Southern Distinctiveness Over Time, 1972-2000

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Scholars have long been interested in the cultural differences between the southern United States and the rest of the nation. In this study we update and extend earlier work in this area by comparing and tracking the responses of southerners and non-southerners to over 75 questions from the 1972-2000 cumulative General Social Surveys. The analyses generate four conclusions. First, the attitudes and behaviors of southerners are more conservative than those of non-southerners in many areas, including race, gender, religion, sex, social capital, and tolerance. Second, the magnitude of these regional differences remains about the same regardless of whether we compare all southerners and non-southerners or just white southerners and non-southerners. This suggests that Southern culture is not just a "white" southern culture as many scholars have argued in the past. Third, the differences between southerners and non-southerners persist, although often to a lesser degree, after controlling for structural variables such as education, income, and urbanity. The implication is that southern distinctiveness is a product of both deep-seeded cultural differences and structural differences between regions. Fourth, there is very little evidence that regional differences have declined over the past quarter century, challenging those who contend that southern culture is in retreat.

Introduction

The cultural distinctiveness of the southern United States has fascinated social scientists for over a century. From Redfield (1880) and Odum (1930) to Reed (1974) and Cobb (1999), scholars have cataloged the differences between southerners and non-southerners. As the new century dawns, however, a growing number of observers voice concern that regional variations in attitudes and behaviors are giving way to a monolithic American culture. Most see the South as being "Americanized" by Northern dominated media and economic interests, and by a new generation of "carpetbaggers." Others turn the table, arguing in favor of a "southernization of America" in which many Southern values are steadily gaining favor across the country. Either way, the results should be an erosion of cultural differences between the South and the rest of the nation.

In this study we examine the attitudes and behaviors of southerners and non-southerners over the last quarter century to determine the extent to which they are different and the extent to which they have converged. The

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results confirm that the southerners and non-southerners hold dissimilar opinions on many issues, but there is also evidence that they agree on some matters. Looking across time, the analyses provide little support for the convergence thesis; regional differences persist at about the same rate now as a generation ago. The message seems to be that Southern distinctiveness is firmly intact at the beginning of the 21st century despite growing exposure to non-Southern influences.

Literature Review

Regional observers have long thought that there were cultural differences between southerners and non-southerners. Thomas Jefferson (McCardell 1979, 13), for example, noted that southerners were fiery, voluptuary, and indolent, while northerners were cool, somber, and laborious. Perceptions such as these have been commonplace among everyday Americans from the colonial period to the present (Reed 1974), but it was not until a cadre of regional sociologists began systematically searching for sectional differences in the 1920s and 1930s that these notions found rigorous empirical support. The sociologists, including Howard Odum and many of his colleagues and students (Reed 1993), gathered a wide variety of data on the nation's regions and arrived, more often than not, at the conclusion that the South was distinct in many ways.

The study of regional differences has continued to advance in recent decades, aided by improvements in data collection and quantitative methods. In particular, public opinion surveys have made it possible for scholars to measure culture by quizzing people directly about their attitudes and behaviors. Glenn and Simmons (1967) and Holloway and Robinson (1981) were among the first to use nationwide polling data to show that southerners and non-southerners hold different beliefs on many issues, and Reed (1974, 1982, 1983) reached the same conclusion employing survey data from an impressive array of national, state, and convenience samples. Regional differences also exist among political party activists according to a study by Steed, Moreland, and Baker (1990). And in perhaps the most extensive examination of regional opinions, Hurlbert (1989) used the widely respected General Social Survey to trace the attitudes of southerners and non-southerners from 1972 to 1982 in three broadly defined issue domains. She found that, once again, the South is a distinct cultural region.

Over the same period that Hurlbert (1989) and others were taking a comprehensive look at attitudes across regions, dozens of additional scholars were investigating regional differences one issue at a time. For example, there has been a steady stream of research that has examined the extent to

which there is a subculture of violence in the South (e.g., Baron and Strauss 1988; Cohen, Bowdle, Nisbett, Schwarz 1996; Ellison 1991; Huff-Corzine, Corzine, Moore 1991; Messer 1983; Rice and Goldman 1994). Results generally show that southerners are more violent, especially when it comes to murder, but there is disagreement over whether this is due to deep-seated cultural traits or structural factors, such as poverty and economic inequality. Another line of work has focused on gender role attitudes across regions and the evidence is clear that southerners hold more traditional views about women than non-southerners (e.g., Boles and Atkinson 1986; Ferree 1974; Middleton-Keirn 1986; Rice and Coates 1995). Still other researchers have examined regional variation in a myriad of additional areas, such as racial attitudes, religious beliefs, support for civil liberties, family values, the use of corporal punishment, and opinions of social welfare. The majority of this work finds support for Southern distinctiveness, although the degree to which attitudes and behaviors vary across regions depends on the issue area and the data employed.

