

IN FUTURE ISSUES OF

Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies

22.1

HJEAAS

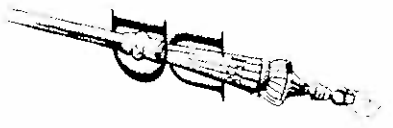
Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies

Interview with Mike Hodges

Margaret Edson's *W;t*

The Invisible Apocalyptic City

Jim Crow Infects Jazz



H J E A A S

Agnieszka Soltyśik Monnet

Agnés Györke

Scott H. Huffman, Christopher N. Lawrence, and Allie Briggs

Daniel Darvay

Akos Farkas

András Tarnóc

Sharon Diane King

Tamas Bényei

Sarolta Mezei

Bill Clemente

ESSAYS

Kirk Munroe's *Forward, March!* (1899)

Benedict Anderson and Walter Benjamin

Describing Southern-ness

Nathanael West's *The Day of the Locust*

Film Adaptations of *The Turn of the Screw*

*The Journal of Madam Knight*

SPECIAL SECTION: FIGURES OF HORROR  
Guest Editor: Gyula Somogyi

Economic Inequality and the Horror Film  
Detection, Myth, and Religion in *Angel He*  
The Vicious Brothers' *Grave Encounters*  
Zombies along the Malecón

REVIEWS

Institute of English and American Studies (IEAS)

University of Debrecen, PF. 400,

Egyetem tér 1.

Debrecen, Hungary H4002

Spring, 2016

22

- Kelly, John D. "Time and the Global: Against the Homogeneous, Empty Communities in Contemporary Social Theory." *Development and Social Change* 29 (1998): 839-71. EBSCO. Web. 18 March 2014.
- Klee, Paul. *Angelus Novus*. 1920. Oil and watercolour on paper. Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
- McCannell, Juliet Flower. *The Regime of the Brother*. London: Routledge, 1991. Print.
- McMurran, Helen. "Transnationalism and the Novel: A Call for Periodization." *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 42.3 (2009): 531-37. EBSCO. Web. 18 March 2014.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. "Translator Translated: Interview with Cultural Theorist Homi Bhabha." *Ajifonim* 33.4 (1995): 80-84. Web. 18 March 2014.
- "Modernization." *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Web. 23 April 2014.
- Moretti, Franco. *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900*. London: Verso, 1999. Print.
- Nairn, Tom. *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neoliberalism*. London: Verso, 1981.
- .... *Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited*. London: Verso, 1997. Print.
- Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism and Modernism*. London: Routledge, 1998. Print.
- .... *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*. Cambridge: Polity, 1995.
- Page, Nicholas. "The Storyteller and the Book: Scenes of Narrative Production in the Early French Novel." *Modern Language Quarterly* 67.2 (2006): 141-70. EBSCO. Web. 18 March 2014.
- Pateman, Carol. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1988. Print.
- Redfield, Mark. *The Politics of Aesthetics: Nationalism, Gender, Romanticism*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2003. Print.
- Werkmeister, O. K. "Walter Benjamin's Angel of History: Or, the Transfiguration of the Revolutionary into the Historian." *Critical Inquiry* 22.2 (1996): 239-67. JSTOR. Web. 23 April 2014.
- Wogan, Peter. "Imagined Communities Reconsidered: Is Print-Capitalism What We Think It Is?" *Anthropological Theory* 1 (2001): 403-16. SAGE. Web. 23 April 2014.

**Describing Ourselves: Identity Overlap and Fault Lines Regarding How Southerners Would Describe the South to Non-Southerners**  
Scott H. Huffman, Christopher N. Lawrence, and Allie Briggs

HJES

Last decade, Éva Federmayer noted the importance of "de-centering [Hungarian] American Studies from its traditional . . . 'core' . . . of 'high' literature and (consensus) history in order to embrace new themes."<sup>1</sup> Such a topic that we might consider as part of this broader agenda for American Studies is the importance of variation in regional identities within the United States as a departure from the premise that there is a singularly American identity that is both distinct from that of other nationalities and internally consistent; in other words, the assumption in much of our research to date is essentially that the American in Minneapolis has less in common with the Canadian in Winnipeg than he or she does with a fellow American in San Antonio. While it is true that the United States has been a "melting pot" of cultures and that improvements in communications and transportation, along with higher levels of internal migration, have led to a greater homogeneity in America in the past century in particular, nonetheless, even the most casual observer of the United States would likely find this assumption untenable after serious reflection.

The past two decades of Hungarian research on American culture has delved deeper than the traditional path of examining a "core" culture. Notably, Zsolt Virágos wrote in 1996 that "[t]he diagnosis of the deep structure of U.S. culture in the quest for a firm center that is both functional and meaningful has been continually challenged, and substantially weakened, by regionalized manifestations."<sup>2</sup> In this study, we follow Virágos's lead by taking an insight into self-identification with a particular regional subculture. This is relevant to study not just for its own sake, but because sometimes regionalized culture comes to dominate national culture even if it does not wholly define it. For a time this was true of the industrial and entrepreneurial spirit of the northeastern states.<sup>3</sup> The absence of a truly unified American culture suggests in particular a need to examine the dominant cultures in various American regions; arguably the most distinctive of these cultures is that of the American South, usually defined as the eleven states of the old Confederacy along with, at times, border states that had, or continue to have, strong cultural ties with the South.

To provide a conceptual framework for the analysis it is important to define what we mean by "the South." Frequently thought of as regions

that supported the Confederacy during the Civil War, this notion faces the difficulty of meandering across state borders. For example, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri were slave states which never seceded from the union, but had significant pro-Confederacy factions. Sociologist W. H. Oslum used hundreds of social characteristics in his 1936 treatise *Southern Regions of the United States*. This method, however, excluded Texas and Oklahoma, both of which were included in the definition of the South put forward by John Shelton Reed, which comprised "the eleven ex-confederate states, plus Kentucky and Oklahoma."<sup>11</sup> The definition used by the Gallup polling organization matches Reed's, while the United States Census Bureau breaks the South into sub-regions of South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central. This broad definition encompasses the eleven former confederate states, plus Delaware, the District of Columbia, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Oklahoma. While this has some internal geographic logic, it seems to lose any semblance of cultural coherence. For this reason, we have chosen a rule of parsimony. Our more limited definition will include the one grouping of states that all of the above agree upon: the eleven former confederate states.

