	.28	.27	.23	.32

Notes: Coefficients b with standard error in brackets. For categorical variables, reference group listed in brackets. * $p < .05$, ** $< .01$,
*** $p < .001$, *N = 1071*. Visual representation in Appendix. Source: GSS 2014.

Table 4. Significance of variables in the regression models.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Age	77.79 *(1)* ***	73.21 *(1)* ***	81.39 *(1)* ***	60.67 *(1)* ***	71.79 *(1)* ***	60.71 *(1)* ***
Sex	17.75 *(1)* ***	16.74 *(1)* ***	12.75 *(1)* ***	10.29 *(1)* **	17.85 *(1)* ***	9.23 *(1)* **
Race	17.29 *(2)* ***	11.73 *(2)* ***	26.02 *(2)*	10.23 *(2)* ***	19.22 *(2)* ***	15.25 *(2)* ***
Immigrant background	.24 *(1)*	.34 *(1)*	.85 *(1)*	.23 *(1)*	.08 *(1)*	.47 *(1)*
Veteran	7.13 *(1)* **	5.29 *(1)* *	3.54 *(1)*	4.99 *(1)* *	7.52 *(1)* **	2.84 *(1)*
Parents' education	4.38 *(1)* *	3.57 *(1)*	2.13 *(1)*	3.81 *(1)*	3.75 *(1)*	1.46 *(1)*
Education	19.61 *(2)* ***	18.26 *(2)* ***	15.07 *(2)* ***	15.53 *(2)* ***	17.12 *(2)* ***	11.08 *(2)* ***
Family income in constant dollars	12.15 *(1)* ***	14.23 *(1)* ***	18.92 *(1)* ***	13.97 *(1)* ***	9.99 *(1)* **	16.93 *(1)* ***
Place of residence	5.12 *(3)* **	2.14 *(3)*	3.16 *(3)* *	3.20 *(3)* *	2.16 *(3)*	.79 *(3)*
Region		7.23 *(3)* ***				2.50 *(3)*
Political views			15.78 *(6)* ***			9.86 *(6)* ***
Religion				16.70 *(5)* ***		9.28 *(5)* ***
Place where lived until age 16					9.60 *(2)* ***	6.80 *(2)* **
F statistics for the whole model	24.06 *** *(13, 1057)*	21.25 *** *(16, 1054)*	22.82 *** *(19, 1051)*	23.30 *** *(18, 1052)*	22.47 *** *(15, 1055)*	18.52 *** *(29, 1041)*

Notes: F values and degrees of freedom for ANOVA Type II test comparing model without select variable and whole model. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

In the model that includes political views and excludes region ($R^2 = .28$, $F(19, 1051) = 22.82$, $p < .001$), veteran status does not reach the level of statistical significance. While it will in the following two models, in the last model, controlling for everything, again, it will not reach it. For political views ($F(6) = 15.78$, $p < .001$), we see the same pattern as in bivariate regression, where all three groups of liberals had more open criteria of belonging (extremely liberal $b = .45$, $SE = .09$, $p < .001$; liberal $b = .28$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$; slightly liberal $b = .19$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$), while moderates, slightly and extremely conservative persons in average share the vision of who is "true" American. However, most restrictive are again conservatives ($b = -.20$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$). In this model, place of residence reaches the level of statistical significance, and the relationship is similar to that of the first model.

In the fourth model ($R^2 = .27$, $F(18, 1052) = 23.30$, $p < .001$), where we substitute political views for religion, place of residence, as a whole, is still statistically significant ($F(3) = 3.20$, $p < .05$), but interestingly, only persons living in other urban areas have more restrictive idea of national belonging ($b = -.13$, $SE = .05$, $p < .01$). Compared to moderate and liberal Protestants, two groups have more open understanding of national belonging, and none has more

restrictive. Namely, Lutherans, Episcopalian, and Mormons have for .17 higher score on the index of criteria (*SE* = .08, *p* < .05), while Jews, atheists, and persons belonging to "other religions" have a score higher for .37 (*SE* = .06, *p* < .001).

Finally, if religion is substituted for the self-reported question of the place where person lived (R^2 = .023, $F(15, 1055)$ = 22.47, *p* <.001), current place of living ceases to achieve statistical level of significance. However, here we fully see congruence of relationship between urban/rural character of the place, as whole, and individually. Namely, persons who mostly grew up in large cities or their suburbs have higher average score on scale of criteria of belonging (*b* = .10, *SE* = .04, p < .05), meaning they have more open criteria. Unlike them, persons who spent most of their childhood in rural areas, compared to those in the cities, hold more restrictive criteria of belonging (*b* = -.14, *SE* =.05, *p* <.01).

In the end, the model that includes all thirteen variables (R^2 = .32, $F(27, 1041)$ = 18.52, *p* < .001) shows that level of statistical significance is not achieved for immigrant background, veteran status, parents' education, but also of neither current place of residence nor region. For all other variables, except for race, direction of the relationship remains the same, as it did in partial models. For race ($F(2)$=15.25, *p* <.001), however, once controlling for all the factors, it emerges that persons belonging to the group "other" have lower score compared to whites (*b* = -.14, *SE* =.06, *p* < .05). In other words, non-whites have a more restrictive understanding of who can be "truly" American.

DISCUSSION

GSS data for 2014 show that some traditional indicators of strength of nationalism, manifested here as openness or restrictiveness of criteria of American national belonging, are significant. Namely, younger, richer, and more educated Americans tend to have a less restrictive

notion of who can be considered to be a true member of nation. Self-identified liberals, whether "extreme", "slight", or "regular" also have more open understanding of it, compared to moderates. What is interesting, though, is that besides being the single largest group, self-identified moderates cannot be distinguished, in terms of criteria of national belonging, from those who see themselves as slightly conservative, but also extremely conservative. This is even more intriguing, since, on this self-identification scale, (moderate) conservatives have most restrictive vision of true Americans. The problem may exist with the measure or self-perception of the respondents, but also, it may be that those who see themselves as extremely conservative have the so-called "credential" notion of American nationalism, which, among other, assumes a fairly constitutional nationalism.

In terms of urban or rural place of residence, individually, and controlled for age, sex, race, immigrant background, veteran status, parents education, education, and family income, persons who live outside the 100 largest statistical metropolitan areas have more restrictive vision of who true Americans can be. However, once we control for region, place where person lived until the age of 16, or, in addition to the two, political views and religion, it ceases to reach levels of statistical significance. What does it mean? A straight-forward interpretation would be that urban-rural divide does not have bearing for criteria of belonging. Yet, such interpretation would be, in my opinion wrong. First, assuming the existence of potential direct causality could be misleading, since the relationship between rurality and nationalism, as I have tried to demonstrate, is much more complex. A simple, though not simplistic, interpretation can assume that nationalism as a whole is clearly more present within the rural areas, irrelevant to the other characteristics of the persons who live there, which may be more prone to stronger nationalist attitudes. Additionally, one could argue that within the rural areas, especially in United States,

there is so much diversity that a simple numerical and administrative classification cannot capture the true distinction that exist between, for example, large mostly rural town, or currently small, but historically urban, village. Naturally, GSS sampling is not meant to deal with such nuances, and without access to restricted datasets with geopositioning one can hardly make such arguments persuasively.

Three unexpected findings emerged from this research. First, two traditionally underprivileged groups have more restrictive understanding of national belonging, which could contradict some previous studies (see Bonikowski 2016; or for partial confirmation Bonikowski and DiMaggio 2016). Namely, women and blacks consistently, and non-whites in final regression model, have less open vision of what it takes to be "truly" American than men and whites, respectively. While it is possible to speculate that, for example, seeing their belonging to American nation as a privilege they have more protective attitude about it, it cannot be conclusive without further research that would have to take into account the temporal changes.

Second, controlling for all variables in the regression model, persons who served with US Army do not have more restrictive notion of who can be true American compared to non-veterans. Given that modern army is an institution that is most openly connected with the notion of nation and its protection this can be seen as somewhat unusual. Again, without further studies it would be difficult to speculate, but two divergent lines of argument could be that, either some veterans have strongly appropriated the proclaimed notions of liberty and openness of American democracy, or, the opposite, that given their service and faced with real prospect of giving a life on the altar of the nation, they have appropriated the notion of national belonging with less nationalism than it would be expected. Of course, while plausible, argument that Army

experience has no impact on national sentiment, even in the context of criteria of national belonging, seems unlikely.

Lastly, persons with immigrant background do not have more open notion of national belonging, compared to those without it. While initially unexpected, this might not be surprising, since, immigrant belonging is greater where majority population prioritizes attainable criteria of national membership (Pehrson et al. 2009; Simonsen 2016), and United States is seen as "nation of immigrants".