Research Plan

Even though scholars have done an excellent job of cataloging regional differences for almost a century there is still much work to be done. In this study we add to the previous research in three important ways. As noted earlier, we take a longitudinal look at regional attitudes and behaviors instead of focusing on a single point in time like most of the prior work. By tracking southern and non-southern opinions from the 1970s to the present we are able to comment on whether regional differences are converging, diverging, or staying about the same. The last 25 years has been an especially turbulent period in the South because of the flood of immigrants and investment from the North and the pervasiveness of northern-generated media. It has also been a time when the effects of the Civil Rights Era continued to influence the region. If southern culture has persisted in the face of these pressures the prospects are good that it will continue to flourish well into the 21st century, but if we detect significant erosion in regional differences it may signal a trend that will eventually end southern distinctiveness. Lamentably, the existing literature does not give us a clear idea of whether the gap between southern and non-southern opinion is changing.

Our work also improves on much of the earlier research by including blacks in the analyses. A common practice among scholars has been to omit blacks because many of the cultural characteristics associated with the South are thought to be mainly white traits. Hurlbert (1989, 247), for instance, justifies excluding blacks by arguing that numerous Southern traits, such as

"racial and political attitudes, and certain forms of predisposition to violence," pertain primarily to whites. Including blacks, according to this view, would risk masking important cultural differences between southern and non-southern whites. We take a broader view, one that focuses as much on region as it does race. In parallel analyses we examine cultural differences between all southerners and non-southerners, and between white southerners and non-southerners. Thus, we are able to speak about regional difference as a whole and about regional differences between whites. It is worth noting that even though there are undoubtedly differences in the opinions of southern blacks and whites on some matters, such as race, it is not altogether obvious why southern blacks and whites would necessarily hold diverse opinions on many other issues. Apart from issues that tie back to race in some way, southern blacks and whites share many cultural moorings, such as moral conservatism, a deep respect for religion, the centrality of family, and a commitment to place. To be sure, the scar of race runs deep, contributing to differences in black and white opinions on issues such as welfare, but there remain plenty of areas for the two races to concur. Reed (1983), for example, finds substantial agreement between southern blacks and whites on a wide range of traditional values and on many measures of regional pride.

The third way that our research improves on previous work is that we look for regional differences across an exceptionally broad array of attitudes and behaviors. Most studies have limited their hunt for differences to predictable places, such as racial attitudes, gender roles, and moral traditionalism. We expand the search into areas such as personal happiness and satisfaction, social capital, and work ethic. By doing so we are able to comment more comprehensively on where Southern and non-Southern attitudes vary—and where they are the same.

Data

Our data come from the General Social Surveys (GSS) public opinion polls of Americans that have been conducted by the National Opinion Research Center almost every year since 1972. We selected for analyses more than 75 questions that were asked repeatedly over the last quarter century. For presentation purposes the queries are divided into the following 11 substantive areas. The actual question wordings are in the appendix.

Race

The South has long been associated with more conservative racial attitudes than the non-South, but the gap between regions has narrowed in recent decades as many white southerners have moderated their views (Black and Black 1987; Schuman, Steech, Bobo, Krysan 1997). While some researchers contend that southern racists have simply learned to hide their beliefs (Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens 1997), there is little doubt that racism has declined to some degree in the region. We measure racial attitudes with a variety of questions, most of which have to do with interracial interaction, such as whether laws should allow homeowners to refuse to sell to blacks and whether laws should prohibit interracial marriages.