One need not look very far in popular culture and media to find negative portrayals of southerners. The "ignorant" and/or "backward" southerner is a trope found throughout American literature, cinema, and television. Such portrayals feed, and—in turn—are fed by, actual prejudice against those who seem, or are perceived, to be southern. For example, multiple scholars have documented that listeners hold negative attitudes toward those who have speech patterns, accents, or dialects perceived as southern or rural.<sup>12</sup> Speakers with a southern accent are nearly always perceived as less intelligent by non-southerners. Compounding matters, research has shown that southerners and their leaders exhibit great sensitivity to being "looked down on" and often feel they have been subject to unfair stereotyping.<sup>13</sup>

This hypersensitivity to criticism is a hallmark of societies and groups that exhibit a "Culture of Honor," and the social structures and norms of the American South fit this framework. The classic early southern tale of sensitivity may be the brutal beating with a cane suffered by United States Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on 22 May 1856 at the hands of a member of the US House of Representatives. South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks took umbrage to statements by Sumner in a floor speech two days earlier that Brooks perceived as insulting to his southern homeland and uncle, the US senator from South Carolina, Andrew

Butler. When Brooks confronted Sumner on the senate floor, he described the senator's speech as "libel on South Carolina, and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine." Brooks then proceeded to beat Sumner with his cane until the older senator crawled under his desk, which was bolted to the floor. The angry South Carolinian ripped the desk from the floor and continued to beat Sumner with his cane until the cane broke.<sup>14</sup>

Far from being an isolated incident, attitudes of the Culture of Honor among southerners have continued to be measured in modern research. Dov Cohen and several co-authors have documented through repeated experiments that southern white males are more physiologically primed for, and willing to act upon, aggressive impulses in the face of insults.<sup>15</sup> Because of the frequent penalties for failures of "manners," southerners strive to be seen as more polite. In fact, southerners frequently *are* perceived as more polite.<sup>16</sup>

However, there is also good reason for southerners to be concerned about how they are perceived by non-southerners. The US Census has been conducted decennially by the US Census Bureau since 1790. The Census Bureau first added questions about education to the 1850 census. From this time forward every US Census, as well as every Census Bureau-sponsored Current Population Studies survey, has shown that levels of education and income are lower in the South than in the rest of the country. As a region, the South is poorer and less educated than the rest of the country. Second, southerners tend to exhibit attitudes on matters such as social tolerance, homosexuality, the role of women, and race that are significantly different from the attitudes of non-southerners.<sup>17</sup> Third, southerners are clearly aware that some of their attitudes are negatively perceived by others and actively seek to conceal the presence of these attitudes. Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens demonstrate that while anti-black attitudes in the South among whites had seemed to be on a steady decline, these attitudes—especially among southern white males—were still very present, just frequently masked due to "social desirability."<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, Sears and Henry show that while overt racism may be declining, symbolic racism still abounds.<sup>19</sup>

Hypersensitivity also likely stems from the fact that for many years, the South did not have the opportunity to define itself and its culture, but rather had its identity described and defined by outsiders.<sup>20</sup> Southern "otherness" was becoming clear by the middle of the 1600s because of plantation-style farming, which relied on slave labor. The climate and terrain in the "middle" and northern colonies did not lend themselves to large working farm units. This distinctive southern economy was taking shape

(18) years before the first cotton boom would cause the southern economy to rocket past that of the rest of the nation. While enterprise in the northern and middle colonies called out for infrastructure, transportation, and urban development, the plantation economy of the South meant that this region was to remain highly rural with underdeveloped transportation and infrastructure.<sup>15</sup>

Some southerners did perceive the differences between themselves and northerners with some clarity in early America. For example, Thomas Jefferson wrote the following to Marquis de Chastellus in Paris:

In the north, they are cool, sober, laborious, independent, jealous of their own liberties and just to those of others, interested, chicaning, superstitious and hypocritical in their religion. In the south they are fiery, volupturnary, indolent, unsteady, jealous for their own liberties, but trampling on those of others, generous, candid, without attachment or pretensions to any religions but that of the heart.<sup>16</sup>

This notwithstanding much of what was written about the South came not from southerners, but from outsiders traveling through the South. A French dignitary commented, for example, that people of the North were "bold and enterprising" while those of the South were "heedless and lazy."<sup>17</sup> Cobb draws on Winterbotham to offer a description of a "Georgia Planter's Method of Spending His Time." The planter is described as rising at 6 a.m. and knocking back a "dram of bitters" to "prevent the ill effects of the early fogs." He will then tour his plantation taking the opportunity to "stop at the negro houses" and beat about the shoulders with his "fatten whip" any slave discovered not to be performing the tasks that the plantation owner feels need to be performed. After meeting with his overseer, his work day is done and he returns to his house about 8 a.m. to be met by "a tribe of young negroes, in the primitive state of nakedness." He then heads to a "public house" in town to drink and talk politics, horse racing, boxing, and economics with friends while playing cards. If he is having fun, he might bring his friends home to dinner then proceed on a night hunt "preceded by a negro who carries the fire" as well as "some bottles of brandy." Sometimes they might shoot cattle "that have been runned into the woods to range," by mistake. Around midnight they return from drunkenly gallivanting through the woods with "their shins and faces sadly scratched and themselves fit for nothing but to be put to bed."<sup>18</sup> Winterbotham describes this as their "general routine of existence."<sup>19</sup> Writing about South

Carolina, he commented that "[d]issolute pleasures, and luxury of every kind, form a grand feature of the national character of the Carolinians. . . . to the pleasures of the table, they are too much addicted."<sup>20</sup> In addition to travelogues, such as Winterbotham's, coming from non-southerners, novels concerning the South also tended to follow the outlines of this perceived identity, especially so since the earliest literary publishing houses in America were located in northern cities.<sup>21</sup>

This is not to say that southerners have not pursued to define their own identity or tried to dispel stereotypes. One of the earliest widespread attempts in the South to throw off the identity applied by outsiders and shape their own identity came in the wake of the Civil War. Charles Reagan Wilson describes how southerners, struggling to understand how they lost the conflict when they clearly felt that God was on their side, made frequent appeals to myth and Biblical allusions to explain the loss. Just like God had allowed his chosen people, the Israelites, to be conquered and driven into exile because of their failure of obedience only to be returned to their homeland in glory, God's contemporary chosen and beloved, the South, had been allowed to fall—not because of slavery (which God approved of)—but because of a lack of pious obedience.<sup>22</sup> In this interpretation, like Israel after the Babylonian exile, the South would eventually be returned to a place of glory. Even modern research has addressed some of the conflict between reality and an "imagined South."<sup>23</sup>

(Given the fact that much of the cultural understanding of "Southern-ness" is externally created and frequently negative, we desired to understand how southerners might describe the South to outsiders. Our inquiry focused on the following questions: Would southerners be willing to describe the South in terms that reflect some of the negative attributes that still plague the region or would they overwhelmingly describe the region in positive terms? Among positive descriptions of the region, which aspects of the South would be most frequently used to attempt to burnish the image of the region?)