There are, of course, considerable limitations of this study. First, there probably are more fundamental concepts underlying criteria of national belonging, that are associated with notions of civic and ethnic identity, or more complex classification, as suggested by Bonikowski and DiMaggio (2016). Second, given all the theoretical and operational issues with the notion of national identity (Malešević 2011), criteria of national belonging, at least measured in this way, might be so strongly connected with the nationalism. Third, high skewness of indicators of criteria of national belonging somewhat limits potential analysis and studies, and influence individual factors have are rather small. Fourth, variable used for urban-rural classification has certain problems in classification of non-100 metropolitan areas, and is not frequently used after 1970 (Smith et al. 2016). However, in terms of distinguishing much larger cities from other areas in United States it is much more suitable than some other available variables. In this sense, variable indicating self-reported place of living might also be a good indicator of what could better operationalization of category urban-rural demonstrate. On the other hand, self-identified place where respondents spent most of their childhood follows much simpler characterization, which, after all, might correspond more to the main goals of this research. Lastly, this research did not take into account the changes that could have happened over time, nor did it in more

detail explore the relationship between American nationalism and religion, which could, given the central role religion had and has in United States, and importance of religion for nationalisms in general, help better understand the relationship between urbanity/rurality and nationalism.

The final point is even more persuasive, once we take into account that distinction that emerged in terms of religious belonging and criteria of nationalism. Only two categories that differ from all other religious identifications are Lutherans, Episcopalians, and Mormons, in one, and Jews, "other religions", and atheists who all had more open understanding of American national belonging, compared to moderate and liberal Protestants. This somewhat stands in contrast with other recent research on American nationalism (Bonikowski and DiMaggio 2016), and certainly warrants further analysis.

CONCLUSION

Main thesis of this research is that for better understanding of nationalism, its relationship with environment, in sense of urbanity and rurality, is fundamental. This dialectic of urbanity and rurality manifests itself in multiple ways. From its emergence among persons in urban modernizing cities of the 19th century (Gellner 2008; Hobsbawm 1996), while imagining purity of the rural (Gellner 2008; Smith 2013b), and being engaged in "nationalization", de facto colonialization, of the peasants (Weber 1976), through violent and separatist movements dominating in countryside (Laitin 1995; Nairn 1997), to being understood as the foundation of the distinction between civic and ethnic nationalism (Ramet 1996) or simply representing the essential anti-city sentiment – *urbicide* (Bogdanović 1994).

One empirical approach to this topic is to analyze nationalist sentiment, operationalized as restrictiveness of the criteria of national belonging, across the persons who not only live or lived in urban or rural areas, but also spent most of their childhood in them. Using the 2014 GSS

data and ISSP module on national identity, starting hypothesis failed. Namely, although in initial analysis persons living in rural areas did have more restrictive notion of national belonging, once controlling for a variety of socio-demographic factors, the relationship disappeared. However, even then place where respondents spent most of their childhood in had a statistically significant influence, in the sense that those who grew up in large urban cities or their suburbs had the least restrictive notion of who can be "true" American, followed by those who grew up in medium cities, while persons who spent most of their childhood in rural areas had most restrictive understanding of it. If we take into account the importance that school have in production and reproduction of national identity (Billig 1995; Bourdieu, Wacquant, and Farage 1994; Milosavljević 2000; Wodak et al. 2009), a clear indirect argument can be made that rural environment in United States is, or at least was environment more susceptible for stronger nationalist sentiments.

What results of this research undoubtedly suggest is that further studies of relationship between environment where people live, namely urbanity and rurality, and nationalism or national identity, are needed and can help us better understand nationalism, especially in the context of its "curse of rurality".

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – ADDITIONAL TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 5. Principal component analysis for criteria of belonging.

To be "truly" American it is important to…	Three-factor solution				Two-factor solution			One-factor solution	
	Factor loadings			Communality	Factor loadings		Communality	Factor loadings	Communality
	1	2	3		1	2		1	
be born in America	.70	.46	-.12	.71	.84	.03	.71	.77	.60
have citizenship	.16	.83	.13	.73	.51	.43	.44	.64	.41
lived for most life	.69	.46	-.01	.68	.81	.14	.68	.80	.63
speak English	.24	.72	.16	.60	.52	.41	.45	.65	.42
be Christian	.79	.04	.31	.72	.66	.27	.15	.71	.51
obey the laws	.06	.14	.93	.88	-.03	.91	.82	.36	.13
feel American	.40	.35	.37	.42	.45	.46	.41	.60	.37
have ancestry	.86	.21	.09	.79	.83	.13	.71	.81	.65
Proportion variance	.32	.23	.14		.40	.19		.40	
Cumulative variance	.32	.55	.69		.40	.59			

N = 1071.
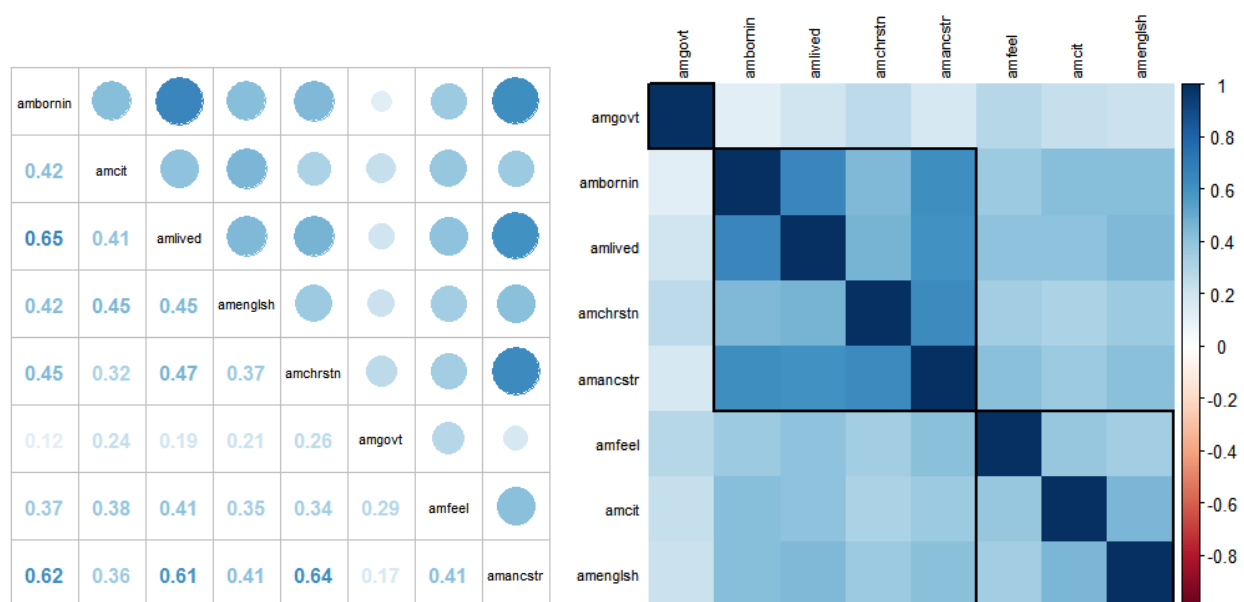
Figure 2. Correlation plots for items of criteria of belonging.

Note: Order of variables is different in left and right plot. Three black boxes on the right

