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HOME IS WHERE THE HEART IS: RURAL RESIDENTS, DEPRIVATION, AND
THE IMPACT OF PRD ON GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
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Lexington, Kentucky
Director: Dr. Michael Zilis, Associate Professor of Political Science
Lexington, Kentucky
2023

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

HOME IS WHERE THE HEART IS: RURAL RESIDENTS, DEPRIVATION, AND THE IMPACT OF PRD ON GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION

How does rural deprivation, defined here as the perception that rural residents are deprived of economic and social capital that comparatively disadvantages them more than their urban and suburban counterparts, impact their political attitudes? And how do these perceptions, termed perceived rural deprivation, impact their attitudes towards the government? While scholars have long studied rural behavior, interest in the topic was reinvigorated during the Trump presidency once it became clear that rural voters contributed to Donald Trump's election in 2016 and became some of his strongest and most loyal supporters during his presidency.

Before we can answer the question of how perceived rural deprivation influences political attitudes and behavior, it is essential to develop a conceptualization and measure of the construct. This development is the first major contribution of the dissertation. I first consider people's sense of what I call perceived rural deprivation, or PRD, meaning that rural people perceive themselves to be deprived of important resources relative to their urban counterparts, and how it contributes to their views of governmental representation. Armed with this new conceptualization, I develop and validate a rural deprivation scale using three original surveys. Next, I provide a theoretical framework that elucidates the roles of place identity and resource constraints in contributing to a sense of rural deprivation. In other words, place identity has combined with perceptions that rural residents are deprived of resources, culminating in a group of people who distrust outside groups. Third, I examine how rural deprivation impacts respondents' evaluations of the government's performance. Since politicians at the federal level are largely urban or represent more populous urban interests, rural residents have less confidence in the government's ability or willingness to represent them. By explaining how rural people understand their role in politics, this study makes a valuable contribution to scholarship on the urban-rural divide in the U.S.

KEYWORDS: Rural identity, Perceived Rural Deprivation, Governmental Representation, Rural Resentment

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7/3/2023

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HOME IS WHERE THE HEART IS: RURAL RESIDENTS, DEPRIVATION, AND
THE IMPACT OF PRD ON GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION

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CHAPTER 1: AN INTRODUCTION TO RURAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

Can rural deprivation predict the level of confidence citizens have in the government's ability to represent their interests? Do these perceptions of deprivation impact some groups more than others? In President-elect Joe Biden's first speech after being elected, he spoke to the clear divisions facing our country, and his desire to heal mounting tensions. "I pledge to be a president who seeks not to divide but unify... Who doesn't see red states and blue states, only sees the United States" (ABC News 2020). This pledge comes as Americans are facing increasingly heightened political polarization, or the large gulf between Democrats and Republicans on social, economic, and political issues. According to studies by the Pew Research Center, roughly nine-in-ten registered voters on both sides worried that "a victory by the other would lead to lasting harm to the United States" (Dimock and Wike 2020). Citing a difference in core values, voters are unwilling to compromise their morals and often exhibit dislike or outright hostility towards their political opponents. Identity convergence across different groups based on geography, race, ideology and sexual orientation, intensifies perceptions of threat from the opposition and strong emotional reactions develop as a defense of one's group (Mason 2018). These differences are only exacerbated as party elites are also becoming more ideologically distant from each other, with said elites influencing the partisan identities and voting behavior of the mass public (McCarty et al. 2009, Druckman et al. 2013, Hetherington 2001, Robison and Mullinix 2016).

However, while many scholars attribute this division to partisan identities, others note that such core values are developed outside of politics and instead originate at home.

Instead of a partisan division, they claim that many of the differences between Americans can be attributed to an urban-rural divide (McKee 2008, Gimpel et al. 2020). Since core values and even political identities are often developed through socialization with family and community members, individual beliefs are inextricably place-based. This place-based divide is apparent on a blue-red electoral map. Here, we can see that Democrats are often concentrated in urban and coastal areas, while Republicans are often concentrated in rural areas and “fly over” country – thus, there is clear political polarization along the rural-urban gap (Gimpel and Karnes 2006, Scala and Johnson 2017, Lupton and McKee 2020, Munis 2020). Placing further emphasis on the importance of place, Gimpel et al. (2020) found that place matters greatly when predicting a voter’s party identification. Indeed, if two voters share every other demographic characteristic but reside in different locales – for example, if one lives in the city and the other lives in a small town¹ - they are likely to be registered to different political parties.

This one divergent characteristic – place – is the central focus of this study. A person’s place – where a person lives or feels a sense of belonging– can shape how they view the world and how they perceive others. This study focuses on the myriad ways place can shape a person’s attitudes. First, I examine how **perceptions of rural deprivation**, an inextricably place-centered concept, shapes attitudes towards government officials. Then, I also examine how **rural resentment** is related to perceptions of rural deprivation. Both of these concepts help frame the study of the rural-urban divide and show how

¹ Gimpel et al. (2020) measure the urbanization of respondents based on their zip code and how many people live within a ten-mile radius of their zip code, plus they measure the respondent’s distance in miles to the nearest city of population 100,000 or greater. They also go by the Census guidelines for what is considered rural. The Census defines rural areas as places containing less than 2500 people. Including small town residents – people who live in towns of less than 25,000 but greater than 2500 - in the definition of rural would expand the population of rural people in the United States.

misconceptions on both sides of the divide can change attitudes surrounding perceptions of rural deprivation and performance evaluations of the government.

In this dissertation, I argue that there is a rural and urban divide that shapes political identification in the United States. However, claiming that most rural residents are conservative and most urban residents are liberal only explores one component of the differences between these groups. I move away from this monolithic characterization and focus on the different ways rural voters perceive their place in politics. This research thus contributes by moving beyond a focus on the urban-rural *divide* and instead providing a more detailed understanding of the attitudinal differences *within* rural America. These attitudes are examined through the concept of rural deprivation, or the view that rural residents perceive themselves to be more deprived than residents from urban or suburban areas. This perceived rural deprivation, or PRD, is a strong attitudinal difference that can impact relationships between urban and rural groups. Narrowing in on how different rural areas understand politics, and even how various demographics within rural America understand politics, can be invaluable for campaign staff and politicians striving to properly represent their constituents. In turn, a government that properly understands its citizens could provide policies that better serve its constituents, leaving the citizens with a better quality of life.

Tied in with this idea that there are attitudinal differences within rural America, another central understanding of this dissertation is that rural America is a heterogeneous and vibrant place that cannot be easily placed into one “rural” category. Unfortunately, due to the wide differences within rural America it is very difficult to capture the heterogeneity of rural spaces. For example, rural coal mining communities in Appalachia may have

different values and struggles than rural farming communities in California or rural fishing communities in Alaska. There are clear differences here, but these differences are hard to measure. Thus, for the purposes of this dissertation, I use rural to describe all rural areas across the United States as one, however, I acknowledge that future research should make efforts to measure different rural regions and chart rural spaces.

First, to delve further into the differences between rural residents, I want to know how different demographic groups experience rural deprivation and rural resentment. Past research has found that different demographic groups display group consciousness, defined as “in-group identification politicized by a set of ideological beliefs about ones’ group’s standing” (McClain et al. 2009, 476). Sanchez expands on this definition by arguing that group consciousness contains three elements: “general identification with a group, an awareness of that group’s relative position in society, and the desire to engage in collective activity that focuses on improving the station of that group (2006: 439-40). For example, scholars who study race have noted that racial groups often strongly identify with members of their in-group and distrust members of out-groups (Sanchez and Vargas 2016). More specifically, Tajfel argues that group members may categorize themselves as such and internalize the group label as a social identity (1981). In addition, once members have categorized themselves and internalized the group label, they use that label to compare their group to other groups. Finally, Pérez provides a valuable critique of group consciousness literature, arguing that there is a worrying link between perceptions of discrimination and a desire for collective action, and this argument has not been sufficiently supported in the group consciousness literature (2021).

By developing a dichotomy between rural and urban America – or trichotomy if you include suburban areas, scholars who subscribe to this view seem to be slotting rural people and urban people into distinct groups, which may or may not be subject to group consciousness. This work suggests an important role for rural consciousness, or a sense of belonging held by members of rural communities. However, I argue that an exclusive focus on rural consciousness has caused scholars to overlook other important aspects of rural perceptions with clear political implications. While rural consciousness literature focuses on ideological beliefs about ones' group's standing, and social identity literature argues that group members use their group label to compare their group to others, relative deprivation scholars argue that a comparison is not only made, but this comparison leads group members to feel disadvantaged according to their own expectations (McClain 2009, Tajfel 1981, Gurr 1970). Indeed, the literature on relative deprivation helps us understand the divisions between urban and rural America. Relative deprivation can be defined in three steps. First, there are comparisons made by an individual. Second, there is an appraisal that leads the individual to perceive that their group is at a disadvantage. Finally, this disadvantage is seen as unfair and unwarranted (Smith et. al 2012, 2). Thus, my first research question examines how these groups – rural and urban people - relate to each other, specifically identifying how rural residents experience deprivation and compare themselves to their urban and suburban peers. This question is addressed in chapter 2 and chapter 3, by analyzing two national surveys and one Kentucky-focused survey on perceived rural deprivation and place.

One of the primary contributions of this research is the new concept and measure of perceived rural deprivation (PRD). Perceived rural deprivation is the perception that

rural residents are deprived of economic and social capital, and, most importantly, rural residents experience comparatively more disadvantages than their urban and suburban counterparts. This deprivation prompts feelings of anger and helplessness and can cause a breakdown in communication between urban and rural residents. Yet, in contrast to arguments made in the group consciousness literature, it is possible that perceived rural deprivation may not cause individuals to engage in more collective action. Rather, this concept has an impact on the attitudes of the deprived. As such, this sense of deprivation is often targeted at fellow citizens rather than government entities and can cause feelings of resentment. However, as Cramer argued, rural people may also view government officials as urban, and thus members of the advantaged group (2012). This could lead individuals that perceive themselves deprived to have negative perceptions of the government. I use an original survey to determine the level of rural deprivation respondents feel – noting that this sense of deprivation is experienced by both rural and urban residents. This survey, conducted through the survey research firm Dynata, consists of 1462 respondents in the national sample and includes several questions that target the idea of rural deprivation. I then use these questions to develop a rural deprivation measure/scale. To check the validity of my rural deprivation scale, I also construct and analyze a rural deprivation scale using data from the 2019 American National Elections Survey (ANES) based on survey questions on rural resentment (N=2,595). This has the dual purpose of validating the questions I used to construct my own rural deprivation scales and allowing me to run a similar analysis using a survey with more respondents.

After determining that rural deprivation exists, the other focus of this research is on rural deprivation's impact on citizens' attitudes towards government. Chapters 2, 3, and 4

of the dissertation use original survey data to develop a rural deprivation scale, focusing on survey responses about each level of government. I ask the question: *How does perceived rural deprivation impact evaluations of governmental representation?* Since place identity indicates that rural people feel systematically ignored by elite-decision-makers, using questions about attention should be a good way to unearth feelings concerning rural deprivation. Additionally, if the government appears to be unresponsive to citizens and their concerns, then it follows that rural deprivation could, consequently, impact citizens' perceptions of how well the government represents their interests. Therefore, I argue that citizens with higher levels of rural deprivation should exhibit negative perceptions of governmental representation. In other words, rural people negatively perceive the government because of heightened rural deprivation.

This work serves as a contribution to the field, as scholars who study the attitudes of rural residents tend to focus on the emotions behind their political decision-making, without perhaps getting to the initial root of the issue – the idea that rural residents perceive themselves to be deprived compared to their peers. Therefore, defining and understanding rural deprivation provides a valuable contribution to the wider literature on rural resentment and its impact on political behavior. Rural resentment is “People attributing rural deprivation to the decision making of (urban) political elites, who disregard and disrespect rural residents and rural lifestyles” (Cramer Walsh 2012). As you can see, the research on rural resentment places a clear emphasis on the differences between rural and urban residents – in this research, I attempt to show that the perceived deprivation many rural residents experience can shape their attitudes towards the government and ultimately their urban and suburban counterparts.

Finally, the last chapter of this project attempts to disentangle measures of party identification from my newly developed measure for rural deprivation. In important work by Huddy et al. (2010) and Mason (2015), the authors argue that political identities are like social identities. These political identities, in turn, can often function like other social identities in fueling hostility towards opposition groups. Since I argue that rural deprivation is an attitude fostered by a particular social identity – being rural or feeling close to rural people – it is important to ensure that the included measure for rural deprivation is not in fact measuring party identification.

1.1 Rural Attitudes

1.1.1 The Emergence of Rural Resentment

What is rural resentment, and how did it emerge? Resentment is a complicated emotion comprising of several underlying feelings – disappointment, anger, and fear – which are often elicited in the face of insult or injury (Folger and Martin 1986). In Political Science, the study of rural attitudes has largely leveraged the concept of rural resentment, a prism that helps to explain some of the negative feelings towards politics that rural residents hold. Moreover, the study of rural resentment offers insight into the history of the relationship between rural residents and politics. With rural resentment, a sense of insult and injury comes from two sources – urban people, who they perceive as the more privileged outgroup, and the government. The history of this antipathy is complicated but can be sorted into three examples: post-Civil War policies, the emergence of the War on Poverty in the 1960s, and modern struggles due to failing industries and globalization. All three of these examples have contributed to rural resentment by stoking feelings of disappointment

and anger at how the government – particularly the federal government – has interacted with rural residents.

In the first time-frame from the mid to late 1800s Post-Civil War redistribution policies focused on repairing cities and left struggling rural farming communities to their plight. Despite the country's overall prosperity during this Gilded Age, farmlands suffered. Crop diversification and new technologies allowed rural farmers to increase their yield, but also created large surpluses that could not be sold – leading farming communities to fall into great debt (Goodwyn 1978). Without government aid packages or other help, rural citizens soon developed a perception that the government would support urban areas, monopolistic railroads, and industrialists at their expense (Alesina and Glaeser 2005). As farming communities struggled, several movements developed that were devoted to improving the economic circumstances of United States farmlands.

The first farmers group to emerge, The Grange, was founded by rural farmers in the 1860s to address their grievances against the railroads. Other farmers movements joined The Grange and were even successful at changing policies in Midwestern states that had previously allowed private industries to operate with little regulation (Hughes 1991). Finally, in the 1890s a political party – the Populist party – was formed to address farmers' complaints. While this party had little electoral success, it was an early example of rural people banding together to appeal to the government for change. Yet, despite causing some changes to laws surrounding private industry and railroad monopolies, the farmers were ultimately unable to secure a more stable economic situation – the primary incentive to begin each of the movements in this timeframe. This era, which spanned from the 1860s to the late 1890s, is the first contributor to our modern understanding of rural resentment, and

even perceptions of rural deprivation. While the farmers movements helped rural people band together to convey their concerns to the government, participants were still left disappointed, frustrated, and even angry that they were not fully heard or given more help during difficult times. These movements also promoted feelings of perceived rural deprivation, as rural people felt that the government was not listening to them as much as they were listening to people in private industries and urban areas. Here, we can clearly see how perceived rural deprivation comes first and eventually leads to rural resentment.

While rural farmers in the 1800s were angry because the government did not provide enough help to bail them out of their economic woes, rural citizens in the 1960s realized that help from the government can have drawbacks. During President Johnson's War on Poverty, the president toured impoverished communities with a camera in hand. These pictures, primarily of communities in the Appalachian Mountains, stigmatized the region even as the government took steps to create social programs to fight poverty (Fessler 2014). While government programs developed during this era have been widely successful – for example Head Start programs and the Food Stamp Act of 1964 have increased access to education and battled food insecurity – they also left behind consequences that have increased rural resentment (Bailey and Danzinger 2013).

First, images from these tours during the War on Poverty caused deep shame and simmering anger for these communities. In other words, impoverished rural towns mentioned in President Johnson's speeches and countless news articles became the "other" stigmatized by the rest of the country (Santiago 2015). While poverty-stricken white people in rural areas were often seen as the "deserving poor" by the public in this time, compared to black communities, the publicization of their struggle was deeply troubling for people

in poor rural communities (Gilens 2009, Fessler 2014). Additionally, while these government programs have been beneficial, they have also caused rural regions – particularly in Appalachia – to become reliant on government help. This reliance causes citizens to feel anger and shame and has also shifted the conversation around rural America to discussions about which people are “deserving” of help (Santiago 2015). This recent shift in rhetoric shows the changing attitudes towards the rural poor from the 1960s to today. Such stigma and damaging rhetoric built upon the early antipathy towards the government that was expressed during the Populist movements of the late 1800s and increased rural resentment towards government interference.

Finally, rural resentment has continued to increase and evolve today as rural areas in the Rust Belt and other industrial centers in the United States face economic trouble. In the Rust Belt, which consists of largely rural Northeastern and Midwestern states, a declining population and unfavorable economic policies on the federal and state level have left residents frustrated (Millsap 2017). Rural coal economies in the Appalachian Mountains, Texas, Montana, and the Dakotas have also suffered as U.S. coal production recently fell to its lowest level since 1978 (Berry 2020). In both failing industrial centers and coal country, there is some evidence that this decline has changed voting behavior and increased antipathy towards the government – as rural citizens suddenly shifted towards the Republican party, which is favorable towards small government. Some scholars have even argued that there is a direct association between lost coal jobs and increased Republican vote share (Egli et al. Forthcoming). Now, rural resentment has developed as a response to governmental inaction in the face of social and economic strife, a new iteration of the same complaints from the past. In each of these situations a lack of attention, understanding, or

respect for the situations of rural Americans resulted in a poor relationship between select rural citizens and the government. Each of these situations highlighted disparities between constituents, which can ultimately foster resentment.

1.1.2 Resentment and Identity

One of the central tenets of rural resentment is the idea that rural people attribute deprivation and feel enmity towards another group, typically urban residents. However, the question is whether resentful individuals – whether they identify as rural or are rural allies – are united by love for their in-group or hate for groups such as urban people or political elites. Scholars have found that, disentangling ingroup love and outgroup hate, group members strongly preferred to cooperate with their group (Brewer 1999, Halevy, Weisel, and Bornstein 2011). Ingroup favoritism and protectivism arises when there are common goals, common values, and perceived threat. When ingroup members make social comparisons with outgroup members, like in the case of place, ingroup members make appeals to ingroup interests and hostility and conflict towards the outgroup may emerge (Brewer 1999). Additionally, group members even preferred to cooperate with their group when there were minimal perceived awards, and they had no ability to harm the out-group. This research suggests that love for an in-group can be more powerful than hate for the out-group (Halevy, Weisel, and Bornstein 2011). Therefore, while highly resentful individuals may display negative feelings towards the government or urban residents, there is reason to believe that these groups can understand and appreciate the other side's interests. To relate this to politics, it gives government officials a means to understand why rural individuals feel resentment and the ability to meaningfully connect. On the other

hand, as Weisel and Böhm note, if the enmity between groups grows to become unmanageable – hopelessly resentful, for instance - these disparate groups start to employ avoidance, with little hope for resolution or understanding (Weisel and Böhm 2015).

1.1.3 Resentment as a Negative Affect

While I have briefly described the emotional components of resentment - anger, disappointment, and fear – it is important to note how attitudes towards government can be tied to our emotions more broadly. Scholars have developed several theories about how emotions such as disgust can prompt citizens to be less tolerant toward other groups or to demand protection from the government (Kam and Estes 2016, Aarøe, Petersen, and Arceneaux 2017). Others have argued that anger can be tied to group consciousness, specifically in the case of racial inequality or racism (Banks 2014, Banks, White, and McKenzie 2018). Scholars have also noted that strong group consciousness can lead group members to feel less fear and greater anger, enthusiasm, and a desire to engage in collective action (Groenendyk and Banks 2014). Indeed, they note, that knowing you are not alone in your struggles allows an individual to fight back against discrimination or stereotyping from outgroups. This research is significant, because it argues that individuals who develop group consciousness more strongly identify as members of their ingroup, and also exhibit a strong sense of anger toward outgroups.

In terms of resentment towards urban residents and government entities, many rural people experience negative emotions towards urban people, and thus the government, due to the perception that the government is comprised of urban legislators (Cramer 2012). Negative affectivity is a personality trait where individuals experience negative emotions

(anger, fear), and poor self-concept (Watson 1984). Unkelbach et al. (2008) found that Muslims are the victims of negative attitudes or prejudice, and this makes them less likely to make assumptions about other groups. However, this changes when there is a negative interaction with another group. In the case of rural Americans, individuals experience negative affect towards urban Americans due to social comparison, and the perception that urban people are biased against rural areas. The strength of an individual's loyalty to their group can cause a stronger reaction to the outgroup. Therefore, rural people who identify strongly as a rural person are more likely to have a stronger negative reaction to their urban counterparts. A group that has experienced stereotyping or even a perceived lower status will face heightened anxiety towards outgroups. Sensing that they will be confronted with negative stereotypes, rural people in turn lose trust in, and experience negative affect towards, urban people.

In this study I examine how rural resentment impacts Americans' relationships with the government. Here, I argue that rural people have less confidence in the government's ability to represent them due to a deep sense of anger and resentment toward urban people, and a belief that the government willfully and unfairly serves urban residents at the expense of rural folks. This assumption is partially because many politicians are urban residents and thus affiliated with the group that triggers much of the relative deprivation experienced by rural citizens. As a way of avoiding stigma, many rural residents isolate themselves from urban political institutions and other potentially harmful groups such as the media (Finifter 1970, Hetherington 2008). Jaros et al.'s classic study on malevolent leader syndrome in Appalachia, for instance, argues that rural Appalachians may dislike political leaders due to early socialization and that opinions towards government leaders may be a

culturally bound phenomenon (Jaros et al. 1968). This isolation creates pockets of people who are highly resistant to outside influences.

1.1.4 Group Consciousness

Group consciousness is conceptualized primarily as an identification with a political group (Miller et al. 1981, Verba and Nie 1972). More specifically, Sanchez notes that group consciousness involves three elements: “general identification with a group, an awareness of that group’s relative position in society, and the desire to engage in collective activity that focuses on improving the situation of that group” (2006, 439-40). Often, this sense of relative deprivation develops when residents perceive differences in treatment between their ingroup and other outgroups. Because the group – in this case, people who strongly identify with their rural heritage – is different and misunderstood, there is a negative perception of outgroups (Conover 1984, 1988) and a feeling of political and social isolation (Finifter 1970).

Studies on group consciousness have primarily focused on gender or racial and ethnic backgrounds. Early research on group consciousness linked differential political participation to group consciousness, further noting that group consciousness is both about perceived relative deprivation, and “a commitment to collective action aimed at realizing the group’s interests” (Miller et al. 1981, p. 495). Members of socially stratified groups such as race, gender, or class, can develop group consciousness – and there has been a strong history studying the collective sentiments underlying these groups. For example, there are a number of prior studies that examine racial consciousness, starting with Brown’s (1931) classic argument that those that identify as a member of their racial group want to

see their group's social and political status improved. More generally, he also noted that there is a feeling of solidarity within the group, especially among members that are oppressed or feel oppressed (c.f., McClain et al. 2009).

Much later, measurements were developed to understand group consciousness, culminating with Miller et al.'s (1981) argument that group consciousness has four elements: group identification, a preference for the members in one's own group or a dislike for the out-group, a sense of relative deprivation or satisfaction as compared to the out-group, and a belief that the group's status is attributable to the actions of an individual or the system (Miller et al. 1981, McClain et al. 2009). These four elements are still commonly used to study group consciousness today, as there is an inherent understanding of the complexity of group consciousness measures. Recently, several studies have found that Latino populations in the United States are experiencing a heightened group consciousness that is having an impact on their group's willingness to participate in political activities as well as a belief in the government's ability or willingness to properly represent their interests (Sanchez 2006, Stokes 2003). Sanchez and Vargas (2016) also noted that group consciousness is even stronger for African American populations.

Yet, while group consciousness measures continue to be widely used in the study of racial and ethnic backgrounds, gender, and sometimes even social class, little work has been done to study the application of group consciousness and to groups of place. I argue that place can be a type of social identity just like a person's race or gender, and this identity is strong enough to shift an individual's views of the world. Inherent in the study of group consciousness is the notion that being a member of a group is important to your identity, and therefore it can impact your attitudes and beliefs. For rural people, living in a place

that they perceive to be mischaracterized or misunderstood is a central part of their identity, and it can shift their beliefs. In this work, I argue that belonging in a certain group – or in this case, living in a certain area or identifying with a certain area – can make a person more aware of their relative deprivation. This sense of deprivation, I argue, is the reason why rural people have negative feelings toward or struggle in their interactions with the government.

1.1.5 Place Identity

To grasp these differences between rural people, I delve into a concept called place identity. One assumption by Cramer Walsh (2012) in her discussion of the urban and rural divide is that urban and rural people feel group consciousness, or an attitude where one identifies with a group and feels a politicization of that identity in the form of perceived relative deprivation (McClain et al. 2009, Miller et al. 1981, Verba and Nie 1972). Place identity indicates that people feel a strong identification with their place, and this impacts their behavior in our society and political environment. Place identity also emphasizes a preference for members of the group, a sense of dislike for out-groups, and a belief that the group's relative deprivation can be blamed on the political system. Therefore, we can also hypothesize that individuals with strong place identity not only experience heightened perceived rural deprivation, but they will also exhibit negative attitudes towards the government and its ability to represent their interests.

In her work on politics in rural Wisconsin, Cramer Walsh (2012, 2016) lists several characteristics of place identity in the rural areas she studies. She notes that rural people see themselves as part of a group with fundamentally distinct lifestyles that are

misunderstood and disrespected by city folks. Additionally, rural people often feel ignored by elite decision-makers and feel they do not get their fair share of resources. These feelings can cause rural people with strong place identity to feel angry, like they are being deprived, and ultimately resentful towards out-groups such as urban residents and towards elites in the government.

Research in Rural Sociology helps explain why rural people experience such strong place identity and perceived rural deprivation. Namely, hardships – both perceived and otherwise – help form a stronger sense of community. First, an aging population is leading to a decrease in community well-being and local rural development (Thiede et al. 2016). Also, rural areas have experienced higher income inequality in the last five years in comparison to their urban counterparts (Goetz et al. 2018, Thiede et al. 2018). Rural people are experiencing a brain drain, decreased community well-being, and heightened poverty – all of which can lead the group to band together through their shared struggle. While urban areas are also experiencing these problems, they have historically experienced political and media attention aimed at ameliorating their hardships (Alesina and Glaeser 2005). Additionally, as noted by Mettler (2011), although rural areas often capture a disproportionate share of government resources, the system is so opaque that rural beneficiaries are unaware that they are receiving these benefits. This prompts a somewhat unearned negative perception of governmental inattention towards rural areas. Thus, rural residents often feel that they are alone in their struggles and are misunderstood (Cramer Walsh 2012).

This feeling of being different and misunderstood only grows due to the demographic makeup of our political institutions. In the case of place identity, many

politicians elected from rural areas reside primarily in urban areas like Washington D.C. (Cramer 2016). Therefore, said elected representatives become a part of the favored group that triggers much of the relative deprivation experienced by rural citizens. As a way of pre-empting stigma, rural residents often isolate themselves from such members of political institutions and other potentially harmful groups like the media (Finifter 1970, Hetherington 2008). This isolationism creates pockets of people who are resistant to outside interference. Additionally, while the majority of elected federal representatives are from rural areas, urban interests are better organized and thus have a greater voice in the federal government. Therefore, there is the sense that rural interests are not being heard and rural people are being left out of the political process altogether.

1.2 Contributions to the Field

While each of the above conceptualizations of rural attitudes have their place, none of them clearly state and conceptualize why rural people feel resentment or have such strong place identity. In this work, I argue that perceived rural deprivation is the explanation for these feelings of resentment towards outside groups and the strong connection rural people feel towards each other. As I noted above, the history that makes rural America so resentful towards the government also had the effect of increasing perceived rural deprivation. This perceived rural deprivation (PRD) emerges because of place-based identity, which behaves similarly to both gender and race-based identity, and therefore shapes individuals' views about the world (Cassese 2020, Hernandez et al 2007, Jacobs and Munis 2019). Finally, since place-based identity – and in turn PRD – impacts views about the world, I argue that increased levels of PRD lead to increasingly negative perceptions of governmental

representation. This conceptualization of PRD and explanation of its effects is the primary contribution of this research.

These theoretical contributions thus contribute to several fields of study in political science. First, I expand on the generally under-studied concept of place identity, which argues that an individual's understanding of place shapes their attitudes and how they view the world. While there has been a robust literature that explains how our gender and race are groups that impact attitude and opinion formation, few scholars have made the same claims about place (e.g. Ridgeway 2011, Cassese 2020). Indeed, Cramer (2012, 2016) is one of the first to conceptualize place attachment as a part of an individual's identity. Cramer uses a qualitative approach and interviews people in rural Wisconsin, discovering that many of the people she interacted with "used identities rooted in place and class" to describe current events (2016:6).

While Cramer's work on place identity and rural attitudes has started a conversation in the discipline, responses to her work indicate there are several areas that require further research or clarification. In this work I tackle several of these areas of interest. The second contribution this study makes is that it involves an in-depth discussion of why rural people would feel "a sense of injustice" or "rural rage" (Cramer 2012, Wuthnow 2018). Other scholars argue that rural people are feeling resentment or anger towards urban people, the government, or the world at large but they do not have a developed explanation for how this resentment or anger emerged (Munis 2020). Here, I argue that rural resentment is a result of high levels of perceived rural deprivation (PRD), or the notion that rural people perceive themselves to have less social capital, and to receive less positive attention and

respect from various sources. This perceived deprivation therefore shades their understanding of the world and can ultimately develop into rage at their status in life.

The third contribution to the discourse is it examines PRD at both a state and national level. Previous concerns about Cramer and related scholars' work are that they typically only choose one state or region to study and therefore they are not actually providing a broad, generalizable assessment of rural America (Parker 2014, Eliasoph 2017, Herschey 2017, Schildkraut 2017). In this dissertation I use three original surveys to examine PRD both nationally and in a particular case study – the very rural state of Kentucky. Doing so, I found that PRD is significantly related to place identity amongst rural people nation-wide and in Kentucky.

Finally, I make an argument that studying rural America and PRD is important beyond providing an alternative to political partisanship as a means of understanding behavior. Here, I show that PRD is having a negative impact on rural attitudes towards their government officials, giving officials in government an understanding about how to reach rural America. Traveling to rural areas during an election may not be cost effective, but it could have a positive effect on the relationship between these areas and their elected officials going forward. While some have studied the impact of place identity on voting behavior, noting that being from a place is a valuable characteristic for candidates, I focus on what happens after an official is elected (Jacobs and Munis 2019, Munis 2020). Taking steps to show that they are paying attention to “flyover country” can have net benefits for elected officials and lessen feelings of deprivation and “rural rage.”

1.3 Dissertation Plan

My overall dissertation will use the above conceptualization of rural deprivation to examine attitudes towards the government. My primary research question asks: how does perceived rural deprivation impact evaluations of governmental representation? To answer this question, I use several survey questions that are intended to target perceived rural deprivation. Therefore, to do so, I test the origins and effects of perceived rural deprivation (PRD) through a variety of data sources and diverse data. Some sources I draw on are the American National Elections Studies (ANES), original national survey data gathered by the survey sampling company Dynata, another original state survey from Dynata that samples Kentucky residents, and a final set of original national survey data gathered by the survey sampling company Lucid.

Since rural deprivation has not been conceptualized in detail in other studies, the bulk of the dissertation is geared towards defining and understanding how rural deprivation is operationalized and perceived among the public.

Chapter 2 develops a measure of rural deprivation, with data from a nationally reflective sample as well as the ANES. This chapter also explores the origins of perceived rural deprivation – which I call PRD. First, I detail the creation of a rural deprivation scale, to show how both rural and urban residents experience relative deprivation. This helps substantiate my claim that rural deprivation exists and is impactful. Finally, I examine how rural deprivation shapes attitudes towards the government. In this section, I hypothesize that individuals who experience stronger feelings of rural deprivation will also exhibit negative attitudes about the government’s ability to represent their interests as a group. In other words, individuals who have a higher PRD score will have a lower score on the perceived representation scale. Initial findings have supported this hypothesis.

To examine perceived rural deprivation in a largely rural state, Chapter 3 uses original survey data based in the state of Kentucky to test whether rural deprivation continues to exist and have a large impact in a state with a large rural population as well as urban population centers. This chapter also examines the relationship between PRD and perceptions of governmental representation. While Chapter 2 initially measures PRD at the national level, Chapter 3 helps determine whether the impacts of PRD on certain groups remain at the individual state level.