The answers to these questions are partially complicated by two aspects of the same question: who is southern? The first aspect is related to residency and the second aspect is related to race. Classic works on southern identity have described anyone as "southern" who lives in the South.<sup>24</sup> However, migration patterns over the last half a century have meant that many more people live in the South who were not born in the region than ever before. Some of these migrants acclimate and readily adopt the culture of their new homeland while others stubbornly reject southern

culture and do not self-identify as "southern" no matter how long they may have resided in the region. For this reason, when examining how residents of a southern state would describe the South to an outsider, we divided the responses among those who self-identify as a "Native Southerner," a "Converted Southerner," or a "Non-Southerner."

Additionally, while scholars note the persistence of a separate "southern identity,"<sup>25</sup> southern identity has frequently been synonymous with whiteness.<sup>26</sup> Recent research by Cooper and Knotts supports this hypothesis. They explored identification with different groups in the South, based on interviews with residents of Western North Carolina, who belong to the four overlapping identities of being Appalachian, Southern, North Carolinian, and American. The strength of the respondents' identification with these groups and the degree to which these identities correlated with each other were analyzed in their study. Cooper and Knotts were also interested in what factors best explain identification with a particular group.<sup>27</sup>

Based on the data, they ranked identification with American as the strongest, followed by North Carolinian, Southern, and Appalachian. Approximately 80% of respondents strongly identified themselves as American, while 57% strongly identified as North Carolinian. In the third place, 49% strongly identified as southern, which, Cooper and Knotts suppose, may be attributed to the specific location of respondents. Only 28% of respondents identified strongly with the Appalachian identity and almost the same amount reported feeling no connection at all with the Appalachian identity.<sup>28</sup>

According to the analysis, greater age, higher levels of education, more time spent in the region, and more conservative values all lead respondents to more strongly identify as American. A strong identification with North Carolina is greater among females, conservatives, and those who have spent a long period of time in the region. Factors affecting the strength of the respondents' southern identity include conservative values, being white, older age, and longer time spent in the region. The strength of self-identification as Appalachian is increased by the time spent in the region, the level of the respondents' education, older age, and identification as white. Race, however, proved to be a decisive factor only in case of the respondents' identification with Southern and Appalachian identity. Conservatives and older folks displayed stronger group identification in general than liberals and young people. And the amount of time one has

spent in the region turned out to be the greatest predictor of regional identity.<sup>29</sup>

Cooper and Knotts found that if Western North Carolina residents identified with one of the four groups, then they were likely to identify with another group as well. The identities that correlated strongest were southern-North Carolinian, followed by American-North Carolinian. Appalachian-Southern fell in third place, with Appalachian-North Carolinian as the last.<sup>30</sup>

Cooper and Knotts also carried out a study to find out if attitudes toward southerners among all Americans changed over time between 1964 and 2008. If this change of opinion existed, they wanted to find out how those opinions have changed over time, and what factors significantly affected that change. Cooper and Knotts relied on studies conducted in 1976 and earlier by abandoning the dichotomous variables used to describe Americans' feelings and attitudes towards southerners and adopting a more inclusive "feeling thermometer" score, which asks respondents to rank their feelings toward a person or group as "warm" or "cold" on a scale of 0 to 100.<sup>31</sup>

The data show that there was significant change in the opinion of southerners over time, most of which came from black non-southerners. In addition to black non-southerners, the most significant factors contributing to the changing opinions of southerners between groups were white southerners' consistently positive, or "warm," feelings toward the South and southerners and those with a similarity in cultural beliefs across regions. Protestants were generally consistent in their positive emotions toward southerners over time, but church attendance was not a generally significant factor affecting feelings of southerners. Identification with the Republican Party resulted in some significant positive feelings towards southerners, but these attitudes tended to follow the political environment during the given election cycle. Positive feelings rose with Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon, fell with Jimmy Carter, and rose again in the 1990s through 2008.<sup>32</sup>

Cooper and Knotts also discuss the South's shift from recent decades to being more racially progressive, Republican, nationally engaged, and racially diverse as possible explanations for the change in opinion of southerners over time. Although the term "southern" is assumed by many southerners and non-southerners to refer solely to white southerners, the largest shift in positive feelings toward southerners came from black non-southerners. Cooper and Knotts suggest that the first large increase in positive feelings from non-southern blacks came shortly after the civil rights

movement, which improved race relations in the south. The second significant positive change in non-southern black opinion was during the "New Great Migration" in the late 1970s when the southern economy was modernized and allowed many black families to reconnect cultural ties.<sup>31</sup>

This inquiry by Cooper and Knotts has been incorporated into a forthcoming book *The Relevance of Southern Identity*, which updates the research by John Shelton Reed in the mid 1980s and early 1990s.<sup>32</sup> The trends first noted by Reed, and updated by Cooper and Knotts three decades later, show a diffusion of southern culture, especially in those states labeled the "Peripheral South," and a continued endurance of a distinctive "Southern-ness," which remains much stronger in the "Deep South." All of these analyses of southern identity by scholars such as Odum, Reed, and Cooper and Knotts, however, define "Southern-ness" in terms of sociological, demographic, and economic measures.<sup>33</sup> Our research starts from this point and also seeks to catch a glimpse of the minds, hearts, and souls of southerners to see how they define themselves, using their own voices and descriptions.

As a result, we also focused on discovering how blacks living in the South would describe the region to outsiders. US Census figures—and the survey upon which this research is based—also found that a greater proportion of the black population in South Carolina was born in the South than in the case of the white population. Because of the history of slavery and racial discrimination, we had every reason to believe that blacks in a southern state may describe the South in more negative terms as compared to whites in the same state, suggesting that there may be a confounding interaction between race and "native" "Southern-ness." In other words, while we expected that being a native southerner would generally correlate with positive feelings toward the South, we did not expect this to be true for blacks, despite the fact that they are more likely to be native southerners than our white respondents.