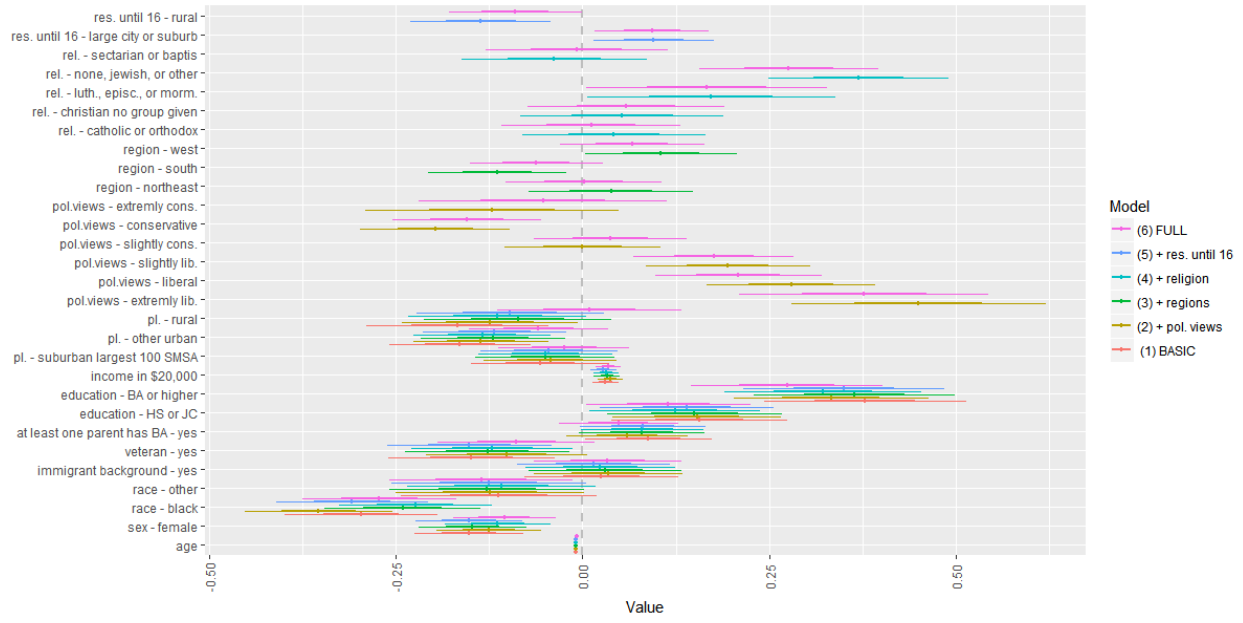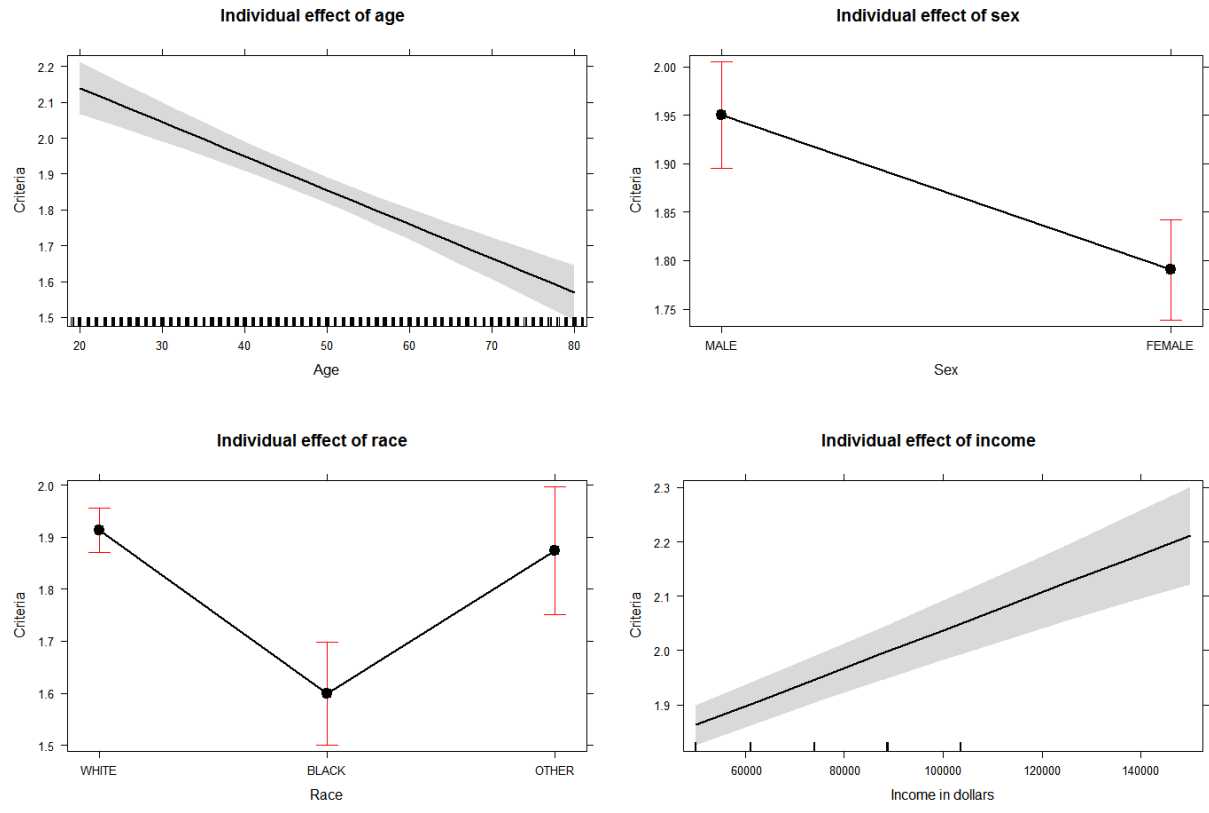represent hierarchical cluster analysis. All correlations are significant and p < .001 level.

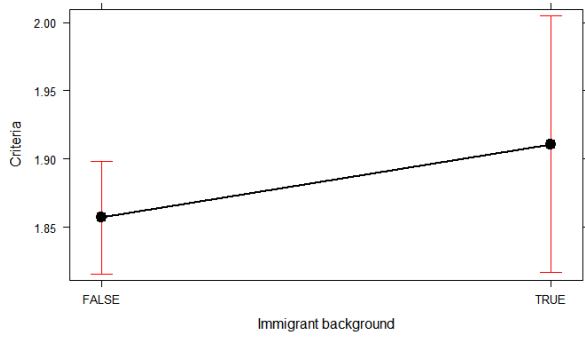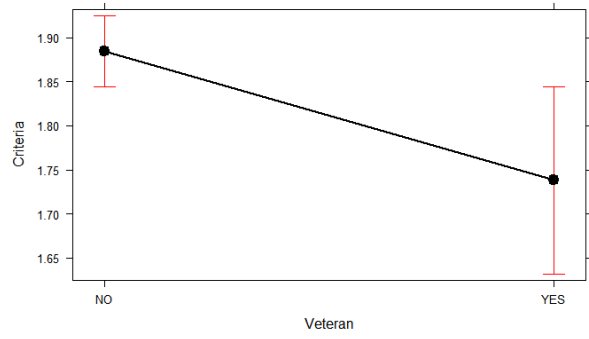*Figure 3. Coefficient plot with all six regression models, excluding intercept.*

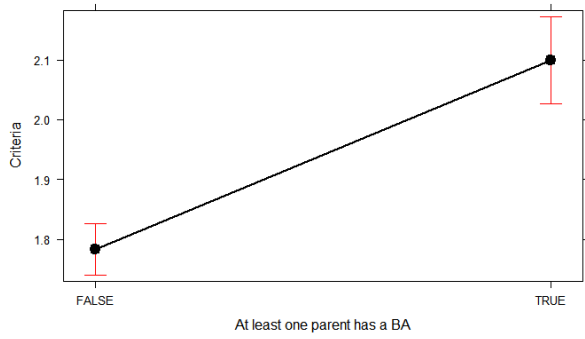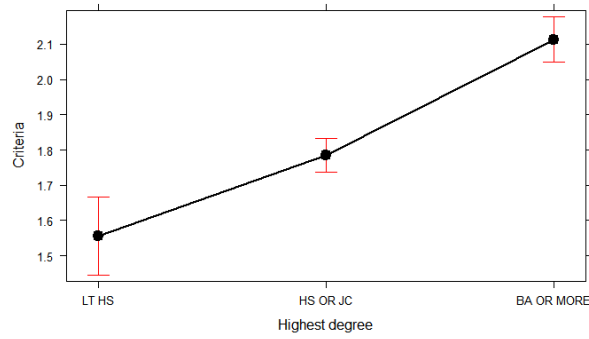Individual effect of immigrant background

Individual effect of veteran status

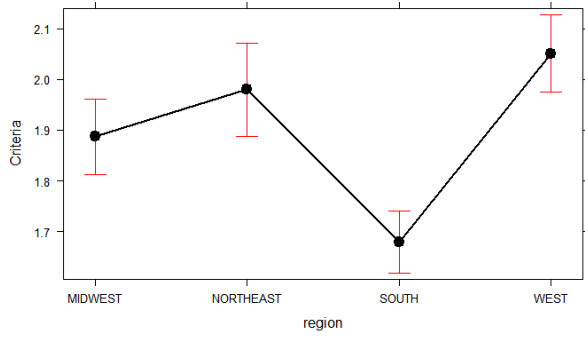Individual effect of parents education
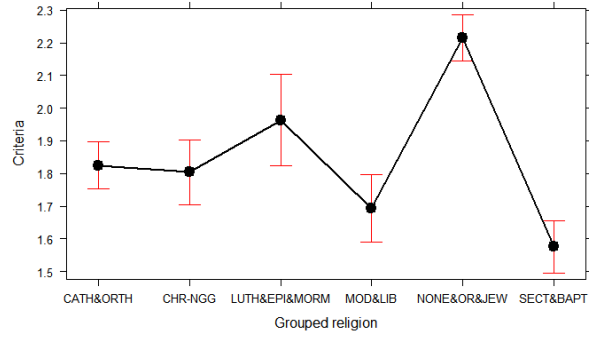