Gender

In the 19th century South the ideal woman was "a submissive wife whose reason for being was to love, honor, obey and occasionally amuse her husband, to bring up his children and manage his household" (Scott 1970, 4). Modern attitudes are certainly more liberal, but there is still evidence that the southern lady mentality persists in the region (Rice and Coates 1995). The GSS includes a rich set of gender role questions that examine everything from whether a woman should work outside the home to whether a woman should run for president.

Family Values

A conservative theme in recent American elections that has played well in the South is family values (Applebome 1996). Traditional Christian views of family and marriage are certainly common across the South, but very little empirical work has explored regional differences in family values and how these differences have changed over time. We are able to examine some of these values with GSS questions on such topics as divorce, abortion, and sex education.

Sex

Public opinion polls show that southerners harbor more conservative sexual attitudes than non-southerners (Hurlbert 1989; Rice and Pepper 1996). For example, southerners are less likely to approve of homosexual sex and pornography. What is not clear, though, is whether the gap between the sexual attitudes of southerners and non-southerners has closed as sex has

increasingly found its way into popular culture and the national media. With questions on adultery, homosexual relations, and pornography, the GSS gives us the opportunity to help solve this puzzle.

Religion

According to a minister in Charlotte, North Carolina, "[r]eligion is what really makes and keeps the South a separate, solid and stable culture" (Applebome 1996, 28-29). Studies confirm that southerners are more likely than non-southerners to hold conservative Christian beliefs (Baker, Steed, and Moreland 1983; Feig 1990; Ladd 1998) and to attend religious services (Kanagy, Firebaugh, and Nelsen 1994; Kellstedt 1990). The GSS questions allow us to examine regional differences over time in three areas: support for school prayer, the origin of the Bible, and church attendance.

Violence

As noted earlier, a substantial body of empirical research has confirmed the South's noted subculture of violence. Southerners are, indeed, more violent than non-southerners in many situations (Nisbett and Cohen 1996), but there is very little work on regional feelings about related issues, such as gun laws and criminal penalties. We use six questions to assess regional differences toward violence, law enforcement, and other related issues.

Happiness

Southerners are thought to be more jovial and pleasure loving than non-southerners and to worry less than non-southerners (Reed 1974). In addition, southerners are more likely than non-southerners to be happy with the community and state in which they live (Black and Black 1987). All of this suggests that southerners may be more pleased and content with their lives. To test this possibility, we use questions that ask respondents about how happy and satisfied they are with everything from their marriage to their hobbies.

Work Ethic

Southerners are commonly perceived as less ambitious than non-southerners. For example, when presented with a set of descriptive adjectives, Southern college students characterized southerners as lazy and northerners as industrious (Reed 1974). We examine the differences in work ethic across

regions with two questions, one that asks respondents whether they would continue to work if they were rich and the other that asks whether getting ahead is due to hard work or luck.

Government Assistance

Despite a deep commitment to small government and individual responsibility, many studies have found southerners are no less likely than non-southerners to support government social programs (Ladd 1998; Mayer 1992). Apparently the severe poverty that plagued the region well into the 20th century helped convince many people that government assistance was necessary. It seems possible, though, that support for government programs may have subsided as southern incomes have risen in recent decades. The GSS offers two sets of questions to test whether southerners are less supportive of government spending than non-southerners. One set asks how involved government should be in helping groups such as blacks and the poor, and the other set asks whether government spending is too high, too low, or about right across a wide range of areas, from environmental protection to healthcare.

Social Capital

Social capital, which refers to "social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them," has received a great deal of attention from scholars in recent years (Putnam 2000, 19). Research has indicated that societies with high levels of interpersonal trust and social connectedness tend to have more effective governments and stronger economies (Putnam 1993; Rice and Arnett 2001). Research has also shown that social capital is lower in the South than in the non-South (Putnam 2000). The GSS includes several questions that allow us to investigate the extent to which there are differences in social capital across regions.

Tolerance

Public opinion polls have found that southerners are less tolerant than non-southerners in a variety of areas (Ellison and Musick 1993; Abrahamson and Carter 1986). Racial intolerance among whites in the region is, of course, legendary, but southerners have also been found to be intolerant toward other groups, such as communists and homosexuals. The GSS has a number of questions that we can use to examine regional patterns in tolerance across time.