Finally, Chapter 4 uses a third original survey, employing a survey experiment to examine the link between PRD and rural resentment. Most of the recent research on place identity in the field of political science focuses on rural or place resentment. In this study, I argue that many questions that are trying to examine rural resentment examine perceived rural deprivation. This chapter allows me to establish that PRD and rural resentment are two distinct concepts. I also argue that individuals with high PRD scores will also experience high rural resentment – and that a sense of rural deprivation causes individuals to experience rural resentment.

1.4 Data Sources and Strategy

To examine rural deprivation in detail I use four data sources. The first data source, the ANES, is a national survey of voters in the United States which is conducted before and after every presidential election. This work draws from the 2019 survey, and samples over three thousand respondents. The principal advantages of the ANES survey, in addition to the fact that it included rural resentment questions, are its representativeness of the American public, the breadth and variety of questions and topics covered in the survey and

its large sample size. Given these attributes, the ANES survey data provides a useful comparison to the two original surveys also used in this research.

The second data source draws on a nationally reflective population using the survey sampling firm Dynata – a survey sampling company that has experience gathering samples at both the national and state level. This is also a survey sampling company commonly used for political science research on similar political behavior topics (Whitt et al. 2021, Merkley et al. 2020). Including this original data is helpful as it contains questions that can directly measure rural deprivation. Additionally, there are several questions in this national data set that are nearly identical to those included in the ANES survey, providing a basis for comparison. Since both the Dynata and the ANES surveys have common themes but were conducted in different years with other useful differences, finding similar results would provide a measure of confidence in the generalizability of the findings.

The third survey also assesses rural deprivation - this time in the state of Kentucky, a largely rural state - to provide additional generalizability. Because the survey questions are identical to those used in the national Dynata sample, there are important points of comparison for all three surveys. Using these three distinct data sources to examine the same questions allows me to draw some detailed conclusions about the nature of perceived rural deprivation at both the state and the national levels.

Finally, I also use a fourth survey that examines the connections between place belonging, rural deprivation, and rural resentment. This survey includes a survey experiment with 6 cells and two dimensions. These two dimensions are 1) resource constraints, and 2) disdain. The resource constraints variable should be associated with PRD, and the disdain variable should be associated with rural resentment. There are two

potential conditions for each dimension, then there are two control conditions. One of the control conditions supplies neutral information in a vignette of similar length to the treatment conditions. The other control is a pure control, where no information is provided. Since one of the primary underlying bases of recent research on rural attitudes is the study of rural resentment, I use this survey to demonstrate that perceptions of rural deprivation is a separate conceptualization than rural resentment, and these two concepts are distinct. Hence, this survey is the primary focus of the fourth and final chapter.

1.5 Conclusion

Ultimately, this dissertation makes several important contributions to the rural-urban divide literature. First, I track the history of rural political attitudes and rural deprivation in the United States and in the state of Kentucky, contextualizing place-based attitudes and behaviors. Then, I conceptualize perceived rural deprivation, a concept that has been discussed in the context of rural resentment but never defined or studied. In addition, I found that heightened feelings of perceived deprivation leads people to have less trust in government. Finally, I discerned that perceived rural deprivation can be primed by resource advantages and disadvantages, which means that having less leads people to feel deprived and disconnected from government officials and people from other place types. This sets the stage for increased division in this country beyond that of political polarization.

CHAPTER 2: RURAL DEPRIVATION, PLACE, AND GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The last two presidential cycles have focused the public eye on the importance of place. In 2016, Donald Trump’s surprising victory relied on support in rural areas (Hopkins 2017, Morin 2016). The most recent 2020 presidential election victory by Joe Biden was due, in part, to his dominant performance in suburbs (Frey 2020). Place identity and related concepts like rural resentment are subjects that have recently been explored in political science literature, starting with Cramer’s (2016) work on rural resentment in Wisconsin. Using Cramer’s assertion that geographic identity “packs significant explanatory power” Munis (2020) argues that place-based identity and resentment exist and are a result of the misguided perceptions amongst rural Americans that their areas receive “unfair treatment relative to other community types” (2020, pp. 2). Both Cramer and Munis’ work rely on the notions that 1) place identity impacts rural attitudes and 2) rural people resent urbanites and the government due to their perceptions about this unfair treatment. In this study, I examine both underlying assumptions by developing a measure of Perceived Rural Deprivation (PRD).

Perceived rural deprivation is defined as the perception that rural residents are deprived of economic and social capital, and, most importantly, rural residents experience comparatively more disadvantages than their urban and suburban counterparts. I argue that rural Americans do identify with their place, and individuals with a strong sense of place identity also experience heightened levels of Perceived Rural Deprivation. To test this argument, I use two national surveys – an original survey conducted by the survey firm Dynata, and the 2019 American National Election Studies (ANES). Additionally, I track

the history of rural America and explain why rural Americans may perceive deprivation in comparison to their urban and suburban peers. Finally, in line with the work of the scholars in this area, I expect a respondent's place – where they live, and where they think they belong – to matter. I echo Munis (2020) and show that place identity is a form of group identity that has strong explanatory power, and both place identity and PRD can lead to rural resentment.

Analyzing the two national samples, I find that all respondents experienced moderate to high perceived rural deprivation. This shows that an individual does not have to currently reside in a rural area to experience PRD. Indeed, both urban and suburban respondents claimed that rural residents do not receive enough respect or attention in comparison to people from urban and suburban areas- which means that they, too, experience perceived rural deprivation. This finding shows that the rural-urban divide is not as prominent as previously believed.

Additionally, I find that left-right identity does not have a significant impact on rural respondents' perceptions of rural deprivation. This shows that rural attitudes are not simply a by-product of conservative ideology but are instead originating from a sense of place. Finally, I find that racial resentment has a significant positive impact on a person's level of PRD – as their level of racial resentment increased, so did their PRD score. This supports the idea that PRD is correlated with resentment. In future research, this finding can be explored in more depth to see if PRD just impacts racial resentment, or if perceived deprivation is indeed one of the main driving forces of rural resentment as Cramer (2016) claimed.

2.1 Understanding Rural Attitudes, Rural Resentment, and Place Identity

Cramer (2012) proposed that, instead of voting based on social issues or economic issues as previously assumed by Frank (2004) and Bartels (2008) respectively, people make sense of politics “through a social identity infused with notions of distributive justice” (2012, p. 517). This notion suggests that being rural is a form of group identity, and rural citizens are often conscious of their place in politics. Additionally, Cramer suggests that people in rural areas perceive themselves to be deprived relative to other – urban and suburban – groups, and this injustice is “perceived as the fault of political elites located in urban areas” (2012, p. 518). This important work by Cramer prompted a body of work in political science that began to consider place identity as an explanatory mechanism for political behavior.

Place – where you live, or where you feel you belong – had previously been examined by scholars in Sociology and Psychology who studied how people are attached to the places where they live (Hernandez et al. 2007, Wuthnow 2018). This place-based attachment centralizes the importance of place, and as the attachment to a place grows, there becomes a basis for a shared place-based identity (Agnew 2014, Munis 2020). As stated by Munis, place identity is a “sense of belonging to a group whose membership is defined by living in a particular place and having a psychological attachment of group-based perception with other group members” (2020). This sense of place identity has an impact on several areas of political behavior.

First, there is evidence that place identity is a factor in electoral politics, particularly in how voters evaluate candidates. Giving voters cues on the place identification of candidates can impact their evaluation of candidates, as rural voters have been found to

negatively evaluate candidates that are portrayed as urban (Jacobs and Munis 2019). Place can also impact voter mobilization (Panagopoulos, et al. 2017). Politicians recognize the importance of place identity by appealing to this identity during their campaigns (Cramer 2016, Parker 2014). Additionally, Cutler (2007) found that place can impact economic appraisals, especially when voters perceive local interests to be at stake. Cutler notes that people are attached to their place (Agnew 1996, Altman and Low 1992) and they know their place well enough to develop an understanding of the local characteristics of their place (Mutz 1998). As such, they can perceive benefits to certain economic policies, such as linking an agricultural subsidy to the success of their largely agricultural community (Cutler 2007). This understanding is somewhat echoed by Bartels (2008) who claims that voters do care about the economy as well as other social factors and this influences their political behavior.

Munis (2020) links place identity directly to place resentment, an updated understanding of Cramer's main focus – rural resentment. Rural resentment is “People attributing rural deprivation to the decision making of (urban) political elites, who disregard and disrespect rural residents and rural lifestyles” (Cramer 2012). Cramer conducted ethnographic research on rural Wisconsin to support her conceptualization of rural resentment, noting that ruralites in Wisconsin feel like urbanites are being given the upper hand (Cramer 2012, 2016). While her conclusions were drawn from strong qualitative research in Wisconsin, some scholars have voiced concerns over the narrow nature and potential generalizability of her study (Carmines and Schmidt, 2017, Schildkraut 2017, Wolbrecht 2017). Therefore, Munis (2020), develops a quantitative, survey-based measure of place resentment which focuses on all people – not just ruralites.

Still, much of the research in this area focuses on how place impacts attitudes towards urban peers (Cramer 2016), campaigns and elections (Cramer 2016, Jacobs and Munis 2019, Wuthnow 2018), and how political parties appeal to people based on their place identity (Hopkins 2017, Mason 2018).

In this study, I also start with the importance of place identity and use this concept to understand how people evaluate the government and their representatives' ability to represent their interests. Additionally, I build on the notion of Perceived Rural Deprivation (PRD) as the missing piece in the study of both place identity and place resentment. Perceived Rural Deprivation (PRD) is a key ingredient in Cramer's analysis of rural America, and yet, it has not been measured. For instance, while Cramer (2012) and Munis (2020) both mention that ruralites feel deprived in comparison to their peers, they do not create a measure to determine whether this is the case. Therefore, I do just that – developing a measure of Perceived Rural Deprivation and linking this perceived deprivation to negative attitudes concerning governmental representation. This signifies an important next step in the study of place identity and place resentment.

2.2 Theory: What Is Perceived Rural Deprivation?

The central focus of this study is perceived rural deprivation, defined as the perception that rural residents are deprived of economic and social capital, and, most importantly, rural residents experience comparatively more disadvantages than their urban and suburban counterparts. I argue that Perceived Rural Deprivation (PRD) is the missing link between the study of place identity and the study of rural resentment. Without a strong place identity, I argue, respondents are unlikely to experience heightened PRD. In turn,

experiencing heightened PRD leads to negative emotions such as anger, disappointment, and even resentment. Therefore, this study conceptualizes and measures whether rural people perceive themselves to be deprived, and if so, which groups experience this perceived deprivation the most. Then, once I show what PRD is and where it comes from, I focus on its effects. What does heightened PRD do? Previous research has focused on the idea that deprivation is the fault of the political system (Miller et al. 1981, Verba and Nie 1972). Going further, I argue that heightened PRD is directly associated with negative evaluations of governmental representation.

First, it must be noted that this study focuses on Perceived Rural Deprivation, rather than actual deprivation in rural areas. While many rural areas around the country lack resources and struggle with desperate poverty, politically, rural areas have many advantages. Ruralites often feel like urbanites get the bulk of government resources and programs, while urbanites complain that rural people have more political representation in Congress. These differences can be attributed to structural and economic disparities. Among the structural disparities, the Senate has a strong rural skew. For example, citizens of a largely rural state and relatively low population state like Wyoming are granted as much representation as citizens of a much more populated and more urban state like California (Silver 2020). Urban and suburban areas also subsidize public investments in rural areas and contribute more money to the state than they receive in return (Arnosti and Liu 2018). However, rural residents often struggle to conflate these systemic advantages with their lived realities, as they struggle economically. Thus, there is a gap between perception and reality. In this study, I measure the perceived level of deprivation because these perceptions are what ultimately influence political attitudes.

Several scholars have argued that place matters. Work on the rural-urban divide notes that core values are developed outside of politics and originate at home. Thus, the sharp divide they claim exists between urban and rural areas is due to these different core values that come from the individual's home or place (McKee 2008, Gimpel et al. 2020, Lupton and McKee 2020). Emphasizing an even stronger role of place, Gimpel et al. (2020) find that place matters greatly when predicting a voter's party identification. Indeed, if two voters share every other demographic characteristic but reside in different locales, they are likely to be registered to different political parties. This one divergent characteristic – place – is thus the starting point for understanding rural attitudes. Both Munis (2020) and Cramer (2012, 2016) use place identity as a theoretical underpinning of their work, arguing that place identity leads ruralites to feel deprived compared to their urban and suburban counterparts. Thus, they argue, place identity leads to feelings of deprivation, which leads to rural or place resentment. However, despite qualitative evidence in Wisconsin supporting this claim, and quantitative evidence supporting the claim that place resentment can be impactful, neither work explores the middle part of the puzzle – perceived rural deprivation. In this study, I develop a novel and distinct measure of perceived rural deprivation (PRD) to connect place identity to PRD and, ultimately, to place resentment.

Another important addition this study makes is in its application of perceived rural deprivation to the entire population rather than just rural respondents. Both Cramer and Munis focus heavily on place identity and how it leads to rural (or place) resentment. However, their focus is primarily on rural areas and rural attitudes. While PRD is a concept that helps us understand rural attitudes, these perceptions about the treatment of rural areas are not just acknowledged by rural people. Instead, I argue that perceptions of rural

deprivation do not exist in a purely rural vacuum, only impacting people in rural areas. These messages concerning deprivation are also able to persuade urban and suburban people that rural areas are experiencing at least some form of deprivation. Therefore, if PRD is the link between place identity and place resentment, and urban people perceive rural deprivation too, then it follows that urban people may also experience levels of place resentment.

In addition to this theoretical underpinning, I also have several hypotheses that are based on the literature's broader understanding of identity. Since PRD is a psychological and identity-based understanding of the world, I argue that respondents who are or perceive themselves to be deprived based on their identities are more likely to have high PRD scores. Therefore, I can group these hypotheses into two broad categories: place identity and perceived governmental representation. Place identity is the idea that rural people feel a strong identification with their place as a rural person in our society and political environment, and this identity as a rural person shape how they view the world. The other category, perceived governmental representation, is the idea that individuals conduct a performance evaluation on the government and their elected representatives. This evaluation focuses on how well their representatives reflect the interests of their group. Thus, I focus on how well representatives speak for the interests of rural people and their particular place.

Therefore, understanding place is a necessary step in measuring and understanding PRD. Although political science has not devoted as much time to the study of place, other social science disciplines such as sociology and psychology have grappled with the importance of place and how to measure place correctly. In psychology, scholars have

reasoned that both a person's physical place – where they are located- as well as a person's social attachment to a place are important to measure when studying place (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001, Hernandez et al. 2007, Stedman 2002). Sociologists and political geographers also emphasize the importance of place as a social structure as well as a physical space with which an individual identifies (Cuba and Hummon 1993, Wong 2010, Cutler 2007, Wuthnow 2018). Therefore, I have generated three hypotheses that each deal with aspects of place – from current residence, to place importance, to place belonging – and argue that place is significantly related to increased PRD in an individual. The first hypothesis considers current residence, the second place belonging, and the third place identity.

H1: Rural residents are more likely to perceive rural deprivation (PRD) than urban residents.

H2: Respondents who think they belong in rural areas or small towns will express higher PRD than those who think they belong in urban or suburban areas.

However, the strength of this relationship between a person and their place differs. As noted by Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) and Hernandez et al. (2007), social attachment to place is usually stronger than physical attachment, so I expect the relationship between those who strongly identify with a place and high PRD to be stronger. Similarly, they argue that place attachment varies based on demographic characteristics, namely age and sex. Thus, I also argue that the strength of a person's place identity will have a significant relationship with PRD

H3: As place importance increases, rural people with strong place identity will express higher PRD than urban people.

Going back to the history of measuring rural attitudes, we can see that many rural residents have a shared history of suffering, stigma, and indifference from the government (Alesina and Glaeser 2005, Bailey and Danzinger 2013). Despite the heterogeneity of rural areas, these shared attitudes remain. These memories surrounding place may lead to anger and resentment, but they also have the effect of developing a strong place identity and even feelings of deprivation that prevail. One of my central arguments in this chapter is that place matters, and a person's connection to their place – in this case the rural area in which they reside – is a central facet of their lived experience, and this connection shapes their attitudes and behavior. Evaluating how much emphasis individuals put on their place is a necessary component in the study of PRD, since PRD rests on the assumption that rural people value their rural identity, and this rural identity shapes how they view the world. Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 therefore argue that there is a tangible connection between place and PRD, and as a person's sense of place grows stronger, so does the potential for feelings of deprivation associated with said place.

The final two hypotheses in this chapter focus on the impact of PRD on respondents' attitudes. Now that we know what PRD is, what does it do? I argue that the two major effects of PRD concern 1) political preferences and 2) performance evaluations of elected representatives.

At least among rural residents, we expect to find that Left-Right identity does not have a strong impact on PRD. I argue that place identity – whether consciously acknowledged or not – is stronger than political identity. When studying rural Wisconsin, Cramer argues that “Some people make sense of politics through a social identity infused with notions of distributive justice” (Cramer 2012, 2). People develop beliefs and attitudes

through socialization in their community and by their family. Therefore, the very essence of many individuals' political attitudes grows from their geographic place. This does not mean that everyone from a particular locale will share party identification. However, it does mean that they are more likely to share common values that help them make sense of the world, and these values may cause them to register for one political party over the other. Combining one's social identity with a sense of distributive justice, or the notion that your place is getting less help than other places, helps explain why two rural people of opposite parties and from divergent rural communities could have the same values and prefer some of the same policies. In this case, policies concerning resource allocation to rural areas, as Cramer notes, could bring people who are divergent politically together for the good of their place.

Finally, I argue that PRD has implications for performance evaluations of elected representatives. In Hypothesis 4, I argue that high PRD scores lead to negative evaluations of governmental representation.

H4: Respondents who express stronger perceptions of rural deprivation (PRD) will have more negative perceptions of governmental representation.

In other words, the more respondents feel deprived, the more they blame the government for not properly representing the interests of their geographic place. This negative effect of PRD has implications for our understanding of trust in government and political representation more broadly.

2.3 Study 1

2.3.1 Data and Methods

Study 1 is based on a survey conducted by the American National Election Studies (ANES) in 2019. The ANES is a longstanding and primary data source in political science, and both the variety of questions asked, and complex sample designs make this survey an important and trusted source. This survey is representative of the national voting age public in terms of age, sex, socioeconomic status, and race based on the 2020 Census. Paring the sample (N = 3000) down to respondents who answered all the necessary questions concerning place and rural deprivation resulted in a sample size of 2,595. Below, in table 1, you can see the construction of all of the variables included in both the ANES and Dynata surveys in this chapter, as well as whether each variable is a central part of a hypothesis.

Table 1 (continued): Codebook for Studies 1, 2, 3, and 4

Variable(s)	Variable Label	ANES Construction	Dynata Construction	Lucid Construction	Hypothesis
Perceived Rural Deprivation: PRDfed (Dynata) PRD_all (ANES) PRD (Lucid)	PRD	Rural deservingness + rural respect + rural influence = PRD 1 = low/no PRD 19 = high PRD	Rural respect + rural attention = PRD 1 = low PRD 3 = moderate 5 = high PRD	Rural deservingness + rural respect + rural influence + rural attention = PRD 1 = low/no PRD 22 = high PRD	Yes
Perceived governmental representation: Rural_rep_fed (Dynata) Govrepscale_1 (Lucid)	Governmental Representation	N/A	1 = worst representation 3 = moderate 5 = best	1 = worst representation 3 = moderate 5 = best	Yes
Live in rural area:	Current residence	1= rural or small town 2= suburban 3 = urban	1 = rural 2 = not rural	0 = rural or small town	Yes

Rural_01 (Dynata)				1 = urban or suburban	
Live_rural (ANES)					
Rural_01_new (Lucid)					
Where do you think you belong?	Place belonging	1 = rural or small town 2 = suburban 3 = urban	N/A	1 = rural 2 = small town 3 = suburban 4 = urban	Yes
Place_belong (ANES)					
Placebelongin g (Lucid)					
Place importance to identity	Place identity	1 = not at all important 2 = a little important 3 = moderately important 4 = very important 5 = extremely important	N/A	N/A	Yes
Placeidimport (ANES)					
Party ID	Party ID	1 = strong democrat 4 = independent 7 = strong republican	1 = strong democrat 4 = independe nt 7 = strong republican	0 = something else 1 = strong republican 2 = weak republican 3 = independent 4 = weak democrat 5 = strong democrat	No
Pid7x (ANES)					
Republican (Dynata)					
Revp id (Lucid)					
Political ideology	Political ideology	1 = very liberal 3 = moderate 5 = very conservative	1 = extremely liberal 4 = moderate, middle of the road 7 = extremely conservative	1 = extremely liberal 4 = moderate, middle of the road 7 = extremely conservative	No
Ideo5 (ANES)					
Conservatism (Dynata)					
Ideology (Lucid)					
Gender	Gender	1 = male 2 = female	1 = male 2 = female	1 = male 2 = female	No
Education	Education	1 = no high school 2 = high school grad	N/A	1 = high school degree or less 2 = some college	No
Educ (ANES)					

Education (Lucid)		3=some college 4=2-year 5=4-year 6=post-grad		3=college graduate 4=graduate course work 5=Graduate degree	
Race Race (Lucid)	Race	1 = white 2 = Black 3= Hispanic 4= Asian 5 = Native American 6 = Mixed 7 = Other 8 = Middle Eastern	1 = white 2= black or African American 3= Asian American or Pacific Islander 4= American Indian or Alaska native 5= Other 6= Prefer not to state	1 = white 2= black or African American 3= Asian American or Pacific Islander 4= American Indian or Alaska native 5= Other 6= Prefer not to state	No
Racial resentment scale Racialresent scale (ANES)	Racial resentment	Four racial resentment questions were added together: 1 = very low racial resentment 17 = very high racial resentment	N/A	Two questions were added together: 1= very low racial resentment 9=very high racial resentment	No
Political knowledge: Pol_know (ANES) Polknow (Lucid)	Political knowledge	Two political knowledge questions were added together: 0 = no knowledge .5 = some knowledge 1 = moderate knowledge 1.5 = above average knowledge 2 = high knowledge	Scale from 0-5 0 = no knowledge 5 = high knowledge	Three political knowledge questions were added together: 0=no knowledge 1=some knowledge 2=moderate knowledge 3=high knowledge	No

Table 2 (continued): Questions Included in Each Variable

Variable	Study	Questions
Perceived Rural Deprivation (PRD)	ANES	<p>Do people living in small towns and rural areas get more, the same, or less than they deserve from the government?</p> <p>Do people living in small towns and rural areas have too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount of influence on government?</p> <p>Do people living in small towns and rural areas get too much respect, too little respect, or about the right amount of respect from others?</p>
	Dynata	<p>Do people living in rural areas receive too much, too little, or the right amount of attention from the following sources (federal government, state government, local government, the news, people living in cities)?</p> <p>Some people feel that rural people are ignored by the government, while others disagree. Do people living in rural areas receive too much, too little, or the right amount of attention from the following sources (federal government, state government, local government, the news, people living in cities)?</p> <p>Do people living in rural areas receive too much, too little, or not the right amount of respect from the following sources (federal government, state government, local government, the news, people living in cities)?</p>
	Lucid	<p>Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas get more, the same, or less than they deserve from the government?</p> <p>Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas have too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount of influence on the government?</p> <p>Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas get too much respect, too little respect, or the right amount of respect from others?</p> <p>Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas get too much attention, too little attention, or the right amount of attention from others?</p>
Perceived Governmental Representation	Dynata	<p>On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the best possible representation, rate how well you think each level of government represents you:</p>
	Lucid	<p>On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the best possible representation, rate how well you think the federal government represents you:</p>
Live in Rural Area	ANES	<p>Do you currently live in a rural area, small town, suburb, or a city?</p>

	Dynata	Do you think of yourself as a city person, suburban person, a small-town person, a rural person, or something else?
	Lucid	Do you currently live in a rural area, small town, suburb, or a city?
Place belonging	ANES	Regardless of where you currently live, where do you feel you belong or fit in the best: cities, suburbs, small towns, or the countryside (rural areas)?
	Lucid	Regardless of where you currently live, where do you feel you belong or fit in the best: cities, suburbs, small towns, or the countryside (rural areas)?
Place importance to identity	ANES	How important is being a (city person, suburb person, small town person, country (or rural) person) to your identity?
Party Identity	ANES	Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or something else? Would you call yourself a strong Republican/Democrat or a not so very strong Republican/Democrat? Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican party or to the Democratic party?
	Dynata	Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or something else? Would you call yourself a strong Republican/Democrat or a not so very strong Republican/Democrat? Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican party or to the Democratic party?
	Lucid	Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or something else? Would you consider yourself a strong or weak Republican/Democrat?
Political ideology	ANES	When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?
	Dynata	We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
	Lucid	We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
Gender	ANES	What is your gender?
	Dynata	What is your sex?
	Lucid	What is your sex?
Education	ANES	What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?
	Lucid	What is the highest degree you completed in school?
Race	ANES	I am going to read you a list of five race categories. You may choose one or more races. For this survey, Hispanic origin is not a race. Are you White; Black or African American; American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian; or Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander?

	Dynata	Which racial category would best describe you from the options below?
	Lucid	Which racial category would best describe you from the options below?
Racial Resentment	ANES	<p>Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with each of the following statements?</p> <p>Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.</p> <p>It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.</p> <p>Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.</p> <p>Generations of slavery and discrimination. Have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.</p>
	Lucid	<p>Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with each of the following statements?</p> <p>Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.</p> <p>It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.</p>
Political Knowledge	ANES	<p>What job or political office is now held by John Roberts?</p> <p>What job or political office is now held by Angela Merkel?</p> <p>For how many years is a United States Senator elected – that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator?</p>
	Dynata	<p>According to Supreme Court custom, a case is granted a writ of certiorari when at least how many justices vote to do so?</p> <p>Which party holds a majority of seats in the U.S. House of Representative in Washington?</p> <p>How many votes are required in Congress to override a presidential veto?</p> <p>The ability of a minority of senators to prevent a vote on a bill is known as</p> <p>On which of the following federal programs is the most money spent each year?</p>

	Lucid	Who is the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court? How long is a term for U.S. Senator? How many votes are required in Congress to override a presidential veto?
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This table shows the questions used to construct each variable in the primary analyses across all four studies. The study column indicates which studies use each variable and which questions are included in their construction.

Using the ANES data, I constructed a measure for perceived rural deprivation (PRD) by adding responses to following three questions that mentioned government or rural people (N=2,595):

Deservingness: Do people living in small towns and rural areas get more, the same, or less than they deserve from the government?

Influence: Do people living in small towns and rural areas have too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount of influence on government?

Respect: Do people living in small towns and rural areas get too much respect, too little respect, or about the right amount of respect from others?

The three questions included in this index address perceived treatment, influence, and the perceived distribution of goods. However, a more thorough index would ask multiple questions that target each of these areas of perceived deprivation. There are a limited number of questions in the survey that address rural attitudes, and these questions did the best job of measuring perceived deprivation, but there could always be improvements. The ideal measure of Perceived Rural Deprivation would address equitable treatment towards rural people by government officials and urban and suburban individuals. Such questions would consist of attitude assessments that measure whether respondents perceive government officials or urban individuals treating rural people like

equals. Additionally, the ideal questions would also measure how much of a say rural people have in how they are governed, and, whether the government or urban people listen to rural areas and distribute goods and services to these areas.

These questions are also the most appropriate to include in the PRD index because they are highly correlated and share an overarching factor. To ensure that these questions were valid and reliable measures of perceived deprivation, I evaluated their psychometric properties. First, to examine the scale’s internal consistency (i.e., the lower bound of their reliability), I conducted a Cronbach’s alpha test. The *alpha* coefficient of reliability ranges from 0 to 1, with scores above 0.6 generally indicating that the scale has proper internal validity. With a scale reliability coefficient of 0.7, the rural deprivation scale has proper internal validity, meaning responses to the three variables that make up the scale are highly correlated. To double-check that the scale had internal validity I also conducted an exploratory factor analysis on the three variables that made up the scale – rural deservingness, rural influence, and rural respect (see table 2). These three indicators have high factor loadings (N=2,595) and returned an eigenvalue above 1 (1.35), meaning the three indicators in the scale are strongly associated with a single factor – perceptions of rural deprivation. Thus, in addition to being highly reliable, the PRD index I developed appears to be a valid measure of the concept as well.

Table 3: Factor Analysis for PRD Scale

Variable	Factor Loadings	Uniqueness
Rural deservingness	.58	.67
Rural influence	.72	.48
Rural respect	.71	.50

Finally, to evaluate other construct and divergent validity of the scale I examined the correlation between PRD and a series of other attitudinal variables. First, I examined the correlation between racial resentment and PRD, and found the correlation coefficient to be .28, or slightly positively correlated. Additionally, I looked at some feeling thermometers included in the ANES survey. These feeling thermometers can be split into two categories: attitudes towards the government, and attitudes surrounding race. Examining the correlation between the president at the time the survey was disseminated, Donald Trump, I found the coefficient to be .22. Similarly, with other prominent politicians Joe Biden and Kamala Harris the coefficients were -.13 and -.05 respectively. I also examined two additional feeling thermometers – one feeling thermometer for black people, where the coefficient is -.01, and one for illegal immigrants where the coefficient is -.27.

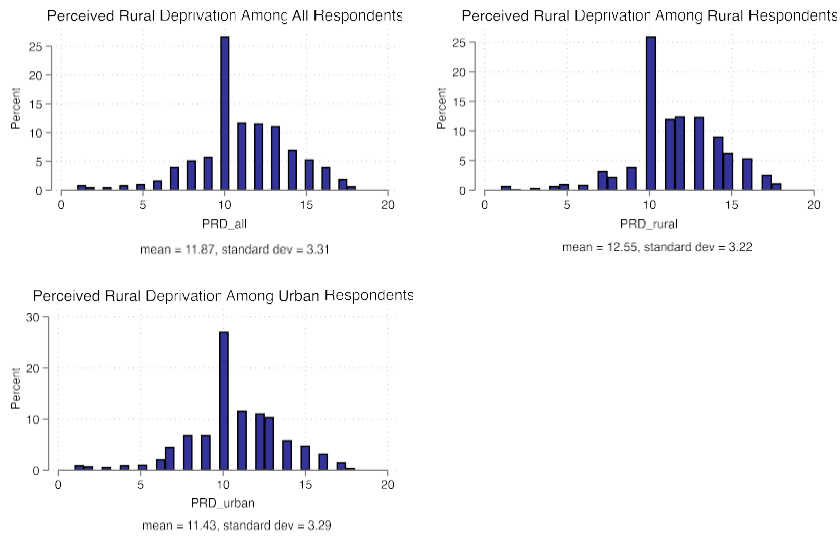
None of these feeling thermometers, or the racial resentment scale, correlated strongly with PRD. Indeed, this indicates that PRD is distinguishable from these other concepts. First, the PRD scale is intended to capture the feeling of being disadvantaged due to place. Thus, the weak positive correlation between PRD and racial resentment shows that PRD and resentment have some similar themes, but resentment and perceived deprivation are not the same concept. The two feeling thermometers for African Americans and illegal immigrants also captures racial attitudes. Therefore, the weak negative correlation between both feeling thermometers and PRD indicates a minor relationship but also shows that perceptions of rural deprivation is not merely a proxy for racial bias. Secondly, PRD is supposed to help explain perceived governmental representation. Indeed, I argue that respondents with high PRD scores will feel more disadvantaged, and thus will have more negative perceptions of the government's ability to represent their interests. The

three feeling thermometers featuring politicians capture attitudes towards these politicians, but PRD goes a step further and shows that feelings of deprivation can lead to strong negative attitudes surrounding the government. Hence, PRD is a valuable concept that helps explain attitudes that other attitudinal variables do not.

After constructing the PRD scale, I examine whether some demographic groups experience more rural deprivation than others. To do so, I create a series of descriptive graphs so I could examine the relationships between rural deprivation and gender, race, education, racial resentment, and left-right identity, respectively. First, Figure 1 shows the distribution of PRD among all respondents in study 1, just the rural respondents, and just the urban respondents. The PRD scale ranges from 1-19. A score of 19 represents participants who responded with the highest number on each question, and consequently had the highest possible PRD score.

This trend repeats itself among the rural respondents (n=1,082) whose scores also lean from moderate to high perceived deprivation. Hence, the below figure indicates that urban and rural residents recognize rural deprivation, not just rural residents. This has implications for the study of rural attitudes, where scholars have primarily focused on rural people feeling deprived. Instead, I argue that rural people perceive their deprivation, but many urban people perceive this deprivation as well.

Figure 1: PRD Distribution Across Place Types



This figure shows the relationship between PRD and place, indicating that rural respondents have slightly higher PRD scores than urban respondents, though both urban and rural respondents broadly recognize at least moderate PRD. The distributions for overall PRD, rural PRD, and urban PRD are roughly equal.