Individual effect of education

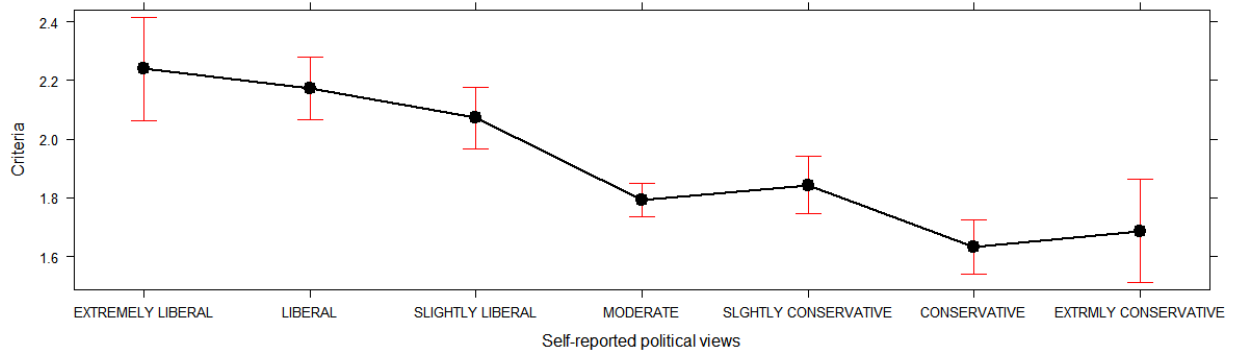
Individual effect of region

Individual effect of religion
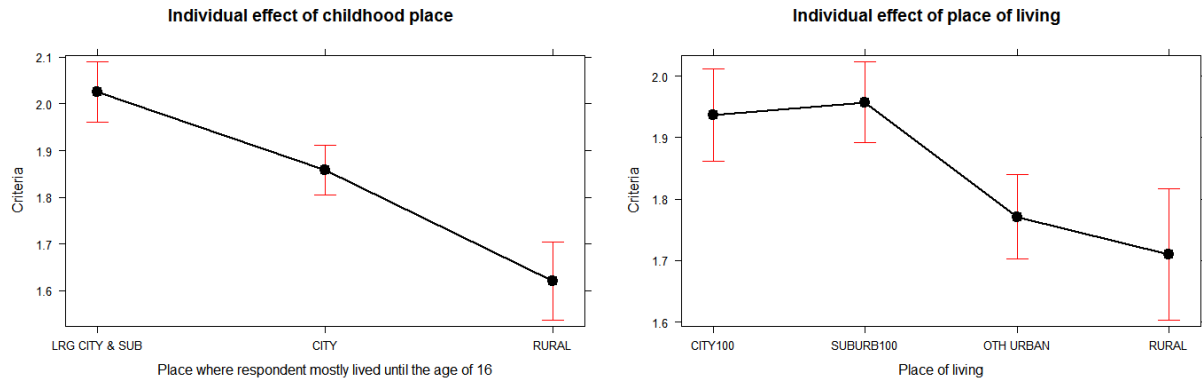

Individual effect of political views

Figure 4. Individual effects on criteria of belonging.