### Data and methods

To examine contemporary perceptions of southern self-identity, we draw on data collected as part of the April 2013 Winthrop Poll, a survey of 1,069 adults living in South Carolina conducted by the Social and Behavioral Research Laboratory at Winthrop University between 6 and 13 April 2013, by live interviewers using computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) during evening and weekend hours. The survey sample was selected to be representative of the adult population of the state, using both random digit

dialing (RDD) and wireless phone number sampling to ensure coverage of households with and without landline telephone service, using samples obtained from Survey Sampling International (SSI). Within household randomization was used to ensure that each adult in the population had as equal a chance as possible to be represented in the sample. The margin of error for all respondents was approximately  $\pm 3.0\%$  at the 95 percent confidence level.<sup>34</sup> The survey included questions regarding South Carolinians' approval of Congress, President Barack Obama, Governor Nikki Haley, and Senator Lindsey Graham, as well as attitudes toward food stamp recipients, the Tea Party movement, and perceptions of the national and state economies.

In addition to the items discussed above, the April 2013 poll also included an item designed to gauge the sense of southern identity among South Carolina's adult population. Respondents were asked specifically to give a response to the following prompt: "Imagine that you had to describe the South to someone who had never been to a southern state in America in just *two* words or two *very* short phrases."

Interviewers transcribed both words or phrases offered by the respondents prompted by this item, which were then classified by the coauthors into categories based on their substantive content, specifically, whether the comment pertained to quality of life, public policy and the economy, the people and culture of the region, or were reflective of other issues or concerns. We also classified each response based on whether it appeared to have positive, neutral, or negative connotations. Some examples of terms used by respondents, and how we classified them, are found in tables 1–3.

Quality of Life	Politics/Policy/Economy	People/Culture	General
comfortable	low taxes	friendly	good
beautiful	for what's right	honest	Strong
nice climate/weather	"freedom country"	southern hospitality	"The South is great"
peaceful	balanced budget	manners	very nice place
great place to live	surprisingly progressive	diverse	"I love it!"
		loyal	
		family-oriented	

Table 1. Examples of Positive Terms

Quality of Life	Politics/Economy	People/Culture	General
crime rate	educationally behind	extremely prejudiced	"who got us in this mess?"
bad drug problems	"gun crazy"	racist	"don't come here"
"hotter than hell in the summer time"	unemployment very poor	"dumb and proud" suburb	"South Carolina sucks"
harmful housing		"rednecks"	"be prepared for shock"
			"contradiction"
			"needs help"

Table 2: Examples of Negative Terms

- "rural"
- "you can't judge it until you try it"
- "misunderstood"
- "different"
- "old-fashioned"
- "industrial"

Table 3: Examples of Neutral Terms

To consider whether there were systematic explanations for differing views about the South, we considered potential effects based on respondents' age, educational attainment, household income, racial identity, regional identity (that is, whether the respondent considered himself or herself to be a Native Southerner, Converted Southerner, or a Non-Southerner), and sex (see the appendix for the specific wording of the questions used to represent these concepts). All reported statistics are weighted based on the gender, race, and age of respondents to ensure they are representative of the state's population.

### Findings

In general, the respondents are substantially more likely to offer positive terms or phrases than neutral or negative ones to describe the region (see tables 4-6). While it is possible that this tendency reflects social desirability bias on the part of the respondents, particularly given that our interviewers represented a southern university and likely of southern identity themselves; nonetheless, around 70% of first mentions and 71% of second mentions were positive, against 7% and 4% of first and second mentions being neutral and 23% and 25% of first and second mentions

being negative. When we consider combined response patterns, around 60% of the respondents gave two positive terms or phrases, while only 14% of the respondents offered two negative words.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Positive	691	64.05	70.63
Neutral	69	6.48	7.15
Negative	217	20.15	22.22
No answer	100	9.32	
Total	1079	100.00	100.00

Table 4: First Term/Phrase Mentioned: Orientation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Positive	612	56.70	71.03
Neutral	34	3.22	4.04
Negative	214	19.90	24.93
No answer	217	20.18	
Total	1079	100.00	100.00

Table 5: Second Term/Phrase Mentioned: Orientation

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
Positive	517	16	87	620
Neutral	60.0%	1.9%	10.1%	
Negative	30	7	12	49
	3.5%	0.8%	1.4%	
No answer	65	11	117	193
	7.5%	1.3%	13.6%	
Total	612	34	216	862

Table 6: Relationship Between First and Second Phrase/Term

When we further considered the substantive content of the respondents' image of the region, we generally found that positive mentions tend to be related to the quality of life and the region's people and culture (see tables 7 and 8); approximately 26% of first mentions and 30% of second mentions are positive comments regarding the quality of life in the South, while 32% of first mentions and 29% of second mentions reflect positively on the people and culture of the region. (Other mentions are more

mixed, with approximately the same percentage of respondents overall offering positive and negative terms on political and economic issues, suggesting that South Carolina residents are more ambivalent about the economy and the government than they are about the region's civil society, culture, and environment. Personal attachment to what respondents see as regional culture and society might be seen as a clear manifestation of what John Shelton Reed described as "localism," that is, "attachment to particular places."<sup>11</sup>

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Positive (Quality of Life)	261	24.17	26.66
Positive (Policy/Economics)	21	1.97	2.17
Positive (People)	315	29.19	32.19
Positive (General)	94	8.72	9.62
Neutral	69	6.48	7.15
Negative (General)	52	4.82	5.31
Negative (People)	79	7.34	8.10
Negative (Policy/Economics)	39	3.66	4.03
Negative (Quality of Life)	46	4.33	4.77
N/A's	100	9.32	
Total	1079	100.00	100.00

Table 7: First Phrase/Term Mentioned: Category

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Positive (Quality of Life)	258	23.95	30.00
Positive (Policy/Economics)	51	4.76	5.96
Positive (People)	246	22.81	28.58
Positive (General)	55	5.18	6.49
Neutral	34	3.22	4.04
Negative (General)	44	4.15	5.20
Negative (People)	65	6.06	7.90
Negative (Policy/Economics)	52	4.85	6.07
Negative (Quality of Life)	52	4.84	6.06
N/A's	217	20.18	
Total	1079	100.00	100.00

Table 8: Second Phrase/Term Mentioned: Category

To better understand attitudes toward the region and simplify our analysis, we constructed a five-point index (or scale) of how positive respondents' views of the region were, ranging from +2 for a respondent who offered two positive terms to -2 for a respondent who offered two negative terms.<sup>12</sup> The weighted mean (or average) score of respondents on this scale was 0.81, with a standard deviation of 1.36.

