

## Appendix, Chapter 5

### Effects of Living Near 9/11 Targets

|                             | Model 1          | Model 2          | Model 3           |
|-----------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (Intercept)                 | -0.15<br>(1.87)  | 1.09<br>(1.85)   | 0.71<br>(1.91)    |
| Logged Distance, 9/11 Sites | -0.04*<br>(0.02) | -0.04*<br>(0.02) | -0.05**<br>(0.02) |
| Tract Household Gini        | 1.23<br>(0.76)   | 0.81<br>(0.75)   | 0.97<br>(0.76)    |
| Tract Log Med. Hsh. Income  | 0.21<br>(0.16)   | 0.10<br>(0.16)   | 0.11<br>(0.16)    |
| Tract % Black               | -0.21<br>(0.22)  | -0.25<br>(0.22)  | -0.12<br>(0.23)   |
| Tract % Immigrant           | -0.20<br>(0.36)  | -0.19<br>(0.36)  | -0.11<br>(0.37)   |
| Tract % with BA             | -0.53*<br>(0.32) | -0.41<br>(0.31)  | -0.40<br>(0.32)   |
| Tract % Same Home '95-'00   | -0.10<br>(0.27)  | 0.00<br>(0.27)   | 0.05<br>(0.28)    |
| Tract Density               | 0.02<br>(0.06)   | 0.04<br>(0.06)   | 0.04<br>(0.06)    |
| Change in Income            | -0.02<br>(0.04)  | -0.03<br>(0.03)  | -0.04<br>(0.04)   |
| 2000 Income                 | 0.08<br>(0.07)   | 0.07<br>(0.07)   | 0.03<br>(0.07)    |
| Some High School            | -0.29<br>(0.26)  | -0.26<br>(0.26)  | -0.42<br>(0.37)   |
| High School Degree          | -0.06<br>(0.22)  | -0.07<br>(0.22)  | -0.10<br>(0.34)   |
| Some College                | -0.19<br>(0.22)  | -0.18<br>(0.22)  | -0.22<br>(0.34)   |
| Associate's Degree          | -0.13<br>(0.23)  | -0.16<br>(0.23)  | -0.19<br>(0.34)   |
| Bachelor's Degree           | -0.31<br>(0.23)  | -0.33<br>(0.22)  | -0.38<br>(0.34)   |
| Post-graduate Training      | -0.36<br>(0.23)  | -0.35<br>(0.23)  | -0.37<br>(0.34)   |
| Male                        | -0.05<br>(0.06)  | -0.06<br>(0.05)  | -0.06<br>(0.06)   |
| Black                       | -0.10<br>(0.15)  | -0.04<br>(0.15)  | -0.11<br>(0.16)   |
| Hispanic                    | 0.16<br>(0.16)   | 0.15<br>(0.16)   | 0.13<br>(0.17)    |
| Age in Years / 100          | 0.41**<br>(0.20) | 0.35*<br>(0.20)  | 0.22<br>(0.21)    |

\*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$

The results presented in Chapter 5 and in Table 1 illustrate the relationship between various contextual factors of interest and related attitudes. However, in each of those analyzes, we made specific assumptions about what threshold to use in identifying communities that were near the 9/11 sites, in high-crime areas, close to nuclear power plants, or the like. Put more technically, our models in Chapter 5 assume that we have the functional form of the relationship between the key contextual variable and attitudes specified correctly. Here, we instead present results which allow those thresholds to vary.