APPENDIX B – REPLICATION CODE

```
######## PACKAGES USED ########
library(foreign)
library(dplyr)
library(car)
library(Cairo)
library(cairoDevice)
library(corrplot)
library(effects)
require(ggplot2)
require(GGally)
library(psych)
library(Amelia)
library(corrplot)
library(MASS)
library(gvlma)
library(rms)
library(coefplot)
library(AER)


############ FUNCTIONS ############
#
#

out.stat <- function(x){
  ######## Vector: basic statistics ###########
  # Basic statistics (min, max, mean, SD)
  cat("Min: ", round(min(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),2),
      "Max: ", round(max(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),2),
      "Mean: ", round(mean(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),2),
      "SD: ", round(sd(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),2)
  )
}

out.tbls.wn <- function(x){
  ######## Vector: detailed summary ###########
  # Frequency table, including and excluding NA
  # Also basic statistics (min, max, mean, SD)
  cat("Variable summary:\n")
  a <- cbind(Freq=table(x, useNA = "ifany"),
             Relative=round(100*prop.table(table(x, useNA = "ifany")), 2),
             Cumul=round(100*cumsum(prop.table(table(x, useNA = "ifany"))),2),
             Relative=round(100*prop.table(table(x)), 2),
             Cumul=round(100*cumsum(prop.table(table(x))),2))
  print(a)
  cat("Ignore warning, if NA present. Also last two columnes for NA.\n")
  if (!(is.numeric(x))) {cat("Not numeric variable! This may not have meaning:\n")}
  cat("Min: ", round(min(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),2),
      "Max: ", round(max(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),2),
      "Mean: ", round(mean(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),2),
      "SD: ", round(sd(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),2)
  )
}

info.detail <- function(DF){
  ######## More detailed df information ###########
  # returns detailed information on dataframe
  informacije <- sapply(DF, function(x) cbind(min(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),
                                              max(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),
                                              mean(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),
                                              sd(as.numeric(x), na.rm = TRUE),
                                              sum(is.na(x))))
  inform.rounded <- data.frame(
    min=round(informacije[1,],0),
    max=round(informacije[2,],0),
    mean=round(informacije[3,],2),
    SD=round(informacije[4,],2),
    NAs=informacije[5,]
  )
  for (i in (1:nrow(inform.rounded))) {
    if (is.numeric(DF[,i])) {
      inform.rounded[i,"type"] <- "numeric"
      inform.rounded[i,"lvl"] <- "."}
    else if (is.factor(DF[,i])) {
      if (is.ordered(DF[,i]))
```

```
        inform.rounded[i,"type"] <- "ordered f."
      else {
        inform.rounded[i,"type"] <- "categ. f."
        inform.rounded[i,1] <- "."
        inform.rounded[i,3] <- "."
        inform.rounded[i,4] <- "."
      }
      inform.rounded[i,"lvl"] <- inform.rounded[i,2]
      inform.rounded[i,2] <- "."
    }
    else {
      inform.rounded[i,"type"] <- "something third"
      inform.rounded[i,"lvl"] <- "."
    }
    if (inform.rounded[i,5] == 0) inform.rounded[i,5] <- "."
  }
  print(inform.rounded)
  cat("Sample size N: ",nrow(DF))
}

average.excluding <- function(G, n){
  ######## AVERAGE EXCLUDING ###########
  # returns the mean of G variables
  # for cases with more than n missing
  # G is dataframe or c(var1, var2, ...)
  apply(G, 1,
       function(x) {
          if (sum(is.na(x)) > n) mean(x)
          else mean(x, na.rm = TRUE)})
}

cor.mtest <- function(mat, conf.level = 0.95){
  ######## SIGNIFICANCE TEST ###########
  # Significance value for use in plotting
  # allows for identification of insignificant
  # corelations (specify level, def. 0.95)
  # From "An intrudction to corrplot package"
  # ftp://cran.r-project.org/pub/R/web/packages/corrplot/vignettes/corrplot-intro.html
  mat <- as.matrix(mat)
  n <- ncol(mat)
  p.mat <- lowCI.mat <- uppCI.mat <- matrix(NA, n, n)
  diag(p.mat) <- 0
  diag(lowCI.mat) <- diag(uppCI.mat) <- 1
  for(i in 1:(n-1)){
    for(j in (i+1):n){
      tmp <- cor.test(mat[,i], mat[,j], conf.level = conf.level)
      p.mat[i,j] <- p.mat[j,i] <- tmp$p.value
      lowCI.mat[i,j] <- lowCI.mat[j,i] <- tmp$conf.int[1]
      uppCI.mat[i,j] <- uppCI.mat[j,i] <- tmp$conf.int[2]
    }
  }
  return(list(p.mat, lowCI.mat, uppCI.mat))
}

rec.relig12 <- function(religion, denomination, other) {
  ######## RECODING RELIGION AND RELIGION AT 16 ###########
  # Sherkat and Lehman (2017)
  # To work properly, folder 'Relig' with .csv's of label
  # names has to be in wokring directory.
  #
  # Function: # rec.relig(religion, denomination, other)
  #      relig or relig16 variable; denom or denom 16; other or oth16
  # function prints frequencies and returns factor vector with
  # religion recoded
  #
  # it works with GSS dataset imported through 'read.spss',
  # from foreign package, in following way:
  # to.data.frame = TRUE, trim.factor.names = TRUE,
  # trim_values = TRUE, use.missings = FALSE

  # Import three varaibles into new dataset used for recoding
  DF <- data.frame(
    relig = religion,
    denom = denomination,
    other = other
  )

  # Read values for all variables
  c.relig <- read.csv("Relig/relig.csv")
```

```
c.denom <- read.csv("Relig/denom.csv")
c.other <- read.csv("Relig/other.csv")

# Create vectors with position corespondign to the code/punch of label in DF codebook for 3 variables
c.r <- c()
for (i in c.relig$code) {
  c.r[i] <- as.character(c.relig[c.relig$code == i, "label"])
}
c.r[99] <- "NA"

c.d <- c()
for (i in c.denom$code) {
  c.d[i] <- as.character(c.denom[c.denom$code == i, "label"])
}
c.d[99] <- "NA"

c.o <- c()
for (i in c.other$code) {
  c.o[i] <- as.character(c.other[c.other$code == i, "label"])
}
c.o[999] <- "NA"

# Liberal Protestants
lp.d.num <- c(40:49)
lp.o.num <- c(29, 30, 40, 54, 70, 72 , 81, 82, 95, 98, 119, 142, 160, 188)
lp.denom <- c.d[lp.d.num]
lp.other <- c.o[lp.o.num]
DF$lp.true <- DF$denom %in% lp.denom | DF$other %in% lp.other
DF$rv[DF$lp.true] <- "Liberal Protestant"

# Episcopalians
ep.d.num <- c(50)
ep.denom <- c.d[ep.d.num]
DF$ep.true <- DF$denom %in% ep.denom
DF$rv[DF$ep.true] <- "Episcopalian"

# Moderate Protestants
mp.d.num <- c(10:13, 20:23, 28)
mp.o.num <- c(1, 8, 15, 19, 25, 32, 42:44, 46, 49:51, 71, 73, 94, 99, 146, 148, 150, 186)
mp.denom <- c.d[mp.d.num]
mp.other <- c.o[mp.o.num]
DF$mp.true <- DF$denom %in% mp.denom | DF$other %in% mp.other
DF$rv[DF$mp.true] <- "Moderate Protestant"

# Lutherans
lt.d.num <- c(30:38)
lt.o.num <- c(105)
lt.denom <- c.d[lt.d.num]
lt.other <- c.o[lt.o.num]
DF$lt.true <- DF$denom %in% lt.denom | DF$other %in% lt.other
DF$rv[DF$lt.true] <- "Lutheran"

# Baptists
bp.d.num <- c(14:18)
bp.o.num <- c(93, 133, 197)
bp.denom <- c.d[bp.d.num]
bp.other <- c.o[bp.o.num]
DF$bp.true <- DF$denom %in% bp.denom | DF$other %in% bp.other
DF$rv[DF$bp.true] <- "Baptist"

# Sectarian Protestants
# these initial variables pull out sectarians codes relig=11 (christian)
# or relig=5 (other), but also have valid denom codes.
DF$sp.pent <- DF$relig == c.r[11] & DF$other == c.o[68]
DF$sp.centchrist <- DF$relig == c.r[5] & DF$other == c.o[31]
DF$sp.fsg <- DF$relig == c.r[5] & DF$other == c.o[53]
DF$sp.jw <- DF$relig == c.r[5] & DF$other == c.o[58]
DF$sp.sda <- DF$relig == c.r[5] & DF$other == c.o[77]
DF$sp.ofund <- DF$relig == c.r[5] & DF$other == c.o[97]

sp.o.num <- c(2, 3, 5:7, 9, 10, 12:14, 16:18, 20:24, 26, 27, 31, 33:39, 41,
              45, 47, 48, 52, 53, 55:58, 63, 65:69, 76:79, 83:92, 96, 97, 100:104,
              106:113, 115:118, 120:122, 124, 125, 127:132, 134, 135, 137:141, 144,
              145, 151:156, 158, 159, 166:182, 184, 185, 187, 189:191, 193, 195, 196, 198, 201, 204)
sp.other <- c.o[sp.o.num]

DF$sp.true <- DF$other %in% sp.other | DF$sp.pent | DF$sp.centchrist | DF$sp.fsg | DF$sp.jw | DF$sp.sda | DF$sp.ofund
DF$rv[DF$sp.true] <- "Sectarian Protestant"
```

```
  # Christian, no group identified.
  DF$cn.christ <- DF$relig == c.r[11] & !DF$sp.pent
  cn.r.num <- c(13)
  cn.d.num <- c(70, 98, 99)
  cn.o.num <- c(998, 999)
  cn.relig <- c.r[cn.r.num]
  cn.denom <- c.d[cn.d.num]
  cn.other <- c.o[cn.o.num]
  DF$cn.true  <- DF$relig %in% cn.relig | DF$denom %in% cn.denom | DF$other %in% cn.other | DF$cn.christ
  DF$rv[DF$cn.true] <- "Christian, no group given"

  # Mormons
  mr.o.num <- c(59:62, 64, 157, 162)
  mr.other <- c.o[mr.o.num]
  DF$mr.true <- DF$other %in% mr.other
  DF$rv[DF$mr.true] <- "Mormon"

  # Catholics and Orthodox Christians/Protestants?
  co.r.num <- c(2, 10)
  co.o.num <- c(28, 123, 126, 143, 149, 183, 194)
  co.relig <- c.r[co.r.num]
  co.other <- c.o[co.o.num]
  DF$co.true <- DF$relig %in% co.relig | DF$other %in% co.other
  DF$rv[DF$co.true] <- "Catholic and Orthodox"

  # Jews
  jw.r.num <- c(3)
  jw.relig <- c.r[jw.r.num]
  DF$jw.true <- DF$relig %in% jw.relig
  DF$rv[DF$jw.true] <- "Jewish"

  # Other religions
  DF$or.nonsp <- (DF$relig == c.r[5]) & !(DF$sp.pent | DF$sp.centchrist | DF$sp.fsg | DF$sp.jw | DF$sp.sda | DF$sp.ofund)
  or.r.num <- c(6:9, 12)
  or.o.num <- c(11, 74, 75, 80, 114, 136, 161, 163, 164, 192)
  or.relig <- c.r[or.r.num]
  or.other <- c.o[or.o.num]
  DF$or.true <- DF$relig %in% or.relig | DF$other %in% or.other | DF$or.nonsp
  DF$rv[DF$or.true] <- "Other religion"

  # No religious identification
  nr.r.num <- c(4)
  nr.relig <- c.r[nr.r.num]
  DF$nr.true <- DF$relig %in% nr.relig
  DF$rv[DF$nr.true] <- "None"

  # Missing values
  # No Answer
  DF$na.relig <- DF$relig == c.r[99]
  DF$na.denom <- DF$denom == c.d[99]
  DF$na.rd <- DF$na.relig & DF$na.denom
  DF$rv[DF$na.rd] <- "No answer"

  # Don't know
  DF$dk.relig <- DF$relig == c.r[98]
  DF$rv[DF$dk.relig] <- "DNTKNW"

  # Treat it as factor, reorganize the levels
  DF$rv <- as.factor(DF$rv)
  DF$rv <- factor(DF$rv, levels(DF$rv)[c(14, 1, 3, 9, 8, 7, 5, 2, 10, 6, 13, 12, 4, 11)], ordered = FALSE)

  # Provide table with proportions
  print(cbind(Freq=table(DF$rv, useNA = "ifany"),
          Relative=round(100*prop.table(table(DF$rv, useNA = "ifany")), 2),
          Cumul=round(100*cumsum(prop.table(table(DF$rv, useNA = "ifany"))),2)
  ))

  # Return the vector with recoded religion
  return(DF$rv)
}

############ IMPORTING DATA ############
#
# importing two datasets, so there is no need to manually deal with different levels of
# missingdata, in one all missing are as NA, in other, they have individual codes

GSS.14 <- read.spss("GSS2014.sav", to.data.frame = TRUE, trim.factor.names = TRUE,
                trim_values = TRUE, use.missings = TRUE)
GSS.14.MISS <- read.spss("GSS2014.sav", to.data.frame = TRUE, trim.factor.names = TRUE,
```

```
                              trim_values = TRUE, use.missings = FALSE)

# Recoding religion
GSS.14.MISS$religion <- rec.relig12(GSS.14.MISS$relig, GSS.14.MISS$denom, GSS.14.MISS$other)
GSS.14$religion <- GSS.14.MISS$religion

# selecting only cases that did the ISSP module on nationalism
GSS.14$clseusa.miss <- GSS.14.MISS$clseusa
table(GSS.14$clseusa, GSS.14$clseusa.miss, useNA = "always")
rm.cases <- which(GSS.14$clseusa.miss == "IAP")
GSS.14 <- GSS.14[-rm.cases,]
table(GSS.14$clseusa, GSS.14$clseusa.miss, useNA = "always")
rm(rm.cases)

# Create vectors with names of variables to be used in analysis
var.n.criteria <- c("ambornin", "amcit", "amlived", "amenglsh",
                    "amchrstn", "amgovt", "amfeel")
var.n.criteria.plus <- c(var.n.criteria, "amancstr")    # asked in 04 and 14
var.n.other.plus <- c("amproud1")    # asked in 04 and 14
var.other <- c("year", "sex", "coninc", "age", "born", "race", "citizen", "parcit",
               "region", "religion", "padeg", "madeg", "polviews", "degree", "srcbelt",
               "res16", "xnorcsiz", "size")
var.other.14 <- c(var.other, "vetyears")        # asked only in 14
var.all.14 <- c(var.other.14, var.n.criteria.plus, var.n.other.plus)

# Select only desired varaibles
GSS.14 <- GSS.14[var.all.14]

# Create a backup copy of the dataset
GSS.2014.BACKUP <- GSS.14

info.detail(GSS.14)
summary(GSS.14)

# Remove 50 cases that answered question 'How proud are you of being American?'
# as 'I AM NOT AMERICAN'
GSS.14 <- subset(GSS.14, ((GSS.14$amproud1!="I AM NOT AMERICAN") | is.na(GSS.14$amproud1)))
GSS.14$amproud1 <- droplevels(GSS.14$amproud1)


###### RECODING #####
#
#
#

# urban rural residence
GSS.14$r.srcbelt <- Recode(GSS.14$srcbelt, "c('SUBURB, 12 LRGST','SUBURB, 13-100')='SUBURB100';
                          'OTHER URBAN'='OTH URBAN';'OTHER RURAL'='RURAL'; else='CITY100'",
                          levels = c("CITY100", "SUBURB100", "OTH URBAN", "RURAL"))
# place where lived until age of 16
GSS.14$r.res16 <- Recode(GSS.14$res16, "c('CITY GT 250000','BIG-CITY SUBURB')='LRG CITY & SUB';
                        c('50000 TO 250000','TOWN LT 50000')='CITY';
                        c('FARM','COUNTRY,NONFARM')='RURAL'",
                        levels = c("LRG CITY & SUB", "CITY", "RURAL"))
# religion
GSS.14$r.religion <- Recode(GSS.14$religion, "
                              c('Sectarian Protestant', 'Baptist')='SECT&BAPT';
                              c('Moderate Protestant', 'Liberal Protestant')='MOD&LIB';
                              c('Lutheran', 'Episcopalian', 'Mormon')='LUTH&EPI&MORM';
                              c('Jewish', 'Other religion', 'None')='NONE&OR&JEW';
                              c('Catholic and Orthodox')='CATH&ORTH';
                              c('Christian, no group given')='CHR-NGG';
                              c('DNTKNW','No answer')=NA")
# summary(GSS.14$race)       # no recoding
# summary(GSS.14$sex)        # no recoding
# summary(GSS.14$age)        # no recoding
# but also age into decades to see if there is a break
GSS.14$year.num <- as.character(GSS.14$year)
GSS.14$year.num <- as.numeric(GSS.14$year.num)
GSS.14$age.born <- GSS.14$year.num - GSS.14$age
GSS.14$age.born <- GSS.14$age.born - 1900
GSS.14$age.born <- GSS.14$age.born/10
GSS.14$age.born <- trunc(GSS.14$age.born)
GSS.14$age.born[GSS.14$age.born < 3] <- 2 # grouping 1910 & 1920s
GSS.14$age.born <- (GSS.14$age.born*10)+1900
GSS.14$age.bd <- as.factor(GSS.14$age.born)

GSS.14$veteran <- Recode(GSS.14$vetyears, "'NONE'='NO'; else='YES'")
# immigration background
```

```r
GSS.14$pcitizens <- Recode(GSS.14$parcit, "'BOTH WERE CITIZENS OF AMERICA'='YES'; NA=NA; else='NO'")
GSS.14$immigrant <- !((GSS.14$citizen %in% c("YES")) & (GSS.14$parcit %in% c("BOTH WERE CITIZENS OF AMERICA"))
                        & (GSS.14$born %in% c("YES")))
GSS.14$immigrant[is.na(GSS.14$citizen) & is.na(GSS.14$parcit) & is.na(GSS.14$born)] <- NA
GSS.14$immigrant <- as.factor(GSS.14$immigrant)
# parents' education
GSS.14$prt.ba <- GSS.14$madeg %in% c("BACHELOR", "GRADUATE") | GSS.14$padeg %in% c("BACHELOR", "GRADUATE")