Using this scale, we first considered whether Native Southerners have different perceptions of the region than Non-Southerners and converts (see table 9). We found that, on average, Non-Southerners generally have less positive evaluations of the South, with an average score of 0.21, while converts and Native Southerners generally have much more positive evaluations, with mean scores of 1.06 and 0.84, respectively.<sup>13</sup> This trend is reinforced when we examine the relationship between the positivity of evaluations and respondents' length of residence in the region, as shown in table 10. The average evaluation of the region is generally more positive among respondents who have lived in the South for a greater number of years. Perhaps this is not surprising, given that those South Carolina residents who might not have positive feelings about the South would be more likely to migrate (or re-migrate, in the case of migrants) to other states that are less "southern" or away from the region entirely, leaving behind those who have more favorable opinions of the region.<sup>14</sup>

	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Non-Southern	0.21	107	1.52
Converted Southerner	1.06	200	1.26
Native Southerner	0.84	748	1.33
Total	0.82	1056	1.36

Table 9: Average Positivity by Regional Identity



	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Five or fewer	0.46	61	1.60
Six to ten	0.64	53	1.38
Eleven to fifteen	0.73	55	1.47
Sixteen to twenty	0.98	45	1.24
More than twenty, but not entire life	0.91	230	1.33
Entire life	0.81	633	1.35
Total	0.81	1076	1.36

Table 10: Average Positivity by Length of Residence in South (in years)

Next we examined how evaluations differ by race and gender (see tables 11 and 12). Given the legacy of slavery and institutionalized racism associated with the region, African-American respondents to our survey were less likely to offer positive terms and more likely to offer negative terms (mean score of 0.39) when compared to whites (whose mean was 0.99).<sup>14</sup> Differences based on gender, however, did not emerge: men and women's evaluations of the South were substantially the same, with mean positive scores of 0.78 for men and 0.81 for women, a difference slim enough that we attribute it to sampling error ( $p \approx 0.68$ ).

	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Caucasian	0.98	742	1.33
African American	0.39	275	1.36
Total	0.82	1017	1.36

Table 11: Average Positivity by Race

	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Male	0.78	512	1.36
Female	0.82	563	1.37
Total	0.80	1075	1.36

Table 12: Average Positivity by Gender

We also considered the prospect that respondents with more fundamentalist or evangelical religious beliefs may have more positive associations with the region, given the historically strong connection between conservative religiosity and Southern identity. Specifically, we compared the attitudes of respondents who self-identify as born-again Christians with respondents who are not born-again (either Christian or otherwise), as is illustrated in table 13. We found that born-again Christians on average have a net positive rating of 0.85, while non-born-again respondents have a net positive rating of 0.77 on average. The direction of this difference is consistent with our expectations; however, the difference of means is not statistically significant ( $p \approx 0.34$ ), which means we cannot conclude that the difference we observe is distinguishable from the effects of sampling error.

	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Not Born-Again	0.77	577	1.36
Born-Again Christian	0.85	503	1.36
Total	0.81	1080	1.36

Table 13: Average Positivity by Religious Identity

As discussed above, the south is both historically and today a conservative region. Thus we reasonably expected that conservatives would generally have more favorable impressions of the region than liberals. Similarly we expected Republicans to have more positive views of the South than Democrats (in part given the substantial racial divisions in party identification between whites and blacks). These expectations were borne out in the results presented in tables 14 and 15. In terms of ideology, very conservative respondents had an average positivity of 1.04, while very liberal respondents' mean net evaluation was 0.29.<sup>15</sup> Party affiliation demonstrated a similar pattern: Republicans' net positivity score was 1.22 on average, while Democrats' and independents' mean net positivity scores were 0.56 and 0.67, respectively.<sup>16</sup>

	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Very liberal	0.29	76	1.47
Somewhat liberal	0.41	146	1.46
Exactly in the middle	0.80	313	1.29
Somewhat conservative	1.00	264	1.30
Very conservative	1.04	196	1.37
Total	0.80	996	1.37

Table 14: Average Positivity by Ideology

	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Democrat	0.56	344	1.35
Independent	0.67	315	1.41
Republican	1.22	332	1.22
Total	0.81	991	1.36

Table 15: Average Positivity by Party Affiliation

Given the shifting nature of the region's political landscape over time, we also believed it was reasonable to consider whether older respondents had different perceptions of the region than younger respondents. Perhaps unsurprisingly, as shown in table 16, older respondents generally had more positive views of the South as a region, with each additional decade of age corresponding to an increase of approximately 0.07 in respondents' positivity toward the region.<sup>14</sup> This is not a very large effect in the overall scheme of things, however.

	Estimate	Std. Error	t Value	Pr >  t
(Intercept)	0.4944	0.1171	4.22	0.0000
Age	0.0068	0.0023	2.90	0.0038

Table 16: Model of Positivity by Age (linear regression)

We also addressed the question whether more highly educated South Carolinians might have a more nuanced view of the region, given the likelihood that South Carolinians with higher education (particularly at the college level) would be more likely to have been exposed to both traditional and revisionist views of the region, or even to have experienced some of their education outside the South (see results in table 17). Although there were some minor differences between respondents' views of the region, no clear pattern emerges from the data and there are no statistically significant differences based on educational attainment.

	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Less than High School	0.92	41	1.29
High School graduate / GED	0.88	244	1.26
Some college	0.78	218	1.39
Two-year tech college grad	0.72	129	1.32
Four-year college degree	0.77	274	1.40
Post-Graduate	0.84	172	1.41
Total	0.81	1078	1.36

Table 17: Average Positivity by Educational Attainment

Finally, we examined the possibility that respondents with higher household incomes might view the region through a more positive lens than those who were presumptively less well-off. As is demonstrated in table 18, the relationship between income and attitudes toward the region is somewhat complex and not obviously linear, although the uneven pattern observed in the data may be in part due to the relatively small portion of respondents who reported high household incomes. Nonetheless, there is a general trend suggesting that higher incomes are associated with a more positive evaluation of the region,<sup>15</sup> lending at least some support to this hypothesis.

	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Under \$15,000	0.40	93	1.43
\$15-20,000	0.56	68	1.25
\$20-30,000	0.78	78	1.52
\$30-40,000	1.05	110	1.19
\$40-50,000	0.77	92	1.29
\$50-75,000	0.88	162	1.37
\$75-100,000	1.02	108	1.27
\$100-125,000	0.55	70	1.56
\$125-175,000	1.15	88	1.30
\$175-250,000	0.67	23	1.46
Over \$250,000	1.45	13	0.87
Total	0.81	854	1.36

Table 18: Average Positivity by Household Income

## Conclusion

Our analysis of the sense of Southern identity among South Carolina's population has found important differences in how respondents would present the region to outsiders, with particularly noteworthy divisions among respondents on racial and ideological lines and between those of lower and higher socioeconomic status. Moreover, those who are native to the region, or have adopted a southern self-identification, are substantially more positive in their impressions of the region than those who have moved to South Carolina but retain a non-Southern identity. Perhaps this is due to the special web of social relationships among friends and kin observed by those with a favorable view of the South. Note, for example, the frequent mentions of "friendliness" and "family" as positive aspects. We can neither rule out a sense of "Southern Exceptionalism," the sense that the region is special and somehow "set apart," especially, "set apart by God."<sup>16</sup> Such analysis, however, goes beyond the scope of this inquiry.