For example, in the case of anti-terrorism spending, we might instead estimate a set of models in which we incrementally increase the threshold distance at which we declare a respondent to live near the 9/11 sites. The top panel of Figure 11 shows the estimated effect for varying distance thresholds. For example, starting from the left, we see that if the threshold is 19 miles, the 2.9% of NES respondents living within that threshold of a 9/11 target are on average -0.11 lower in terms of their anti-terrorism spending preferences on the 1-3 scale. However, this sample is sufficiently small that the confidence intervals span from -0.48 to 0.26, as illustrated by the left-most vertical line in the top panel. The effect of living near the 9/11 targets is maximized for those within 70 miles: there, it is 0.28, which is 42% of the dependent variable's standard deviation. Moving to the right of the top panel of Figure 11, the effect becomes positive at 25 miles, and the first statistically significant positive result we observe is at 52 miles. Respondents living within 52 miles of either 9/11 target are 0.27 higher on anti-terrorism spending scale, with a 95% confidence interval from 0.04 to 0.51. Significant results persist for thresholds between 52 and 146 miles.

Are these effects substantively meaningful? One way to answer that question is to provide a benchmark. Accordingly, we also calculate the change in anti-terror spending attitudes associated with shifting from being a strong Republican to a strong Democrat, and indicate that change and the associated 95% confidence interval with the gray triangle. The bottom panel of Figure 11 illustrates the share of respondents who fall under each threshold, allowing readers to evaluate the relevance of each estimated effect. While 8% of respondents are within the 52-mile threshold, for example, 17% are within the 146 mile threshold. Across a range of distances, the core conclusion is that living near the 9/11 targets did correlate with heightened anti-terrorism attitudes.

|                        | Model 1 | Model 2           | Model 3          |
|------------------------|---------|-------------------|------------------|
| Weak Democrat          |         | -0.03<br>(0.10)   | -0.11<br>(0.10)  |
| Lean Democrat          |         | -0.17*<br>(0.10)  | -0.20*<br>(0.10) |
| Independent            |         | 0.01<br>(0.12)    | -0.02<br>(0.13)  |
| Lean Republican        |         | 0.03<br>(0.10)    | -0.03<br>(0.11)  |
| Weak Republican        |         | 0.08<br>(0.10)    | 0.01<br>(0.11)   |
| Strong Republican      |         | 0.34***<br>(0.09) | 0.26**<br>(0.11) |
| Liberal                |         |                   | 0.26*<br>(0.16)  |
| Slightly Liberal       |         |                   | 0.30**<br>(0.14) |
| Moderate               |         |                   | 0.37**<br>(0.18) |
| Slightly Conservative  |         |                   | 0.35**<br>(0.14) |
| Conservative           |         |                   | 0.34**<br>(0.15) |
| Extremely Conservative |         |                   | 0.38**<br>(0.16) |
| R <sup>2</sup>         | 0.06    | 0.11              | 0.14             |
| Adj. R <sup>2</sup>    | 0.03    | 0.07              | 0.08             |
| Num. obs.              | 594     | 592               | 554              |

\*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$

Table 1: **Regression Results, Support for Anti-Terrorism Spending.** Dependent variable: support for anti-terrorism spending. Source: NES 2004.

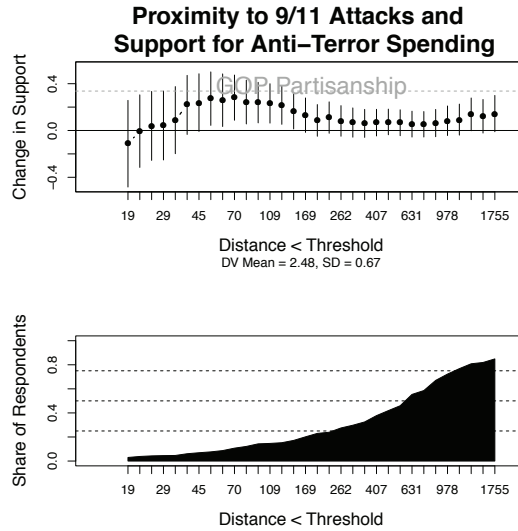


Figure 11: **Proximity to Terrorist Attacks and Attitudes toward Anti-Terrorism Spending.** Source: 2000-04 National Election Study Panel. The top panel illustrates the effect of living within varying distances on respondents’ support for anti-terrorism spending. It also shows the change in predicted support when comparing a strong Democrat with a strong Republican using the gray, dashed lined. The bottom panel shows the share of respondents who fall within each threshold.