GSS.14$prt.ba[is.na(GSS.14$madeg) & is.na(GSS.14$padeg)] <- NA
GSS.14$prt.ba <- factor(GSS.14$prt.ba)
# region
GSS.14$r.region.4 <- Recode(GSS.14$region, "c('NEW ENGLAND','MIDDLE ATLANTIC')='NORTHEAST';
                            c('E. NOR. CENTRAL','W. NOR. CENTRAL')='MIDWEST';
                            c('SOUTH ATLANTIC','E. SOU. CENTRAL','W. SOU. CENTRAL')='SOUTH';
                            c('MOUNTAIN','PACIFIC')='WEST'")
# political views - although unrecoded will be used
GSS.14$r.polviews <- Recode(GSS.14$polviews, "c('EXTREMELY LIBERAL','LIBERAL','SLIGHTLY LIBERAL')='LIBERAL';
                            c('SLGHTLY CONSERVATIVE','CONSERVATIVE','EXTRMLY CONSERVATIVE')='CONSERVATIVE'",
                            levels = c("LIBERAL", "MODERATE", "CONSERVATIVE"))
# education
GSS.14$r.degree <- Recode(GSS.14$degree, "c('JUNIOR COLLEGE','HIGH SCHOOL')='HS OR JC';
                          c('BACHELOR','GRADUATE')='BA OR MORE';
                          c('LT HIGH SCHOOL')='LT HS'",
                          levels = c("LT HS", "HS OR JC", "BA OR MORE"))
# income in $20k
GSS.14$r.coninc <- GSS.14$coninc/20000

# calculate criteria of belonging (factor analysis is later)
GSS.14$criteria.plus <- average.excluding(sapply(GSS.14[var.n.criteria.plus], as.numeric), 6)
GSS.14$criteria.plus.05 <- round(GSS.14$criteria.plus/0.5)*0.5    # rounded to nearest 0.5
GSS.14$criteria.plus.1 <- round(GSS.14$criteria.plus)                        # rounded to whole number


##### Reducing to regession N
var.regression.14 <- c("criteria.plus", "age", "r.res16", "r.religion", "race", "sex",
                        "veteran", "immigrant", "prt.ba", "r.region.4", "polviews", "r.degree",
                        "r.coninc", "r.srcbelt")
# first remove the one outlier
clm.outlier <- lm(criteria.plus ~ age + sex + race + immigrant + veteran +
                    prt.ba + r.degree + r.coninc + r.srcbelt +
                    relevel(r.religion, ref = "MOD&LIB") + r.region.4 +
                    relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE") +
                    relevel(r.res16, ref = "CITY"), data = GSS.14)

avPlots(clm.outlier, id.n=2)
leveragePlots(clm.outlier, id.n = 2)
outlierTest(clm.outlier)
influenceIndexPlot(clm.outlier, id.n = 3)
car::influencePlot(clm.outlier, id.n = 3)

GSS.14[2451, var.regression.14]
clm.full.outl <- update(clm.outlier, subset = rownames(GSS.14) != "2451")
summary(clm.full.outl) # r.res16 increased significance
compareCoefs(clm.outlier, clm.full.outl) # r.res16 coef changes, and slightly SE
multiplot(clm.outlier, clm.full.outl, intercept = FALSE)
outlierTest(clm.full.outl)
influenceIndexPlot(clm.full.outl, id.n = 3)
car::influencePlot(clm.full.outl, id.n = 3)

GSS.14[111,var.regression.14]
clm.full.outl <- update(clm.outlier, subset = !(rownames(GSS.14) %in% c("57","2451")))
summary(clm.full.outl)
compareCoefs(clm.outlier, clm.full.outl)
multiplot(clm.outlier, clm.full.outl, intercept = FALSE)
outlierTest(clm.full.outl)
influenceIndexPlot(clm.full.outl, id.n = 3)

# decision to remove only the case #1234 and not 57
GSS.14 <- subset(GSS.14, rownames(GSS.14) != "2451")

# remove all other cases that have missing values

GSS.14$missing <- apply(GSS.14[,var.regression.14], 1, function(x) sum(is.na(x)))
GSS.14 <- subset(GSS.14, missing == 0)


##### FACTOR ANALYSIS ######

# creating numeric matrix for corelations
CRIT <- sapply(GSS.14[var.n.criteria.plus], as.numeric)
```

```
# Corelations
res1.crit <- cor.mtest(CRIT, 0.95)
crl.crit <- cor(CRIT, use = "pairwise.complete.obs", method = "spearman")
corrplot::corrplot.mixed(crl.crit, p.mat = res1.crit[[1]],
                         sig.level=0.001, insig = "p-value", upper = "circle", lower = "number",
                         tl.col = 'black', tl.cex = 0.70)
# round(crl.crit, 2) # regular numeric corelations
# hierarchical cluster analysis
corrplot::corrplot(crl.crit, p.mat = res1.crit[[1]], insig = "pch", pch = ".", method = "color",
                   order = "hclust", addrect = 3, tl.col = 'black', tl.cex = 0.70)

# Factor and reliability analysis from one to three factors
crit.factor3 <- principal(CRIT, nfactors=3, rotate="varimax")
crit.factor2 <- principal(CRIT, nfactors=2, rotate="varimax")
crit.factor1 <- principal(CRIT, nfactors=1, rotate="varimax")

print(crit.factor3)

print(crit.factor2)
psych::alpha(subset(CRIT, select = -amgovt))

print(crit.factor1)
psych::alpha(CRIT)

##### UNIVARIATE STATISTICS #####
#
#


# First criteria of belonging
out.stat(GSS.14$criteria.plus)
hist(GSS.14$criteria.plus, breaks = "FD")
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$criteria.plus.1)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$ambornin)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$amcit)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$amlived)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$amenglsh)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$amchrstn)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$amgovt)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$amfeel)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$amancstr)

# Other variables
out.stat(GSS.14$age)
out.stat(GSS.14$r.coninc)
out.stat(GSS.14$coninc)

out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$r.res16)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$r.religion)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$race)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$sex)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$veteran)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$immigrant)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$prt.ba)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$r.region.4)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$polviews)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$r.degree)
out.tbls.wn(GSS.14$r.srcbelt)

##### BIVARIATE RELATIONSHIP #####
# first conducting corelations, t-test, and ANOVA
# then creating simple linear models,
# for ploting of the effects, where it's different.
# Also creating effects objects for printing.

t.test(criteria.plus ~ sex, data = GSS.14)
t.test(criteria.plus ~ immigrant, data = GSS.14)
t.test(criteria.plus ~ veteran, data = GSS.14)
t.test(criteria.plus ~ prt.ba, data = GSS.14)
avr.race <- aov(criteria.plus ~ race, data = GSS.14)
avr.res16 <- aov(criteria.plus ~ r.res16, data = GSS.14)
avr.relig <- aov(criteria.plus ~ r.religion, data = GSS.14)
avr.region <- aov(criteria.plus ~ r.region.4, data = GSS.14)
avr.plvw <- aov(criteria.plus ~ polviews, data = GSS.14)
avr.degre <- aov(criteria.plus ~ r.degree, data = GSS.14)
avr.srcblt <- aov(criteria.plus ~ r.srcbelt, data = GSS.14)

summary(avr.race)
TukeyHSD(avr.race)
```

```
summary(avr.res16)
TukeyHSD(avr.res16)
summary(avr.relig)
TukeyHSD(avr.relig)
summary(avr.region)
TukeyHSD(avr.region)
summary(avr.plvw)
TukeyHSD(avr.plvw)
summary(avr.degre)
TukeyHSD(avr.degre)
summary(avr.srcblt)
TukeyHSD(avr.srcblt)


bim.age <- lm(criteria.plus ~ age, data = GSS.14)
ef.age <- allEffects(bim.age)
bim.race <- lm(criteria.plus ~ race, data = GSS.14)
eff.race <- allEffects(bim.race)
bim.sex <- lm(criteria.plus ~ sex, data = GSS.14)
eff.sex <- allEffects(bim.sex)
bim.veteran <- lm(criteria.plus ~ veteran, data = GSS.14)
eff.vet <- allEffects(bim.veteran)
bim.immigrant <- lm(criteria.plus ~ immigrant, data = GSS.14)
eff.imm <- allEffects(bim.immigrant)
bim.prt.ba <- lm(criteria.plus ~ prt.ba, data = GSS.14)
eff.pba <- allEffects(bim.prt.ba)
bim.r.region.4 <- lm(criteria.plus ~ r.region.4, data = GSS.14)
eff.region <- allEffects(bim.r.region.4)
bim.polviews <- lm(criteria.plus ~ relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE"), data = GSS.14)
bim.polviews.plt <- lm(criteria.plus ~ polviews, data = GSS.14)
eff.plvw <- allEffects(bim.polviews.plt)
bim.r.degree <- lm(criteria.plus ~ r.degree, data = GSS.14)
eff.degre <- allEffects(bim.r.degree)
bim.r.srcbelt <- lm(criteria.plus ~ r.srcbelt, data = GSS.14)
eff.rbelt <- allEffects(bim.r.srcbelt)
bim.r.res16 <- lm(criteria.plus ~ relevel(r.res16, ref = "CITY"), data = GSS.14)
bim.r.res16.plt <- lm(criteria.plus ~ r.res16, data = GSS.14)
eff.res16 <- allEffects(bim.r.res16.plt)
bim.r.religion <- lm(criteria.plus ~ relevel(r.religion, ref = "MOD&LIB"), data = GSS.14)
bim.r.religion.plt <- lm(criteria.plus ~ r.religion, data = GSS.14)
eff.rel <- allEffects(bim.r.religion.plt)
bim.coninc <- lm(criteria.plus ~ coninc, data = GSS.14)
bim.r.coninc <- lm(criteria.plus ~ r.coninc, data = GSS.14)

# first plots.
plot(ef.age)
plot(eff.race)
plot(eff.sex)
plot(eff.vet)
plot(eff.imm)
plot(eff.pba)
plot(eff.region)
plot(eff.plvw)
plot(eff.degre)
plot(eff.rbelt)
plot(eff.rel)
plot(eff.res16)
plot(allEffects(bim.coninc))
plot(allEffects(bim.r.coninc))

# summary of models, and group mean and SE, for whhich probably exists an easier way to obtain.

summary(bim.age)
summary(bim.race)
eff.race
eff.race$race$se
summary(bim.sex)
eff.sex
eff.sex$sex$se
summary(bim.veteran)
eff.vet
eff.vet$veteran$se
summary(bim.immigrant)
eff.imm
eff.imm$immigrant$se
summary(bim.prt.ba)
eff.pba
eff.pba$prt.ba$se
summary(bim.r.region.4)
eff.region
```

```
eff.region$r.region.4$se
summary(bim.polviews)
eff.plvw
eff.plvw$polviews$se
summary(bim.r.degree)
eff.degre
eff.degre$r.degree$se
summary(bim.r.srcbelt)
eff.rbelt
eff.rbelt$r.srcbelt$se
summary(bim.r.res16)

eff.res16
eff.res16$r.res16$se
summary(bim.r.religion)
eff.rel
eff.rel$r.religion$se
summary(bim.coninc)
summary(bim.r.coninc)


###### REGRESSION ANALYSIS #####
#
#
#

clm.small <- lm(criteria.plus ~ age + sex + race + immigrant + veteran + prt.ba + r.degree +
                  r.coninc + r.srcbelt, data = GSS.14)
summary(clm.small)
Anova(clm.small)
coefplot(clm.small)

clm.small.res16 <- update(clm.small, ~ . + relevel(r.res16, ref = "CITY"))
summary(clm.small.res16)
Anova(clm.small.res16)
coefplot(clm.small.res16)

clm.small.plvws <- update(clm.small, ~ . + relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE"))
summary(clm.small.plvws)
Anova(clm.small.plvws)
coefplot(clm.small.plvws)

clm.small.regns <- update(clm.small, ~ . + r.region.4)
summary(clm.small.regns)
Anova(clm.small.regns)
coefplot(clm.small.regns)

clm.small.relgs <- update(clm.small, ~ . + relevel(r.religion, ref = "MOD&LIB"))
summary(clm.small.relgs)
Anova(clm.small.relgs)
coefplot(clm.small.relgs)

clm.full <- update(clm.small, ~ . + relevel(r.religion, ref = "MOD&LIB") + r.region.4 +
                     relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE") + relevel(r.res16, ref = "CITY"))
summary(clm.full)
Anova(clm.full)
coefplot(clm.full)

#Diagnostics
crPlots(clm.full)
qqPlot(clm.full, main="QQ Plot, with comparison line")

# distribution of studentized residuals
sresid <- studres(clm.full)
hist(sresid, freq=FALSE,
     main="Distribution of Studentized Residuals")
xfit<-seq(min(sresid),max(sresid),length=40)
yfit<-dnorm(xfit)
lines(xfit, yfit)

# checking for heteroscadiscity
car::residualPlots(clm.full, ~ 1, fitted = TRUE, id.n = 0, quadratic = FALSE, tests = FALSE)
spreadLevelPlot(clm.full)
ncvTest(clm.full)
?ncvTest
ncvTest(clm.full, ~ age + sex + race + immigrant + veteran +
          prt.ba + r.degree + r.coninc + r.srcbelt +
          relevel(r.religion, ref = "MOD&LIB") + r.region.4 +
          relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE") +
```

```
            relevel(r.res16, ref = "CITY"), data = GSS.14)

# checking for influential cases - unnecessary, already checked
# avPlots(clm.full, id.n=2)
# leveragePlots(clm.full, id.n = 2)
# outlierTest(clm.full)
# influenceIndexPlot(clm.full, id.n = 3)
# car::influencePlot(clm.full, id.n = 3)

#autocorelation
vif(clm.full)
durbinWatsonTest(clm.full)

# function checking everything
summary(gvlma(clm.full))


# create a coefficient plot with all the models
multiplot(clm.small, clm.small.plvws, clm.small.regns,
          clm.small.relgs, clm.small.res16, clm.full, intercept = FALSE, shorten=TRUE,
          legend.reverse = TRUE, pointSize = 1.2,
          names = c(" (1) BASIC", "(2) + pol. views", "(3) + regions", "(4) + religion",
                    "(5) + res. until 16", "(6) FULL"),
          newNames = c('age'="age",
                       'sexFEMALE'="sex - female",
                       'raceBLACK'="race - black",
                       'raceOTHER'="race - other",
                       'immigrantTRUE'='immigrant background - yes',
                       'veteranYES'='veteran - yes',
                       'prt.baTRUE'='at least one parent has BA - yes',
                       'r.degreeHS OR JC'='education - HS or JC',
                       'r.degreeBA OR MORE'='education - BA or higher',
                       'r.coninc'="income in $20,000",
                       'r.srcbeltSUBURB100'="pl. - suburban largest 100 SMSA",
                       'r.srcbeltOTH URBAN'="pl. - other urban",
                       'r.srcbeltRURAL'="pl. - rural",
                       'relevel(r.religion, ref = "MOD&LIB")CATH&ORTH'="rel. - catholic or orthodox",
                       'relevel(r.religion, ref = "MOD&LIB")CHR-NGG'="rel. - christian no group given",
                       'relevel(r.religion, ref = "MOD&LIB")LUTH&EPI&MORM'="rel. - luth., episc., or morm.",
                       'relevel(r.religion, ref = "MOD&LIB")NONE&OR&JEW'="rel. - none, jewish, or other",
                       'relevel(r.religion, ref = "MOD&LIB")SECT&BAPT'="rel. - sectarian or baptis",
                       'r.region.4NORTHEAST'="region - northeast",
                       'r.region.4SOUTH'="region - south",
                       'r.region.4WEST'="region - west",
                       'relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE")EXTREMELY LIBERAL'="pol.views - extremly lib.",
                       'relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE")LIBERAL'="pol.views - liberal",
                       'relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE")SLGHTLY LIBERAL'="pol.views - slightly lib.",
                       'relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE")SLGHTLY CONSERVATIVE'="pol.views - slightly cons.",
                       'relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE")CONSERVATIVE'="pol.views - conservative",
                       'relevel(polviews, ref = "MODERATE")EXTRMLY CONSERVATIVE'="pol.views - extremly cons.",
                       'relevel(r.res16, ref = "CITY")LRG CITY & SUB'= "res. until 16 - large city or suburb",
                       'relevel(r.res16, ref = "CITY")RURAL'="res. until 16 - rural")
)

# exrtact coeficients and SE into separate files

write.csv(compareCoefs(clm.small, clm.small.regns, clm.small.plvws, clm.small.relgs, clm.small.res16, clm.full),
          file = "coeficientsse.csv")## END OF THE CODE

# Following three files should be included in /Relig folder within the directory where analysis is executed, in order for
religion recoding to be successful.
```