These findings suggest a number of avenues for future research. One obvious extension is to consider a multivariate model to evaluate the relative importance of the various factors that seem to contribute to shaping Southern identity; we expect to develop and examine such a model in the future.

Perhaps another intriguing extension would be to compare southern identity in the peripheral or "rim" South to the sense of southern identity in Deep South states like South Carolina. It is possible that the differences we observe between southern identifiers and non-identifiers are exaggerated in the Deep South setting of South Carolina; on the other hand, it is also possible that moving to the peripheral/rim South does not lead to new migrants assimilating to a Southern identity, as the sense of regional identity may be weaker or nonexistent in these areas due to past and current migration patterns, such as from central and south Florida, the urban centers of Texas, and northern Virginia. A future study including respondents from both the Deep and Peripheral South would allow for meaningful comparisons in this regard.

Future research might also delve into the causes of these differences in identity and self-description to outsiders more deeply; for example, researchers might use focus groups or structured interviewing techniques to more thoroughly explore the differences in identity we find in this research, on both demographic and other lines.

Finally, given the continued pivotal role of the region in the politics of the United States, understanding Southern identity may be part of a larger research agenda pursuing to understand American Exceptionalism and self-description. Since the heart of southern exceptionalism is rooted in a regional sense of God's judgment and favor, and since the South remains the most religiously fervent region of the United States, future studies of American Exceptionalism may do well to seek to understand how the South might be influencing culture *outside* of its borders.

Winthrop University, Rock Hill, SC  
Middle Georgia State University, Macon, GA

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Previously presented at the 2014 Crandall Symposium on Southern Politics, Charleston, SC, March 6, 2014; we thank the audience and, in particular, our discussant, H. Chris Knotts, for their helpful feedback. We also thank Winthrop University and the John C. West Forum on Policy and Politics for their financial support for the survey whose results we present in this paper. Any errors in analysis or interpretation, however, are the sole responsibility of the authors.

<sup>2</sup> Eva Fedemayr, "American Studies in Hungary," *European Journal of American Studies* 11.1 (2006): 2-7.

<sup>2</sup> Zsolt K. Vinyagos, "Diagnosing American Culture: Centrifugality versus Centripetality, or, The Myth of a Core America," *Hangman's Journal of English and American Studies* 2.1 (1996): 21. Emphasis in original.

<sup>3</sup> James C. Cobb, *Only Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: OUP, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> John Shelton Reed, *The Evolving South: Subcultural Persistence in Mass Society* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina Press, 1972), 14.

<sup>5</sup> See Katherine D. Kinzler and Jasmine M. DeJesus, "Northern = Smart and Southern = Nice: The Development of Accent Attitudes in the United States," *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* 66.6: 1146-58, and Dennis R. Preston, "Language Penetration" (2005).

<sup>6</sup> See Dan T. Carter, *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963-1994* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1996) and Joseph A. Vastup, *The Southern Strategy Revisited: Republican Top-Down Advancement in the South* (F.P. of Kentucky: Lexington, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> See Crady McWhiney, *Cracker Culture* (Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1988); Dow Cohen, Richard Nisbet, Brian Bowdye, and Norbert Schwarz, "Insult, Aggression, and the Southern Culture of Honor," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70 (1996): 943-60; Dow Cohen, Joseph Vandellos, Sylvia Tuente, and Adrian Ramirez, "Why Men You Call Me That, Smell? How Norms for Politeness, Interaction Styles, and Aggression Work Together in Southern Culture," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 62 (1999): 257-75; Richard Nisbet and Dow Cohen, *Culture of Honor* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996); Dow Cohen and Richard Nisbet, "Self-Protection and the Culture of Honor," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20 (1994): 551-67; Bettman Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: OUP, 1982); D. H. Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Pedigrees in America* (New York: OUP, 1989).

<sup>8</sup> David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Republic of Man* (New York: Knopf, 1970), 293-96.

<sup>9</sup> Cohen et al., "Southern Culture of Honor," 95-58; Cohen et al., "Norms" 270-73.

<sup>10</sup> Kinzler and DeJesus 9-11.

<sup>11</sup> For more see Avdir Acharya, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen, "The Political Legacy of American Slavery," *John F. Kennedy School of Government Faculty Research Working Paper Series*, No. RW14-057, 2014; Christopher A. Cooper, and H. G. Knotts, "Overlapping Identities in the American South," *The Social Science Journal* 50.1 (2012): 6-12; Christopher A. Cooper and H. G. Knotts, "Love 'Em or Hate 'Em? Changing Racial and Regional Differences in Opinions Toward Southerners, 1964-2008," *Social Science Quarterly* 93.1 (2012): 58-75; Patrick R. Miller, "Southern Identity as Social Identity: The Racialized Politics of Belonging" (Presented at the Great Symposium on Southern Politics, March 2012, Charleston, SC); Tom W. Rice and Diane L. Coates, "Gender Role Attitudes in the Southern United States," *Gender and Society* 9 (1995): 74-56; Tom W. Rice, William P. Melkman, and Amy J. Larsen, "Southern Distinctiveness Over Time, 1972-2008," *American Review of Public* 23 (2002): 193-220; Tom W. Rice and Meredith L. Pepper, "Region, Migration, and Attitudes in the United States," *Social Science Quarterly* 78 (1997): 83-95; and Jay L. Barth, Marvin Overby, and Scott H. Huffman, "Community Context, Personal Contact, and Support for an Ann Gay Rights Referendum," *Political Research Quarterly* 62.2 (2009): 355-65.

<sup>12</sup> James H. Kuklinski, Michael D. Cobb, and Martin Gilens, "Racial Attitudes and the 'New South,'" *Journal of Politics* 59 (1997): 326.

<sup>13</sup> David O. Sears and P. J. Henry, "Over 50 Years Later, A Contemporary Look at Symbolic Racism," in Mark P. Zanna, ed., *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (San Diego, CA: Elsevier, 2005), 132-55.

<sup>14</sup> Cobb 35-7.

<sup>15</sup> See Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 1978), and Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy since the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1986).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* in Cobb 10.

<sup>17</sup> Cobb 12.

<sup>18</sup> Cobb 14 and William Winterbotham, *An Historical, Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophical View of the American United States and of the European Settlements in America and the West Indies* Vol. 3 (Newark, UK, 1795), 275.

