

# SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

## Appendix A. Case Extraction: Excerpt numbers by source

Table A1: Negative Affect Statements (NAS) Excerpt Number per Source Chapter

| Negative Affect Statements (NAS) Excerpt Number   | Source   |
|---|--|
| <p>1,2,3 – Introduction</p> <p>4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 - Chapter 1</p> <p>18 - Chapter 2</p> <p>19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 - Chapter 3</p> <p>30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 - Chapter 4</p> <p>41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54 - Chapter 5</p> <p>55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61 - Chapter 6</p> <p>62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71 - Chapter 7</p> | <p>Kimmel, M. (2017). <i>Angry white men: American masculinity at the end of an era.</i></p>                   |
| <p>72, 73, 74, 75 - Chapter 1</p> <p>76, 77, 80, 83 - Chapter 2</p> <p>78, 79, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93 - Chapter 3</p> <p>81, 82, 86, 94, 95, 96, 97 - Chapter 4</p>   | <p>Hochschild, A. R. (2016). <i>Strangers in their own land: Anger and mourning on the American right.</i></p> |
| <p>98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147 - Chapter 2</p> <p>148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160 - Chapter 3</p>  | <p>Faludi, S. (2019). <i>Stiffed: The Roots of Modern Male Rage.</i></p>                                       |

|                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 161, 162, 163, 164 - Chapter 4 |  |
|--------------------------------|--|

## Appendix B: Coding examples

Table B1: *Ressentiment*, Efficacy, Nostalgia and Anti-preferences

| Statement   |                |            |               |           |                |
|---|----------------|------------|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>"I cried," ... "Everyone was crying. We felt we had been stabbed by our own government, by the country we served." (NAS98)</i> |                |            |               |           |                |
| Grievance markers   |                |            |               |           |                |
| Nostalgic thinking  | Efficacy       | Inefficacy | Action        | Inaction  | Anti-narrative |
|   |                | X          |               |           | X              |
| <i>Ressentiment</i> markers   |                |            |               |           |                |
| Envy  | Transvaluation | Victimhood | Powerlessness | Injustice | Destiny        |
|   |                | X          | X             |           |                |

Table B2: *Ressentiment* and Defenses

| Statement   |                |              |                 |                    |         |
|---|----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------|
| <p><i>“It’s Obama’s America, is it not? Obama’s America, white kids getting beat up on school buses now. You put your kids on a school bus, you expect safety, but in Obama’s America, the white kids now get beat up with the black kids cheering,’ ‘Yeah, right on, right on, right on,’ and, of course, everybody says the white kid deserved it: he was born a racist; he’s white.”</i></p> <p><i>“By hating white people. Or even saying you do. . . . Make white people the new oppressed minority. . . . They’re moving to the back of the bus. . . . That’s the modern day Republican Party, the equivalent of the Old South: the new oppressed minority.” (NAS6)</i></p> |                |              |                 |                    |         |
| Ressentiment markers  |                |              |                 |                    |         |
| Envy  | Transvaluation | Victimhood   | Powerlessness   | Injustice          | Destiny |
|   |                | X            | X               |                    |         |
| Defenses  |                |              |                 |                    |         |
| Splitting   | Projection     | Introjection | Denial of facts | Reaction formation |         |
| X   | X              |              |                 |                    |         |

Table B3: *Ressentiment*, Defenses and Action

| Statement   |                |              |                 |           |                    |
|---|----------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------------|
| <p><i>“[Child support] reduces the other parent to slavery and starvation. My ex-wife lives in a palace, and I live in a trailer house. What made me decide to go to the [state where my children live now] is I had one can of pork and beans left, I ate them, and then I had no food left. When my kids were here with me in the summer, we went to the day-old bread store. I turn my air conditioner off during the day. [I am] living like a Nicaraguan and she is living in a plush palace, which is fine. That is wonderful and my children are living there during the school year against my will and their will. They lose half of their family, and I am languishing in this little trailer house. That is all I can do. It is slavery. I am in a slave cabin.” (NAS40)</i></p> |                |              |                 |           |                    |
| Ressentiment markers  |                |              |                 |           |                    |
| Envy  | Transvaluation | Victimhood   | Powerlessness   | Injustice | Destiny            |
|   |                | X            |                 | X         | X                  |
| Defenses  |                |              |                 |           |                    |
| Splitting   | Projection     | Introjection | Denial of facts |           | Reaction formation |
| X   | X              |              |                 |           |                    |
| Action  |                |              |                 |           |                    |
| Action  | Dormant        | No action    | Legal           | Illegal   | Violent            |
| X   |                |              | X               |           |                    |