relig.csv	denom.csv	
,code,label	,code,label	17,33,WI EVAN LUTH SYNOD
1,0,IAP	1,0,IAP	18,34,OTHER LUTHERAN
2,1,PROTESTANT	2,10,AM BAPTIST ASSO	19,35,EVANGELICAL LUTH
3,2,CATHOLIC	3,11,AM BAPT CH IN USA	20,38,LUTHERAN-DK WHICH
4,3,JEWISH	4,12,NAT BAPT CONV OF AM	21,40,PRESBYTERIAN C IN US
5,4,NONE	5,13,NAT BAPT CONV USA	22,41,UNITED PRES CH IN US
6,5,OTHER	6,14,SOUTHERN BAPTIST	23,42,OTHER PRESBYTERIAN
7,6,BUDDHISM	7,15,OTHER BAPTISTS	24,43,"PRESBYTERIAN, MERGED"
8,7,HINDUISM	8,18,BAPTIST-DK WHICH	25,48,PRESBYTERIAN-DK WH
9,8,OTHER EASTERN	9,20,AFR METH EPISCOPAL	26,50,EPISCOPAL
10,9,MOSLEM/ISLAM	10,21,AFR METH EP ZION	27,60,OTHER
11,10,ORTHODOX-CHRISTIAN	11,22,UNITED METHODIST	28,70,NO DENOMINATION
12,11,CHRISTIAN	12,23,OTHER METHODIST	29,98,DK
13,12,NATIVE AMERICAN	13,28,METHODIST-DK WHICH	30,99,NA
14,13,INTER-NONDENOMINATIONAL	14,30,AM LUTHERAN	
15,98,DK	15,31,LUTH CH IN AMERICA	
16,99,NA	16,32,LUTHERAN-MO SYNOD	