<sup>19</sup> Winterbotham 275.

<sup>20</sup> Winterbotham 253.

<sup>21</sup> For more see Cobb.

<sup>22</sup> Charles Reagan Wilson, *Backlog in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: U of Georgia P 1980), 71.

<sup>23</sup> See Tara McPherson, *Reconstructing Dixie: Race, Gender, and Nostalgia in the Impagued South* (Durham: Duke UP, 2003) and Suzanne W. Jones and Sharon Monteith, eds., *South in a New Place: Region, Literature, and Culture* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 2002).

<sup>24</sup> W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Vintage, 1947) and C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (New York: Mentor, 1955).

<sup>25</sup> Reed, *The Evolving South* 83-87.

<sup>26</sup> For more see Miller, Cash, Cobb, Cooper and Knotts, "Changing Differences in Opinions," and Woodward.

<sup>27</sup> Cooper and Knotts, "Overlapping," 3.

<sup>28</sup> Cooper and Knotts, "Overlapping," 4.

<sup>29</sup> Cooper and Knotts, "Overlapping," 4-6.

<sup>30</sup> Cooper and Knotts, "Overlapping," 5-6.

<sup>31</sup> Cooper and Knotts, "Hanging," 63-64.

<sup>32</sup> Cooper and Knotts, *Resilience* 8, 16.

<sup>33</sup> Cooper and Knotts, *Resilience* 2-5.

<sup>34</sup> John Shelton Reed, *The Evolving South* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1986) and John Shelton Reed, "New South or No South? Regional Culture in 2036," *The South Moves Into Its Future: Studies in the Mobility and Production of Social Change* (Tuscaloosa: The U of Alabama P, 1991).

<sup>35</sup> For additional examples of this approach see John Shelton Reed, *One South: The Ethnic Approach to Regional Culture* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1982) and John Shelton Reed and Donald Joseph Snydal, eds., *Regionalism and the South: Selected Papers of Report 1* (Chapel Hill: The U of North Carolina P, 1982).

<sup>36</sup> For further details on the methodology for this survey, please refer to the methodology statement for this poll, located at

[http://www.winthrop.edu/uploadedfiles/wopoll\\_April2013MethodologyStatementArchive.pdf](http://www.winthrop.edu/uploadedfiles/wopoll_April2013MethodologyStatementArchive.pdf)

A complete report on the other items included in the survey is available at [http://www.winthrop.edu/uploadedfiles/wopoll\\_April2013PressReleaseArchive.pdf](http://www.winthrop.edu/uploadedfiles/wopoll_April2013PressReleaseArchive.pdf).

<sup>17</sup> John Shelton Reed, *One Nation*, 53.

<sup>18</sup> For example, a person who offered two neutral terms would score zero (0), as would a person offering one positive term and one negative term. In the case where a respondent did not offer any term at all, we score that term as a zero.

<sup>19</sup> A one-way analysis of variance, coupled with Tukey's range test, suggests that Non Southerners' perceptions of the region are less positive than those of both converts and natives ( $p < 0.001$  in both cases); the evaluations of natives are also less positive than those of converts, but this difference may be due to sampling error ( $p \approx 0.09$ ). The lower evaluations of Native Southerners likely reflects the fact that whites made up a larger share of converts than natives, as discussed below.

<sup>20</sup> Using a simple linear regression model, we find that length of residence in the region is positively associated with higher evaluations of the region, although we can only be confident this is true among the underlying population at the 90% significance level ( $p \approx 0.08$ ).

<sup>21</sup> The difference of means between African Americans and whites was statistically significant using Tukey's range test ( $p < 0.001$ ).

<sup>22</sup> A linear regression model with the five-point ideology scale as the independent variable and the net positivity scale as the dependent variable indicates this relationship is statistically significant ( $p < 0.001$ ), so we can be confident the relationship exists in the South Carolina population as a whole.

<sup>23</sup> A one-way analysis of variance, coupled with Tukey's range test, indicates that the mean for Republicans was significantly different from the means for both Democrats and independents ( $p < 0.001$  in both cases); however, there was no significant difference between Democrats' and independents' attitudes toward the region.

<sup>24</sup> This positive relationship is statistically significant ( $p < 0.005$ ), suggesting that older South Carolinians are mildly more positive toward the region than younger South Carolinians.

<sup>25</sup> A linear regression model with the eleven-point income scale as the independent variable and the net positivity scale as the dependent variable indicates this relationship is statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ).

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, Wilson, *Revisited in Blood*.

## Works Cited

- Acharya, Avditi, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. "The Political Legacy of American Slavery." John F. Kennedy School of Government Faculty Research Working Paper Series, No. RWP14-057, 2014. Web. 5 April 2015.
- Aistrup, Joseph A. *The Southern Strategy: Retrieked: Republican Top-Down Abandonment in the South*. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1996. Print.
- Barth, Jay, Jr., Marvin Overby, and Scott H. Huffman. "Community Context, Personal Contact, and Support for an Anti-Gay Rights Referendum." *Political Research Quarterly* 62.2 (2009): 355-65. Print.
- Carter, Dan T. *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963-1994*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1996. Print.
- Cash, W. J. *The Mind of the South*. New York: Vintage, 1947. Print.
- Cobb, James C. *Along Down South: A History of Southern Identity*. New York: OUP, 2005. Print.
- Cohen, Dov, and Richard Nisbett. "Self-Protection and the Culture of Honor." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20 (1994): 551-67. Print.
- Cohen, Dov, Richard Nisbett, Brian Bowleg, and Norbert Schwarz. "Insult, Aggression, and the Southern Culture of Honor." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70 (1996): 945-60. Print.
- Cohen, Dov, Joseph Vandelto, Sylvia Puente, and Adrian Ramilla. "When You Call Me 'That, Smile!' How Norms for Politeness, Interaction Styles, and Aggression Work Together in Southern Culture." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 62 (1999): 257-75. Print.
- Cooper, Christopher A., and H. G. Knotts. "Love 'Em or Hate 'Em? Changing Racial and Regional Differences in Opinions Toward Southerners, 1964-2008." *Social Science Quarterly* 93.1 (2012): 58-75. Print.
- . "Overlapping Identities in the American South." *The Social Science Journal* 50.1 (2012): 6-12. Print.
- . *The Resilience of Southern Identity*. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina P, 1985.
- Donald, David. *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man*. New York: Knopf, 1970. Print.
- Fredemayer, Eva. "American Studies in Hungary." *European Journal of American Studies* 1.1 (2006): 2-7. Print.