Table B4: *Ressentiment* and Grievance

| Statement  |                |            |               |           |                |
|--|----------------|------------|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| <p><i>“We’re going down the fucking toilet, that’s what. I mean, just look around. There’s illegals everywhere. There’s Wall Street screwing everybody. And now there’s a goddamn . . . ‘ Oh, fuck it, I don’t care if it is politically incorrect. We got a fucking nigger in the White House. We’re all screwed. Nobody gives a shit about us guys anymore. It’s all over.” (NAS1)</i></p> |                |            |               |           |                |
| Grievance markers  |                |            |               |           |                |
| Nostalgic thinking   | Efficacy       | Inefficacy | Action        | Inaction  | Anti-narrative |
|  |                |            |               |           | X              |
| Ressentiment markers   |                |            |               |           |                |
| Envy   | Transvaluation | Victimhood | Powerlessness | Injustice | Destiny        |
|  |                | X          | X             |           | X              |

## Appendix C: Quotes

Table C1. Anger Quotes

| <b>Anger</b>   |
|--|
| <i>"We're going to leave them a complete mess—a debt-ridden country where immigrants feed off our taxes like we're goddamned breast-feeding them." (NAS16)</i>           |
| <i>"I am not insane. I am angry. I killed because people like me are mistreated every day. I did this to show society, push us and we will push back. . . ." (NAS18)</i> |
| <i>"[T]he feminists have always enraged me" (NAS42)</i>  |

Note: Quotes taken by the interview excerpts, listed by negative affect statement number (NAS).

Table C2. *Ressentiment* Quotes

| <b>Ressentiment</b>   |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <b>Victimhood</b>     | <i>"The politicians promised me that they'd build me a new stadium, they broke that promise" (NAS137)</i><br><i>"It seems like if you're a white male you don't have a chance" (NAS60).</i>  |
| <b>Transvaluation</b> | <i>"You get points for going through the service, and bonus points for extra military stuff, and points for a job and a marriage and kids. . . . There were all these people walking around with a high score who weren't much of a man in my estimation" (NAS154)</i> |
| <b>Injustice</b>      | <i>"It's just wrong. It's all upside down" (NAS16)</i>   |
| <b>Envy</b>           | <i>"The inmates are running the asylum. They're completely in power, and they get anything they want (NAS10)</i><br><i>"She has a bigger office than I do" (NAS143)</i>  |
| <b>Powerlessness</b>  | <i>"These days, American men are an endangered species too" (NAS75)</i>  |
| <b>Destiny</b>        | <i>"It's not going to be like that anymore" (NAS5)</i>   |

|  |  |
|--|--|
|  | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>“Since you saw me last, I have not had a position, [i]n fact, I’m looking at poverty in January” (NAS118).</i></p> |
|--|--|

Note: Quotes taken by the interview excerpts, listed by negative affect statement number (NAS).

Table C3. Defenses Quotes

| Defenses                  |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| <b>Projection</b>         | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>“There’s Wall Street screwing everybody” (NAS1)</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>“Girls have all the power” (NAS120)</i></p>   |
| <b>Introjection</b>       | <i>“[T]he knowledge accumulated by men through the ages” (NAS42)</i>  |
| <b>Splitting</b>          | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>“My ex-wife lives in a palace and I live in a trailer house” (NAS40)</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>“We are protecting Muslims and persecuting Christians” (NAS94).</i></p>  |
| <b>Denial of facts</b>    | <i>“It’s not my ex. She’s a great mom, it’s not her fault” (NAS35)</i>  |
| <b>Reaction formation</b> | <i>“People think we’re not good people if we don’t feel sorry for blacks and immigrants and Syrian refugees, but I am a good person and I don’t feel sorry for them” (NAS97)</i>  |
| <b>Transvaluation</b>     | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>‘You get points for going through the service, and bonus points for extra military stuff, and points for a job and a marriage and kids. . . . There were all these people walking around with a high score who weren’t much of a man in my estimation’ (NAS154)</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>“I always end up the leader. I’m good at it.”</i></p> |

Note: Quotes taken by the interview excerpts, listed by negative affect statement number (NAS).