other.csv
```
,code,label
1,0,IAP
2,1,Hungarian Reformed
3,2,Evangelical Congregational
4,3,"Ind Bible, Bible, Bible Fellowship"
5,5,Church of Prophecy
6,6,New Testament Christian
7,7,"Church of God, Saint & Christ"
8,8,Moravian
9,9,Christian & Missionary Alliance
10,10,Advent Christian
11,11,Spiritualist
12,12,Assembly of God
13,13,Free Methodist
14,14,Apostolic Faith
15,15,African Methodist
16,16,Free Will Baptist
17,17,Eden Evangelist
18,18,Holiness (Nazarene)
19,19,Baptist (Northern)
20,20,"Brethren Church, Brethren"
21,21,Witness Holiness
22,22,"Brethren, Plymouth"
23,23,"United Brethren, United Brethren in Christ"
24,24,Independent
25,25,Christian Disciples
26,26,Christ in Christian Union
27,27,Open Bible
28,28,Christian Catholic
29,29,Christ Church Unity
30,30,Christ Adelphians
31,31,Christian; Central Christian
32,32,Christian Reform
33,33,Christian Scientist
34,34,"Church of Christ, Evangelical"
35,35,Church of Christ
36,36,Churches of God(Except with Christ and Holiness)
37,37,Church of God in Christ
38,38,Church of God in Christ Holiness
39,39,Church of the Living God
40,40,"Congregationalist, 1st Congreg"
41,41,Community Church
42,42,Covenant
43,43,Dutch Reform
44,44,Disciples of Christ
45,45,"Evangelical, Evangelist"
46,46,Evangelical Reformed
47,47,Evangelist Free Church
48,48,First Church
49,49,First Christian Disciples of Christ
50,50,First Reformed
51,51,First Christian
52,52,Full Gospel
53,53,Four Square Gospel
54,54,Friends
55,55,Holy Roller
56,56,Holiness; Church of Holiness
57,57,Pilgrim Holiness
58,58,Jehovah's Witnesses
59,59,LDS
60,60,LDS--Mormon
61,61,LDS--Reorganized
62,62,LDS--Jesus Christ; Church of Jesus LDS
63,63,Mennonite
64,64,Mormon
65,65,Nazarene
66,66,Pentecostal Assembly of God
67,67,Pentecostal Church of God
68,68,Pentecostal
69,69,"Pentecostal Holiness, Holiness Pentecostal"
70,70,Quaker
71,71,Reformed
72,72,Reformed United Church of Christ
73,73,Reformed Church of Christ
74,74,Religious Science
75,75,Mind Science
76,76,Salvation Army
77,77,7th Day Adventist
78,78,"Sanctified, Sanctification"
79,79,United Holiness
80,80,"Unitarian, Universalist"
81,81,United Church of Christ
82,82,"United Church, Unity Church"
83,83,Wesleyan
84,84,Wesleyan Methodist--Pilgrim
85,85,Zion Union
86,86,Zion Union Apostolic
87,87,Zion Union Apostolic--Reformed
88,88,Disciples of God
89,89,Grace Reformed
90,90,Holiness Church of God
91,91,Evangelical Covenant
92,92,Mission Covenant
93,93,Missionary Baptist
94,94,Swedish Mission
95,95,Unity
96,96,United Church of Christianity
97,97,Other Fundamentalist
98,98,Federated Church
99,99,American Reform
100,100,Grace Brethren
101,101,Christ in God
102,102,Charismatic
103,103,Pentecostal Apostolic
104,104,House of Prayer
105,105,Latvian Lutheran
106,106,Triumph Church of God
107,107,Apostolic Christian
108,108,Christ Cathedral of Truth
109,109,Bible Missionary
110,110,Calvary Bible
111,111,Amish
112,112,Evangelical Methodist
113,113,Worldwide Church of God
114,114,Church Universal and Triumphant
115,115,Mennonite Brethren
116,116,Church of the First Born
117,117,Missionary Church
118,118,The Way Ministry
119,119,United Church of Canada
120,120,Evangelical United Brethren
121,121,The Church of God of Prophecy
122,122,Chapel of Faith
123,123,Polish National Church
124,124,Faith Gospel Tabernacle
125,125,Christian Calvary Chapel
126,126,Carmelite
127,127,Church of Daniel's Band
128,128,Christian Tabernacle
129,129,Living Word
130,130,True Light Church of Christ
131,131,Macedonia
132,132,Brother of Christ
133,133,Primitive Baptist
134,134,Independent Fundamental Church of America
135,135,Chinese Gospel Church
136,136,New Age Spirituality
137,137,New Song
138,138,Apostolic Church
139,139,Faith Christian
140,140,People's Church
141,141,New Birth Christian
142,142,Unity School of Christianity
143,143,Assyrian Evangelist Church
144,144,Spirit of Christ
145,145,Church of Jesus Christ of the Restoration
146,146,Laotian Christian
147,148,Schwenkfelder
148,149,Polish Catholic
149,150,Zwinglian
150,151,World Overcomer Outreach Ministry
151,152,Course in Miracles
152,153,Unity of the Brethren
153,154,Spirit Filled
154,155,Christian Union
155,156,Church of Living Christ
156,157,Community of Christ
157,158,New Hope Christian Fellowship
158,159,Community Christian Fellowship
159,160,Friends in Christ
160,161,Hawaiian Ohana
161,162,Reformed Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints
162,163,Swedenurgian/Churches of the New Jerusalem
163,164,Divine Science
164,165,Church of the Living God
165,166,United Christian
166,167,Sanctuary
167,168,Rain on Us Deliverance Ministries
168,169,The Word Church
169,170,Cornerstone Church
170,171,Life Sanctuary
171,172,Word of Faith Church
172,173,Harvest Church
173,174,Shephard's Chapel
174,175,Greater New Testament Church
175,176,Vineyard Church
176,177,Real Life Ministries
177,178,Cathedral of Joy
178,179,Great Faith Ministries
179,180,Shield of Faith Ministries
180,181,Born Again
181,182,Alliance
182,183,Jacobite Apostolic
183,184,Church of God of Israel
184,185,Journeys
185,186,National Progressive Baptist
186,187,New Apostolic
187,188,Metropolitan Community
188,189,Family Life Church
189,190,Faith Fellowship
190,191,Faith Covenant
191,192,New Thought
192,193,Free Spirit Ministry
193,194,Jacobite Syrian Christian Church
194,195,The Ark Church
195,196,Empowerment Temple
196,197,Grace Independent Baptist Church
197,198,New Life
198,201,Pathways Christian Church
199,204,Renia de Deus
200,998,DK
201,999,NA
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