While the above figures show how rural and urban residents rate their levels of PRD, one advantage of the ANES data is it allows us to look at importance of place identity and place belonging variables in addition to a respondent's place of residence. The place identity variable measures whether respondents consider place to be an important facet of their identity. Place belonging measures the place where a person feels they belong, rather than the place where they live. The place belonging measure is intended to show how urban or suburban living individuals may be able to experience heightened PRD. Respondents were asked to rate how importance place is to their identity on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being "not at all important" to 5 being "extremely important." Judging by the mean scores on this scale, most respondents did not view their place identities as extremely important.

How important is being a {countryside, small town, suburban, urban person} to your identity?

The other potential place variable that could impact PRD is place belonging, where respondents were asked where they think they belong instead of where they currently reside.

Regardless of where you currently live, where do you feel you belong or fit in the best: cities, suburbs, small towns, or the countryside (rural areas)?

There are more respondents that claim they belong in urban and suburban areas compared to those that think they belong in small towns or rural areas. However, the discrepancy is similar to the actual percentage in each of these areas, with less citizens living in rural America than in urban or suburban America.

In these questions, respondents are asked to identify themselves as rural, urban, suburban, or small-town people. Due to the nature of this work, allowing respondents to place themselves rather than matching them to their Census-designated location is optimal. The focus of this work is perception, so I want to measure what the respondents think about their perceived place and how this makes them feel deprived. Work on place identity and measurement argue that this is the proper approach to gleaning respondents' accurate feelings concerning their place, so both studies consist of surveys designed in this manner (Nemerever and Rogers 2021). Both place questions are important when considering the effect of place on perceived deprivation. In hypotheses two and three I argue that both place belonging and place importance have statistically significant relationships with PRD.

This chapter's descriptive results of PRD demonstrate two interesting aspects. First, place is strongly – but not perfectly – correlated with perceived rural deprivation. This effect is particularly apparent in the place belonging variable, where you can see that

respondents who live in small towns or rural areas are more likely to have a high PRD score. Individuals who emphasized the importance of place also had higher PRD scores. Both variables help show the psychological place is more important to the study of PRD than physical place, as current residence was not significant. Indeed, individuals living in urban areas can still recognize perceived rural deprivation.

The second contribution lies in the construction of the PRD scale itself. Using factor analysis and Cronbach's alpha, we can see that PRD is a cohesive and unique scale that has explanatory power. Additionally, with the addition of the racial resentment scale in this analysis we can see that perceived rural deprivation is sufficiently distinct from another identity measure, although racial resentment and PRD are correlated.

2.4 Results

Table 4 (continued): Predicting Perceived Rural Deprivation in Study 1

Predicting Perceived Rural Deprivation in the ANES	
VARIABLES	(1) PRD
Place importance	-0.0962 (0.100)
Rural residence	-0.2361 (0.151)
Place belonging = suburban	-0.8667*** (0.308)
Place belonging = urban	-1.4021*** (0.342)
Party identification	-0.0475 (0.106)
Political ideology	0.1185 (0.221)
Racial resentment	0.1389*** (0.031)
Political knowledge	0.2607**

	(0.120)
Gender	0.1849
	(0.233)
Education	-0.0159
	(0.081)
Black	-0.0576
	(0.429)
Hispanic	-0.0975
	(0.353)
Asian	-0.5883
	(0.523)
N	2,595
R ²	0.117
Adj-R ²	0.117

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
OLS coefficients with standard errors in parenthesis

This table looks at the relationship between PRD (the Dependent variable) and key explanatory variables including place belonging. Supporting H1, we can see that there is a statistically significant relationship between place and PRD.

As you can see, place belonging and racial resentment are significant at the .01 level, and political knowledge is significant at the .05 level. Thus, hypothesis 2 is supported. However, hypotheses 1 and 3 are not supported. Therefore, we find that current residence does not predict whether a person will have high PRD. Instead, a better predictor is where a person feels they belong – regardless of where they currently live. The significance of place belonging also helps explain why urban and suburban living respondents are also receiving moderate to high PRD scores, despite not living in rural areas. Perhaps these urban respondents with high PRD scores grew up in rural areas, or simply know many rural people. In future research I would like to explore the place belonging variable more, and to delve further into the difference between urban residing

respondents that feel they belong in urban areas, and those that feel they belong in rural areas or small towns instead.

Another interesting finding is the statistically significant relationship between PRD and racial resentment. While I have conducted tests to disentangle the two concepts, I have not explored their relationship further. Future research could focus on PRD, racial resentment, and rural resentment to see if PRD leads to general resentment or only place (rural) resentment.

2.5 Study 2

2.5.1 Data and Methods

Study 2 is based on a survey administered to a sample of voting age U.S. adults recruited by Dynata during August 2020. The study consists of 1462 respondents, and while not a population-based probability sample like the ANES, it is reflective of the national population by using quotas based on demographics (age, sex, and race) from the 2020 Census. In addition to the similar sample size, the Dynata survey has several useful features that provide a good validity check of my perceived deprivation scale based on the ANES data. In addition, other political behavior literature has used Dynata surveys with few issues (Whitt et al. 2021, Merkley et al. 2020).

The Dynata survey includes a question wording experiment intended to explore whether PRD is stronger when urban residents are mentioned in the question. Respondents were randomly assigned to read two different versions of a question about differential attention. One question asks respondents whether rural residents are receiving enough attention from several sources.

Do people living in rural areas receive too much, too little, or the right amount of attention from the following sources {the federal government, the state government, the local government, the news, people living in cities}?

The other question begins with a phrase intended to trigger feelings of deprivation.

Some people feel that rural people are ignored by the government, while others disagree. Do people living in rural areas receive too much, too little, or the right amount of attention from the following sources?

This second question was designed to test whether heightened PRD could be triggered by more overtly priming feelings of deprivation. However, this change in question wording had little effect on overall levels of PRD, which remained moderate to high.

In addition to the question experiment, I also utilize another multiple item index to measure and develop a scale for Perceived Rural Deprivation. This other question asks respondents to rate whether rural residents are receiving enough respect compared to other groups from a variety of sources. These sources include the federal government, state government, local government, media, and urban people themselves.

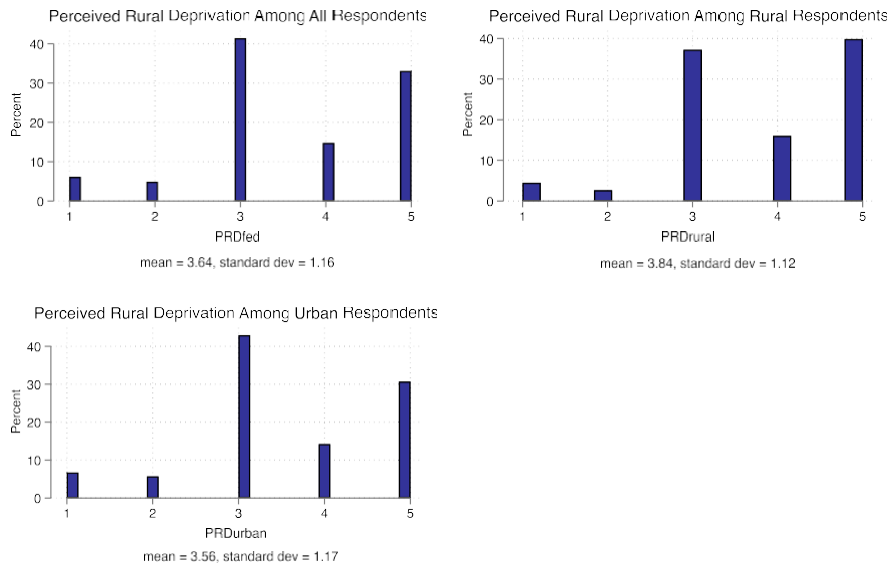
Do people living in rural areas receive too much, too little, or not the right amount of respect from the following sources?`

This study examines whether the federal government alone is giving enough attention and respect to rural areas. To develop the PRD scale, I use a summative index scaled from 1 to 5 with higher values representing greater PRD. To ensure this scale is internally consistent, I conducted a Cronbach's alphas test. The α coefficient of reliability ranges from 0 to 1, with scores above 0.6 generally indicating that the scale has proper internal

validity. With a scale reliability coefficient of 0.72, the rural deprivation scale has proper internal validity, meaning the two variables that make up the scale are properly correlated.

In Figure 2 below, we can see how many respondents exhibit heightened perceptions of deprivation in Study 1. The sample skews towards moderate to high PRD overall, meaning that the majority of the respondents recognized a significant degree of rural deprivation. While we can see that the overall sample leans towards moderate PRD, breaking the sample down into rural versus nonrural samples provides more insights. In Figure 2, we can see that most rural respondents recognize high PRD, rather than moderate PRD. This makes sense through the lens of place identity, as rural residents may be more likely to recognize high PRD because they are rural and experience or see how their rural areas are deprived.

Figure 2: PRD Distribution Across All Place Types



This figure shows the relationship between PRD and place, indicating that rural respondents have slightly higher PRD scores than urban respondents, though both urban and rural respondents broadly recognize at least moderate PRD.

Despite the differences in sample size, there is a similar range of scores in these figures compared to study 1. In both studies, most of the respondents' PRD scores range from moderate to high perceived deprivation, although there are more respondents in this study with the highest possible level of PRD. This shows that these results concerning PRD are generalizable across samples and are generalizable nationally.

After creating the PRD scale, I conducted three analyses to explore my hypotheses. First, I created several demographic independent variables including race and gender to see which groups experience heightened PRD. Then, I determined whether political ideology and party identification are associated with PRD. Finally, I used a question about place to see whether place identity and PRD are correlated.

Using PRD as the dependent variable, I examined which demographic characteristics were more likely to correspond with heightened PRD. One of the demographics that showed the biggest impact of PRD was gender, where women experienced higher levels of PRD than men (see Figure 25 in Appendix).

In addition to examining demographic characteristics, I also ran several tests to establish that perceived rural deprivation is not merely a measure of party identification or political ideology. First, I examined the relationship between the party identification scale and rural deprivation. The party identification scale sorted respondents into one of seven categories ranging from Strong Democrat to Strong Republican and was created in this manner so I could differentiate between strong party members, Independents, and respondents that leaned Democrat or Republican. After constructing the party identification scale, I conducted two tests to establish discriminant validity between rural deprivation and party identification. First, I conducted another Pearson's Correlation

Coefficient test, which indicated that the two measures are not associated with a score of 0.057, which is well below the 0.6 threshold where variables are associated. Then I conducted a factor analysis test to see if the two measures coalesced on the same factor, or concept. The factor analysis test also showed that the two measures are distinct, with an eigenvalue of only 0.06, well below the threshold of 1 that the measures would have to coalesce on to be associated. Thus, the two tests support the idea that the rural deprivation measure and party identification measure are distinct. This is a valuable insight, because it shows that rural Republicans are not the only rural residents that exhibit strong feelings of rural deprivation.

The political ideology variable differentiates between strong, moderate, and weak liberals, moderates or independents, and strong, moderate, and weak conservatives. To establish that political ideology is different from rural deprivation, I ran two more discriminate validity tests. The Pearson's Correlation Coefficient test indicated that the two measures are not associated with a score of -.048. Then, I conducted a factor analysis which showed that the two measures are distinct with an eigenvalue of .05, well below the threshold of 1.

Now that I have established that rural deprivation is discriminate from both party identification and political ideology, I need to examine another important component of this analysis – place. I found that the effects of place on PRD were greater amongst rural citizens. To reach this finding I included a question where I asked respondents to categorize their place.

Do you think of yourself as a city person, suburban person, a small-town person, a rural person, or something else?

Then, based on this categorization, I run several analyses where I separate rural and urban respondents to see whether place has a strong impact on PRD. Additionally, I create a dichotomous variable, which split respondents into rural versus nonrural.

2.6 Results

After examining the interaction between PRD and these demographic characteristics descriptively, I ran an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression model to see whether place has a statistically significant relationship with perceived rural deprivation.

Table 5: Predicting Perceived Rural Deprivation in Study 2

<u>Predicting Perceived Rural Deprivation</u>	
(1)	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	
Current Residence	0.2900*** (0.069)
Political ideology	-0.0255 (0.018)
Party identification	0.0303 (0.037)
Female	0.2104*** (0.064)
Age	0.0989*** (0.019)
Hispanic	0.1477* (0.084)
Black	0.0267 (0.087)
Knowledge scale	0.0940*** (0.024)
N	1,462
R ²	0.052
Adj- R ²	0.052

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed

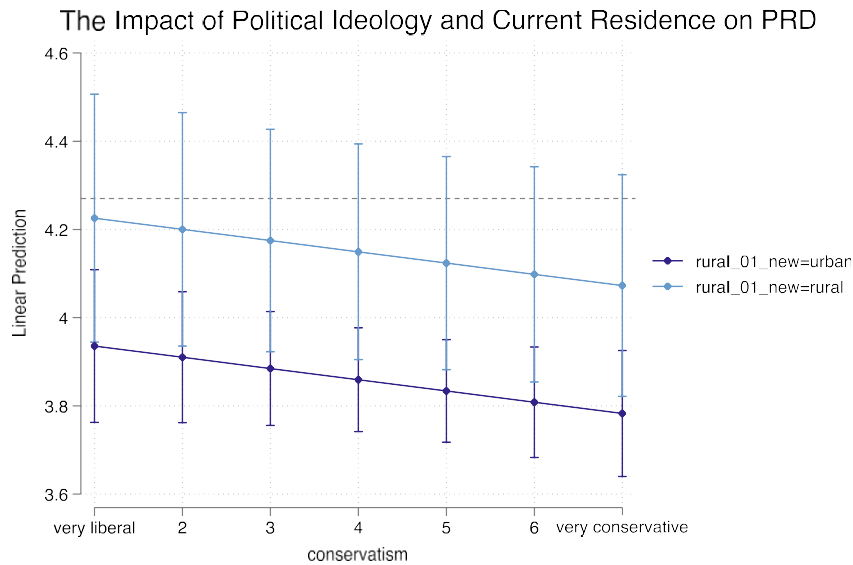
Robust Standard Errors reported

This table looks at the relationship between PRD (the Dependent variable) and key explanatory variables including current residence. Supporting H1, we can see that there is a statistically significant relationship between place and PRD.

As you can see, place, gender, age, and political knowledge are all statistically significant at the 0.01 level. This supports hypotheses 1, 3, and 5.

A strong sense of place identity can impact views on PRD, but does political identity have an effect? In other words, do far right leaning respondents from rural areas have higher PRD scores than left leaning respondents from rural areas? Figure 3 shows that political ideology does have a slight effect on PRD scores of rural and urban respondents. This figure shows the interaction between political ideology and current residence, and their impact on PRD. As you can see, there is a difference between respondents who are very liberal and those who are very conservative for both rural and urban respondents, although urban respondents do have lower overall PRD than rural respondents regardless of their political ideology.

Figure 3: Political Ideology, Current Residence, and PRD



This figure shows the relationship between PRD, Current Residence and Political Ideology). As you can see, very liberal respondents have slightly higher PRD than very conservative respondents, regardless of place.

Finally, I examined another way feelings of deprivation impact political attitudes by conducting an analysis on perceptions of governmental representation. In Hypothesis 4, I argue that high PRD scores lead to negative evaluations of governmental representation. In other words, the more respondents feel deprived, the more they blame the government for not properly representing the interests of their geographic place. This study uses questions that ask about federal governmental representation only, so it shows how much trust rural residents place in their Senators, Representatives, and the President.

On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the best possible representation, rate how well you think each level of government {federal, state, local} represents you:

In Table 6 we can see that there is a statistically significant negative relationship between perceived governmental representation and PRD. Additionally, there is a correlation

between perceptions of governmental representation and political ideology, party identification, race, political knowledge, and age.

Table 6: Governmental Representation and Rural Deprivation

<u>Governmental Representation and PRD</u>	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	(1) <u>Government</u>
PRD	-0.2772*** (0.026)
Current residence	-0.2212*** (0.068)
Political ideology	0.1201*** (0.018)
Party identification	-0.2638*** (0.037)
Female	-0.0636 (0.063)
Age	-0.0214*** (0.019)
Hispanic	0.0920 (0.083)
Black	0.1222 (0.085)
Political knowledge	-0.0736*** (0.023)
Constant	3.9463*** (0.179)
N	1,459
R ²	0.183
Adj-R ²	0.183

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

This table examines the relationship between perceptions of governmental representation (Dependent variable) and our key explanatory variables of PRD and Current residence. As expected, there is a statistically significant negative relationship between PRD and governmental representation, indicating that people who have high PRD scores have a more negative impression of the government's ability to represent their interests.

2.7 Comparing Studies 1 and 2

While there are some slight differences between the two studies – for example, the second study’s respondents generally had moderate political knowledge while the ANES respondents were split between high and low knowledge – the two samples still have enough demographic similarities for a useful comparison. As indicated above, both the Dynata and ANES samples found that all respondents experienced moderate to high perceived rural deprivation. The main differences between the two samples lie in the level of PRD and the significance of some key variables. While both samples showed that the respondents have moderate to high PRD, the Dynata sample in study 2 was skewed to have higher PRD than the ANES sample. Still, both indicate that rural deprivation exists – or is perceived to exist – and people from a variety of backgrounds agree that rural people may draw less attention and respect in comparison to their urban and suburban peers.

Some differences between the two samples occur in the level of significance among key variables. Political ideology and party identification are highly significant amongst all respondents in the Dynata data but are not significant at all in the ANES data. While there needs to be more research into this finding, one possible explanation is that rural people would have a heightened connection to their place and would thus think about their place identity first, rather than defaulting to their political ideologies. Since both rural Democrats and rural Republicans have many of the same experiences in their rural areas, they have a place identity that can supersede their ideology. However, due to different model specifications it is hard to compare these two studies and interpret their results side by side.

One variable included in the ANES data that was not available in the Dynata data is a racial resentment scale. Racial resentment was found to have a significant positive

impact on a person's level of PRD – as their racial resentment increased, so did their PRD score. This is an avenue that needs to be explored further, but it would support the general idea of rural deprivation – that rural people who experience high rural deprivation feel slighted in comparison to other groups. While this has primarily been assumed to be aimed at urban and suburban individuals, it would make sense that rural people would also compare themselves to other demographics. Indeed, Nelson and Petsko (2021) find that white rural Wisconsinites see the typical urban resident in the state as relatively non-white, so racial resentment may be combining with perceived deprivation to separate these even further.

Finally, a significant finding emerges when examining the place variables in both studies. There is a divergent finding between studies 1 and 2, where study 2 shows that there is a significant correlation between current residence and PRD while study 1 indicates that there is no significant relationship between the two variables. Due to limitations in study 2 there is only one place question – current residence. In contrast, study 1 also has place belonging and place importance questions. These additional questions add depth to the analysis and help explain how psychological place connects to perceived rural deprivation. After removing the place belonging variable from study 1, current residence is found to have a significant association with PRD. Therefore, despite some disparate findings between the two studies among the place variables, the findings are parallel to each other. Thus, PRD is a concept that can be successfully measured in multiple studies, and it is an important correlate of rural attitudes and identity.

In summary, while there are some differences, a central finding emerges: individuals from every place background perceive rural deprivation to exist, although some

to a much higher degree than others. Additionally, in study 2, perceptions of governmental representation is strongly associated with PRD, indicating that respondents who perceive rural deprivation tend to blame the government for this state of affairs.

CHAPTER 3: PERCEIVED RURAL DEPRIVATION IN KENTUCKY: UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN THE BLUEGRASS STATE

Up to this point, Chapter 1 tracked the history of rural political attitudes and deprivation in the United States, and Chapter 2 conceptualized and examined the potential impacts on perceived rural deprivation (PRD). These chapters found that heightened PRD is correlated with negative perceptions of governmental representation, and therefore high PRD may lead to distrust in the government. They also found that rural belonging people, nationally, are more likely to have high PRD compared to urban belonging people. However, urban belonging people still experience moderate levels of PRD as well, indicating that they recognize and empathize with rural deprivation. Yet, while I have examined both the national history and impacts of PRD, I have not examined this concept at the state level. This chapter does just that to see if these findings hold in a more geographically rural state like Kentucky. Beyond the advantage of being able to see how PRD impacts respondents in a more rural state, I can also see whether PRD has as much of an impact on perceptions of federal government representation at the state level as it does on a national scale.

Kentucky is a state that contains multitudes. From one end of the state to the other, there are several large metropolitan areas, surrounding suburbs, rural farmlands, and the rough mountain terrain of Appalachia. Moving from bustling cities to remote mountains takes a few hours, but it can seem like these two place types are much further apart, both in appearance and culture. Yet, despite their differences, many Kentuckians have a common understanding of rurality, which makes this state the perfect case study to test whether urban belonging people exposed to rural areas may experience moderate to high

PRD. While a quarter of the state live in metropolitan areas, the proximity of these cities to their rural surroundings mean city dwellers are more likely to have ties to their rural counterparts. Even experts on the rural-urban divide in Kentucky note this unique feature, claiming “Because a lot of people in urban Kentucky are still rural in character...They’re not all that far removed from the small towns where they grew up” (KET 2021).

Beyond the geographic characteristics of Kentucky, there are other unique socioeconomic and political characteristics that make Kentucky an interesting case study. In this chapter, I examine the distinctive duality of Kentucky politics, and note the socioeconomic disparities that shape attitudes in the region. Ultimately, I find that proximity to rural areas may very well have an impact, with urban belonging Kentuckians having higher levels of PRD than urban belonging people nationwide.

There are several key advantages to conducting a Kentucky-focused survey in addition to a national survey. First, Kentucky is one of the most rural states in the country, which means that a reflective Kentucky sample is more likely to include a great number of rural residents. This is a helpful characteristic of Kentucky for the study of perceived rural deprivation. Indeed, in the national sample of this study I found that rural people were more likely to have high perceived rural deprivation (PRD) scores compared to their urban counterparts. Examining a sample from a state where over 40% of the population is rural would help support the validity of those results. In this analysis, like with the national analysis, I argue that rural people are more likely to have high PRD scores – this should not change even if the percentage of rural residents in the state increases.

Additionally, the very nature of Kentucky allows me to compare how rural people feel in largely rural states like Kentucky compared to the national sample that includes

many nonrural or less rural states. There are two possibilities for understanding rural attitudes in mostly nonrural versus rural states. First, the national sample may show that rural people in nonrural states feel particularly deprived, and thus have higher PRD scores, because they are not getting enough attention or respect due to being outnumbered. In this understanding of rural behavior Kentucky residents may not feel as deprived because the government must pay attention to their interests. Or, as we can examine in this Kentucky sample, urban and rural residents may have similar attitudes surrounding rural deprivation due to the largely rural nature of the state. Here, we can see that urban people would have similarly high PRD scores to rural people because they are surrounded by rural people and can easily access the rural regions of the state. Thus, given the rural-leaning nature of Kentucky, there will be little difference between the PRD scores of urban people and rural people. Additionally, these PRD scores will be high, indicating that respondents experience or recognize deprivation more readily than in the national sample. I argue that the latter argument, which emphasizes the similarities between urban and rural people in Kentucky, is the best lens to understand both rural and urban attitudes in very rural states.

The last advantage of using Kentucky as a case study is the unique nature of Kentucky politics. Historically, Kentucky was more of a swing-state than the solidly red state of today. Indeed, this has only changed in the last decade, as Kentuckians have regularly voted for Democrats in state elections and Republicans in national elections (Turner and Lassley 2013). Therefore, Kentucky is an interesting case to study, as political ideology within the state of Kentucky has largely not followed the pattern of other states in the region with similar demographics and geography.

3.1 Political Attitudes in Kentucky

There has been a rich field of research into the explanatory factor of Southern regional identity on political attitudes and election outcomes. Historically, the South has been different from the rest of the country both culturally and politically. Structurally, the political institutions of the South have been shaped by the Democratic dominance of the 1960s, which led to weaker party organizations, a focus on individual politicians' personalities and political ambition, and an emphasis on primary elections (Gibson et al. 1983, Squire 2000, Turner et al. 2021). Attitude-wise, southern voters are more socially conservative and support smaller government and are less likely to turn out to vote – perhaps because they value a smaller government and more local control (Cowden 2001, Scala et al. 2015, Squire 2000).

However, Kentucky is an interesting case due to its geographic location, straddling the border between the Midwest and South. Therefore, the political attitudes of Kentuckians are slightly less predictable than those in the deep South. In an article exploring the attitudes of several states that border the South, Lasley et al. found that one of the major splits in the state is between those that consider themselves southern and those that do not. Conducting a survey, they found that over 70% of Kentuckians considered themselves southern, and many of these “southerners” had similar opinions to their southern neighbors, favoring President Trump's border wall and other conservative policies (Lasley et al. 2021). This supports the idea that place is important to Kentuckians, and this sense of place can impact political attitudes.

In another work exploring Kentuckians' political attitudes, Knoll (2021) examines a Nationscape survey consisting of over 6000 Kentucky-based respondents and clustered

their responses into three policy opinion coalitions. Knoll found that around 1/3 of Kentuckians are core conservatives, 1/5 of Kentuckians are solid liberals, and 1/2 of Kentuckians are pragmatic moderates. Core conservatives consist of your typical Trump voter, with consistently conservative policy views. These voters are largely white, economically affluent, and Evangelical. Solidly liberal Kentuckians are strongly opposed to Trump, younger, usually women, who are less religious but also economically affluent. Finally, pragmatic moderates are the largest voting bloc in Kentucky, and tend to have liberal economic and environmental policy views and conservative social policy views. These pragmatic moderates are much more diverse, moderately religious, and are lower class or middle class. These findings provide an interesting counterpoint to those by Lasley et al., noting that Kentuckians do have conservative leanings like residents of the deep South, but there are less core conservatives than imagined. Once again, Kentucky straddles the political views of South and northern neighbors.

Since Kentucky is a great case study for examining how largely rural states experience PRD, this association between place identity and PRD is the primary focus of this section. This case provides an interesting opportunity to see if deprivation is still present in a rural state, where, ideally, rural people would have more representation in the government. However, I argue that this rural nature does not make it appear that rural Kentuckians are receiving more resources, leading Kentuckians to also perceive heightened deprivation. Current residence should thus have a statistically significant relationship with PRD. Therefore, my first hypothesis is as follows:

H1: Rural residents will have higher PRD scores than urban residents.

In addition, if Kentuckians have diminished resources and feelings of deprivation, then they would likely blame the government for these shortfalls. Thus, hypothesis 2 states that respondents have negative evaluations of the government's ability to represent their interests, reflective of these diminished resources. Respondents who receive a higher perceived rural deprivation (PRD) score – indicating that they exhibit heightened feelings of rural deprivation– will have negative perceptions of governmental representation.

H2: As respondents' PRD score increases, their governmental representation score decreases.

3.2 Resource Deprivation Nationally and in Kentucky

In the 55 years since the commission on rural poverty was convened by President Lyndon Johnson, countless scholars have studied the impact of rural poverty and whether Johnson's War on Poverty created meaningful change. Now, decades later, it is clear that Johnson's programs did lower the poverty rate in rural America, but resource deprivation and rural poverty persist. In a study, the Institute for Research on Poverty found that rural poverty declined sharply in the 1960s but has remained fairly steady since the 1970s. This poverty has several dimensions that keep impoverished rural residents from upward mobility. First, industries in rural areas are on the decline, as globalization and automation have caused structural change that many rural areas cannot withstand (Goetz et al 2018). While areas that rely on natural resources are used to boom and bust cycles, it seems that industries like coal are unlikely to rebound (Betz et al. 2015). Lower education rates and declining industries have left rural areas around the country to struggle with high child poverty and little hope for the future. Even worse, reforms to the safety net to emphasize

work requirements have hit rural residents hard considering the low job availability (Institute for Research on Poverty 2020). All of these issues contribute to financial deprivation felt in rural areas across the country, from mining towns to agricultural communities.

Beyond financial deprivation, rural areas experience other forms of deprivation such as healthcare disparities, a lack of clean water, and slow or nonexistent internet access. First, health disparities between rural and urban areas mean that rural residents are far more likely to die from chronic heart disease, lower respiratory disease, cancer, or a stroke than other Americans (CDC 2022). Part of the reason for this discrepancy is the lack of easy healthcare access. Studies have found that patients with a driver's license were twice as likely to attend doctor's appointments than those without, and patients are much less likely to see a doctor if they live far away (Arcury et al. 2005, Pathman et al. 2006). Several of the conditions that affect an outsized number of rural residents require regular specialist appointments or nearby trauma centers, which are rarely close to the patient's residence (Douthit et al. 2015). This was an obvious and immediate concern during the COVID-19 pandemic when barriers to care increased. Fighting against socioeconomic struggles and facing mounting healthcare concerns without easy access to doctors leads rural areas to have higher deaths of despair than other communities as well. Deaths of despair – mortality due to suicides, overdoses, and alcohol-related illnesses – are yet another crushing weight for communities to experience (Graham 2021).

In Kentucky, some of these healthcare access issues are ameliorated through the University of Kentucky and Appalachian Rural Healthcare (ARH) hospital and clinic services. These programs mean that rural Kentuckians have access to primary care centers

and some specialized health care. Even with these systems, the supply of primary care physicians per 100,000 population in Appalachian Kentucky is 36 percent lower than the national average, and the supply of specialty physicians is 59 percent lower than the national average and 60 percent lower than in non-Appalachian Kentucky (ARC 2020). In addition, there still remain major disparities in health between residents of Appalachian Kentucky and other United States residents. In a recent Appalachian Regional Commission report, the mortality rate for heart disease is 45 percent higher in Appalachian Kentucky compared to the national rate. It is estimated that the years of potential life lost (YPPL) rate is 63 percent higher than the national rate.

While medical concerns and hospital closures enforce the feeling of being left behind, slow or nonexistent internet access literally keeps some rural areas from taking steps into the future. According to Pew Research, rural Americans have consistently lower levels of technology ownership and broadband internet access than their urban and suburban counterparts (Vogels 2021). Due to geographic constraints, some mountainous rural areas are unable to even install the fiberoptic cables necessary for internet access. While medical issues are a more noticeable and urgent concern to older residents, technology issues hurt children and young adults. Schools have transitioned to technology-enhanced learning, where students are required to use technology to complete homework assignments and learn STEM skills. Without wireless internet access at home, rural students are left behind academically (teach for America 2021). This was especially evident in Kentucky during the at home learning era of the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2020, it was estimated that 36 percent of K-12 students in Kentucky were without an adequate internet connection. (Kobin 2020).

Young adults, too, are left behind by this digital divide. When the pandemic moved many jobs to remote settings, rural residents seeking jobs were left without options. Technology is now a central part of our global economy, and people and businesses without this technology fall by the wayside. These aforementioned issues are not related to the socioeconomic status of these individuals, but infrastructure problems like these continue to provide barriers that lead to socioeconomic distress.

3.3 Funding Nationally and in Kentucky

Another key matter of discussion in this chapter is the very notion that rural deprivation is perceived, rather than a given fact. However, this begs the question: why do respondents agree that rural deprivation is present? What circumstances make these perceptions so widespread that even urban respondents indicate rural deprivation exists? To examine these questions, I look towards funding for rural areas, both in Kentucky and nationally.

One way both rural and nonrural areas receive funding is through the Census Bureau. Using the American Community Survey and the most recent census, the federal government can determine the number of programs and type of programs that need to be created and funded for urban and rural areas. As of 2016, there are 55 programs targeted to rural areas, or 1 in every 6 census-guided programs. These 55 programs distributed \$30.7 billion in 2016, however, more than 95% of the total expenditures went to agriculture rather than the actual rural communities (Reamer 2018). Therefore, the typical rural residents in these areas were not seeing the brunt of the benefits. Indeed, poverty rates in rural areas remain higher than in urban areas, with persistently high-poverty counties

disproportionately located in rural areas (Institute for Research on Poverty 2020). These facts have not changed since the Great Depression when modern rural development policy was born. Yet, the landscape of rural life has changed: half of rural residents were farmers during the Great Depression, but now that number is less than 10 percent (Ajilore and Willingham 2020).

Beyond census-guided programs, there are over 400 federal programs open to rural communities for economic and community development. However, once again, most of the funding goes towards supporting agriculture rather than supporting regular citizens, the vast majority of which are not farmers. This is due to the outdated structure of rural policy in the United States, which is coordinated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). As such, the department can earmark the majority of the programs for agricultural purposes (Pipa and Geismer 2020, Ajilore and Willingham 2020).

Government spending is often split into consumption expenditures, where money makes its way back into the economy when recipients use it for consumption, and investments where they are investing in the future and building human capital. In an ethnographic field study on rurality in Colorado, Carolan (2020) focused on community expenses, which are investments in community resources. They found that non-metro Colorado counties received 46 percent of what metro counties did, representing a serious discrepancy in community investment (Carolan 2020). Indeed, a pattern emerges – the majority of the money being sent to rural areas is consumption payment such as food stamps, not community investments that would help improve streets, schools, and other needed infrastructure (McCoy 2017). This, too, represents an outdated spending structure

that prioritizes spending that boosts the economy over spending that helps the daily lives of rural residents.