Table C4. Type of Action Quotes

| Action                |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <b>Action</b>         | <i>"I sit here and what keeps me going is I focus on other people's problems in the union" (NAS99)</i>   |
| <b>Dormant action</b> | <i>"We need to get back to our local communities" (NAS73)</i>  |
| <b>Inaction</b>       | <i>"She was mad because I wouldn't pay to have the house termited. But I don't have the money. My benefits run out next week" (NAS106)</i>   |
| <b>Legal</b>          | <i>"I left my hat there, [a]nd the shipyard commander left his hat there, too" (NAS100)</i>  |
| <b>Illegal</b>        | <i>"Ninety percent of them [Syrian refugees] are men, and I think we ought to put them in Guantanamo" (NAS101)</i>   |
| <b>Violent</b>        | <i>"Time to start shooting niggers. Time to start shooting the spics. And time to start shooting the Islamists" (NAS65)</i>  |
| <b>Inefficacy</b>     | <i>"How long before the manly warlike people of Ohio of fair hair and blue eyes would become, in spite of Bibles and morals, degenerate under the wholesale emancipation and immigration [of black slaves]?" (NAS12)</i> |
| <b>Efficacy</b>       | <i>"All we black union men went to crying because we knew what was going to happen." "[E]xcept for me. When I heard they intended to fire me, I quit before they could" (NAS109)</i>                                     |

Note: Quotes taken by the interview excerpts, listed by negative affect statement number (NAS).

Table C5. Grievance Quotes

| Grievance  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>Nostalgia</b>   | <i>"We need to get back to that" (NAS15)</i>   |
| <b>Anti-narrative<br/>(anti-feminist, anti-government, anti-immigration, anti-democracy)</b> | <i>"Women, particularly the feminazis, have a good deal of introspection to do" (NAS44)</i><br><br><i>"They want [Obama's government] to take over everything" (NAS15)</i> |

|  |  |
|--|--|
|  | <p><i>“[A] debt-ridden country where immigrants feed off our taxes like we’re goddamned breast-feeding them” (NAS16)</i></p> <p><i>“Only then will women hopefully abandon their equality” (NAS49)</i></p> |
|--|--|

Note: Quotes taken by the interview excerpts, listed by negative affect statement number (NAS).

## Appendix D: Tables

Table D1: *Ressentiment* and Defenses

|   | Envy           | Transvaluation | Victimhood     | Powerlessness  | Injustice     | Destiny       | Total Count  |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| <b>Splitting</b>  | 27.45%<br>(14) | 0%<br>(0)      | 33.33%<br>(17) | 21.57%<br>(11) | 5.88%<br>(3)  | 11.76%<br>(6) | 100%<br>(51) |
| <b>Projection</b>   | 26.67%<br>(12) | 2.22%<br>(1)   | 35.56%<br>(16) | 17.78%<br>(8)  | 2.22%<br>(1)  | 15.56%<br>(7) | 100%<br>(45) |
| <b>Introjection</b>   | 28.57%<br>(4)  | 0%<br>(0)      | 35.71%<br>(5)  | 28.57%<br>(4)  | 0%<br>(0)     | 7.14%<br>(1)  | 100%<br>(14) |
| <b>Denial</b>   | 23.53%<br>(4)  | 5.88%<br>(1)   | 35.29%<br>(6)  | 23.53%<br>(4)  | 5.88%<br>(1)  | 5.88%<br>(1)  | 100%<br>(17) |
| <b>Reaction formation</b>   | 11.11%<br>(1)  | 0%<br>(0)      | 33.33%<br>(3)  | 44.44%<br>(4)  | 11.11%<br>(1) | 0%<br>(0)     | 100%<br>(9)  |
| <b>Counts</b>   | 35             | 2              | 47             | 31             | 6             | 15            |              |
| Note: Values are percentages across rows, frequencies in parentheses. |                |                |                |                |               |               |              |