Fischer, D. H. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: OUP, 1989. Print.

Jones, Suzanne W., and Sharon Monteith, eds. *South to a New Place: Region, Literature, and Culture*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 2002. Print.

Key, V. O. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. Knoxville: The U of Tennessee P, 1949. Print.

Kinzler, Katherine D., and Jasmine M. Degesús. "Northern = Smart and Southern = Nice: The Development of Accent Attitudes in the United States." *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* 66 (6): 1146-58. Print.

Kuklinski, James H., Michael D. Cobb, and Martin Gilens. "Racial Attitudes and the 'New South.'" *Journal of Politics* 59 (1997): 323-49. Print.

McPherson, Tara. *Reconstructing Dixie: Race, Gender, and Nostalgia in the Imagined South*. Durham: Duke UP, 2003. Print.

McWhiney, Grady. *Cracker Culture*. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1988. Print.

Miller, Patrick R. "Southern Identity as Social Identity: The Racialized Politics of Belonging." Presented at the Gradel Symposium on Southern Politics, March 2012, Charleston, SC.

Nisbet, Richard, and Dov Cohen. *Culture of Honor*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996. Print.

Odum, Howard. *Southern Regions of the United States*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1936. Print.

Preston, Dennis R. "Language Prejudice." 2005. Web. 8 May 2015.

Reed, John Shelton. *The Enduring South: Subcultural Persistence in Mass Society*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1972. Print.

.... *The Enduring South*. Rev. ed. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1986. Print.

.... "Instant Grits and Plastic-Wrapped Crackers: Southern Culture and Regional Development." In D. Rubin, Jr., ed. *The American South: Portrait of a Culture*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1980. 27-37. Print.

.... "New South or No South? Regional Culture in 2036." *The South Moves into the Future: Studies in the Analysis and Prediction of Social Change*. Tuscaloosa: The U of Alabama P, 1991. Print.

.... *One South: An Ethnic Approach to Regional Culture*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1982. Print.

.... and Daniel Joseph Signal, eds. *Regionalism and the South: Selected Papers of Robert Vance*. Chapel Hill: The U of North Carolina P, 1982. Print.

.... and Merle Black. *One South: An Ethnic Approach to Regional Subculture*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1982. Print.

Rice, Tom W., and Diane L. Coates. "Gender Role Attitudes in the Southern United States." *Gender and Society* 9 (1995): 774-56. Print.

Rice, Tom W., and Meredith L. Pepper. "Region, Migration, and Attitudes in the United States." *Social Science Quarterly* 78 (1997): 83-95. Print.

Rice, Tom W., William P. McLean, and Amy J. Larsen. "Southern Distinctiveness Over Time, 1972-2000." *American Review of Politics* 23 (2002): 193-220. Print.

Sears, David O., and P. J. Henry. "Over 30 Years Later: A Contemporary Look at Symbolic Racism." *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. Ed. Mark P. Zanna. San Diego, CA: Elsevier, 2005. 98-150. Print.

Virágos K. Zsolt. "Diagnosing American Culture: Centrifugality versus Centrality; or, The Myth of a Core America." *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 2.1 (1996): 15-34. Print.

Wilson, Charles Reagan. *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1980. Print.

Winterbotham, William. *An Historical, Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophical View of the American United States and of the European Settlements in America and the West-Indies*. Vol. 3. Newark, UK, 1795. Print.

Woodward, C. Vann. *The Burden of Southern History*. New York: Mentor, 1955. Print.

Wright, Gavin. *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Norton, 1978. Print.

.... *Old South, New South: Revolutions in The Southern Economy since the Civil War*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1986. Print.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*. New York: OUP, 1982. Print.

#### Appendix: Questions Used in the Analysis

- (Question 23/24) "Imagine that you had to describe the South to someone who had never been to a southern state in America in just two words or two ~~key~~ short phrases."
- (Question 33) "Regardless of your political party affiliation, would you describe yourself as Very Liberal, Somewhat Liberal, Exactly in the Middle, Somewhat Conservative, or Very Conservative?"
- (Question 34) "Regardless of how you voted in the last election, in general, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?"
- (Question 41) "Which of the following best describes your regional identity?" The options, "Non-Southern," "Converted Southerner," or "Native Southerner" were rotated.
- (Question 42) "How long have you lived in the South?"
- (Question 44) "What is the highest level of education you have completed?"
- (Question 46) "What is your race or ethnicity?"
- (Question 47) "What is your age as of your last birthday?"
- (Question 50) "Which of the following categories best describes your TOTAL household YEARLY income?"
- (Question 51) Interviewer classification of respondent's gender.

#### Postmodern Representation and Commodity Spectacle in Nathaniel West's *The Day of the Locust*

Daniel Darway

H/EAS

When Tod Hackett, the protagonist of Nathaniel West's *The Day of the Locust* (1939), finds himself wandering about in the Hollywood studio lot, he witnesses how dozens of discarded sets are dumped on the ground, heaped on each other, into one giant pile. West describes this as "the final dumping ground," the continuously growing heap of "dream dump," because the way his character sees it, "there wasn't a dream afloat somewhere which wouldn't sooner or later run up on it, having first been made photographic by plaster, canvas, lath and paint" (132). For West's protagonist, there is no dream without a visible trace in real life, therefore the scene also expresses the way in which stories, dreams, and history itself become compressed into one huge junkyard, discarded in the endless succession of shows in an increasingly commercialized society and culture. Shortly after having witnessed the building of this huge "dream dump," Tod stumbles into the actual ongoing production scene of the movie entitled "*Waverlow*": *A Charlie H. Generation Production*. He finds himself surrounded by cavalry regiments wearing "casques and chest armor of black cardboard" (132), by a "regiment of gendarmes d'élite, several companies of chasseurs of the guard and a flying detachment of Rimband's lancers," as well as English soldiers gathered around Moinet St. Jean, which, as it turns out, "wasn't quite finished . . . and swarmed with grips, property and men, set dresses, carpenters and painters" (133). Tod experiences the production of a fictional representation in the form of a movie, but he also curiously finds himself within the realm of an alternative history in the making.

Not only does this scene encapsulate a range of important social and historical concerns prevalent in American society during the Great Depression and the era of the New Deal—issues that have often been described in terms of a strange coexistence of dire poverty and a rising culture of abundance—but it also illustrates two signature features of West's aesthetic technique: first, the constant blurring of the line between history and fiction, factual reality and artistic representations, and second, the accelerated commodification of everyday life and its condensation into mass-produced images, infinitely replicable and marketable productions such as movies and TV shows. It is the unique way in which these two key aspects of West's work constantly play into each other that makes it