Yet, while the federal structure is outdated, the COVID-19 pandemic helped emphasize the necessity of further widespread funding for rural areas, leading to the creation of new, much-needed programs created by the USDA this year. These programs are meant to improve the quality of life for rural people in the United States through providing funding for schools, health care, housing, and more (USDA 2022). Still, it is not clear whether these programs are intended to be long-term or if they are merely there to help rural areas recover from the pandemic. To summarize, nationally, rural areas are experiencing resource shortages and deprivation that federal funding is trying to alleviate.

In Kentucky, the poverty level of residents is higher than most states in the United States, at fifth highest, and the state also receives more federal funds than most other states in the country (DePietro 2021). Almost 40% of the Kentucky budget comes from the federal government, with almost 70% of those funds from the Department of Health and Human resources, for Medicare and Social Security (Pew Research 2019, USA spending 2022). However, the counties that receive the most funding are largely urban, with Jefferson, Franklin, and Fayette counties receiving the most federal money. These three counties contain the two largest cities – Lexington and Louisville – and the state capital, Frankfort. Although Kentucky has a larger rural population and this rural population is suffering from extreme poverty, most of the funding continues to go to agriculture, Medicare, and Social Security. These programs are helpful upon retirement and for Kentucky's farmers, but they do not help update necessary infrastructure or beautify public spaces. These infrastructure updates are not only necessary, but leaving essential services

unchecked is a public health risk. One county in Eastern Kentucky, Martin County, has been without clean water since 2000, when coal companies were able to dump coal slurry in water sources (Lakhani 2020). These unique health challenges, which violate EPA standards, remain.

Therefore, despite having more rural people in the state, rural Kentuckians are not getting much more help than rural people in other states. However, one area where Kentuckians are doing better is in education, where the COVID-19 American Rescue plan money was used for elementary and secondary education in the state – here, largely rural states have more funding and advantages than rural areas in largely urban states (U.S. Department of Education 2021, Kabaker 2012). Still, substantial visible issues remain – likely driving the perception that rural areas are receiving less funding, attention, resources, and help than their urban and suburban counterparts.

3.4 Actual versus Perceived Deprivation

Up to this point I have discussed actual deprivation that has been experienced in the United States and in Kentucky. Now, for the rest of this dissertation, I will transition to discuss perceived deprivation. The reason for this transition is twofold. First, attempting to account for every instance of deprivation – financial, social, medical, technological, etc. – would be a large undertaking beyond the bounds of this dissertation. Relatedly, measuring actual deprivation would likely lead to measurement error, as there are only so many areas of deprivation that have been and can be measured. Thus, the rest of this dissertation focuses on perceived deprivation to attempt to account for deprivation that has not been or cannot be measured. When a respondent answers a survey question about how deprived

they feel in comparison to their peers, they likely think of an amalgamation of issues that have shaped their worldview. While some of these problems have been widely studied – a lack of access to healthcare, for instance – others have not. Without interviewing a large group of rural people about the various ways they feel deprived, the only way to accurately measure this is through survey questions that ask them to compare their advantages in life to their peers.

3.5 Data and Methods

The third data source in this analysis – hereinafter Study 3 - is an original survey using a sample from Dynata, recruited in August 2020. This survey is balanced on demographic characteristics – gender, race, and age – and closely matches the demographic characteristics of Kentucky residents according to the most recent Census. There are 1071 respondents in this sample, which is a similar size to the nationally diverse sample (n=1,462), allowing for comparison.

To examine my primary research questions surrounding perceived rural deprivation (PRD) I utilize a third multiple item index to measure and develop a scale for PRD. The scale and the questions used to develop the scale are identical to those used in Study 2. There are two questions that were used to make the PRD scale. The first question was originally designed as a question experiment intended to prime feelings of deprivation. However, this change in question wording had little effect on overall levels of PRD, which remained moderate to high. Therefore, the two versions of this question – included below – were combined into one variable. For both of these questions I only used the federal government as the source in question.

Do people living in rural areas receive too much, too little, or the right amount of attention from the following sources {the federal government, the state government, the local government, the news, people living in cities}?

The other question begins with a phrase intended to trigger feelings of deprivation.

Some people feel that rural people are ignored by the government, while others disagree. Do people living in rural areas receive too much, too little, or the right amount of attention from the following sources?

The next question, listed below, then asks respondents to rate whether rural residents are receiving enough respect compared to other groups from a variety of sources. These sources include the federal government, state government, local government, media, and urban people themselves. The focus of this study is on the federal government, so I excluded the questions about the other sources from this work.

Do people living in rural areas receive too much, too little, or not the right amount of respect from the federal government?

To develop the PRD scale, I use a summative index scaled from 1 to 5 with higher values representing greater PRD. To ensure this scale is internally consistent, I conducted a Cronbach's alphas test. The α coefficient of reliability ranges from 0 to 1, with scores above 0.6 generally indicating that the scale has proper internal validity. With a scale reliability coefficient of 0.7, the rural deprivation scale has proper internal validity, meaning the two variables that make up the scale are properly correlated.

Once the responses from the panel questions were added together, respondents were assigned a rural deprivation score that ranged from 1 (minimal feelings of deprivation) to 5 (high deprivation). In Figure 4 below, we can see how many respondents exhibit heightened perceptions of deprivation in the Kentucky sample:

Figure 4: PRD Among All Place Types in Study 3

This figure shows the relationship between PRD and place, indicating that rural respondents have slightly higher PRD scores than urban respondents, though both urban and rural respondents broadly recognize at least moderate PRD.

As one can see, the sample skews towards moderate to high PRD overall, meaning that most of the respondents recognized a significant degree of rural deprivation. While both the Dynata and ANES national samples show a clear difference between rural and nonrural responses concerning Perceived Rural Deprivation, the Kentucky sample had very similar results between the two groups. This could be because of the unique geography of the state of Kentucky, where the cities are surrounded by large swaths of rural areas, and there is not a large suburban population. Therefore, even urban residents regularly interact with citizens from rural areas and are thus more likely to understand their concerns. As such this Kentucky data really gives us a good sense of the attitudes of residents in any largely rural state.

After constructing the rural deprivation scale, I again examined whether some demographics experience more rural deprivation than others in the state of Kentucky. To do so, I created a series of descriptive graphs so I could examine the interaction between rural deprivation and gender, race, age, and left-right identity respectively. First, I created several demographic independent variables including race and gender to see which groups experience heightened PRD. Then, I checked to see if PRD is merely a measure of political ideology or party identification, or if the two concepts are separate. Finally, I used a question about place to see whether place identity and PRD are correlated.

The party identification scale sorted respondents into one of seven categories ranging from Strong Democrat to Strong Republican. This party identification scale was created in this manner so I could differentiate between strong party members, Independents, and respondents that leaned Democrat or Republican. After constructing the party identification scale, I conducted two tests to establish discriminate validity between rural deprivation and party identification. First, I conducted another Pearson's Correlation Coefficient test, which indicated that the two measures are slightly negatively correlated with a score of -0.11, which is well below the 0.6 threshold where variables are highly associated. Then I conducted a factor analysis test to see if the two measures coalesced on the same factor, or concept. The factor analysis test also showed that the two measures are distinct, with an eigenvalue of only 0.122, well below the threshold of 1 that the measures would have to coalesce on to be associated. Thus, the two tests support the idea that the rural deprivation measure and party identification measure are distinct. This is a valuable insight, because it shows that rural Republicans are not the only rural residents that exhibit strong feelings of rural deprivation.

The political ideology variable differentiates between strong, moderate, and weak liberals, moderates or independents, and strong, moderate, and weak conservatives. To establish that political ideology is different from rural deprivation, I ran two more discriminate validity tests. The Pearson's Correlation Coefficient test indicated that the two measures are not associated with a score of $-.117$. Then, I conducted a factor analysis which showed that the two measures are distinct with an eigenvalue of $.13$, well below the threshold of 1 .

After determining that political ideology and party identification are different concepts than PRD, I examined another large component of this analysis – place. I found that the effects of place on PRD were greater amongst rural citizens. To reach this finding I included a question where I asked respondents to categorize their place.

Do you think of yourself as a city person, suburban person, a small-town person, a rural person, or something else?

Then, based on this categorization, I ran several analyses where I separated rural and urban respondents to see whether place has a strong impact on PRD. Additionally, I created a dichotomous variable which split respondents into rural versus nonrural.

Finally, I conducted an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to see whether any of the demographic variables have a statistically significant correlation with rural deprivation. An OLS regression is appropriate in this case because the Dependent variable – rural deprivation – is categorical, with respondents being placed in a category based on their level of perceived deprivation. This data is also robust to Ordered Logit, as you can see in the appendix, but OLS was used here for ease of interpretation.

3.6 Results

After visualizing the data and conducting the regression, I found that gender, age, race, and political knowledge all have a statistically significant relationship with rural deprivation. Visualizing the data along place lines provided some interesting insights that were divergent from those in the national samples.

Table 7: Demographics and PRD in Kentucky

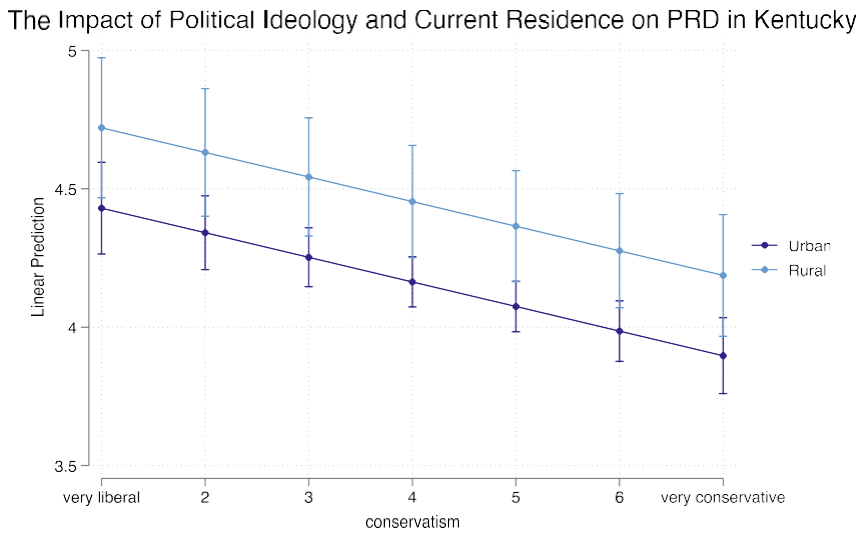
<u>Demographics and Rural Deprivation</u>	
(1)	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	<u>Government</u>
Current residence	0.2935*** (0.066)
Political ideology	-0.0806*** (0.027)
Party identification	0.0184 (0.019)
Female	0.2494*** (0.067)
Age	0.0511** (0.021)
Hispanic	-0.4480*** (0.133)
Black	-0.2034* (0.105)
Political knowledge	0.0622** (0.025)
N	1,071
R ²	0.080
Adj-R ²	0.0796

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

This table looks at the relationship between PRD (the Dependent variable) and key explanatory variables including current residence. Supporting H1, we can see that there is a statistically significant relationship between place and PRD.

While most of the variables in the analysis are significant, the finding that stands out the most is the idea that political ideology is highly significant, while it is not significant in either Study 1 or Study 2. Figure 5 shows that strong left-leaning individuals in the entire sample – both rural and nonrural – experience much higher levels of PRD than strong right-leaning individuals. Another finding of note is that rural residents have higher PRD scores than urban residents overall, regardless of their left-right identity. Yet, supporting my argument about the similarity of urban and rural attitudes in Kentucky, both urban and rural respondents had mean PRD scores that were nearly 4 out of 5 on the PRD scale, with five indicating the strongest level of deprivation. Urban respondents averaged a PRD score of 3.84, while rural residents averaged a PRD score of 4.10.

Figure 5: Political Ideology, Current Residence, and PRD in Kentucky



This figure shows the relationship between PRD and Left-Right Identity among those identifying as rural versus urban. As can be seen, among both rural and non-rural, more liberal respondents had much higher PRD scores than more conservative respondents.

Why are there some differences between the responses of rural people nationally versus those in the state of Kentucky? The answer may lie in the unique nature of politics in the state of Kentucky. While Kentucky is a great state to study rural deprivation due to its large rural population, it also has some uncommon characteristics that may make it difficult to compare these results to those of other largely rural states. Historically, Kentucky residents have been registered Democrats that vote for the left-leaning candidate in local and gubernatorial elections, but for the right-leaning or Republican candidate in national elections (Miller and Jewell 2014). These registered Democrats behave like right-leaning individuals with the same belief systems and voting patterns but remain registered Democrats and sometimes even identify with the party. Due to this odd difference between party registration and national voting behavior, these figures may just be highlighting the unique nature of Kentucky politics. To attempt to ameliorate for these concerns and code respondents according to their actual political preferences I created a left-right identity variable with only ideology questions, to focus on how political ideology is correlated with PRD since it likely does a better job explaining political attitudes in Kentucky. There are negligible differences, so the unique nature of Kentucky politics is not impacting the results. Instead, this would support the notion suggested in the introduction that the very rural nature of Kentucky and close connection between urban and rural residents is impacting the results.

Other than the divergent findings concerning party identification, these Kentucky findings are very similar to those from both national samples, showing that rural individuals in Kentucky and across the nation perceive higher rural deprivation than

nonrural respondents, but all respondents indicate that rural deprivation exists at a moderate to high level.

Since I have now found that individuals across the nation perceive rural deprivation to exist at a moderate to high level, I can analyze whether high PRD scores have a negative impact on evaluations of governmental representation of rural residents. In the next section I do just that, examining the idea that rural deprivation is not only perceived to exist, but these perceptions often negatively shade citizens' views of governmental representation which can lead to a breakdown in the relationship between rural residents and their government representatives.

3.7 PRD and Evaluations of Governmental Representation

Finally, I examined another way feelings of deprivation impact political attitudes by conducting an analysis on perceptions of governmental representation. Here, I argue that high PRD scores lead to negative evaluations of governmental representation. In other words, the more respondents feel deprived, the more they blame the government for not properly representing the interests of their geographic place. This study uses questions that ask about federal governmental representation only, so it shows how much trust rural residents place in their Senators, Representatives, and the President.

On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the best possible representation, rate how well you think each level of government {federal, state, local} represents you:

In Table 7 we can see that there is a statistically significant negative relationship between perceived governmental representation and PRD. Additionally, there is a correlation between perceptions of governmental representation and place of residence, Left-Right

Identity, age, and political knowledge. This indicates that respondents who recognize high levels of rural deprivation also had increasingly negative sentiments towards their federal government representatives in comparison to respondents with lower PRD. The implications here are twofold. First, it shows that government officials may want to take steps to address potential causes of perceived rural deprivation, such as promoting an equitable distribution of resources. Eroding resource discrepancies could lead to a more positive perception of government representatives, helping both the representatives and their constituents.

The second implication for these findings concerning governmental representation and PRD is that government officials could learn to proactively engage in dialogue with their constituents, so they feel like their grievances are being heard. One of the components of PRD is the idea that people don't feel like they are receiving enough attention from the government. Increasing town halls or other forms of dialogue could rectify this perception.

Table 8 (continued): Governmental Representation and PRD in Kentucky

<u>Governmental Representation and PRD in Kentucky</u>	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	(1) <u>Government</u>
PRD	-0.3207*** (0.030)
Current residence	-0.1439** (0.066)
Ideology	0.1023*** (0.026)
Party identification	-0.0743*** (0.019)
Gender	0.0013 (0.067)
Age	0.0445** (0.021)
Hispanic	0.2271*

	(0.133)
Black	0.1229
	(0.105)
Knowledge scale	-0.0658***
	(0.025)
N	1,068
R ²	0.203
Adj-R ²	0.203

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

This table examines the relationship between perceptions of governmental representation (Dependent variable) and our key explanatory variables of PRD and current residence. As expected, there is a statistically significant negative relationship between PRD and governmental representation, indicating that people who have high PRD scores have a more negative impression of the government's ability to represent their interests.

3.8 Conclusions

As we can see in the figures and tables, PRD is strongly associated with a person's place. Rural individuals are more likely to have high PRD scores, though urban residents in Kentucky also recognize PRD. This can perhaps be attributed to the highly rural nature of the state, where urban and rural collide. Even the urban centers of Kentucky are very connected to nearby rural communities, likely giving urban residents a greater understanding of rural life.

One of the primary ways Kentucky is different than the rest of its Southern neighbors is its history of Democratic party registration and strong Democratic success on the local level with strong Republican success at the national level. Based on this divergence from the norm, I expected party identification to potentially impact the results of this study, with far left and far right respondents having similar PRD scores. To adjust for this issue, I created a left-right identity variable and limited the left-right identity variable to ideology questions, so party registration did not hide the true effects of political

ideology on PRD. These concerns about the unique nature of Kentucky politics were unfounded. Instead, I found that far-left Kentuckians were slightly more likely to have a high PRD score than far-right rural Kentuckians. This is a different result than the national sample, which found that respondents had similar responses, regardless of their left-right identity. While I would like to examine this difference further in future work, I suspect this difference lies in the political circumstances of rural residents in Kentucky. Due to the more rural nature of the state, rural residents would naturally glean more attention from their political representatives, since they are a sizeable voting bloc in the state. This also helps explain why far-left rural (and urban) Kentuckians have higher PRD scores – they feel they are not gaining enough attention and respect in an increasingly conservative state. While I have conducted analysis to show that political ideology, party identification, and PRD are distinct measures, there is a very slight negative correlation between the two that could prove meaningful in the state.

Finally, the second analysis of this Kentucky data supports the second hypothesis, which states that respondents with higher PRD scores will have negative perceptions of governmental representation. As you can see in table 8, there is a negative relationship between PRD and governmental representation. In other words, as PRD increases, performance evaluations of the government become increasingly negative. Therefore, both the analysis of the nature of PRD and PRD's relationship with governmental representation support hypotheses 1 and 2.

CHAPTER 4: EXPLORING THE CONNECTION BETWEEN PERCEIVED RURAL DEPRIVATION AND RURAL RESENTMENT

Up to this point, the dissertation has supported the idea that place influences feelings of deprivation, that rural deprivation exists, and that heightened deprivation increases negative perceptions of governmental representation. These ideas represent important additions in the study of place consciousness and the urban-rural divide. In addition, the conceptualization of Perceived Rural Deprivation (PRD) establishes the idea that deprivation may have an impact on rural resentment, but it is not a component of rural resentment itself, and these two concepts are distinct. This is an advancement in the field of place consciousness, which has debated the definition and effects of rural resentment for years. By differentiating between PRD and Rural Resentment, I am helping condense and refine the meaning of Rural Resentment.

This chapter continues these contributions, as I use a novel survey experiment to distinguish between the factors that generate PRD versus its commonly studied counterpart Rural Resentment. Additionally, a second primary motivation is to see whether PRD can be primed and establish what causes feelings of deprivation to increase. This is important, because feelings of deprivation can have a negative effect on respondents' views of their elected representatives, lowering overall trust in government. In previous chapters I posited that 1) a person's sense of place influences their opinions, and 2) missing basic resources such as clean water or having the perception these basic resources are being denied, is one of the primary causes of feelings of deprivation. This chapter combines these two assertions and tests whether the combination of belonging in a place and feeling like residents in that

place are being deprived of basic resources leads to heightened perceptions of rural deprivation.

To do so, I leverage an original survey and an included survey experiment. These findings suggest that respondents who felt they belonged in urban areas had lower PRD when they were given a treatment suggesting rural areas received more funding for basic resources than their urban counterparts. Urban people, in fact, had the strongest reaction to the treatment, while rural respondents had higher PRD regardless of the place type mentioned in the treatment. When urban respondents were given the “more resources rural” treatment, they had lower PRD than any other place type. These results indicate that feelings of deprivation can be lowered by mentioning resource advantages rather than constraints. This new component of this dissertation that links funding for resources to feelings of deprivation is a strong new addition to this study on PRD and shows that PRD does not exist in a vacuum, and it can indeed be primed – or in this case, lowered.

In addition to the resource constraints experiments, I again explore the relationship between PRD and perceptions of governmental representation, to see if previous findings from studies 2 and 3 remain when additional controls and the treatment groups are introduced. Here, I find that once again heightened PRD is associated with increasingly negative assessments of federal governmental representation. This is a very strong finding, which shows that there is a link between feeling deprived and declining approval towards government officials. Thus, this finding has implications for the relationship between constituents and their representatives as well as the ongoing success of government officials’ political careers.

4.1 Theory: Place, Resource Constraints, and Perceived Rural Deprivation

4.1.1 *Perceived Rural Deprivation (PRD)*

Using Cramer's definition of rural resentment, which consists of "People attributing rural deprivation to the decision making of (urban) political elites, who disregard and disrespect rural residents and rural lifestyles," we can see that one of the central tenets of her work is rural deprivation (Cramer 2012, 4). However, this deprivation was not measured in her work or directly measured by other scholars who have used her work as a starting point for their own research. In the previous two chapters, I examined perceived deprivation using three surveys. Perceived rural deprivation (PRD) is the idea that rural citizens experience a level of perceived deprivation in comparison to their urban or suburban residents. This concept has been discussed and tested in previous chapters, but the concept is important enough that it is worth discussing in this chapter as well. Thus, as a robustness check, I examine whether the relationship between PRD and rural place belonging, uncovered in studies 1-3, holds in a unique sample and survey, which I describe later in the chapter in detail. Therefore, my initial hypothesis examines the correlation between place belonging and PRD.

H0: Respondents with rural place belonging will have heightened PRD.

Beyond the relationship between PRD and place, I am also interested in examining how PRD can influence political attitudes. Since these feelings of deprivation are strongly associated with government attentiveness, I argue that high PRD scores are strongly correlated with negative assessments of the government. Namely, individuals with high

PRD scores do not believe the government has the necessary tools to properly represent their interests, and this has negative impacts on rural areas.

4.1.2 Resource Constraints and Perceived Rural Deprivation

Basic resource discrepancies refer to the unequal distribution of resources such as clean water, housing, education, and healthcare among different segments of the population. Unfortunately, discrepancies in access to basic resources do exist in the United States and these discrepancies – perceived or actual – can lead to feelings of deprivation. Following the 2020 Census, the Census Bureau reported that 37.2 million people, or 11.4% of the U.S. population were living in poverty. The American Community Survey determined that almost 500,000 housing units in the United States still lacked complete plumbing, and 509 counties have an elevated clean water and plumbing issue.

Yet, as I noted in the previous chapter, some of the most impoverished communities in the United States also seem to receive some of the highest funding from the federal government. For example, West Virginia, South Dakota, Mississippi, and Kentucky house the five poorest counties in the United States, and they also receive some of the highest federal funding compared to other states. If this is the case, then why are poor counties still suffering, and why do residents in these counties still feel deprived? One reason is that the bulk of this money goes to maintain programs such as Social Security, Medicare, and Veteran's Affairs. While these are worthy causes that do help impoverished Americans, rural Americans can have a hard time seeing the positive outcomes of this money. When the federal funds go to Social Security people continue to get checks in the mail that they were already receiving. However, if a healthy percentage of the funding went to

rejuvenation and infrastructure projects such as fixing potholes in the road and cleaning up the local park, then people are able to see the net benefits. Cities, certainly, have these issues as well. Yet, larger cities are much more likely to have a robust local economy that can be used to clean up the park while small towns and rural areas do not. Thus, high federal spending in a particular state does not tell the entire story behind the deprivation individuals feel.

Resource constraints are everyday headaches that every person would notice, such as inadequate housing or run-down public schools. When people know they are receiving federal funds and yet there are no changes, they feel like no one cares enough to understand the best ways to help – hence, they feel deprived. Therefore, the first way to prime feelings of deprivation would be to indicate that the federal government is cutting funding to their place. These individuals may believe that rural areas receive less funding, and that rural areas are being left behind. I also argue that the essence of perceived rural deprivation lies in unequal resources, or at least the perception of unequal resources.

Therefore, to prime rural deprivation in the original survey for this chapter I include a treatment which indicates individuals living in the respondent's place – urban, rural, or suburban – are receiving less funding for essential resources than individuals in other places. This feeling of lacking something vital is a good way to prime feelings of deprivation and can help me see whether feelings of deprivation can be primed in urban people as well as rural people. The previous chapters found that urban belonging people recognized rural deprivation as well, so if urban people also experience heightened PRD after being primed, these results will validate those in previous sections. Hence, I argue:

H1a: Respondents who have resource constraints will have heightened PRD.

The research on the impact of resource constraints on place-based attitudes is unsettled, so it is unclear whether resource constraints will have a larger impact than resource advantages. I examine both to thoroughly test both sides of the argument surrounding resource impacts. Thus, this analysis has a major strength, clarifying whether resources are a major driving force of broader feelings of deprivation. While the potential impact of resource constraints on feelings of deprivation is clear, the potential impact of resource advantages should also be noted. Namely, it seems likely that non-rural respondents would have a larger reaction to the resource advantage treatments. Since PRD is measuring Perceived Rural Deprivation, non-rural respondents are asked to consider how deprived rural people are compared to themselves. If they receive a treatment that indicates rural people are not deprived – and therefore have more resources – it follows that they may respond with declining perceptions of rural deprivation. In previous chapters I noted that non-rural individuals may still have levels of PRD due to relationships with people in rural areas, proximity to rural spaces, or even just empathy. This experiment is a good way to see whether information about resources is influential to their perceptions as well.

Therefore, I also argue:

H1b: Respondents who have more resources will have lower PRD.

4.1.3 Place Identity

As previously noted, scholars like Cramer have connected place identity to feelings of resentment, stating that rural people see urban residents as another group that they struggle to understand. In sociology, scholars have found that rural identity exists in a meaningful way, and this identity shapes perceptions of the world. The consensus in this

literature is that rural is a social identity group that powerfully impacts its members. For example, Lyons and Utych (2021) find that rural and urban areas are affectively polarized against one another, while Parker et al. (2018) find that respondents in rural areas perceive their values to be different than those in urban areas. This disconnect is the essential underlying dynamic present in Cramer's research on rural resentment, and place resentment literature more broadly. Cramer argues that rural residents feel looked down on and forgotten, particularly by urban centers in the state and largely urban groups like the government (2012, 2016). Rural people feel looked down upon, different, and therefore distrustful of these groups (Lyons and Utych, Munis 2020, Trujillo 2022).

Moving beyond the concept of place identity based on current residence, I focus again on place belonging. As a reminder from earlier chapters, this concept is not about where a person lives, but where they feel they best belong. For example, a person could live in the city because that is where their employer is located, but they would rather live in a rural area. This sense of belonging could be due to the people who live in that region or the nature of the place itself. Nevertheless, this measure indicates where a person fits and the type of place where they feel the strongest connection. Why does this connection matter? Is there really such a large difference between where a person lives and where they wish they live? I argue that this difference is marked and is strong enough to influence a person's feelings about political and social issues. Indeed, if a person does not care for the small town where they reside, then why would they care if that small town is receiving less funding for basic resources? Beyond a certain personal cost, the damage may seem to be minimal. I argue, in concert with my findings in previous chapters, people who feel they belong in rural areas will have higher PRD compared to other place groups.

4.1.4 Rural Resentment

As previously noted, scholars like Cramer have connected place identity to feelings of resentment, stating that rural people see urban residents as another group that they struggle to understand. In sociology, scholars have found that rural identity exists in a meaningful way, and this identity shapes perceptions of the world. The consensus in this literature is that rural is a social identity group that powerfully impacts its members. For example, Lyons and Utych (2021) find that rural and urban areas are affectively polarized against one another, while Parker et al. (2018) find that respondents in rural areas perceive their values to be different than those in urban areas. This disconnect is the essential underlying dynamic present in Cramer's research on rural resentment, and place resentment literature more broadly. Cramer argues that rural residents feel looked down on and forgotten, particularly by urban centers in the state and largely urban groups like the government (2012, 2016). Although government does not always equal urban, this perception is still a central feature of the conceptualization of Rural Resentment. Rural people feel looked down upon, different, and therefore distrustful of these groups (Lyons and Utych, Munis 2020, Trujillo 2022). Rural resentment is an important concept to study because this distrust can turn to antipathy, leading to a divided political and social environment. Additionally, if rural residents feel they are receiving less attention from the government, they may refuse to cooperate with the government, leading to an even larger breakdown in the relationship between public officials and their constituents.

Since one of the central facets of rural resentment is the idea that outgroups are "looking down upon" rural areas, to prime rural resentment I include a treatment that indicates people from the respondents' place are being looked down upon and another

where people from the respondents' place are being appreciate. I expect appreciation to lead to a decline in rural resentment for every respondent, regardless of their place of residence or place belonging. I also expect being looked down upon to raise the respondents' level of rural resentment. While there has been other research that looks at rural or place resentment in urban and suburban areas, this would reaffirm their findings that urban and suburban individuals can exhibit place resentment as well (Munis 2020). This would also support Cramer's assessment that rural resentment is at least partially connected to the sense that individuals are being looked down upon.

Finally, Cramer indicates that these feelings of resentment also extend to the government, since the government is made up of urban individuals. I alter this argument to account for the fact that there are states whose representatives are largely rural, because the state itself has few urban centers. Thus, claiming that the government is made up of urban individuals is off base. Instead, I argue that regular citizens view government officials as removed from their day-to-day life, and that individuals who make up the government don't understand the concerns of people like us. This connotes a similarly negative assessment of government officials on behalf of the general populace but adjusts for the reality of government officials' place-based identity nation-wide. Therefore, I argue that high rural resentment scores are also linked to negative assessments of the government.

4.1.5 PRD and Rural Resentment

How do the two concepts of rural resentment and PRD work together? As Cramer notes, rural residents in Wisconsin attributed deprivation to the decision making of political elites in their state. Therefore, I argue that PRD is the missing link between place identity

and rural resentment. First, rural individuals that have a strong sense of place identity consider being rural a big part of their identity. Then, these individuals start to notice or perceive discrepancies in treatment between how government representatives for their state treat their rural neighbors compared to their urban and suburban counterparts. These individuals then have a high perceived rural deprivation score and feel a sense of injustice. Finally, this sense of injustice becomes anger and disappointment, festering into the rural resentment described by Cramer and other scholars. I argue that PRD is the necessary conceptualization that leads a person with a strong place identity to experience the intensity of an emotion like resentment.

4.1.6 Place belonging, resource constraints, and PRD

The concept of place belonging indicates that a sense of belonging in a particular type of place is closely tied to a person's identity. For example, people who state that they feel they belong in rural areas consider being rural a big part of their identity. Then, these individuals start to notice or perceive discrepancies in treatment between how government funding is distributed in their state between urban and rural centers. These discrepancies are primed in a resource constraint survey experiment that tells respondents that rural/urban areas are receiving less funding for clean water than their urban/rural peers. Since place belonging has the underlying assumption that to belong to a place means a person cares strongly about that place and its people, being told that place is receiving less funding than other place types should lead to a more visceral reaction by that individual. Thus, there is a brimming sense of injustice that makes these individuals feel deprived. I argue that

interacting place belonging with resource constraints will have a strong impact on PRD, either raising or lowering a person's sense of deprivation depending on the prime.

H2: When individuals are informed that rural areas face resource constraints in basic services, their perceptions of rural deprivation (PRD) will increase, but only if they identify with rural places.

To be more specific about the potential effects of the resource constraints treatments, there are several different ways place belonging and resource treatments can interact. First, for rural belonging people, receiving a treatment claiming rural people have less resources than urban people can inflate already high levels of PRD. Urban and suburban respondents would likely have the opposite response to this treatment. If an urban belonging respondent receives a treatment that claims urban people are receiving less resources than rural people, they are likely to have a decline in their level of PRD, as they are perceiving rural people to be less deprived compared to themselves due to new information.

In this section, I thus use an original survey to explore the relationship between resource constraints, place belonging, and PRD. Using my previously tested measure for PRD, a survey experiment that primes resource constraints, and a question that gauges place belonging, I can see whether rural belonging individuals given the resource constraints treatment have heightened PRD compared to their urban and suburban peers.

4.2 Research Design

This study consists of a survey experiment using a sample (N=1,500) of the American voting-age public recruited by Lucid in fall 2022.² Lucid is the largest

² This study received IRB approval through the University of Kentucky, with the IRB protocol approval number #78567

marketplace for online samples in the United States. This service is frequently used by social scientists and has been deemed suitable for evaluating social scientific theories, with demographic and experimental findings that track well with US benchmarks (Flores and Coppock 2018, Coppock and McClellan 2019). While comparing Lucid, Mechanical Turk, and ANES surveys, Coppock and McClellan also found that the Lucid samples have a similar distribution of baseline characteristics such as political attitudes and demographics as the ANES, providing a useful point of comparison to earlier studies in this dissertation.