People who live near the 9/11 targets are likely to differ from other Americans in a host of ways. If the different attitudes we detected above are really a product of the attacks, we should not expect to observe them in 2000, before the attacks took place. The same NES respondents were asked a question about attitudes toward military spending in 2000, providing a “placebo test” which allows us to see whether the same geographic patterns held before 9/11. As Figure 12 shows, they did not. At no threshold do the respondents living near Washington, D.C. or New York City appear discernibly more supportive of defense spending in 2000. The results above are thus likely to reflect a genuine response to 9/11 among those who lived closest.

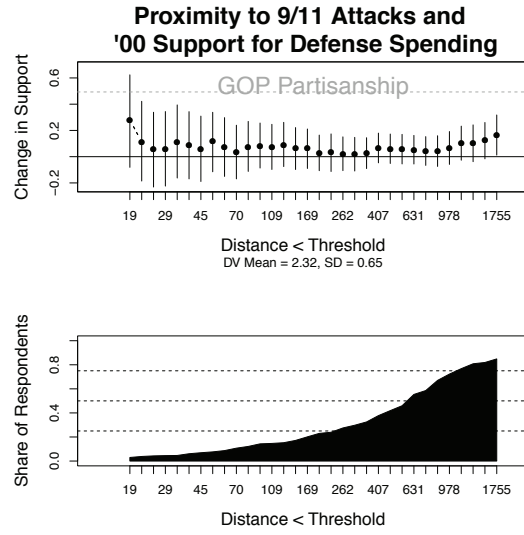


Figure 12: Placebo Test, Proximity to Terrorist Attacks and Attitudes toward Defense Spending. Source: 2000-04 National Election Study Panel.

## Effects of Living in High-Crime Communities

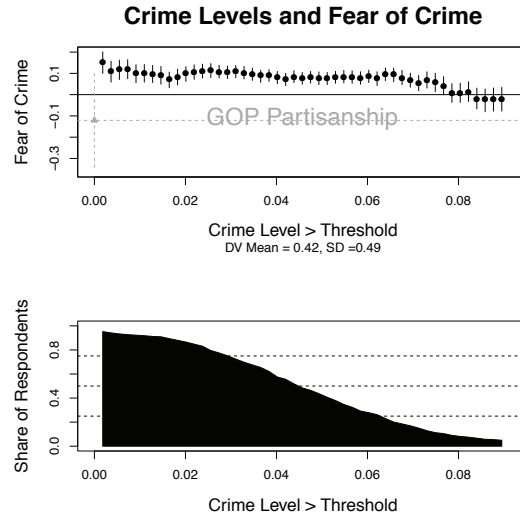


Figure 13: **Local Crime Rates and Fear of Crime.** Source: General Social Survey

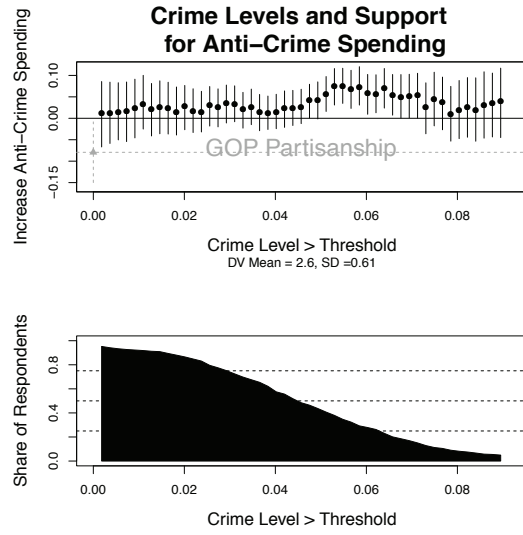


Figure 14: Local Crime Rates and Support for Anti-Crime Spending.  
Source: General Social Survey