Lucid surveys also have a clear consent process where they partner with suppliers of sample who maintain relationships with participants based on their own terms. These business recruit participants for the surveys and then Lucid prescreens applicants to ensure they are meeting targeting criteria for the study. After agreeing to the survey, participants can opt out at any time. For this study, after participants were recruited for the survey, they were randomized into treatment or control conditions. This survey, on average, took twelve minutes to complete. Respondents were replaced for inconsistent answers to demographic questions. If a participant's demographic information listed on Lucid did not match the demographic information they provided in the survey, then they were replaced and thus not included in the study. Respondents were also checked for satisficing behavior, including speeding, and failing attention check questions. Speeders answered all the questions in less than half of the 12 minutes it was supposed to take to finish the survey. There were over 400 people labeled as speeders, which lowered the overall N significantly. Therefore, I checked to see whether including speeders impacted the overall findings and there were minimal differences. Removing respondents who failed each of the three

attention check questions also did not change the overall findings.³ Therefore, all respondents were included in the main analyses.

This study employs a 2x2 design with two controls, where individuals receive one of the resource treatments and one of the disdain treatments. The embedded experiment sorts respondents into two groups – control or treatment. Participants are randomly sorted into treatment groups according to their place of current residence. Then, respondents given a treatment condition were provided vignettes that were modeled after news articles, including a title and information intended to prime either PRD or rural resentment.

Respondents in the control group were either provided a vignette that consisted of neutral information or were provided no information. The neutral information vignettes appear very similar to the vignettes provided to respondents in the treatment group, with a title and structure similar to a news article. These neutral articles discussed essential services and opinions about place-based groups, like the treatment vignettes. For example, an urban-residing respondent may receive a vignette that claims urban areas receive more resources than rural areas, and urban people are looked down upon more than rural people. Respondents who do not receive a treatment are given either a neutral control vignette or no information at all.

Roughly half of the respondents in the study were a part of the second control group, which was given no information before answering the rest of the survey questions.

The first component in each vignette focuses on PRD. One necessary feature of PRD is the idea that those who are experiencing deprivation consider themselves to be disadvantaged and have less social or economic capital. Thus, I provide two conditions that

³ For a visual of these satisficing checks, reference study 4 in the appendix.

focus on essential resources. One condition states that the place associated with the respondent is losing funding for essential services, while the other condition states that their area has secured more funding. Those who received the condition where they lost funding should be primed for PRD.

The second component in each vignette focuses on rural resentment. There are two possible conditions, where the individual is faced with disdain towards their place. Resentment is an emotion consisting of anger and helplessness. Cramer (2012) argues that rural resentment occurs when the individual feels like their place and its people are being looked down upon. To prime this feeling, I included two potential conditions. In one condition the vignette states that the majority of Americans look down upon their place. The other condition states that the majority of Americans appreciate their place. For further context, see the exact treatment wording in Figure 6. Those respondents that receive the “look down upon” (i.e. “disdain”) condition should be primed for rural resentment. I argue that being rural and receiving the vignettes that target resource constraints and disdain will cause the respondent to think more about their place identity, experience more perceived rural deprivation, and experience rural resentment.

Figure 6: Survey Experiment Design Flow

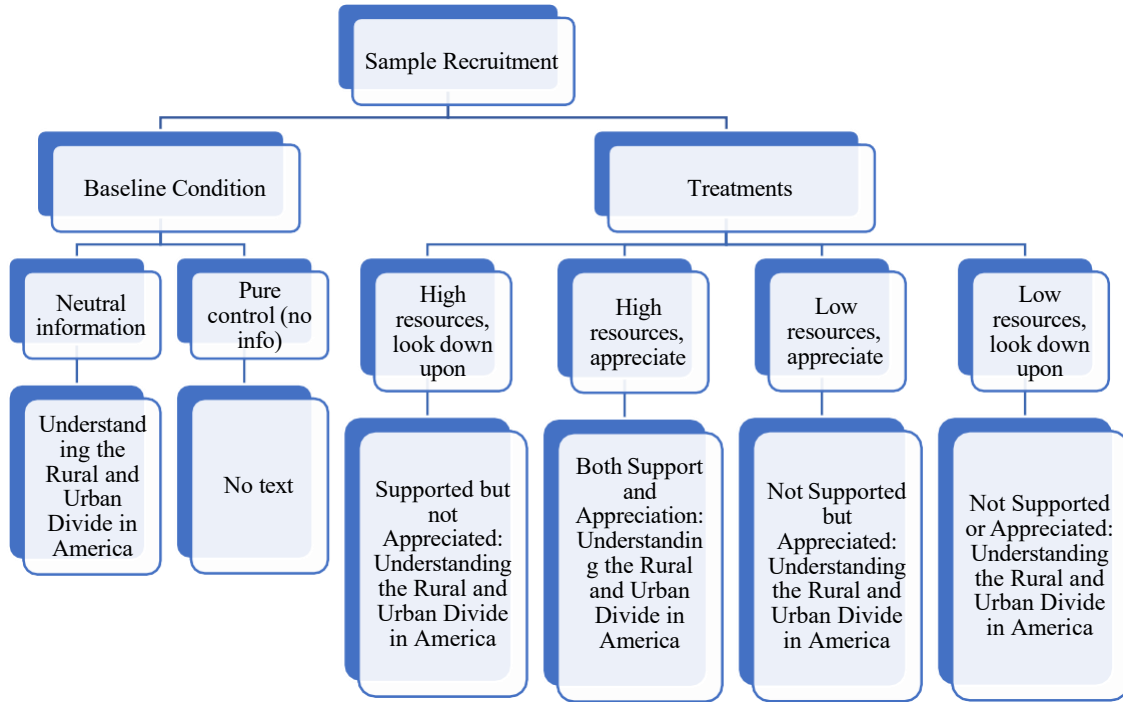


Table 9 (continued): Survey Experiment Treatment and Control Conditions

Treatment or Control Condition	Text in Survey	Expectation
Neutral information control condition	<p>Understanding the Rural and Urban Divide in America</p> <p>This year, rural (urban) areas have maintained the same funding for basic resources such as clean and safe drinking water. Urban (rural) areas are also not seeing any changes to their funding. New data also helps us understand how rural and urban people see each other. According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of Americans express roughly equal appreciation for rural and urban people and their way of life.</p>	<p>Should not cause feelings of resentment or increase perceptions of rural deprivation.</p>

<p>Treatment 1: high resources, look down upon stimulus</p>	<p>Supported but not Appreciated: Understanding the Rural and Urban Divide in America</p> <p>In rural (urban) areas, residents have recently received more funding for basic essential services, which means they have access to clean and safe drinking water. Access to safe drinking water is a basic human right, and not having this resource can cause serious health problems. On the other hand, urban (rural) people have less funding, worse water treatment facilities, and have to worry about the water they drink.</p> <p>New data also helps us understand how rural and urban people see each other. According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of Americans look down upon rural (urban) people and their way of life more than their urban (rural) peers.</p>	<p>Should increase feelings of resentment and decrease perceptions of rural deprivation</p>
<p>Treatment 2: high resources, appreciate stimulus</p>	<p>Both Support and Appreciation: Understanding the Rural and Urban Divide in America</p> <p>In rural (urban) areas, residents have recently received more funding for basic essential services, which means they have access to clean and safe drinking water. Access to safe drinking water is a basic human right, and not having this resource can cause serious health problems. On the other hand, urban people have less funding, worse water treatment facilities, and have to worry about the water they drink.</p> <p>New data also helps us understand how rural and urban people see each other. According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of Americans appreciate rural people and their way of life more than their urban peers.</p>	<p>Should decrease feelings of resentment and decrease perceptions of rural deprivation</p>
<p>Treatment 3: low resources, appreciate stimulus</p>	<p>Not Supported but Appreciated: Understanding the Rural and Urban Divide in America</p> <p>In rural areas, residents can live without basic essential services, which means they have less access to resources such as clean and safe drinking water. Access to safe drinking water is a basic human right, and not having this resource can cause serious health problems. On the other hand, urban people have more funding, better water treatment facilities, and do not have to worry about the water they drink.</p> <p>New data also helps us understand how rural and urban people see each other. According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of Americans appreciate rural people and their way of life more than their urban peers.</p>	<p>Should decrease feelings of resentment and increase perceptions of rural deprivation</p>
<p>Treatment 4: low resources, look down upon stimulus</p>	<p>Not Supported or Appreciated: Understanding the Rural and Urban Divide in America</p> <p>In rural areas, residents can live without basic essential services, which means they have less access to resources such as clean and safe drinking water. Access to safe drinking water is a basic human right, and not having this resource can cause serious health problems. On the other hand, urban people have more funding, better water treatment facilities, and do not have to worry about the water they drink.</p>	<p>Should increase feelings of resentment and increase perceptions of rural deprivation</p>

	New data also helps us understand how rural and urban people see each other. According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of Americans look down upon rural people and their way of life, particularly when compared to their urban peers.	
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4.3 Variables of Interest

4.3.1 Outcome Variables

There are four main measures of interest in this survey: 1) variables that measure place belonging, 2) the PRD battery, 3) the rural resentment battery, and 4) governmental representation variables. While the survey includes other variables of interest such as a racial resentment battery and variables that measure party ID and political ideology, the above measures are central to the overarching theory that links place, PRD, and feelings towards the government.

The first major dependent variable is PRD. The basic components of this measurement are questions that gauge whether rural residents are receiving enough attention and respect from the government officials that are supposed to represent their interests. I constructed a measure for perceived rural deprivation (PRD) by adding responses to the following four questions that mentioned government or rural people (N=1,500). This was a combination of three questions used in the ANES PRD scale and one question about attention used in the Dynata scale:

Deservingness: Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas get more, the same, or less than they deserve from the government?

Influence: Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas have too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount of influence on government?

Respect: Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas get too much respect, too little respect, or about the right amount of respect from others?

Attention: Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas get too much attention, too little attention, or the right amount of attention from others?

Using these questions makes sense, as the average citizen may not have a working knowledge of funding earmarked for their region, but they can glean whether a politician is visiting their community or answering constituent emails. Additionally, attention and respect are basic assessments of the attentiveness of a public official, and not having an official's attentiveness can generate feelings of deprivation. A lack of attentiveness is an indication of unequal resources, and individuals who highly perceive rural deprivation also strongly believe that they are receiving less resources than their urban and suburban counterparts.

These questions are also the most appropriate to include in the PRD index because they are highly correlated and share an overarching factor. To ensure that these questions were valid and reliable measures of perceived deprivation, I evaluated their psychometric properties. First, to examine the scale's internal consistency (i.e., the lower bound of their reliability), I conducted a Cronbach's alpha test. The *alpha* coefficient of reliability ranges from 0 to 1, with scores above 0.6 generally indicating that the scale has proper internal validity. With a scale reliability coefficient of 0.86, the rural deprivation scale has proper internal validity, meaning responses to the three variables that make up the scale are highly correlated. To double-check that the scale had internal validity I also conducted an exploratory factor analysis on the three variables that made up the scale – rural deservingness, rural influence, and rural respect (see table 9). These four variables

(N=1,500) returned an eigenvalue above 1 (2.36), meaning the three variables in the scale are coalescing on single factor – perceptions of rural deprivation. This means that the PRD index I developed measures the concept I am trying to measure - PRD.

Table 10: Factor Analysis for PRD Index

Variable	Factor Loadings	Uniqueness
Rural deservingness	.71	.49
Rural influence	.77	.41
Rural respect	.80	.35
Rural attention	.78	.39

The majority of respondents perceived at least moderate PRD, as shown in Figure 7. This echoes the level of PRD seen in respondents from the previous three surveys explained throughout this dissertation. In another common finding, this level of PRD was higher amongst rural belonging respondents, which is also evident in Figure 7. The mean PRD for rural belonging respondents is 14.44 out of a max of 22, with a standard deviation of 4.26. The mean PRD is lower for urban belonging respondents at 10.71, with a standard deviation of 4.68. This means that the average PRD for rural belonging people is higher than the overall average PRD for all respondents of 12.57, and the average PRD for urban belonging respondents is lower than the overall average.

Figure 7: PRD Across Place Types

This figure shows the distribution of PRD amongst the respondents. More respondents claim moderate PRD than high or low PRD. Rural belonging respondents, on the whole, have moderate to high PRD, and their level of PRD is higher than urban belonging respondents.

The second dependent variable of interest is the rural resentment battery. This battery is an additive index consisting of questions used in Munis and Jacobs (2022) place resentment scale,⁴ which breaks place resentment questions into categories: political power, deservingness, cultural value, and work habits. Due to space constraints, I chose five total questions that come from these categories. Respondents had to rate their agreement with these statements on a Likert scale ranging from disagree strongly to agree strongly.

Economic Changes: Decades of technological and economic changes have made it difficult for some rural/urban people and adjacent small-town/suburban communities in our state to improve on their own.

Bailing Out: We wouldn't have to waste tax dollars bailing out urban/rural areas in our state if people just moved away.

⁴ Munis, Kal and Nicholas Jacobs. 2022. "Place-Based Resentment in Contemporary U.S. Elections: The Individual Sources of America's Urban-Rural Divide. Forthcoming at *Political Research Quarterly*. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/580ab33829687f686ad6cbb1/t/634f653620e74e640dc7b822/1666147639210/jacobs_munis_2022_prq_place_resentment_wording.pdf

Real America: Despite what some people say, urban and suburban/rural and small-town communities are the “real America.”

Misunderstood culture: Rural/urban areas have a distinct culture that is often misunderstood by people in urban/rural areas.

Taxes: My community gives more in taxes to rural/urban areas than we get back.

I chose each of these questions over others for a specific purpose. Since I am trying to target rural resentment, I want to prime some of the emotions and underlying sentiments that come with this term. First, “economic changes” establishes a dichotomy between urban and rural and primes that feeling of being left behind that is present in rural resentment. Bailing out and Taxes both discuss economic concerns, with Bailing out priming anger and resentment at people in the opposing place type and Taxes priming frustration. Finally, Real America and Misunderstood Culture address cultural differences, with Real America priming a sense of superiority as well as resentment and Misunderstood Culture priming feelings of sadness and frustration. With these questions I tried to develop the underlying emotions of resentment rather than the material reality like I do in the PRD scale. This scale does not cover every facet of rural resentment due to space constraints, but it does hit the underlying emotions of anger, frustration, and even sadness.

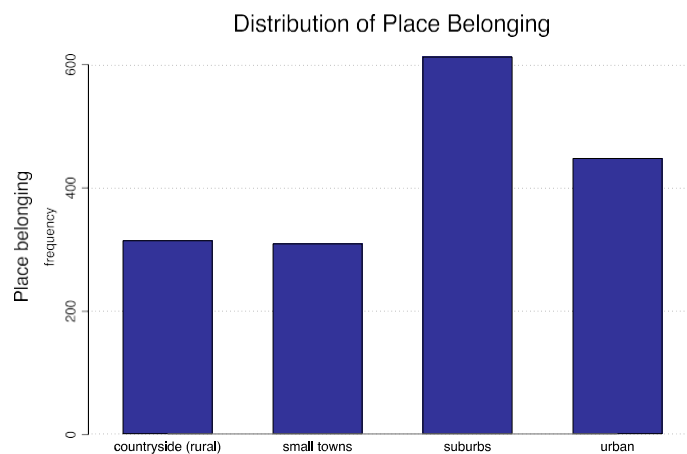
To check and see if these questions coalesce into a common factor – resentment – I did another factor analysis using the five questions that made up the scale, as you can see in the Appendix. I also conducted a Cronbach’s alpha test, where the reliability coefficient was .62, just above the level of reliability deemed acceptable for internal consistency of the scale. When conducting the factor analysis, the eigenvalue was 1.20 which means the items are coalescing on a factor. However, one of the factor loadings, community change,

was lower than .4. Since each of these questions are intended to get at the concept of Rural Resentment at a different way, and the community change question is distinct from the other three in that it primes frustration, this makes sense. A more robust scale would have several other questions in the same vein, which would likely strengthen the internal consistency.

4.3.2 Explanatory Variables

I use four questions that attempt to glean which place each respondent lives, and where they think they belong. The first question asks about current residence, two target place preference, and a final gleans where a person feels they belong. Then, I include a survey experiment which targets two dimensions: resource constraints and disdain. These two dimensions are associated with the three areas of interest listed above, respectively. Below, in Figure 8, one can see the distribution of respondents that felt they belonged in each type of place.

Figure 8: Distribution of Place Belonging



This figure shows the distribution of place belonging responses among the respondents. There are more suburban belonging respondents than any other group.

I am also interested in examining whether heightened PRD led respondents to feel that the government did a worse job representing their interests, like in the previous chapters. While this is primarily a gut check to support the results in previous chapters, it must be noted that PRD is an outcome of the survey experiment, which means there is an endogeneity problem with using it as a dependent variable to explain another dependent variable, evaluations of governmental representation (Montgomery, Nyhan, and Torres 2018). Therefore, the analysis here is primarily used to confirm prior results but to interpret these results one must consider these methodological problems. Nevertheless, I created a variable to examine governmental representation using several other variables to do so including one common question across the Dynata surveys, which questions how well the government represents an individual's interests on a scale of 1 to 5.

On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the best possible representation, rate how well you think the federal government represents you:

Most of the respondents stated that the government did a moderate job representing their interests, as you can see in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Perceptions of Governmental Representation Frequency by Category

Here, we see the distribution of performance evaluations of government representatives in this survey. Most respondents said their representatives did a moderate job, and the least respondents claimed their representatives did the best job possible.

4.3.3 Control Variables

Following Kam and Trussler (2017), while the experimental design involves random assignment, I also include several control variables to test for heterogeneous treatment effects where the moderating variable (place belonging) is observed and not randomly assigned. I therefore added several control variables in the analysis that might be associated with place belonging or the dependent variable. These controls include several demographic variables like age, sex, ethnicity, race, and religion. The demographic characteristics of respondents are roughly balanced to match the U.S. Census (see Table 26 in Appendix). Sex and ethnicity are both dichotomous variables, with ethnicity determining whether respondents are Hispanic or not. I also included several other political control variables, like a political knowledge scale, political ideology, and party ID. Political knowledge was created by adding together several questions that asked basic political knowledge questions, asking about the name of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the

term length for U.S. Senators, and how many votes are required in Congress to overturn a presidential veto. These three questions were used because they go from very basic – the term of a U.S. Senator – to slightly more difficult – the number of votes to overturn a veto. The political knowledge scale ranges from 0 to 3, with respondents getting a 0 if they answered none of the questions correctly, and a 3 if they answered all questions correctly. The political ideology question asked respondents to place themselves on a standard ideology scale from 1 to 7, with 1 being extremely conservative and 7 being extremely liberal. On the other hand, the party ID scale was created by first asking respondents whether they were Republicans, Democrats, Independents, or Something else. Then, if respondents answered Democrat or Republican, they were asked additional questions to determine if they were strong or not very strong Democrats or Republicans. The final scale uses the answers from these questions to have a scale from 0 to 5, where 0 is “Something else,” 1 is “Strong Republican,” 2 is “Republican,” 3 is “Independent,” 4 is “Democrat,” and 5 is “Strong Democrat.”

Since I want to explore the association between place and PRD, I also added in an interaction between the resource treatment conditions and place belonging in the equation predicting PRD and an interaction between the disdain treatment conditions and place belonging in the equation predicting Rural Resentment. The place belonging variable asks respondents to pick the type of place where they feel they most belong – rural areas, small towns, suburbs, or cities.

While the above control variables are common and were included in previous chapters, I also added additional variables that would allow me to explore alternative factors that could lead to increased PRD. Some alternative explanations include

demographic traits such as religion – specifically, being a Christian. Others include a racial resentment battery, and a news preference battery. With these questions I can assess whether people who frequently engage with cable news are more likely to experience rural resentment compared to other groups. I can also see whether two types of resentment – rural and racial resentment – are as highly correlated as one might expect, based on the shared underlying emotion of resentment.

The racial resentment battery was created by using questions from the 2019 ANES and asked respondents to rate their agreement with two statements. These two questions were added together to create an additive index that ranged from 2 to 10. For better clarity, I adjusted this index so it ranges from 1-9.

4.4 Modeling plan

This analysis consists of four models that use OLS, appropriate given the distributions of the DVs. Two of the models estimate rural resentment as a function of the treatment condition, and the other two examine PRD. Therefore, the analysis consists of two baseline conditions and two Dependent variables. In addition to these basic models used to evaluate the four hypotheses in this study, there are also several additional regressions that leverage interaction-effects and additional control variables. The regressions with interactions capture how different types of respondents react differently to different treatment conditions. Specifically, I examine whether people's place identities influence their reactions to treatments that prime either rural or urban deprivations. The following results section will explain how I leveraged these models to examine all four hypotheses.

4.5 Results

The most important finding in this chapter is that rural people maintain higher PRD even when they are told they have received more government funding for basic resources than urban areas, while urban and suburban people significantly lower their PRD after being given this treatment (i.e., rural areas received more government funding). This could indicate that rural people have so little trust in the government and government funding compared to urban people, that even information about receiving more resources does not reduce their PRD. These findings for urban and suburban people also have real-world implications, as rural people are generally and erroneously believed to receive more funding than they contribute to the economy. By encouraging this belief, urban and suburbanites are likely to conclude that there is no real rural deprivation in the United States (Arnosti and Liu 2018). Thus, place identities – both rural and urban- could lead to a broad lack of understanding on both sides of the rural-urban divide, even in the face of similar news reports about the equity of resource distributions.

Table 11 (continued) Resource Constraints Interacted with Place Belonging

<u>Predicting PRD from Interactions of Place Belonging with Resource Constraints</u>		
<u>VARIABLES</u>	<u>PRD basic</u>	<u>PRD interaction</u>
Place belonging = Small town	-1.0165*** (0.349)	-0.9756** (0.461)
Place belonging = Suburban	-1.9470*** (0.312)	-1.8396*** (0.400)
Place belonging = Urban	-3.0693*** (0.335)	-2.9486*** (0.428)
Deprive treat = More resources urban		0.6101 (1.124)
Deprive treat = More resources rural		1.5708* (0.878)
Deprive treat = Less resources urban		0.0054 (1.223)

Deprive treat = Less resources rural		0.2775 (0.869)
Small town#More resources urban		1.6293 (1.386)
Small town#More resources rural		-2.5223*** (1.021)
Small town#Less resource urban		0.0879 (1.521)
Small town#Less resources rural		1.2349 (1.025)
Suburban#More resources urban		0.2595 (1.169)
Suburban#More resources rural		-2.3159* (1.322)
Suburban#Less resources urban		0.2714 (1.286)
Suburban#Less resources rural		-0.734 (1.256)
Urban#More resources urban		-0.3262 (1.228)
Urban#More resources rural		-3.7743*** (1.367)
Urban#Less resources urban		0.6786 (0.679)
Urban#Less resources rural		0.9564 (1.290)
Rural resentment	-0.1059*** (0.029)	-0.1109*** (0.029)
Resentment treat	-0.1222 (0.125)	-0.2174 (0.169)
Party ID	-0.5515*** (0.082)	-0.5541*** (0.082)
Political knowledge	0.7279*** (0.104)	0.6944*** (0.105)
Ideology	0.2244*** (0.075)	0.2225** (0.075)
Age	0.5298*** (0.072)	0.5178*** (0.072)
Female	0.6748*** (0.220)	0.6933*** (0.220)
Black or African American	-0.6948** (0.340)	-0.6712** (0.339)
Ethnicity (Hispanic)	-0.4782 (0.366)	-0.4613 (0.367)
Racial resentment	0.1392** (0.049)	0.1467*** (0.049)
Deprivation treat	0.0675 (0.124)	
N	1,500	1,500
R ²	0.224	0.238
Adj R ²	0.215	0.221

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed

Robust Standard Errors reported

This table shows the first two models from the Lucid survey which examine the impact of the resource treatments on perceived rural deprivation and includes some interesting results. The first model is a basic model with perceived rural deprivation (PRD) as the dependent variable and no interaction effects. The second model also has PRD as the dependent variable and examines whether the resource treatments impact PRD on their own and when they are interacted with place belonging. Given the number of interactions in these models, the coefficients in the table are described and interpreted in the text. When compared to rural belonging people, small town and urban belonging people who received the “more resources rural” treatment had significantly lower PRD. In addition, those with high political knowledge also had heightened PRD, and Black or African American respondents had significantly lower PRD.

Table 12 (continued): Rural Resentment and Disdain Interaction Effects

<u>The Impact of Disdain Interacted with Place Belonging on Rural Resentment</u>		
VARIABLES	Resent basic	Resentment interaction
Place belonging = Small town	-1.2834*** (0.312)	-1.8754*** (0.400)
Place belonging = Suburban	-2.1590*** (0.277)	-2.8130*** (0.348)
Place belonging = Urban	-1.3400*** (0.306)	-1.7941*** (0.380)
Resentment treat	-0.0843 (0.112)	
Party ID	0.1856*** (0.075)	0.1787** (0.073)
Political knowledge	0.1149 (0.095)	0.1114 (0.094)
Ideology	-0.0798 (0.067)	-0.0847 (0.066)
Age	-0.0675 (0.065)	-0.0936 (0.065)
Female	-0.5142 (0.197)	-0.4899** (0.195)
Black or African American	0.4290 (0.305)	0.4379 (0.301)
Ethnicity (Hispanic)	0.4372 (0.328)	0.3705 (0.324)
Racial resentment	-0.3582*** (0.042)	-0.3523*** (0.0423)
Deprivation treat	0.2422** (0.111)	0.1227 (0.149)
PRD	-0.0851***	-0.0842***

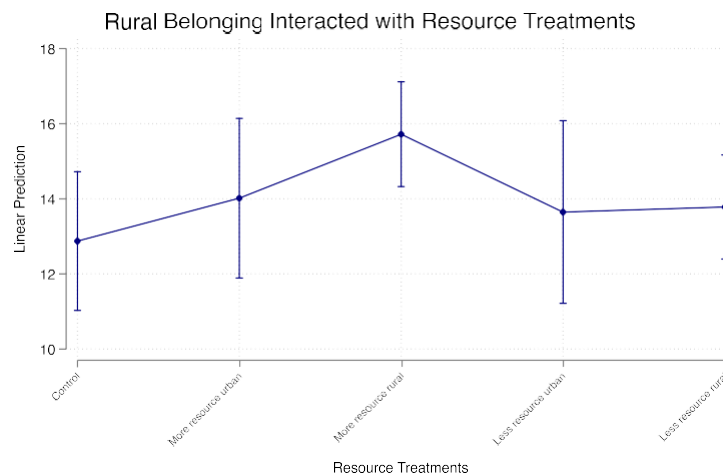
	(0.023)	(0.023)
Disdain treat = Appreciate urban		-4.4892***
		(1.056)
Disdain treat= Appreciate rural		0.5848
		(0.777)
Disdain treat = Look down upon urban		-4.3721***
		(0.980)
Disdain treat = Look down upon rural		-0.3132
		(0.759)
Small town#Appreciate urban		3.2399**
		(1.388)
Small town#Appreciate rural		0.817
		(0.920)
Small town#Look down upon urban		4.0293***
		(1.197)
Small town#Look down upon rural		0.9302
		(0.891)
Suburban#Appreciate urban		5.1512***
		(1.092)
Suburban#Appreciate rural		1.6436
		(1.119)
Suburban#Look down upon urban		4.6544***
		(1.052)
Suburban#Look down upon rural		0.1032
		(1.124)
Urban#Appreciate urban		4.9512***
		(1.121)
Urban#Appreciate rural		-3.2764***
		(1.153)
Urban#Look down upon urban		5.0198***
		(1.102)
Urban#Look down upon rural		-1.0062
		(1.181)
N	1,500	1,500
R ²	0.1180	0.1580
Adj R ²	0.1079	0.1397

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

This table shows the third and fourth Lucid models used to examine the impacts of the treatments in my survey experiment. The first model presented in this table is a basic model using Rural Resentment as the dependent variable and no interaction effects. The second model presented in this table also has Rural Resentment as the dependent variable and then examines the impact of the disdain treatments on Rural Resentment on their own and then interacted with place belonging. Given the number of interactions in these models, the coefficients in the table are described and interpreted in the text. The results are inconsistent, showing that appreciating a place lowers their level of resentment as expected, but looking down on a place does as well. These results need to be examined further in future studies.

Ultimately, I find that rural belonging individuals have higher overall PRD compared to other place types but introducing a resource constraints treatment does not significantly improve their feelings of perceived deprivation. As one can see below in Figure 10, Hypothesis 0 is supported, showing that rural belonging individuals have higher PRD than their peers. But also rural belonging respondents' levels of PRD minimally change in the face of the resource treatments. Figures 10 and 11 compare the resource treatment effects between rural and urban belonging respondents and shows that H1b is supported - urban respondents who received the “more resources for rural people” expressed lower levels of PRD.

Figure 10: Rural Belonging Interacted with Resource Treatments



This figure, which shows the interaction between rural place belonging and each resource treatment in Table 10, looks at how rural belonging respondents' PRD were impacted by the resource treatments. As can be seen, there a significant difference between the control and the “more resources rural” treatment condition.

Figure 11: Urban Belonging Interacted with Resource Treatments

This figure, which shows the interaction between urban place belonging and each resource treatment in Table 10, looks at how urban belonging respondents' PRD were impacted by the resource treatments. As can be seen, there is a significantly sharp drop in PRD for respondents who were told rural individuals have more resources than urban individuals.

Yet, although H1b was supported, as those with less resource constraints on average have lower PRD, H1a, H2, and H3 were not as the resource constraints treatment condition on its own did not have a significant impact on rural belonging participants' PRD, and rural people with resource constraints did not have heightened PRD. However, while resource constraints did not lead to higher PRD, rural respondents did maintain their previous high levels of PRD. Figure 7 shows that rural respondents have higher PRD compared to urban respondents. This did not change when these respondents were assigned the resource constraints treatment for rural areas. In addition, the treatment moderately gains power when interacted with place belonging. As you can see in Figure 11, urban individuals were impacted by the rural resource treatment condition. In this treatment condition, rural areas had more funding for clean water than urban areas. Urban individuals thus felt that rural people were less deprived, and it had a significant effect in their level of PRD, lowering

their level of PRD relative to their rural peers. However, even though the resource constraint treatment condition did not have a significant impact on the rural belonging respondents, there was still a substantial difference between the rural group's PRD and the rest of the place categories.

4.5.1 Implications of resource constraints on Rural Resentment

Up to this point, I have explained why resource constraints may influence a person's feelings of deprivation. However, I have not made it clear why resource constraints may have an impact on rural resentment. In previous chapters, I noted that rural resentment consists of feelings of anger, sadness, and even injustice from rural people in response to unfair treatment compared to other community types. On the other hand, PRD is the perception that rural people are deprived of economic or social capital and thus experience more disadvantages. The fundamental difference between the two concepts is that rural resentment is a measure of feelings – feelings about how other place types stereotype or even ignore their community. People with heightened rural resentment can recognize that they have more capital than another place while also feeling like they are not valued enough for their unique attributes. In contrast, people with heightened PRD recognize their place on the social and economic ladder, but they do not necessarily respond with anger or sadness about their position.

These two concepts may seem similar because they are both centered in place identity, but their underlying factors are unique. Therefore, I argue that resource constraints may prime rural resentment, because a loss of resources could stoke anger, but a feelings-based treatment like disdain will not influence PRD. To replicate earlier hypothesis tests

on the effectiveness of the resource constraint prime on PRD, I ran two regressions. In the first I tested whether the resource constraint treatment condition was significantly correlated with rural resentment and found that the treatment condition did not have an impact on the level of rural resentment. Then, I ran another OLS regression interacting the resource constraints treatment condition with place belonging to see if there was an effect on rural resentment and there were some effects. These effects were inconsistent, as receiving both more resources treatments and less resources treatments led to the same outcome – higher rural resentment. This is puzzling theoretically and requires further investigation. This indicates that resource constraints, in concert with place belonging, significantly impact a person’s level of perceived deprivation and can potentially also influence their feelings of resentment. However, disdain does not influence PRD, because it is a feelings-based treatment, while it does influence resentment (see Table 10). We can see that the predictors of Rural Resentment do, in fact, differ from the predictors of perceived rural deprivation.

4.6 Perceived Rural Deprivation and Governmental Representation

While it is important to explore the makeup of PRD and to leverage survey experiments to test the effects of resources on PRD and to differentiate PRD and rural resentment, another overarching thread in this dissertation is the real-life implication of PRD on performance evaluations of federal government representatives. I have argued that feelings of deprivation are directly linked to opinions surrounding governmental representation, and this can influence that relationship between citizens and their representatives. This hypothesis has been tested and supported in previous chapters. Now, I have the most

comprehensive PRD scale yet. This scale combines three questions from the ANES survey as well as another question present in the Dynata surveys, and it covers deservingness, respect, attention, and influence on the government. Two of these facets, in particular, relate to how a citizen may view their representatives.