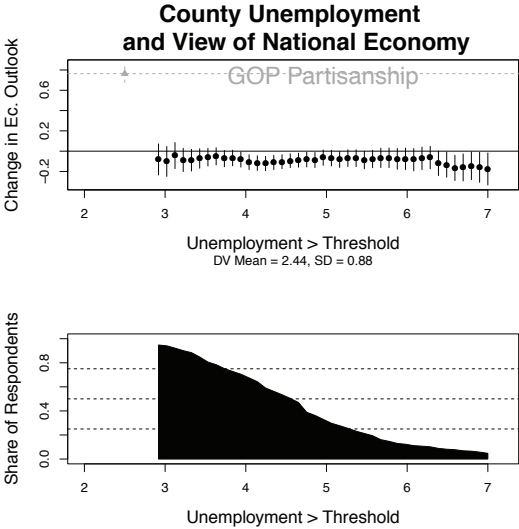


Figure 15: Local Economic Conditions and Perceptions. Source: Pew 2006 Survey

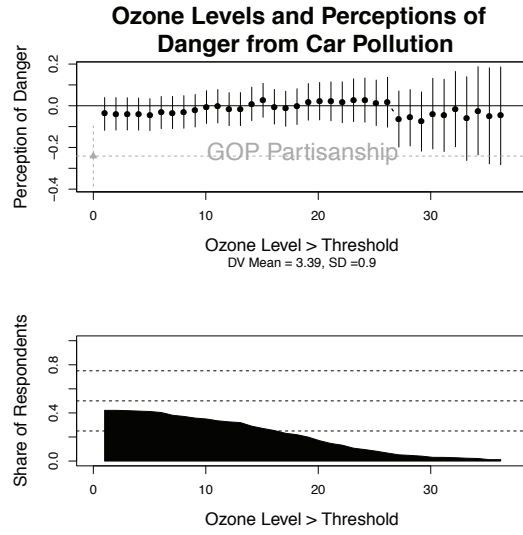


Figure 16: Ozone Pollution and Perceptions of Danger. Source: GSS 1994, 1996, 2000

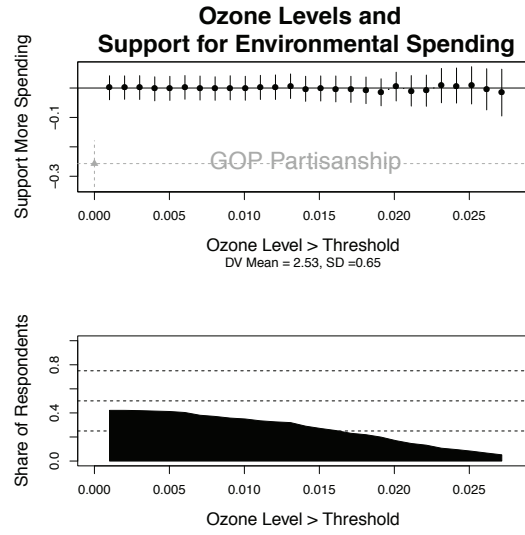


Figure 17: **Ozone Pollution and Support for Environmental Spending.**  
Source: GSS 1994, 1996, 2000

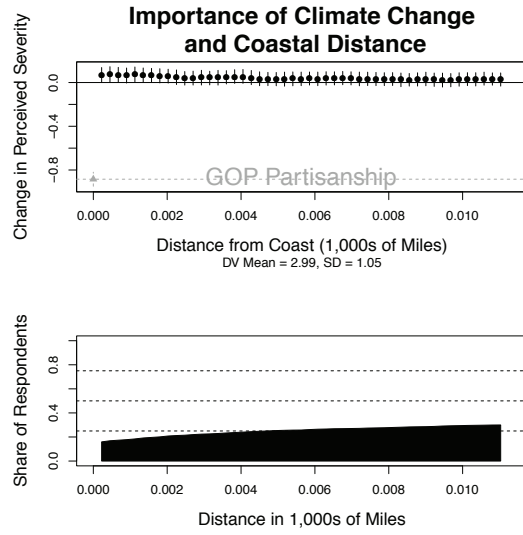


Figure 18: Proximity to Coasts and Importance of Global Warming. Source: 6 Pew Surveys, 2006-2010

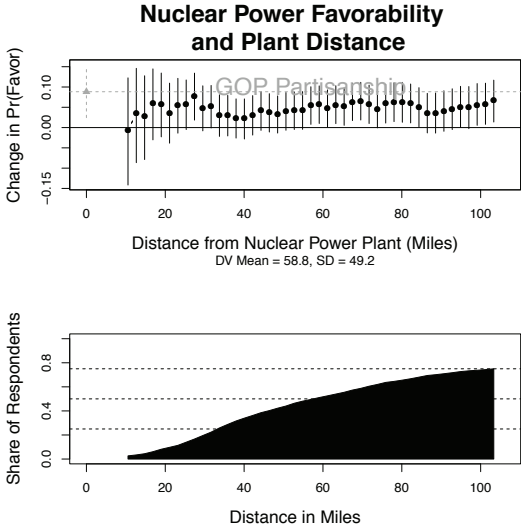


Figure 19: Proximity to Nuclear Power Plants and Support for Nuclear Power. Source: Pew 2009 Survey

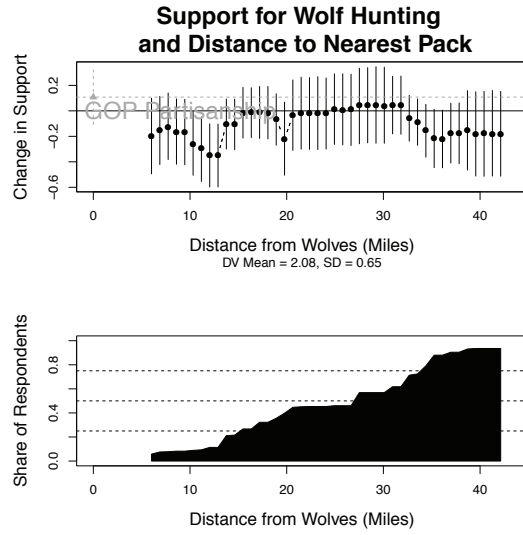


Figure 20: Proximity to Wolves and Attitudes toward Wolf Hunting. Source: 2012 Survey Module

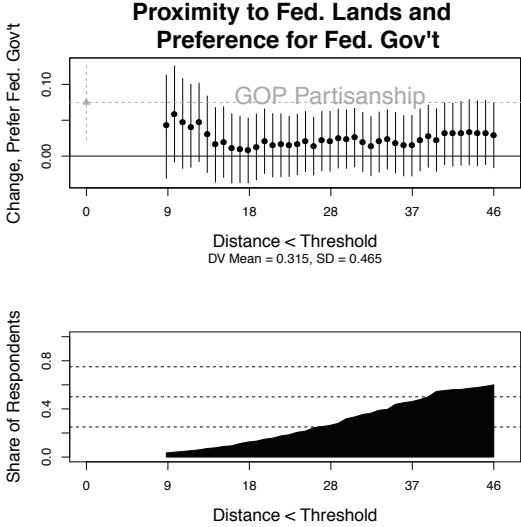


Figure 21: Proximity to Federal Lands and Attitudes toward U.S. Government. Source: 2006 SCCBS