As I have posited earlier this chapter and throughout the dissertation, some of the main facets of my PRD measure are attention and respect. When respondents feel they are not receiving enough attention or respect then they feel deprived in comparison to their peers. Additionally, attention and respect are basic assessments of the attentiveness of a public official, and not having an official's attentiveness can generate feelings of deprivation. A lack of attentiveness is an indication of unequal resources, and individuals who highly perceive rural deprivation also strongly believe that they are receiving less resources than their urban and suburban counterparts.

Since these feelings of deprivation are strongly associated with government attentiveness, I argue in Hypothesis 4 that high PRD scores are strongly correlated with negative assessments of the government. Namely, individuals with high PRD scores do not believe the government has the necessary tools to properly represent their interests, and this has negative impacts on rural areas.

H3: Individuals with heightened Perceived Rural Deprivation (PRD) will also have more negative performance evaluations of the government.

These individuals may believe that rural areas receive less funding, and that rural areas are being left behind.

4.7 Modeling Plan

In this analysis, I model, using OLS, perceptions of government representation as a function of PRD, treatment conditions, and a variety of other control variables. The governmental representation scale measures how well each respondent thinks their representative is representing their interests in the government. This scale ranges from 1 to 5, with 5 representing a rating of the best possible representation and 1 representing the worst possible representation. The primary independent variable, PRD, is an additive index ranging from 1 to 22, with 22 representing a respondent that feels the highest level of rural deprivation. Both of these variables are explained in further detail in the variables of interest section earlier in this chapter.

4.8 Results

In Table 13 we can see that Hypothesis 3 is supported, with individuals with heightened PRD also having a more negative evaluation of their government representatives. For every one unit increase in PRD, perceptions of governmental representation grow more negative by .0937, indicating that those who feel less trust in government also recognize more rural deprivation.

Table 13 (continued): PRD and Governmental Performance Evaluations

The Impact of PRD on Governmental Performance Evaluations	
VARIABLES	(1) Government
PRD	-0.0937*** (0.006)
Resource constraints treatment	0.0424 (0.030)
Place belonging = Small town	0.0904

	(0.083)
Place belonging = Suburban	0.1914**
	(0.075)
Place belonging = Urban	0.3228***
	(0.082)
Rural resentment	0.0167**
	(0.007)
Rural Resentment treatment	-0.0431
	(0.031)
Party ID	0.1227***
	(0.020)
Female	-0.0156
	(0.052)
Age	0.0093
	(0.017)
Political knowledge	-0.0178
	(0.025)
Racial resentment	-0.0452***
	(0.012)
Ideology	-0.0064
	(0.018)
Black or African American	0.1927**
	(0.080)
Ethnicity	0.1531*
	(0.087)
N	1,458
R ²	0.277
Adj R ²	0.268

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

As PRD decreases, opinions surrounding governmental representation grow more positive. There is an endogeneity issue with this model because PRD was primed in the survey experiment and then used as a Dependent variable in previous models (Montgomery, Nyhan, and Torres 2018). Please keep this in mind as you interpret this table.

As PRD declines, evaluations of governmental representation become more positive. When respondents feel less deprived, they also feel better about the government's ability to represent their interests and thus rate their government officials favorably. This has implications for the relationship constituents have with the government more broadly. When individuals feel deprived, it can lead to deepening distrust in the government's ability to run effectively. A lack of trust in the government can be damaging for our

political system. This is a finding that has run throughout this dissertation, which indicates that people do blame the government for their deprivation or for the deprivation of others.

4.9 Alternative explanations

While I can show how resource deprivation and disdain have unique influences on PRD and Rural Resentment, respectively, I also want to test several alternative explanations that may influence both PRD and Rural Resentment. These alternative explanations can be split into three main categories: religious beliefs, news exposure, and childhood influences. First, it makes sense that news sources and the frequency in which a respondent engages with news could have an impact on both PRD and Rural Resentment. Prior studies have shown that media exposure can have an influence on political attitudes (Morris 2007). Linking media exposure to Rural Resentment, other studies find that the news does not even have to be factual to stoke feelings such as cynicism (Balmas 2014). Finally, outrage discourse – say, about a place opposite from one’s own – can provoke a strong response from audience members, who can feel anger or helplessness from news articles or cable news reports (Sobieraj and Berry 2011). If these stories can make a person feel moral superiority, it makes sense that they could also make them feel deprived.

Thus, I employ several questions about how frequently respondents tuned in to cable news or the radio and read news articles to see if they have an influence on either of my primary concepts. I find that media consumption strongly impacted PRD, by raising PRD across the board, no matter the type of media. For Rural Resentment the effects were much more muted, with radio raising the level of resentment only if a person listened to the radio every day of the week, with no radio engagement as the constant.⁵

⁵ These tables, as well as every other analysis in this section, can be found in Appendix D in the alternative explanations section.

Another potential alternative explanation for increased PRD is religion. I find that being protestant has a significant positive impact on the level of PRD a person experiences, and no other religious group has a significant correlation with PRD. These findings are interesting and prompt further investigation in future research.

Finally, echoing findings throughout this dissertation, place strongly impacts perceptions of rural deprivation. Namely growing up in a rural area or small town makes a person much more likely to have heightened PRD than someone who grew up in urban or suburban areas. This finding can be tied to earlier findings in Study 1, the ANES study, where residence was a strong predictor of PRD. The impact of current residence lessens when place belonging is also measured, as shown in Studies 2, 3, and 4, but this is not the case with childhood residence, which continues to show a strong correlation between rurality and heightened PRD. This is another interesting finding that could help prompt future research into the impact of childhood place on adult place belonging and political attitudes.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter asks whether resource constraints can prime Perceived Rural Deprivation (PRD). I found that, on its own, resource constraints do not have a significant impact on PRD. However, when interacted with place belonging, there are some important findings. Namely, while rural individuals do not have a significant increase in PRD when they are given a resource constraints treatment condition or a decrease in PRD when they are told rural people have more resource funding, small town, suburban, and urban belonging people are impacted. Urban, suburban, and small-town belonging participants saw a significant drop in their level of PRD when they were told rural people were given

more resource funding than urban people. This made them feel that rural people were less deprived. In contrast, rural people never feel less deprived, regardless of the treatment condition they receive. This makes sense when we center it with what we know about rural funding. While rural areas may receive more government funding, rural people are not likely to see everyday changes as a result of this funding and therefore feel deprived. With the treatment, rural belonging people were once again being informed that they were receiving more resources than they personally experience. This shows that rural people may not trust government funding as much as urban individuals. Indeed, people with heightened PRD even felt that the government was doing a worse job represent their interests. This, too, echoes previous chapters, which examined governmental representation and found that rural people felt the government was doing a comparatively poor job representing them relative to their urban peers.

Beyond the new findings from this chapter, there are a few other findings that would require future research. First, like in previous chapters, PRD and rural resentment were significantly related. However, in this study I found that PRD had a slightly negative coefficient of $-.09$. Thus, this represents a divergent finding from previous chapters, where an increase of PRD led to an increase in Rural resentment. This could be a result from the survey experiments, but it would be an interesting area for further research, nevertheless. Finally, every chapter showed that party ID was significantly related to rural resentment. While this was not the ultimate focus of this dissertation, understanding the link between rural and racial resentment presents an exciting new avenue for future research.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This research project began by outlining the history behind rural resentment and deprivation in the United States. Examining the history of rural attitudes helps us understand why rural residing or belonging respondents may perceive rural areas to be deprived. However, it does not explain whether that is the case for urban and suburban residing or belonging respondents. Using three original surveys I found that urban respondents also recognize moderate to high levels of rural deprivation, indicating that the divide between the urban and rural spheres is not as steep as previously imagined. This has implications for future research on this divide.

Beyond the scope of the rural-urban divide literature, this work also provides a new, rich, understanding of place identity and place-based attitudes. Conceptualizing and measuring perceived rural deprivation (PRD) allows scholars to apply this measure to the study of other place-based attitudes such as rural resentment. In this work I found that PRD exists at both the national and state level. I also found that current residence is a strong predictor of PRD in the case where there are no other place-based identifiers, but when other variables such as place belonging are introduced, current residence is no longer significantly associated with PRD. This means that when given the chance people prefer to identify with the place type where they feel they belong instead of the place where they live. In other words, home is where the heart is, not where a person dwells.

To explore the implications for PRD on political attitudes I examined the association between perceived rural deprivation and perceptions of governmental representation. I asked respondents to rate how well they think their federal government representatives represent their interests, and then I assessed whether heightened PRD had

an impact on these performance evaluations. Across three original surveys, in studies 2, 3, and 4, I found that there is a significant negative relationship between heightened PRD and perceptions of governmental representation. Perceiving deprivation makes respondents doubt the ability of their representatives to be effective in their position. This has numerous implications. First, negative attitudes towards government representatives can manifest in increased cynicism, decreased trust, and a decreased willingness to participate in civic activities. Second, representatives may seem self-interested or uninterested in engaging in meaningful dialogue with their constituents, which could lead to worse approval numbers for representatives as they run for reelection. Finally, policymakers may realize that deprivation is the cause of grievance and may try to prioritize policies aimed at fixing socio-economic and resource disparities.

In Chapter 4, I found that stating rural people were receiving more funding for resources led urban belonging respondents to have lower PRD. This shows that urban belonging respondents may be more responsive to newspaper articles or press releases claiming funding increases – at least for rural areas. Another interesting finding was that rural belonging respondents maintained their heightened PRD no matter what treatment they received. This could indicate that rural belonging respondents need to see changes rather than be told about funding changes. I allude to this in Chapter 3, where I discuss how funding for rejuvenation projects or infrastructure projects may have more of an impact on rural attitudes than funding for agriculture, which only impacts a small percentage of rural people.

Another broader implication for my deprivation results lies in how constituents view government activity and performance. While I already noted that officials may be

concerned by negative performance evaluations of the government, it is important to note that these officials have taken steps to try to change how constituents view government performance, with the perception that constituents see government actions and change their opinions accordingly. In Chapter 4, I found that respondents who received the deprivation treatments did not have a change in opinion surrounding perceived rural deprivation. In other words, people are not likely to change their evaluations based on new funding initiatives or government actions. This runs counter to current policies by the Biden administration, which has tried to get constituents to change their evaluations based on what the government has done for them retrospectively. However, these results show that people are not likely to change their evaluations retrospectively, which would be a blow to the administration's current efforts.

5.1 Study Limitations

Due to space and funding restrictions, there were some components of the surveys that could be refined in future studies. First, rural America is a vibrant place that is more heterogeneous than is widely assumed. Thus, in future research it is imperative that scholars begin to unpack the differences between rural communities to see if varied community values may impact levels of PRD and government performance evaluations. In addition, one of the strengths of this project is that it further examines place identity. The future of place identity research may lie in understanding the differences between rural residents and their political behavior. Therefore, developing questions that accurately measure these differences and help rural respondents identify the properties of their communities could help us expand our understanding.

Secondly, there were some flaws in the construction of the rural resentment scale that may have limited the interpretation of this variable. Due to budget constraints, I was only able to include a few questions that measured rural resentment. Therefore, I would like to expand the rural resentment scale and include more survey questions. The included scale could have done a better job measuring rural resentment, as we can see in the factor analysis. While rural resentment was a minor part of this study, I would like to see a more accurate representation of the relationship between rural resentment and PRD, which is a fundamental relationship that underlies the place identity literature.

In addition, the survey experiments in Chapter 4 are good initial studies of what could prime both PRD and rural resentment, but there are a couple of ways they could be improved. Namely, I would expand the scope of the resource constraint treatments to include multiple types of resources. Clean water funding was chosen for its salience, and this was an understandable choice, but adding several more resource types might strengthen the prime and result in different outcomes. Expanding the number of respondents in each treatment group would also be ideal.

Finally, on a more minor note, I would have liked to explore the relationship between several control variable categories and PRD in more detail. For example, Protestants have a strong correlation with heightened PRD, and including an Evangelical category may have provided more insight. Further examination of the relationships between racial resentment and PRD and racial resentment and rural resentment would also help differentiate between these different concepts and their causes.

5.2 Implications for Future Research

There are many potential avenues to take this research agenda. Currently, the literature on place identity is not settled, as scholars continue to develop scales that help explain place-based attitudes and identities. While the PRD scale is a good first step, there is room to expand this study. First, I would like to dive into different types of rural in the United States. For example, Kentucky contains rural horse farms, rural tobacco fields, and rural Appalachia. The citizens of these regions differ greatly despite sharing a home state and place type. More specificity in this area can only improve the research into rural political identity. Second, I would like to expand my research on the impacts of PRD on political attitudes and behavior. While I have examined the relationship between PRD and perceptions of governmental representation, I could expand this research to see how this concept impacts voting behavior, political participation, and more.

Finally, I already mentioned that a useful expansion of this research would identify more resource constraints that could prime PRD. Previous discussions in this dissertation also emphasized the difference between seeing funding impact communities versus being told this funding exists. Currently, a federal infrastructure bill is providing new roadways, bridges, and other necessary infrastructure updates across the United States. It would be interesting to survey a community that needs one of these updates – for example, a new bridge – before and after receiving the bridge to see if it impacts their view of their government representatives' effectiveness.

Overall, expanding political science literature to include more place-based and rural-focused studies is vital. Understanding rural behavior not only helps political scientists follow election outcomes in these communities, but it also has ramifications for policy choices in the rural and even urban spheres.

APPENDICES

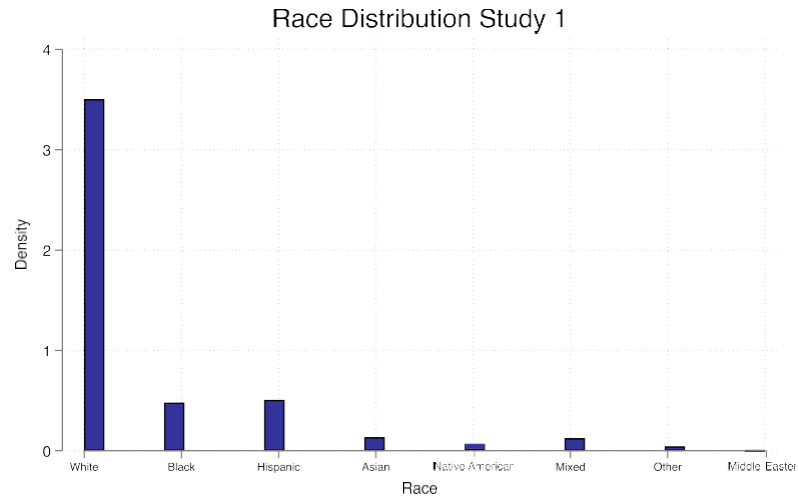
APPENDIX 1: CHAPTER 2, STUDY 1 (2019 ANES)

Table 14: Hypothesis Table Study 1

Hypothesis	Expectation
Hypothesis 1: Current Residence and PRD	Current residence will have a statistically significant relationship with perceived rural deprivation (PRD). Specifically, rural residents are more likely to perceive rural deprivation (PRD) than urban residents
Hypothesis 2: Place belonging and PRD	The place where you think you belong will have a statistically significant relationship with perceived rural deprivation (PRD). Specifically, respondents who think they belong in rural areas or small towns will express higher PRD than those who think they belong in urban or suburban areas.
Hypothesis 3: Place identity and PRD	The importance of place to identity will have a statistically significant relationship with perceived rural deprivation (PRD). The more important place is to identity, the higher PRD score. Therefore, as place importance increases, rural respondents should have higher PRD scores.
Hypothesis 4: PRD's impact on Perceived Governmental Representation	Respondents who express stronger perceptions of rural deprivation (PRD) will have more negative perceptions of governmental representation. As their PRD score increases, their governmental representation score decreases.

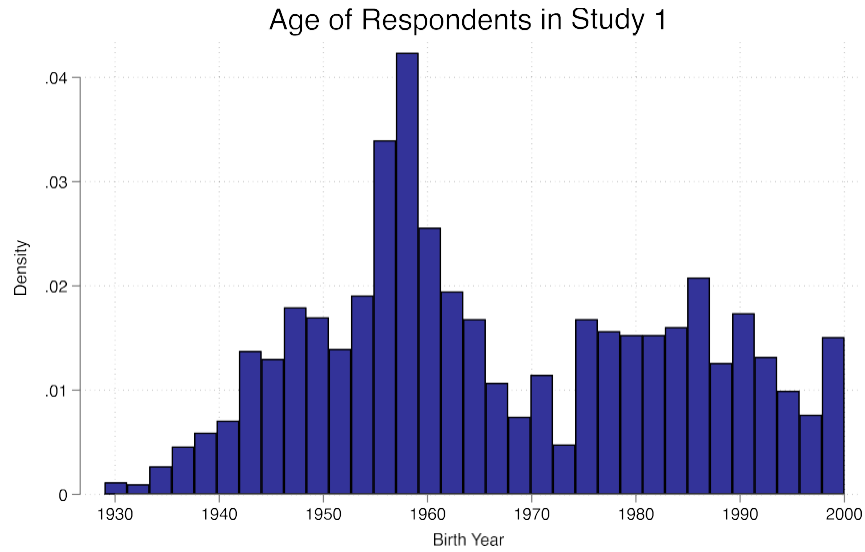
This hypothesis table lists the hypotheses located in Chapters 2 and 3.

Figure 12: Race Breakdown Study 1



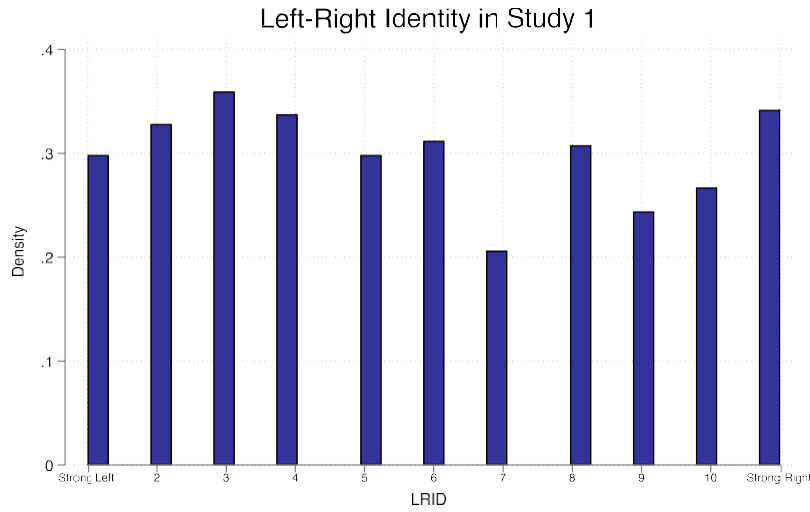
The vast majority of respondents are white, at 72.16%

Figure 13: Age Breakdown Study 1



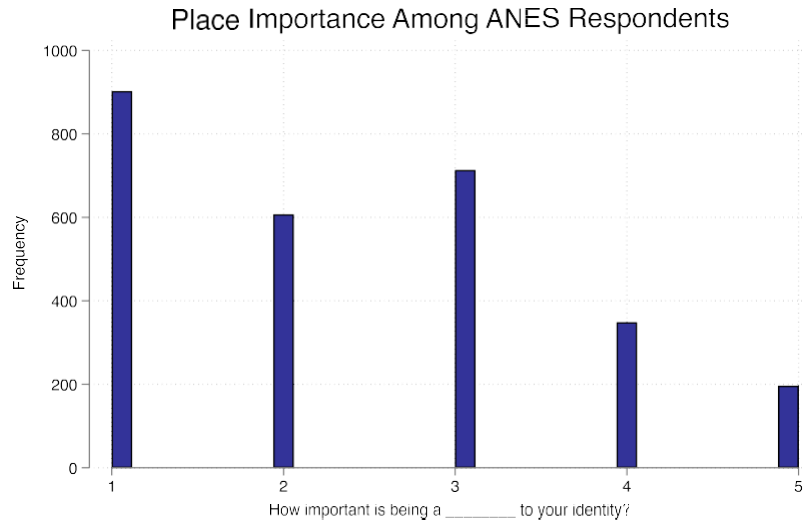
There are more respondents that are 55+ than those in their 20s and 30s, but the distribution is not too far off from the age distribution of voters in the US.

Figure 14: Left-Right Identity breakdown Study 1



There is variety in this sample in terms of left-right identity, with roughly an even amount of respondents in each category.

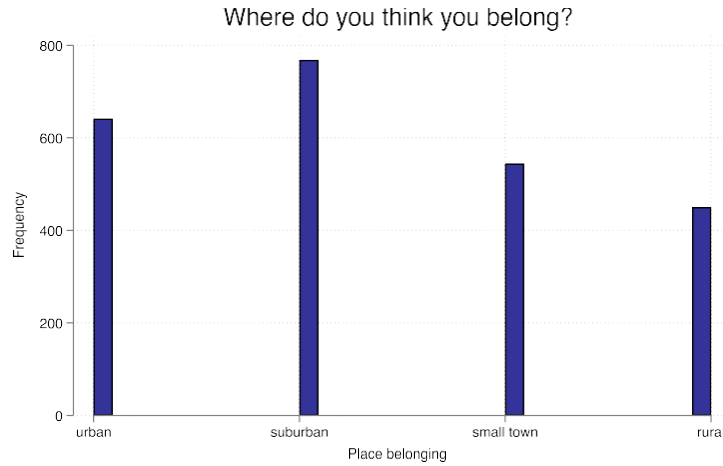
Figure 15: PRD and place importance Study1



This figure shows the distribution of the place identity variable, which asks: “How important is being a _____ to your identity? This follows a question that asks about a person’s current residence, so the blank in the question would be filled in with their current residence – a small town, the country, a city, or the suburbs. The scale for this identity question is from 1(not at all) to 5 (very

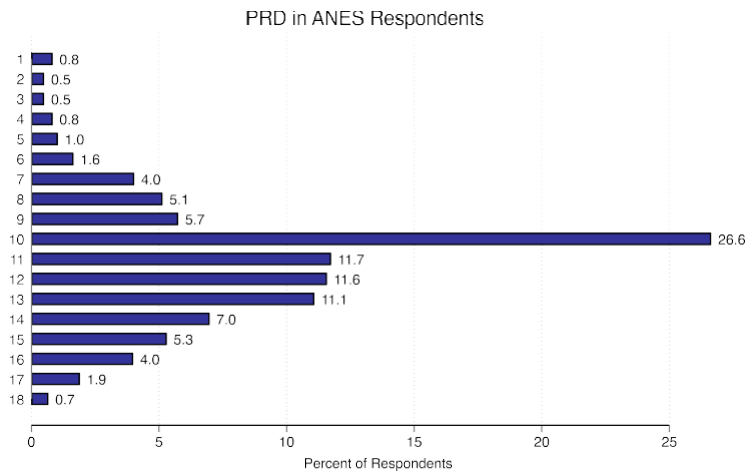
important). As you can see, most people did not think place was very central to their identity.

Figure 16: PRD and place belonging Study 1



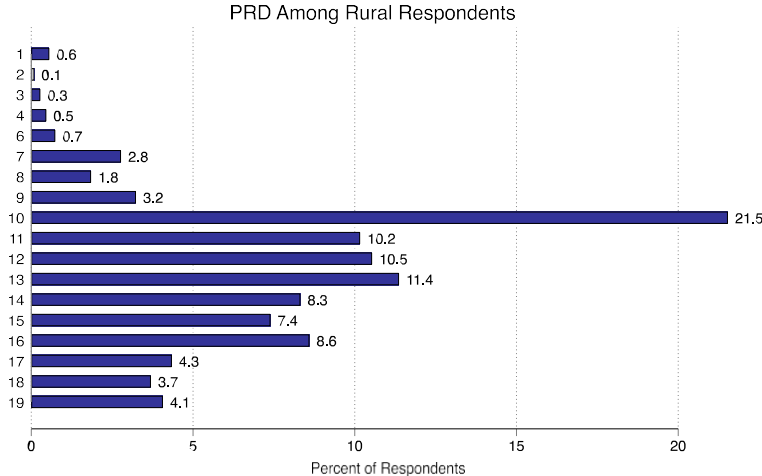
This figure shows the distribution of the place belonging variable, which asks where a person feels they belong. This is a helpful question because it is possible respondents may identify more with rural people and areas even if they live in the city. Most respondents stated they feel they belong in the suburbs.

Figure 17: Perceived Rural Deprivation among all respondents Study 1



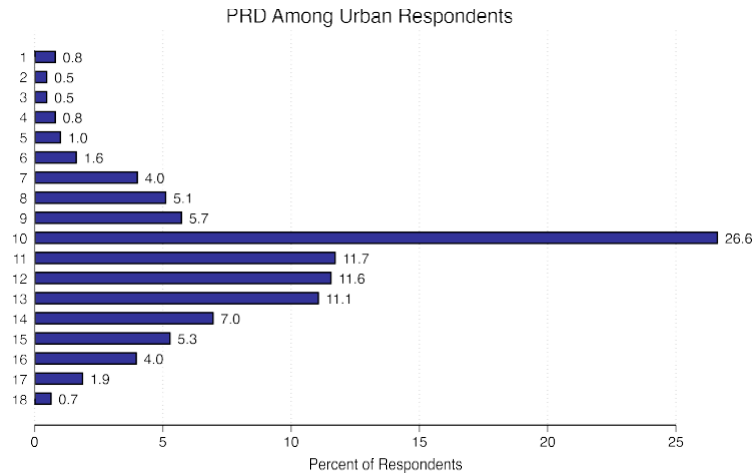
This figure shows the distribution of the PRD variable for this study, indicating that the majority of the respondents scored moderate to high on the PRD scale. These moderate responses could indicate a lack of attention, or they could show that respondents recognize PRD but do not feel strongly about the subject.

Figure 18: Perceived Rural Deprivation among rural respondents Study 1



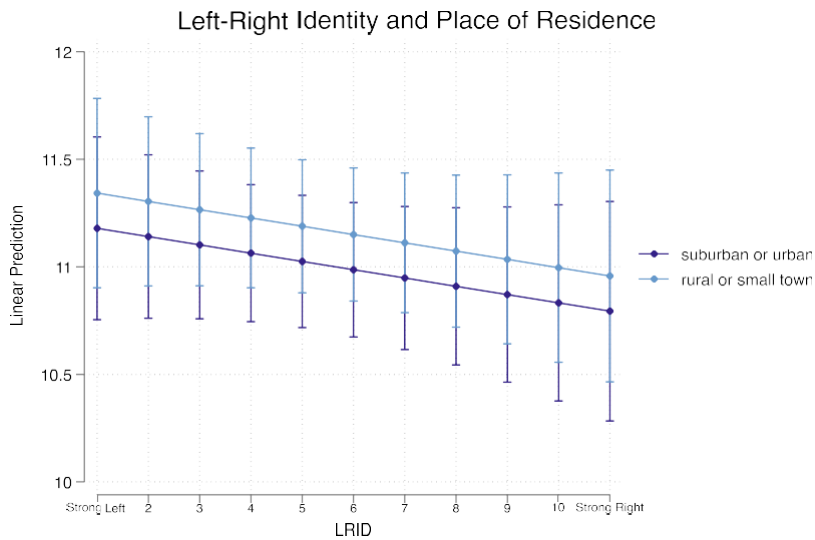
This figure shows the distribution of the PRD variable for this study, among rural respondents, indicating that the majority of rural respondents scored moderate to high on the PRD scale. These moderate responses could indicate a lack of attention, or they could show that respondents recognize PRD but do not feel strongly about the subject. This partially supports H1 which states that rural residents will have higher PRD than urban residents.

Figure 19: PRD among urban respondents Study 1



This figure shows the distribution of the PRD variable for this study, among urban respondents, indicating that the majority of urban respondents scored moderate to high on the PRD scale. These moderate responses could indicate a lack of attention, or they could show that respondents recognize PRD but do not feel strongly about the subject. This partially supports H1 which states that rural residents will have higher PRD than urban residents. However, there are only slight differences worth investigating.

Figure 20: Left-Right Identity and Place of Residence Study 1



This shows that strong-left leaning individuals in both rural and urban areas are experiencing similar levels of PRD and left-leaning respondents experience higher levels of PRD than strong-right leaning respondents.

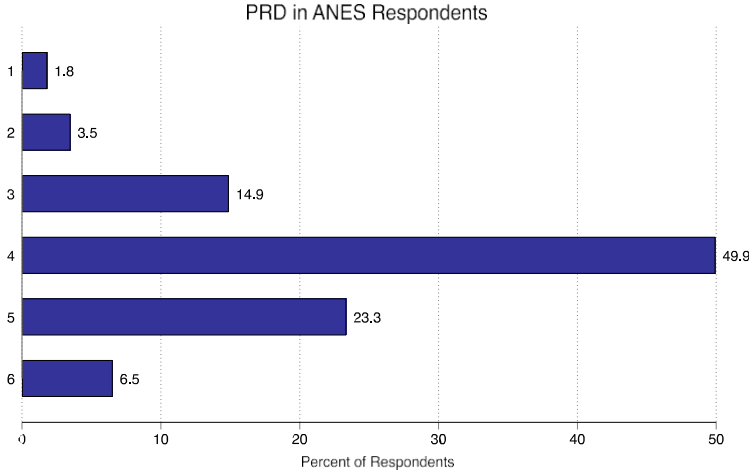
Table 15: ANES with PRD scale of 1-6

Demographics and PRD in the ANES	
VARIABLES	(1) PRD
rural_01	0.0491 (0.053)
Place importance	-0.0653*** (0.022)
placebelong = suburban	0.1845** (0.073)
placebelong = small town	0.3803*** (0.069)
placebelong = rural/country	0.4987*** (0.078)
Gender	0.1187** (0.050)
Education	-0.0196 (0.017)
race =Black	0.0663 (0.097)
race =Hispanic	0.0013 (0.079)
race = Asian	-0.0067 (0.113)
Birth Year	-0.0065*** (0.001)
LRID	0.0096 (0.010)
Political knowledge	-0.0012 (0.019)
Racial resentment scale	0.0259*** (0.007)
Trump feeling thermometer	-0.0005 (0.001)
Trump presidency approval	-0.0046 (0.008)
Family income	0.0011* (0.001)
N	2,266
R ²	0.117
Adj R ²	0.117

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

Place importance and place belonging are both statistically significantly related to PRD, while current residence is not. This indicates that, once given more specific questions targeted at place, respondents do not associate themselves as much with their current residence as they do with where they think they belong. Additionally, rural people do have the strongest relationship between PRD and place belonging – they strongly associate their feelings of belonging in rural areas with feelings of deprivation. Adding in the variables Trump presidency approval, family income, and Trump feeling thermometer did not help the explanatory power of this study, and actually lowered the R-squared.

Figure 21: Robustness Check: PRD among all ANES Respondents



In this figure I combined the values on the scale to make it more comparable to the scales in Study 2. Once again, we can see that the majority of the respondents report moderate to high PRD, with the majority of responses clustered in the middle.

Table 16 (continued): Ologit Robustness Check Study 1

Demographics and Rural Deprivation Ologit	
VARIABLES	(1) PRD
Place importance	-0.0538 (0.055)
Current residence	-0.1259 (0.083)
Place belonging = suburban	-0.4110***

	(0.147)
Place belonging = urban	-0.7673***
	(0.191)
Party identification	-0.0078
	(0.049)
Political Ideology	0.0347
	(0.102)
Racial resentment	0.0825***
	(0.018)
Political knowledge	0.1206**
	(0.058)
Gender	0.0953
	(0.120)
Education	-0.0180
	(0.043)
Black	0.0380
	(0.241)
Hispanic	-0.0052
	(0.188)
Asian	-0.4296
	(0.312)
N	2,595
Adjusted R2	0.0253

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

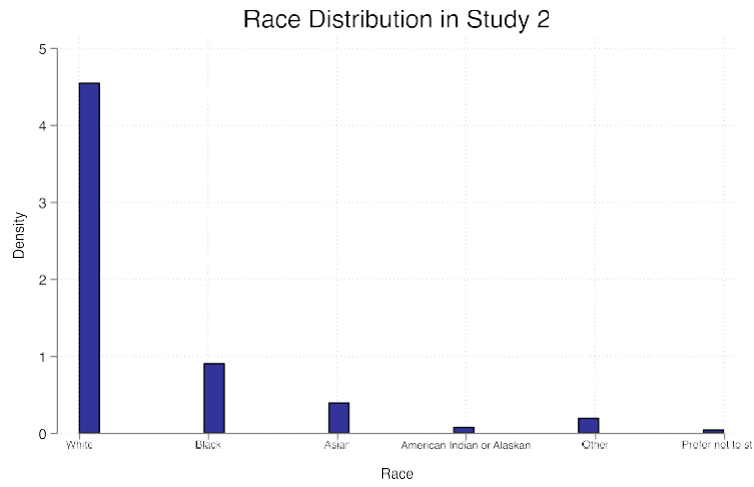
While there are slight differences in the coefficients in this table compared to the OLS version, the findings remain substantively similar.