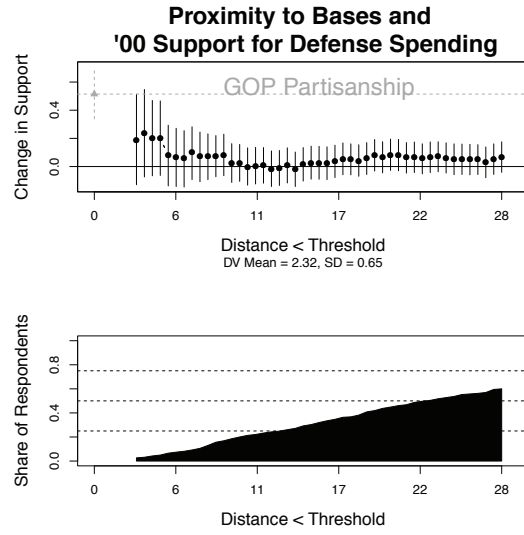


Figure 22: Proximity to Military Bases and Attitudes toward Defense Spending, 2000. Source: 2000-04 National Election Study Panel



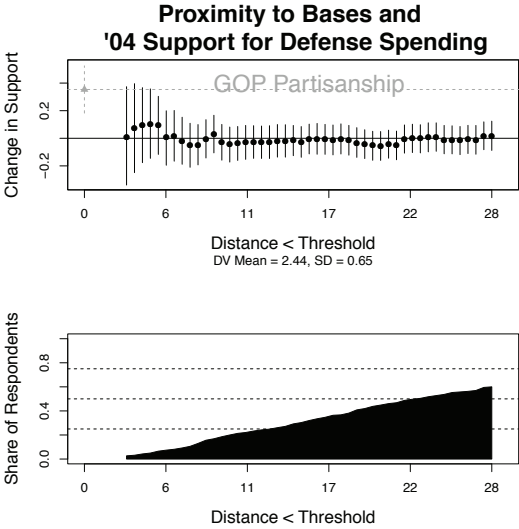


Figure 23: Source: 2000-04 National Election Study Panel

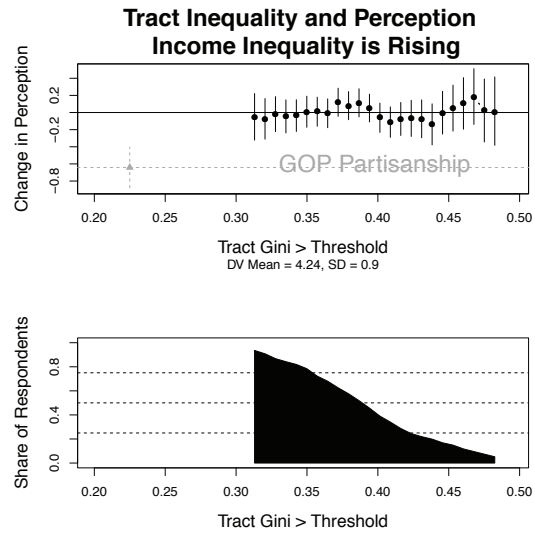


Figure 24: Local Income Inequality and Salience of Inequality. Source: NES 2004

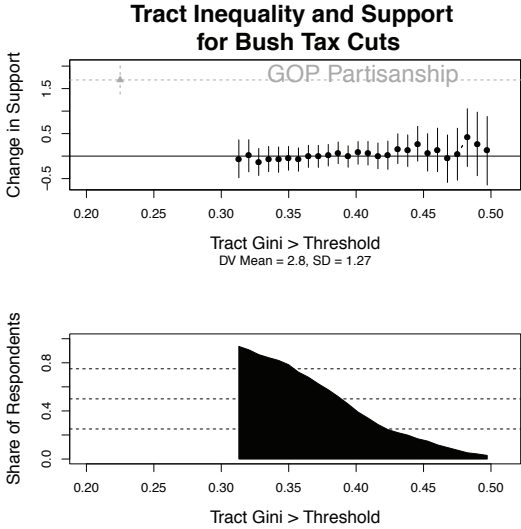


Figure 25: Local Income Inequality and Attitudes on Tax Cuts. Source: NES 2004