APPENDIX 2: CHAPTER 2, STUDY 2

Table 17: Demographic Table Study 2

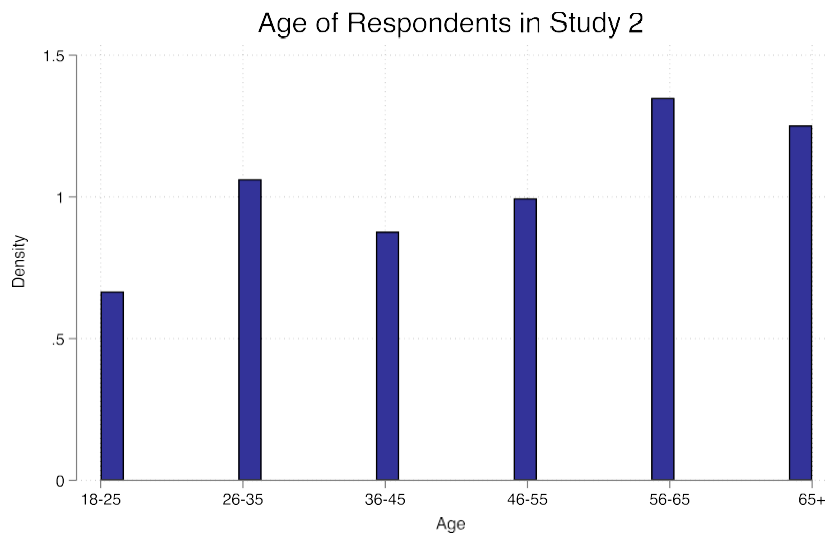
Categories	Dynata national survey sample	Census 2010
Race		
White	73.4%	72.4%
Black/African American	14.7%	12.6%
Asian American/Pacific Islander	7.8%	5.0%
Other	3.3%	7.1%
Ethnicity		
Hispanic	15.7%	16.3%
Not Hispanic	84.3%	83.7%
Age		
18-25	10.7%	8.7%
26-35	17.1%	12.5%
36-45	14.4%	25.5%
46-55	16.0%	
56-65	21.8%	13.2%
66 or older	20.2%	16.5%
Sex		
Female	47.9%	50.8%
Male	52.1%	49.2%

Figure 22: Race breakdown Study 2



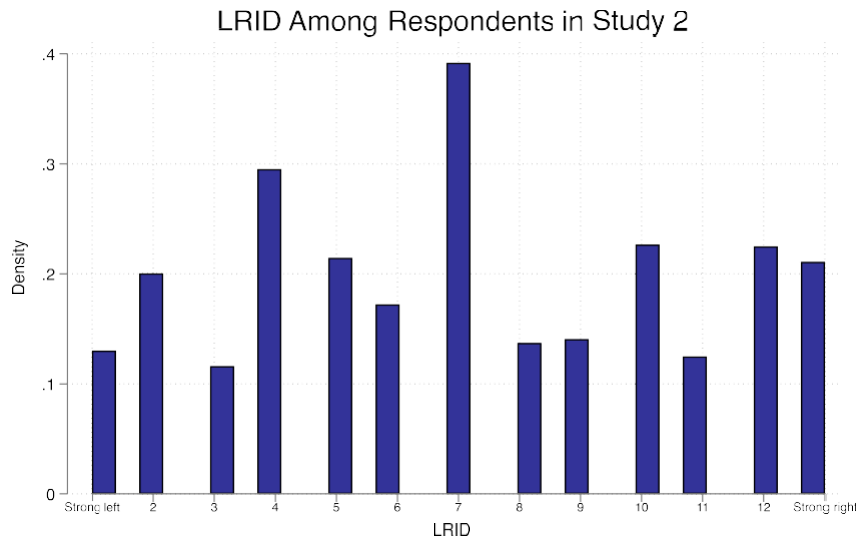
The vast majority of respondents in this study are white, with the other prominent racial groups having a far lower frequency.

Figure 23: Age Breakdown Study 2



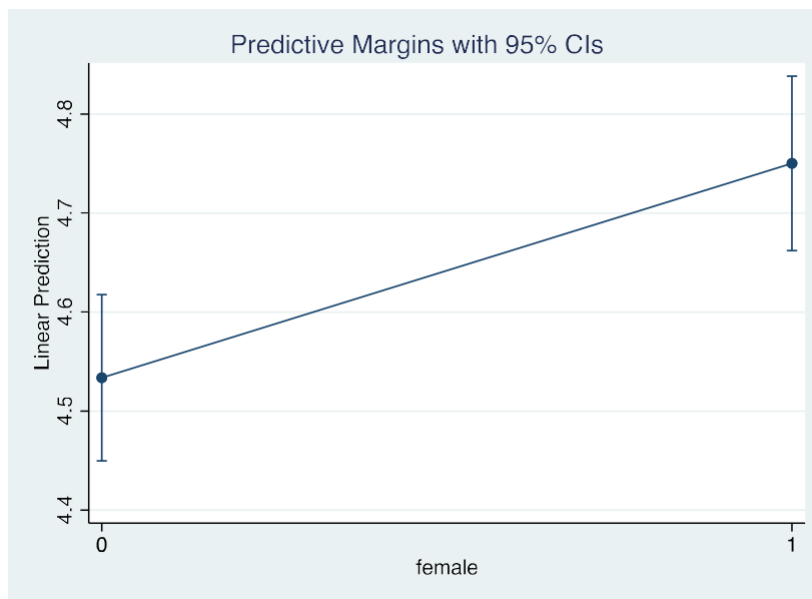
Just like in the ANES sample there are more respondents over 55 than in their teens to 40s. However, there is not a huge difference, and it roughly matches the age brackets that vote.

Figure 24: Left-Right Identity Study 2



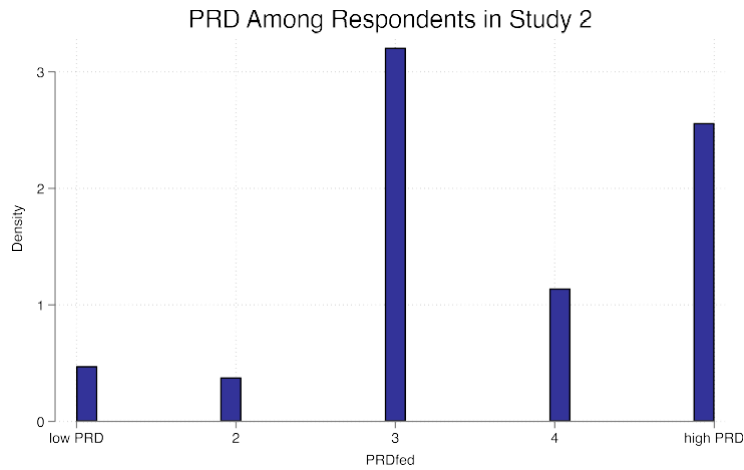
There are more respondents that describe themselves as independent or conflicted than strong left or right leaning. While the ANES was roughly evenly distributed, this is more lopsided.

Figure 25: Gender and PRD Study 2



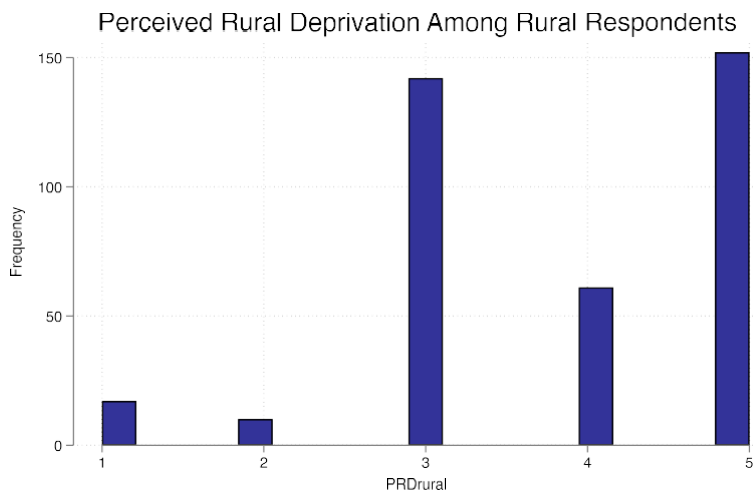
Women have higher levels of PRD than men. However, as you can see in the table, this difference is not statistically significant.

Figure 26: PRD among all respondents Study 2



This figure shows the distribution of the PRD variable for this study, indicating that the majority of the respondents scored moderate to high on the PRD scale. These moderate responses could indicate a lack of attention, or they could show that respondents recognize PRD but do not feel strongly about the subject.

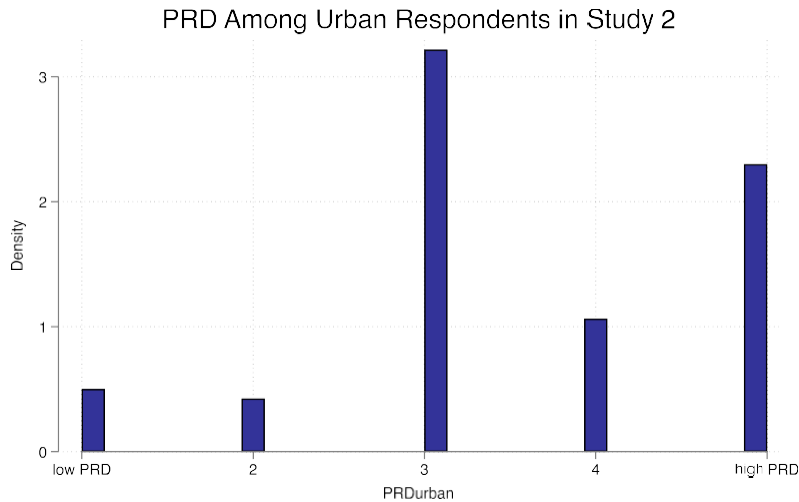
Figure 27: PRD Among Rural Respondents Study 2



This figure shows the distribution of the PRD variable for this study, among rural respondents, indicating that the majority of rural respondents scored moderate to high

on the PRD scale. These moderate responses could indicate a lack of attention, or they could show that respondents recognize PRD but do not feel strongly about the subject.

Figure 28: PRD Among Urban Respondents Study 2



This figure shows the distribution of the PRD variable for this study, among urban respondents, indicating that the majority of urban respondents scored moderate to high on the PRD scale. These moderate responses could indicate a lack of attention, or, they could show that respondents recognize PRD but do not feel strongly about the subject. As you can see, more urban people indicated there was moderate PRD compared to the rural respondents, supporting Hypothesis 1. Also, more rural respondents indicated the highest level of PRD than these urban respondents.

Table 18 (continued): Checking for Speeding Study 2

<u>Demographics and Rural Deprivation</u>	
(1)	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	<u>No speeders</u>
Current residence	0.3887*** (0.076)
Conservatism	-0.0195 (0.020)
Party ID	0.0345 (0.041)
Female	0.1617**

	(0.071)
Age	0.0751***
	(0.022)
Hispanic	0.1872*
	(0.096)
Black	0.1172
	(0.102)
Knowledge scale	0.0716***
	(0.026)
N	1,203
R ²	0.044
Adj- R ²	0.0439

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

There are no substantive differences between the findings in the table with speeders and the findings in this table which has removed the 261 speeders.

Table 19: Are the Same Demographics Correlated with PRD When Using Ordered Logit?

<u>Ordered Logit and PRD</u>	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	(1) <u>Ologit</u>
Current residence	0.4818***
	(0.113)
Conservatism	-0.0511*
	(0.030)
Party ID	0.0546
	(0.060)
Female	0.3279***
	(0.105)
Age	0.1555***
	(0.032)
Hispanic	0.2788**
	(0.138)
Black	0.0351
	(0.141)
Knowledge scale	0.1691***
	(0.039)
N	1,462
Adj-R ²	0.0212

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed

Robust Standard Errors reported

The only difference when using ordered logit is that hispanic ethnicity is now significant, with a positive relationship between hispanic ethnicity and PRD.

Table 20: Is PRD still associated with negative evaluations of governmental representation?

Governmental Representation and Rural Deprivation

<u>VARIABLES</u>	(1) <u>Ologit</u>
PRD	-0.4639*** (0.045)
Current residence	-0.3551*** (0.111)
Conservatism	0.2026*** (0.030)
Party ID	-0.4011*** (0.060)
Female	-0.1296 (0.103)
Age	-0.0275 (0.031)
Hispanic	0.2168 (0.134)
Black	0.1796 (0.140)
Knowledge scale	-0.1163*** (0.038)
N	1,459
Adj-R ²	0.0649

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed

Robust Standard Errors reported

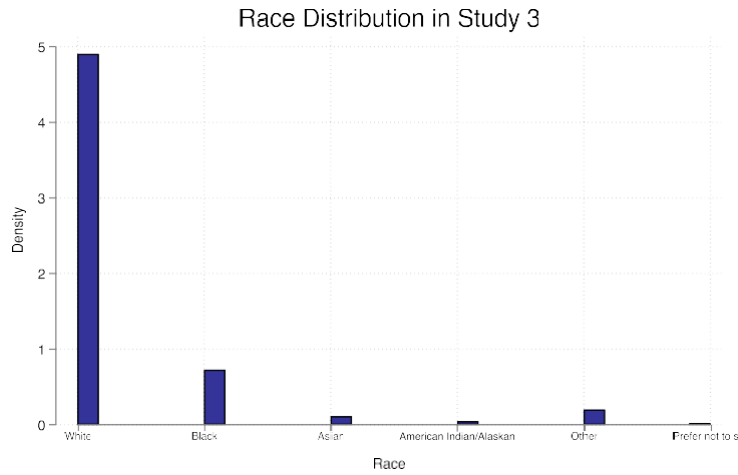
The only difference in the findings with an ordered logit model is that the results are slightly more robust.

APPENDIX 3: STUDY 3 (KENTUCKY)

Table 21: Demographic Table Study 3

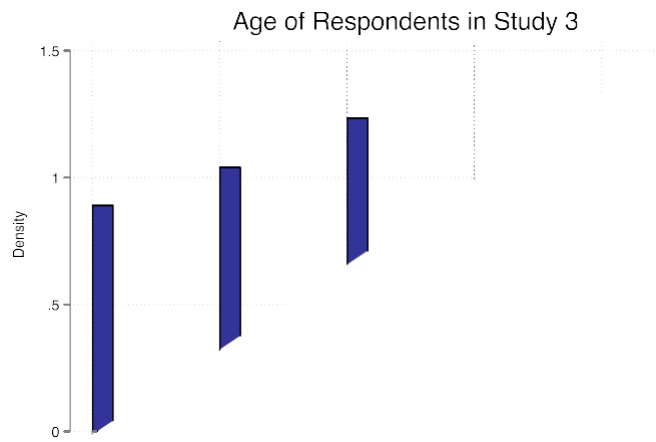
Categories	Dynata Kentucky survey sample	Census 2010
Race		
White	81.7%	86.3%
Black/African American	12.1%	7.6%
Asian American/Pacific Islander	2.6%	1.1%
Other	3.3%	0.25%
Ethnicity		
Hispanic	6.3%	3.1%
Not Hispanic	93.7%	96.9%
Age		
18-25	14.9%	9.0%
26-35	17.4%	11.7%
36-45	20.6%	28.4%
46-55	14.9%	
56-65	15.7%	12.8%
66 or older	16.5%	13.2%
Sex		
Female	58.3%	50.8%
Male	41.6%	49.2%

Figure 29: Race breakdown Study 3



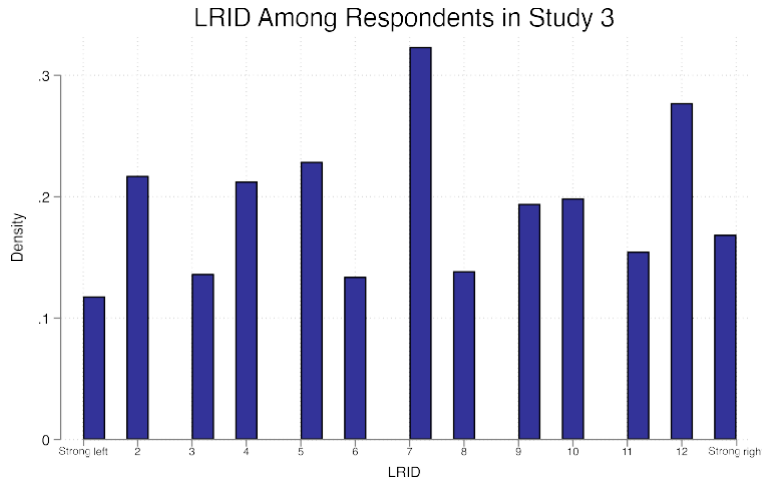
The vast majority of respondents are white.

Figure 30: Age breakdown Study 3



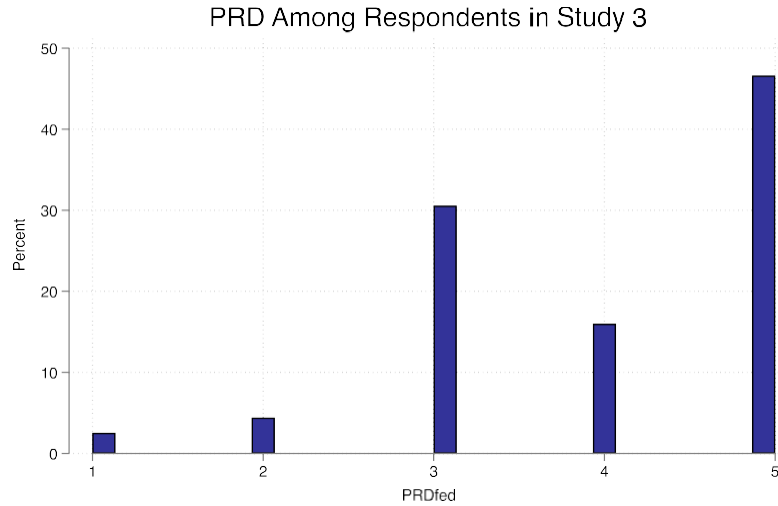
Just like in the ANES sample there are more respondents over 55 than in their teens to 40s. However, there is not a huge difference, and it roughly matches the age brackets that vote.

Figure 31: Left-Right Identity Study 3



There are more respondents that describe themselves as independent or conflicted (7 on scale) than strong left or right leaning. While the ANES was roughly evenly distributed, this is more lopsided.

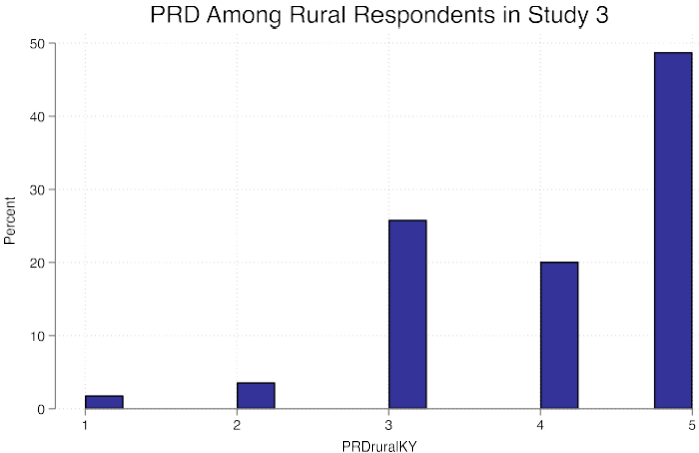
Figure 32: PRD Among All Respondents Study 3



This figure shows the distribution of the PRD variable for this study, indicating that the majority of the respondents scored moderate to high on the PRD scale. These moderate responses could indicate a lack of attention, or they could show that respondents recognize PRD but do not feel strongly about the subject. This

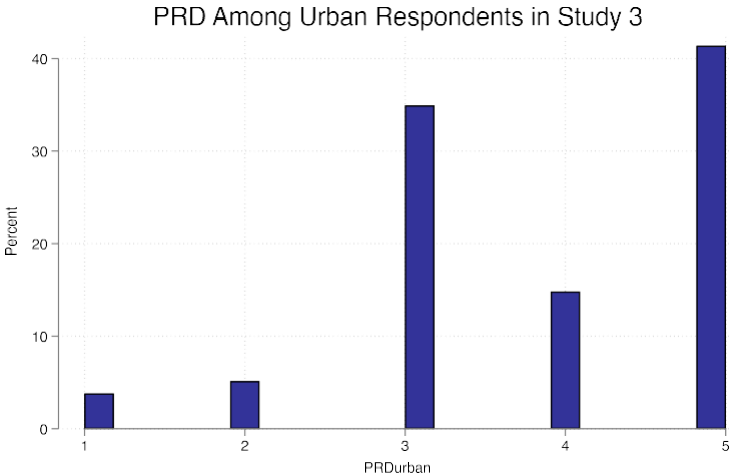
shows that there are less respondents in Kentucky with low PRD than in either national sample.

Figure 33: PRD Among Rural Respondents Study 3



This figure shows the distribution of the PRD variable for this study, among rural respondents, indicating that the majority of rural respondents scored moderate to high on the PRD scale. These moderate responses could indicate a lack of attention, or they could show that respondents recognize PRD but do not feel strongly about the subject.

Figure 34: PRD Among Urban Respondents Study 3



This figure shows the distribution of the PRD variable for this study, among urban respondents, indicating that the majority of urban respondents scored moderate to

high on the PRD scale. These moderate responses could indicate a lack of attention, or they could show that respondents recognize PRD but do not feel strongly about the subject. As you can see, more urban people indicated there was moderate PRD compared to the rural respondents, supporting Hypothesis 1. Also, more rural respondents indicated the highest level of PRD than these urban respondents.

Table 22: Checking for Speeding Study 3

<u>Demographics and Rural Deprivation</u>	
(1)	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	<u>No speeders</u>
Current residence	0.3011*** (0.067)
Conservatism	-0.0847*** (0.021)
Party ID	0.0854** (0.039)
Female	0.3021*** (0.068)
Age	0.0413* (0.021)
Hispanic	-0.4569*** (0.146)
Black	-0.1608 (0.108)
Knowledge scale	0.0591** (0.026)
N	975
R ²	0.083
Adj- R ²	0.0827

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

There are no substantive differences between the findings in the table with speeders and the findings in this table which has removed the 98 speeders.

Table 23: Are the same demographics correlated with PRD when using ordered logit in Study 3?

<u>Ordered Logit and PRD</u>	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	<u>(1)</u> <u>Ologit</u>
Current residence	0.5209*** (0.120)
Conservatism	-0.1578*** (0.048)
Party ID	0.0305 (0.035)
Female	0.4292*** (0.121)
Age	0.0893** (0.038)
Hispanic	-0.7342*** (0.237)
Black	-0.3309* (0.187)
Knowledge scale	0.1264*** (0.046)
N	1,071
Adj-R ²	0.0317

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

The only difference when using ordered logit is that age is now significant, with a positive relationship between age and PRD.

Table 24: Is PRD still associated with negative evaluations of governmental representation in Study 3?

Governmental Representation and Rural Deprivation

<u>VARIABLES</u>	(1) <u>Ologit</u>
PRD	-0.5711*** (0.058)
Current residence	-0.3185*** (0.116)
Conservatism	0.1919*** (0.049)
Party ID	-0.1310*** (0.035)
Female	-0.0556 (0.118)
Age	0.0803** (0.036)
Hispanic	0.4291* (0.233)
Black	0.2035 (0.187)
Knowledge scale	-0.1473*** (0.045)
N	1,068
Adj-R ²	0.0778

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

The only difference in the findings with an ordered logit model is that the results are slightly more robust.

APPENDIX 4: STUDY 4 (LUCID)

Table 25: Hypothesis Table Study 4

Hypothesis	Expectation
Hypothesis 0: Rural place belonging and PRD	The place where you think you belong will have a statistically significant relationship with perceived rural deprivation (PRD). Specifically, respondents who think they belong in rural areas will express higher PRD than those who think they belong in small town, urban, or suburban areas.
Hypothesis 1a: Resource Constraints and PRD	Resource constraints will have a statistically significant relationship with high PRD.
Hypothesis 1b: Resource Advantages and PRD	Resource advantages will have a statistically significant relationship with low PRD, particularly among urban belonging people.
Hypothesis 2: Place belonging, Resource Constraints, and PRD	The interaction between place belonging and resource constraints will cause rural belonging people to have heightened PRD.
Hypothesis 3: Governmental Representation and PRD	Respondents who express stronger perceptions of rural deprivation (PRD) will have more negative perceptions of governmental representation. As their PRD score increases, their governmental representation score decreases.

This hypothesis table includes the hypotheses covered in chapter 4’s Lucid study.

Table 26: Demographic Table Study 4

Categories	Lucid national survey sample	Census 2022
Race		
White	75.8%	75.8%
Black/African American	13.8%	13.6%
Asian American/Pacific Islander	4.9%	6.4%
Other	5.1%	4.2%
Ethnicity		
Hispanic	11.7%	18.9%
Not Hispanic	88.2%	81.1%
Age		
18-25	12.9%	11.6%
26-35	18.4%	13.5%
36-45	20.1%	12.6%
46-55	16.6%	12.3%
56-65	13.7%	13.2%
66 or older	18.0%	17.9%
Sex		
Female	52.1%	50.5%
Male	47.5%	49.5%

Chapter 4 Survey Instruments

Extra context for select questions are included in bolded brackets **{like this}**

Demographics:

1. What is the highest degree you completed in school?
 - a) High school degree or less
 - b) Some college
 - c) College graduate
 - d) Graduate course work
 - e) Graduate degree

2. How old are you?
 - a) 18-25
 - b) 26-35
 - c) 36-45
 - d) 46-55
 - e) 56-65
 - f) 66 or older

3. What is your sex?
 - a) Male
 - b) Female
 - c) Prefer not to state

4. This is about Hispanic ethnicity. Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or of Latino descent?
 - a) No
 - b) Yes

5. Which racial category would best describe you from the options provided?
 - a) White
 - b) Black or African American
 - c) Asian American or Pacific Islander
 - d) Other
 - e) Prefer not to state

6. Please select your state of residence.

7. Do you currently live in a rural area, small town, suburb, or a city?
 - a) I currently live in a rural area
 - b) I currently live in a small town
 - c) I currently live in a suburb
 - d) I currently live in a city

8. When you were growing up, did you live in a rural area, small town, suburb, or a city?
 - a) I grew up in a rural area
 - b) I grew up in a small town
 - c) I grew up in a suburb
 - d) I grew up in a city

9. What was your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?
 - a) Less than \$25,000
 - b) \$25,000 to \$34,999
 - c) \$35,000 to \$49,999

- d) \$50,000 to \$74,999
 - e) \$75,000 to \$99,999
 - f) \$100,000 to \$149,999
 - g) \$150,000 or more
10. What is your present religion, if any?
- a) Protestant
 - b) Roman Catholic
 - c) Mormon
 - d) Orthodox such as Greek or Russian Orthodox
 - e) Jewish
 - f) Muslim
 - g) Buddhist
 - h) Hindu
 - i) Atheist
 - j) Agnostic
11. Which of the following would you say you prefer getting news?
- a) Reading news in a print newspaper
 - b) Listening to news on the radio
 - c) Watching news on television
 - d) Getting news from a social networking site (such as Facebook or Twitter)
 - e) Getting news from a website or app
 - f) No answer
 - g) Did not get news on any platform
12. Now I would like to ask about where you got your news during the past week. Please tell me how many days in the past week, if any, did you:
- 1. Read a daily newspaper?
 - 2. Watch national network news on TV (ABC, CBS, NBC, PBS)?
 - 3. Listen to radio shows that invite listeners to call in to discuss current events, public issues, or politics?
 - 4. Watch cable news, such as CNN, Fox News, or MSNBC?

Attention Check #1

There are details to be learned by reading the entire question. We want to make sure everyone is reading the entire question. When you get to the end, ignore the question and please select both green and purple. Thank you.

13. What is your favorite color?
- a) Green
 - b) Purple
 - c) Blue
 - d) Yellow
 - e) Orange
 - f) Red

Politics:

14. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
- a) Extremely conservative
 - b) Conservative
 - c) Somewhat conservative
 - d) Moderate/middle of the road
 - e) Somewhat liberal
 - f) Liberal
 - g) Extremely liberal
15. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or something else?
- a) Republican
 - b) Democrat
 - c) Independent
 - d) Something else
16. Would you call yourself a strong Republican/Democrat or weak Republican/Democrat? **{If response of Republican or Democrat on question 15}**
- a) Strong
 - b) Not very strong

Political Knowledge:

17. Who is Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court?
- a) John Roberts
 - b) Stephen Breyer
 - c) Ted Cruz
 - d) Chuck Schumer
 - e) Don't know
18. How many votes are required in Congress to override a presidential veto?
- a) A simple majority of one house of Congress
 - b) A simple majority of both houses of Congress
 - c) A two-thirds majority of one house of Congress
 - d) A two-thirds majority of both houses of Congress
 - e) Don't know
19. How long is one term for a U.S. Senator?
- a) 6 years
 - b) 2 years
 - c) 4 years
 - d) Life term

Separation of Powers

20. The norm of separation of powers is important for democracy
- a) Strongly Agree
 - b) Agree
 - c) Neutral
 - d) Disagree
 - e) Strongly disagree
21. An impartial and politically neutral judiciary is important for democracy
- a. Strongly Agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
22. Having both the House of Representative and the Senate as a part of Congress is important for democracy
- a. Strongly Agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
23. The ability for the President to veto Congressional legislation is important for democracy
- a. Strongly Agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree

Presidential Questions

24. Rate your approval of President Biden
- a) Strongly Approve
 - b) Somewhat approve
 - c) Neutral
 - d) Somewhat disapprove
 - e) Strongly disapprove
25. Rate your approval of former President Trump
- a) Strongly Approve

- b) Somewhat approve
- c) Neutral
- d) Somewhat disapprove
- e) Strongly disapprove

Racial Resentment:

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with each of the following statements? **Will randomly assign half of the respondents to receive these questions now, and half to receive them as the last questions of the survey.**

26. Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.
- a) Agree strongly
 - b) Agree somewhat
 - c) Neither agree nor disagree
 - d) Disagree somewhat
 - e) Disagree strongly
27. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.
- a) Agree strongly
 - b) Agree somewhat
 - c) Neither agree nor disagree
 - d) Disagree somewhat
 - e) Disagree strong

Attention Check #2:

Increasingly, people in the U.S. and elsewhere are getting their news online, rather than print newspapers. Here we are interested in knowing whether you are actually taking the time to read the directions. For this question, regardless of how often you get your news online, please choose both "Never" and "Every day" as your answers.

28. How often do you get your news online?
- a) Every day
 - b) A few times a week
 - c) A few times a month
 - d) Never

Attention Check #3

We would like to ask about your opinions on government and public officials in general. Regardless of your opinion for the next question, please ignore this question and choose the second option, "Somewhat Agree." This will allow us to confirm that you are paying attention.

29. Do you agree that the House of Representatives is doing a good job?
- a) Agree
 - b) Somewhat Agree
 - c) Neither Agree nor Disagree
 - d) Somewhat Disagree
 - e) Disagree

Vignettes for Survey Experiment

Survey Experiment: Place Identity, PRD, and Rural Resentment

Instructions:

For the next portion of the survey, you will be asked to read a snippet from a newspaper article. Please read the entire snippet and read it carefully. **{Respondents will randomly receive one of the below statements}**

Less resources and look down upon:

Not Supported or Appreciated: Understanding the Rural and Urban Divide in America

In rural areas, residents can live without basic essential services, which means they have less access to resources such as clean and safe drinking water. Access to safe drinking water is a basic human right, and not having this resource can cause serious health problems. On the other hand, urban people have more funding, better water treatment facilities, and do not have to worry about the water they drink.

New data also helps us understand how rural and urban people see each other. According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of Americans look down upon (rural/urban) people and their way of life, particularly when compared to their (r/u) peers.

More resources and look down upon:

Supported but not Appreciated: Understanding the Rural and Urban Divide in America

In rural areas, residents have recently received more funding for basic essential services, which means they have access to clean and safe drinking water. Access to safe drinking water is a basic human right, and not having this resource can cause serious health problems. On the other hand, urban people have less funding, worse water treatment facilities, and have to worry about the water they drink.

New data also helps us understand how rural and urban people see each other. According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of Americans look down upon (rural/urban) people and their way of life, particularly when compared to their (r/u) peers.

Less resources and appreciate:

Appreciated but not Supported: Understanding the Rural and Urban Divide in America

In rural areas, residents can live without basic essential services, which means they have less access to resources such as clean and safe drinking water. Access to safe drinking water is a basic human right, and not having this resource can cause serious health problems. On the other hand, urban people have more funding, better water treatment facilities, and do not have to worry about the water they drink.

New data also helps us understand how rural and urban people see each other. According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of Americans appreciate (rural/urban) people and their way of life more than their (urban/rural) peers.

More resources and appreciate:

Both Support and Appreciation: Understanding the Rural and Urban Divide in America

In rural areas, residents have recently received more funding for basic essential services, which means they have access to clean and safe drinking water. Access to safe drinking water is a basic human right, and not having this resource can cause serious health problems. On the other hand, urban people have less funding, worse water treatment facilities, and have to worry about the water they drink.

New data also helps us understand how rural and urban people see each other. According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of Americans appreciate (rural/urban) people and their way of life more than their (urban/rural) peers.

Understanding the Rural and Urban Divide in America

This year, (rural or urban – depending on place experiment response) areas have maintained the same funding for basic essential services such as clean and safe drinking water. (Out group) are also not seeing any changes to their funding.

New data also helps us understand how rural and urban people see each other. According to recent public opinion polls, the majority of Americans express roughly equal appreciation for (rural/urban) people and their way of life

Another pure control cell with no info is included and constitutes half of the sample

Outcomes for Survey Experiment #2:

30. Regardless of where you currently live, where do you feel you belong or fit in the best: cities, suburbs, small towns, or the countryside (rural areas)?
- Cities
 - Suburbs
 - Small towns
 - Countryside (rural areas)
31. If you could live in any setting, which do you prefer? **{Will randomize the order of the sentences – rural first or urban first}**
- Some Americans prefer having a quiet, calm place to live when they get home from work. This style of living emphasizes a small, close-knit community and plenty of nature.
- Other Americans prefer a more bustling lifestyle with many options for weekend activities. This style of living emphasizes a vibrant space with less interaction with neighbors.
- Prefer a setting emphasizing calm, quiet
 - Prefer a setting emphasizing a more bustling lifestyle
 - Neither of the above
32. How important is being a (city person, suburb person, small town person, country (or rural) person) to your identity? **{where they actually live}**
- Not at all important
 - A little important
 - Moderately important
 - Very important
 - Extremely important

PRD Variables

33. Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas get more, the same, or less than they deserve from the government?

- a) A great deal more
 - b) Moderately more
 - c) A little more
 - d) The same
 - e) A little less
 - f) Moderately less
 - g) A great deal less
34. Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas have too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount of influence on the government?
- a) Much too much
 - b) Somewhat too much
 - c) A bit too much
 - d) A bit too little
 - e) Somewhat too little
 - f) Much too little
35. Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas get too much respect, too little respect, or the right amount of respect from others?
- a) Much too much
 - b) Somewhat too much
 - c) A bit too much
 - d) About the right amount
 - e) A bit too little
 - f) Somewhat too little
 - g) Much too little
36. Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas get too much attention, too little attention, or the right amount of attention from others?
- a) Much too much
 - b) Somewhat too much
 - c) A bit too much
 - d) About the right amount
 - e) A bit too little
 - f) Somewhat too little
 - g) Much too little

Rural Resentment Questions

{For each of the below questions, the respondent will see either rural or urban depending on their response in question 52. Some of these questions ask about the respondent's in-group, and some discuss their out-group. Their in-group is where they felt they belonged in question 52 and their out-group is the opposite type of place – either urban or rural.

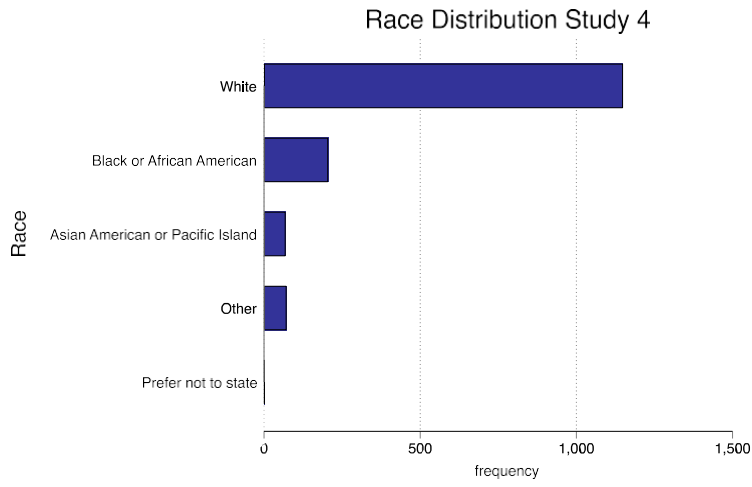
37. Despite what some people say, (urban, rural) and (suburban, small town) communities are the “real America”
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Somewhat disagree
 - d) Neither agree nor disagree
 - e) Somewhat agree
 - f) Agree
 - g) Strongly agree
38. (Rural, urban) areas have a distinct culture that is often misunderstood by people in (rural, urban) areas.
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Somewhat disagree
 - d) Neither agree nor disagree
 - e) Somewhat agree
 - f) Agree
 - g) Strongly agree
39. We wouldn't have to waste tax dollars bailing out (rural, urban) areas in our state if people just moved away.
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Somewhat disagree
 - d) Neither agree nor disagree
 - e) Somewhat agree
 - f) Agree
 - g) Strongly agree
40. My community gives more in taxes to (rural, urban) areas than we get back
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Somewhat disagree
 - d) Neither agree nor disagree
 - e) Somewhat agree
 - f) Agree
 - g) Strongly agree
41. Decades of technological and economic changes have made it difficult for some (rural, urban) people and (adjacent- suburban or small town) communities in our state to improve on their own.
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree

- c) Somewhat disagree
- d) Neither agree nor disagree
- e) Somewhat agree
- f) Agree
- g) Strongly agree

Governmental Representation Question(s)

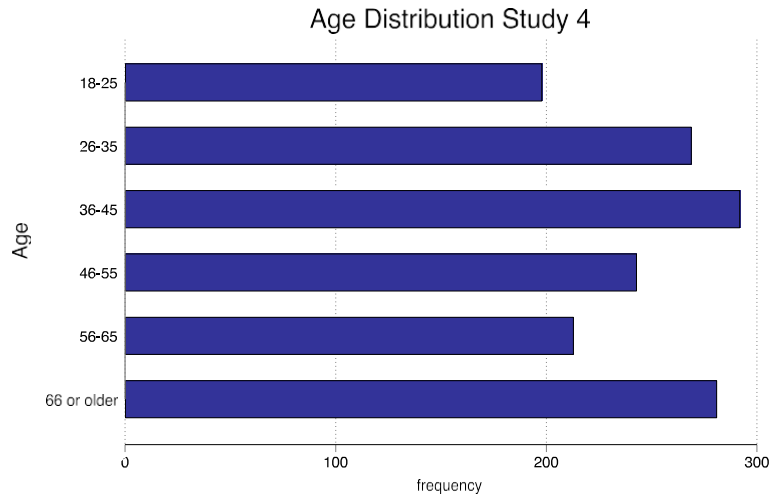
42. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the best possible representation, rate how well you think the federal government represents you:
43. In recent elections, there have been too many candidates who narrowly represent the interests of (rural, urban)
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Somewhat disagree
 - d) Neither agree nor disagree
 - e) Somewhat agree
 - f) Agree
 - g) Strongly agree
44. (Rural, urban) people have too much say in politics.
- a) Strongly disagree
 - b) Disagree
 - c) Somewhat disagree
 - d) Neither agree nor disagree
 - e) Somewhat agree
 - f) Agree
 - g) Strongly agree

Figure 35: Race breakdown Study 4



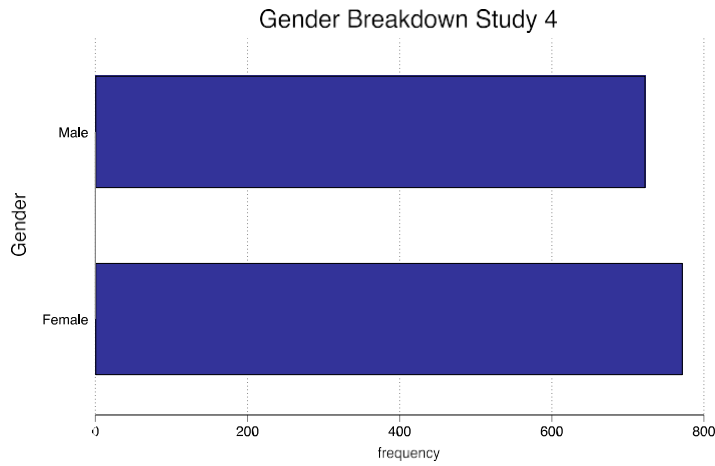
The vast majority of respondents are white, at 76.75%

Figure 36: Age breakdown Study 4



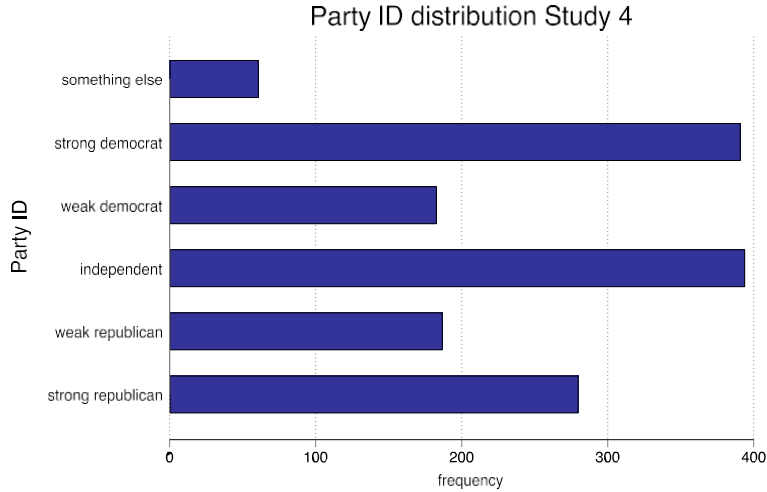
There are more respondents from ages 36-45 than any other age group. The largest issue is that there are so many respondents ages 66 or older when they are only 17% of the U.S. population, but the distribution is not too far off from the age distribution of voters in the US otherwise.

Figure 37: Gender breakdown Study 4



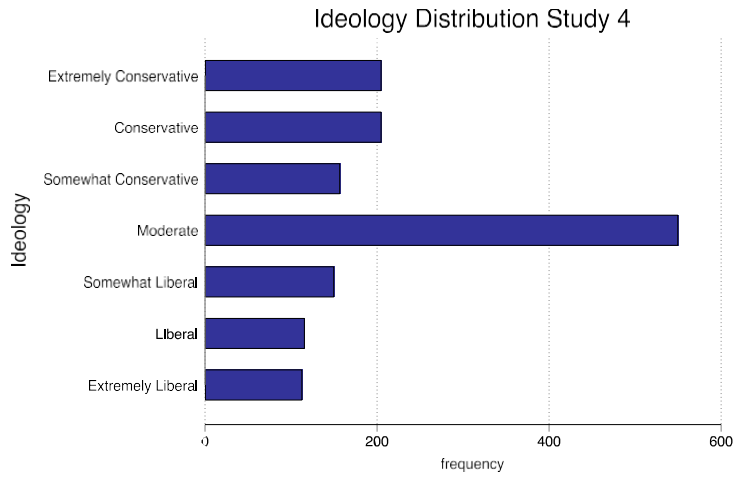
This is roughly equivalent to the U.S. population, where 51.64% of the sample are women and 48.36% of the sample are men. In the U.S. there are roughly 51% women and 49% men.

Figure 38: Party ID breakdown Study 4



This distribution highlights the party ID breakdown in the U.S., where the majority are either independents or strong Republicans/Democrats with not many weak party members.

Figure 39: Political ideology Study 4



According to Gallup, 37% of the country are moderates so this is higher than the national average.

Figure 40: Current residence Study 4

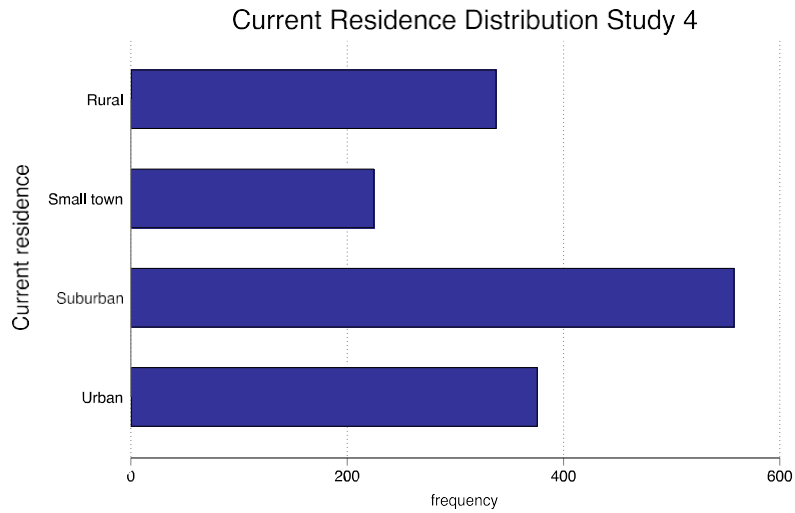


Figure 41: Place belonging Study 4

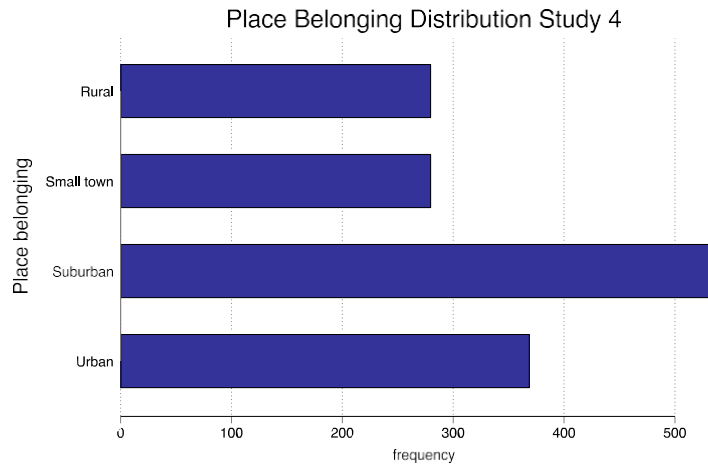


Table 27 (continued): Rural Resentment Supplementary Information Study 4

The Impact of Resource Constraints##Place Belonging on Rural Resentment	
VARIABLES	(1) Rural resentment
Place belonging = small towns	-1.8789*** (0.399)
Place belonging = suburbs	-2.8193*** (0.346)
Place belonging = urban	-1.8059*** (0.380)
Deprive treat = More resources urban	-4.6922*** (0.985)
Deprive treat = More resources rural	1.3098 (0.775)
Deprive treat = Less resources urban	-2.8543*** (1.076)
Deprive treat = Less resources rural	0.5308 (0.767)
Small town#More resources urban	4.9535*** (1.217)
Small town#More resources rural	-0.1820 (0.903)
Small town#Less resource urban	2.3429** (1.341)
Small town#Less resources rural	1.8701** (0.904)
Suburban#More resources urban	5.4841***

	(1.021)
Suburban#More resources rural	-0.3339
	(1.168)
Suburban#Less resources urban	4.0769***
	(1.129)
Suburban#Less resources rural	1.9525**
	(1.084)
Urban#More resources urban	6.1746***
	(1.072)
Urban#More resources rural	-3.4388**
	(1.206)
Urban#Less resources urban	3.5889***
	(1.156)
Urban#Less resources rural	-1.0316
	(1.134)
Disdain treatment	-0.1435
	(0.149)
PRD	-0.0864***
	(0.023)
Party ID	-0.1817**
	(0.073)
Political knowledge	0.1219
	(0.094)
Ideology	-0.0908
	(0.066)
Age	-0.0989
	(0.065)
Female	-0.4891**
	(0.194)
Black or African American	0.4414
	(0.299)
Ethnicity	0.3880
	(0.324)
Racial resentment	-0.3522***
	(0.042)
N	1,500
R ²	0.160
Adj-R ²	0.141

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

There are several significant findings here. Like with PRD, the resource treatments have the strongest impact on urban belonging respondents. Some of these findings make theoretical sense, as urban belonging people are more likely to have a decline in resentment when given more resources. Others, such as a decline in resentment for urban belonging people given less resource, make less theoretical sense and need to be examined more.

Table 28: Factor Analysis for Rural Resentment Study 4

Variable	Factor Loadings	Uniqueness
Real America	.45	.77
Misunderstood	.47	.74
Bailing out	.53	.68
Taxes	.60	.61
Community change	.37	.86

Table 29 (continued): Checking for Speeders Study 4

<u>The Impact of Resource Treatments on PRD: No Speeders Included</u>	
VARIABLES	(1)
Place belonging =small towns	-1.0954*** (0.487)
Place belonging = suburbs	-1.6506*** (0.436)
Place belonging = urban	-2.6801*** (0.471)
Deprive treat = More resources urban	0.3576 (1.173)
Deprive treat = More resources rural	1.0696 (0.981)
Deprive treat = Less resources urban	0.1951 (1.365)
Deprive treat = Less resources rural	0.3888 (0.942)
Small town#More resources urban	1.1953 (1.455)
Small town#More resources rural	-0.8697 (1.163)
Small town#More resources urban	0.0025 (1.634)
Small town#More resources rural	2.7351*** (1.136)
Suburban#More resources urban	0.9081 (1.239)
Suburban#More resources rural	-0.8574 (1.720)
Suburban#Less resources urban	0.1876 (1.420)
Suburban#Less resources rural	-0.5429

	(1.458)
Urban#More resources urban	0.5151
	(1.300)
Urban#More resources rural	-2.3439
	(1.648)
Urban#Less resources urban	0.5323
	(1.449)
Urban#Less resources rural	-0.4766
	(1.462)
Rural resentment	-0.1264***
	(0.032)
Resentment treatment	-0.3285*
	(0.190)
Party ID	-0.5891***
	(0.096)
Political Knowledge	0.5733***
	(0.116)
Ideology	0.1126
	(0.088)
Age	0.3222***
	(0.081)
Female	0.5197**
	(0.245)
Black or African American	-0.6555**
	(0.399)
Ethnicity	-0.9072
	(0.438)
Racial resentment	0.0575
	(0.053)
N	1,151
R ²	0.197
Adj-R ²	0.174

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

As you can see, there were some minimal impacts on the overall findings, but not enough to justify significantly lowering the overall N of the study.

Table 30 (continued): Removing respondents who missed Attention Check #1:

The Impact of Resource Treatments on PRD

VARIABLES

Place belonging =small towns	-0.9324** (0.461)
Place belonging = suburbs	-1.8624*** (0.404)
Place belonging = urban	-2.9039*** (0.433)
Deprive treat = More resources urban	0.8071 (1.152)
Deprive treat = More resources rural	1.7215** (0.890)
Deprive treat = Less resources urban	0.0828 (1.225)
Deprive treat = Less resources rural	0.0993 (0.876)
Small town#More resources urban	1.4746 (1.410)
Small town#More resources rural	-2.6212** (1.027)
Small town#More resources urban	0.0373 (1.523)
Small town#More resources rural	1.4609 (1.033)
Suburban#More resources urban	0.1733 (1.198)
Suburban#More resources rural	-2.3573* (1.327)
Suburban#Less resources urban	0.2902 (1.287)
Suburban#Less resources rural	-0.4361 (1.235)
Urban#More resources urban	-0.3564 (1.261)
Urban#More resources rural	-3.8664*** (1.373)
Urban#Less resources urban	0.6418 (1.317)
Urban#Less resources rural	1.0353 (1.319)
Rural resentment	-0.1101*** (0.029)
Resentment treatment	-0.2398 (0.171)
Party ID	0.5729*** (0.083)
Political Knowledge	0.7034*** (0.106)

Ideology	0.2285*** (0.076)
Age	0.5185*** (0.073)
Female	0.7242*** (0.221)
Black or African American	-0.6668*** (0.342)
Ethnicity	-0.4413 (0.369)
Racial resentment	0.1444*** (0.049)
N	1,476
R ²	0.239
Adj-R ²	0.222

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

The results hold when removing the respondents who missed the first attention check question. In fact, the results were more robust.

Table 31 (continued): Removing respondents who missed Attention Check #2:

The Impact of Resource Treatments on PRD	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	
Place belonging =small towns	-0.9142* (0.467)
Place belonging = suburbs	-1.6548*** (0.415)
Place belonging = urban	-2.7503*** (0.451)
Deprive treat = More resources urban	0.5338 (1.139)
Deprive treat = More resources rural	1.4842 (0.922)
Deprive treat = Less resources urban	-0.5493 (1.296)
Deprive treat = Less resources rural	0.5927 (0.917)
Small town#More resources urban	1.5930 (1.422)

Small town#More resources rural	-2.3206**
	(1.084)
Small town#More resources urban	0.6088
	(1.583)
Small town#More resources rural	0.7729
	(1.095)
Suburban#More reosurces urban	0.2544
	(1.187)
Suburban#More resources rural	-2.4581
	(1.405)
Suburban#Less resources urban	0.6113
	(1.358)
Suburban#Less resources rural	-1.1938
	(1.380)
Urban#More resources urban	-0.5267
	(1.251)
Urban#More resources rural	-3.2000**
	(1.565)
Urban#Less resources urban	1.1242
	(1.402)
Urban#Less resources rural	0.2060
	(1.388)
Rural resentment	-0.1325***
	(0.031)
Resentment treatment	-0.1977
	(0.177)
Party ID	-0.5481***
	(0.089)
Political Knowledge	0.5735***
	(0.109)
Ideology	0.1752*
	(0.082)
Age	0.5309***
	(0.075)
Female	0.5635***
	(0.231)
Black or African American	-0.6732***
	(0.377)
Ethnicity	-0.3502
	(0.399)
Racial resentment	0.1105***
	(0.050)
N	1,302
R ²	0.225
Adj-R ²	0.205

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

The results hold when removing the respondents who missed the second attention check question. In fact, the results were more robust.

Table 32 (continued): Removing respondents who missed Attention Check #3:

<u>The Impact of Resource Treatments on PRD</u>	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	
Place belonging =small towns	-1.8877*** (0.577)
Place belonging = suburbs	-2.2592*** (0.505)
Place belonging = urban	-3.4006*** (0.533)
Deprive treat = More resources urban	1.0611 (1.576)
Deprive treat = More resources rural	0.7084 (1.106)
Deprive treat = Less resources urban	-0.8244 (1.617)
Deprive treat = Less resources rural	0.0870 (1.031)
Small town#More resources urban	1.0982 (1.857)
Small town#More resources rural	-1.8287 (1.275)
Small town#More resources urban	0.8025 (1.945)
Small town#More resources rural	2.7445*** (1.237)
Suburban#More resources urban	-0.4585 (1.597)
Suburban#More resources rural	-1.4594 (1.695)
Suburban#Less resources urban	0.3116 (1.664)
Suburban#Less resources rural	0.1782 (1.478)
Urban#More resources urban	-0.5401 (1.636)
Urban#More resources rural	-3.7771***

	(1.631)
Urban#Less resources urban	1.3817
	(1.694)
Urban#Less resources rural	0.7883
	(1.589)
Rural resentment	-0.1235***
	(0.036)
Resentment treatment	-0.1384
	(0.208)
Party ID	-0.5878***
	(0.101)
Political Knowledge	0.7170***
	(0.125)
Ideology	0.2341**
	(0.093)
Age	0.4868***
	(0.086)
Female	0.6671***
	(0.267)
Black or African American	-0.6717
	(0.427)
Ethnicity	0.1957
	(0.439)
Racial resentment	0.1171**
	(0.059)
N	956
R ²	0.264
Adj-R ²	0.238

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

The results hold when removing the respondents who missed the second attention check question. In fact, the results were more robust.

Table 33 (continued): Does religion impact PRD?

The Impact of Religion on PRD	
VARIABLES	
Protestant	1.0971***
	(0.423)
Roman Catholic	-0.3722

	(0.432)
Mormon	1.1570
	(0.918)
Orthodox (Greek or Russian)	-0.8086
	(0.983)
Jewish	0.5892
	(0.715)
Muslim	0.3099
	(0.781)
Buddhist	0.3029
	(0.831)
Hindu	-1.7128
	(1.904)
Agnostic	0.8601*
	(0.488)
More resources urban	1.0302**
	(0.476)
More resources rural	-0.1068
	(0.701)
Less resources urban	0.4484
	(0.483)
Less resources rural	0.7717
	(0.679)
Place = Suburban/Urban	-1.9142***
	(0.255)
Rural resentment	-0.1098***
	(0.029)
Resentment treatment	-0.2646*
	(0.176)
Party ID	-0.4909 ***
	(0.087)
Female	0.5832***
	(0.232)
Age	0.5729***
	(0.076)
Political knowledge	0.7126***
	(0.109)
Racial resentment	0.1149***
	(0.051)
Ideology	0.1996**
	(0.080)
Black or African American	-1.0540***
	(0.368)
Ethnicity	-0.2631
	(0.391)
N	1,386

R ²	0.240
Adj-R ²	0.225

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

Protestant people have significantly higher PRD than any other religion type.

Table 34 (continued): Does news preference impact PRD?

The Impact of News Preference on PRD	
VARIABLES	
News preference = Radio	-0.3299 (0.602)
News preference = Television	0.6987 (0.472)
News preference = Social networking site (FB, Twitter, etc.)	0.1807 (0.523)
News preference= Website or app	1.3340*** (0.527)
News preference = No platform	2.0165*** (0.720)
More resources urban	0.7922* (0.472)
More resources rural	-0.1400 (0.671)
Less resources urban	0.2701 (0.467)
Less resources rural	0.6142 (0.652)
Place belonging=Suburban/Urban	-1.9615*** (0.241)
Rural resentment	-0.1103*** (0.028)
Resentment treatment	-0.2015 (0.168)
Party ID	-0.5304*** (0.082)
Female	0.6669*** (0.220)
Age	0.5428*** (0.076)
Political knowledge	0.6991*** (0.107)

Racial resentment	0.1368*** (0.049)
Ideology	0.1788** (0.075)
Black or African American	-0.6997** (0.341)
Ethnicity	-0.4487 (0.368)
N	1,500
R ²	0.226
Adj-R ²	0.214

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

Preferring to get the news from websites or apps or no medium at all have a strong positive correlation with PRD.

Table 35 (continued): Does newspaper consumption impact PRD?

<u>The Impact of Newspaper Consumption on PRD</u>	
<u>VARIABLES</u>	
1-2 days a week	-1.5596*** (0.271)
2-4 days a week	-2.0442*** (0.396)
5-6 days a week	-2.9010*** (0.504)
7 days a week	-2.1396*** (0.412)
More resources urban	0.6695** (0.463)
More resources rural	-0.2349 (0.658)
Less resources urban	0.2320 (0.460)
Less resources rural	0.4815 (0.640)
Place belonging = Suburban/Urban	-1.8742*** (0.237)
Rural resentment	-0.0901*** (0.028)
Resentment treatment	-0.1411

Party ID	(0.165)
	-0.5002***
	(0.081)
Female	0.5584**
	(0.217)
Age	0.5278***
	(0.071)
Political knowledge	0.7837***
	(0.103)
Racial resentment	0.0906**
	(0.048)
Ideology	0.2131***
	(0.073)
Black or African American	-0.4641**
	(0.336)
Ethnicity	-0.4651
	(0.361)
N	1,487
R ²	0.257
Adj-R ²	0.245

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

Reading a newspaper at least one day a week lowers a person's PRD.

Table 36 (continued): Does watching network news impact PRD?

The Impact of Network News Consumption on PRD	
VARIABLES	(1) Government
1-2 days a week	-1.2758***
	(0.317)
3-4 days a week	-1.8367***
	(0.344)
5-6 days a week	-1.2318***
	(0.386)
7 days a week	-1.1063***
	(0.328)
More resources urban	0.6556
	(0.472)
More resources rural	-0.2403
	(0.669)
Less resources urban	0.2848
	(0.468)

Less resources rural	0.5755 (0.651)
Place belonging = Suburban/Urban	-1.9290*** (0.240)
Rural resentment	-0.1103*** (0.028)
Resentment treatment	-0.1788 (0.168)
Party ID	-0.5170*** (0.083)
Female	0.6530*** (0.220)
Age	0.5651*** (0.082)
Political knowledge	0.7299*** (0.105)
Racial resentment	0.1088*** (0.049)
Ideology	0.1895** (0.074)
Black or African American	-0.5592*** (0.341)
Ethnicity	-0.4507 (0.366)
N	1,500
R ²	0.230
Adj-R ²	0.218

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed

Consuming network news at all lowers PRD, surprisingly, though not as much as reading the newspaper.

Table 37 (continued): Does listening to radio shows impact PRD?

The Impact of Radio News Consumption on PRD

VARIABLES

1-2 days a week	-1.2359*** (0.275)
3-4 days a week	-1.4661*** (0.325)
5-6 days a week	-1.5140*** (0.427)
7 days a week	-2.5817***

	(0.450)
More resources urban	0.7967*
	(0.467)
More resources rural	-0.2062
	(0.664)
Less resources urban	0.4108
	(0.462)
Less resources rural	0.6870
	(0.646)
Place belonging = Suburban/Urban	-1.8880***
	(0.239)
Rural resentment	-0.1005***
	(0.028)
Resentment treatment	-0.2075
	(0.167)
Party ID	-0.5382***
	(0.081)
Female	0.5203**
	(0.219)
Age	0.4724***
	(0.073)
Political knowledge	0.7506***
	(0.104)
Racial resentment	0.1013***
	(0.048)
Ideology	0.1862**
	(0.074)
Black or African American	-0.4240**
	(0.340)
Ethnicity	-0.4903
	(0.364)
N	1,491
R ²	0.240
Adj-R ²	0.229

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

Consuming network news at all lowers PRD, surprisingly, though not as much as reading the newspaper. It seems that being informed makes a person perceive less rural deprivation.

Table 38 (continued): Does growing up in rural areas impact PRD?

The Impact of Childhood Place on PRD	
VARIABLES	
Youth residence =Small town	0.7518** (0.327)
Youth residence = Suburban	0.5735 (0.343)
Youth residence = Urban	0.2199 (0.335)
More resources urban	0.7884* (0.476)
More resources rural	-0.2393 (0.673)
Less resources urban	0.2721 (0.471)
Less resources rural	0.6027 (0.655)
Place belonging = Suburban/Urban	-1.9911*** (0.255)
Rural resentment	-0.1026*** (0.028)
Resentment treatment	-0.1772 (0.169)
Party ID	-0.5702*** (0.084)
Female	0.6962*** (0.221)
Age	0.5654*** (0.071)
Political knowledge	0.7118*** (0.105)
Racial resentment	0.1495*** (0.049)
Ideology	0.1592** (0.074)
Black or African American	-0.5905* (0.344)
Ethnicity	-0.4699 (0.368)
N	1,499
R ²	0.218
Adj-R ²	0.206

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed

Robust Standard Errors reported

Small town youth residents have much higher PRD than suburban and urban residents. This echoes other place findings throughout, that rural and small-town people perceive higher PRD.

Table 39 (continued): Ologit Study 4

Ologit Study 4	
VARIABLES	(1) PRD
Place belonging = small towns	-0.4705** (0.193)
Place belonging = suburbs	-0.8394*** (0.170)
Place belonging = urban	-1.2786*** (0.184)
Deprive treat = More resources urban	0.1327 (0.461)
Deprive treat = More resources rural	0.6835* (0.374)
Deprive treat = Less resources urban	0.1995 (0.555)
Deprive treat = Less resources rural	0.0650 (0.378)
Small town#More resources urban	1.0152* (0.586)
Small town#More resources rural	-1.1391*** (0.429)
Small town#Less resource urban	-0.0330 (0.659)
Small town#Less resources rural	0.6026 (0.449)
Suburban#More resources urban	0.2753 (0.482)
Suburban#More resources rural	-0.9036* (0.530)
Suburban#Less resources urban	-0.0905 (0.577)
Suburban#Less resources rural	-0.0284 (0.520)
Urban#More resources urban	0.0347 (0.513)
Urban#More resources rural	-1.5438*** (0.594)

Urban#Less resources urban	0.1703 (0.592)
Urban#Less resources rural	0.5388 (0.564)
Rural resentment	-0.0575*** (0.014)
Resentment treat	-0.1208* (0.073)
Party ID	-0.2611*** (0.036)
Political knowledge	0.3284*** (0.045)
Ideology	0.1083*** (0.033)
Age	0.2256*** (0.031)
Female	0.3037*** (0.094)
Black or African American	-0.2412* (0.147)
Ethnicity	-0.2304 (0.157)
Racial resentment	0.0515** (0.022)
N	1,500
Adj- R ²	0.0488

* p<0.1 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01 two-tailed
Robust Standard Errors reported

The results from the OLS model remain consistent here in the Ordered Logit model. One finding of interest is that urban people who received the less resources rural treatment had significantly lower PRD

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