Obviously, there is a great deal of overlap in these eleven cultural groupings. Opinions about race, for instance, may be related to tolerance levels and attitudes about government assistance, and feelings about sexual matters have a lot to do with certain family values and gender role attitudes. This made it difficult to assign many of the GSS questions to a single cultural category. As an example, the abortion question could be used as an indicator of family, sex, or gender values. Ideally, we would use a data reduction technique, such as factor analysis, to help make sense of how these questions are related, but this was problematic because the questions are not asked in every year and in recent years the GSS has gone to a split ballot format so that not all respondents are asked every question. Because these eleven groupings—and the questions used to measure them—intersect in so many ways, care should be used in drawing conclusions about the differences in attitudes across the groupings in the forthcoming analyses.

Findings

Before examining regional variations in our selected questions we segmented the GSS sample by region using United States Bureau of the Census regional designations (the GSS does not provide state-level codes). Southerners were considered all of the respondents from the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central regions (Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia). Also in preparation for the analyses, we omitted all of the missing values and "don't know" responses from the attitude and behavior questions. And lastly, we omitted responses to questions where the interviewees volunteered answers that were not in the list of choices. For instance, on the question about whether or not people are trustworthy a few respondents volunteered the answer "it depends." Volunteered responses such as these were dropped because not all interviewees are bold enough to suggest their own answers.

Southern Distinctiveness: The Full Sample

In the first part of the analysis we tested for differences in Southern and non-Southern attitudes and behaviors using the entire GSS sample, including blacks. To do this we regressed the binary regional variable (South and non-South) on each of the more than 75 attitude and behavior questions by year, producing over 1,000 separate regression models. Each model tells us whether there is a significant difference between southerners and

non-southerners on that question for that year. Logistic regression is used when the dependent variable is binary and OLS regression when the dependent variable has three or more ordinal or interval categories.

The results of this massive exercise are presented in Table 1. The numbers in the table indicate the extent to which region is statistically related to each of the attitude and behavior questions by year. Values of +3 (or –3) mean that the relationship between region and that particular attitude or behavior for that year is statistically significant at the .001 level (generally a difference of about 10 percentage points between regions on a two category variable), values of +2 (–2) signify significance at the .01 level (generally a difference of about seven percentage points between regions on a two category variable), values of +1 (or –1) indicate significance at the .05 level (generally a difference of about five percentage points between regions on a two category variable), and the dashes (--) mean that the relationship was insignificant. When a table cell is blank it means that particular question was not asked that year. The signed direction of each cell entry, positive or negative, indicates whether the significant relationship was in the direction expected based on previous theoretical and empirical research (and occasionally our intuition) on Southern distinctiveness. For instance, the literature on the South holds that southerners harbor more traditional gender role attitudes than non-southerners, so the positive cell entries for the gender questions mean that southern attitudes were significantly more conservative. The southern hypothesis for each of the questions is listed at the end of each question entry in the appendix. Once again, a positive cell entry means that Southern attitudes are significantly different from non-Southern attitudes in the direction expected based on what we know about Southern distinctiveness, and a negative entry means that the relationship is significant, but goes against what we hypothesized.

Even a cursory glace at the table reveals far more positive than negative entries, indicating that southerners are often different from non-southerners in ways that we would expect. There are also, however, quite a few insignificant entries (signified by --), implying that regional differences do not always exist. Taking a look at each of the 11 categories one at a time, we see that southerners hold far more conservative attitudes on racial matters than non-southerners except when it comes to bussing children to achieve school integration (BUSING). Moreover, there is very little indication that the differences between regions have moderated across time. On a few of the questions, such as homeowner discrimination (RACOPEN) and voting for a black for president (RACPRES), some of the later entries fall below +3, but the entries for bussing (BUSING) counter this trend by becoming significant in recent years. The message seems to be that southerners

Table 1. Southern Distinctiveness

GSS Acronym	Variable Description	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	80	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	93	94	96	98	00
RACE*																								
BUSING	Bus children for integration	--											--	--		+1	--		--	+2	+3	+3		
RACMAR	Interracial marriage							+3	+3	+3	--	+3	+3	--	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3
RACOPEN	Homeowner discriminate by race						+3	+3	+3	+3		+2	--	+2	+3	+3	+2	+2	+1	+3	+3	+2		
RACPRES	Vote black for president			+3			+3	+3		+3	+3	+2	+3	+3	+3	+3	+2	--	--	+3	+3	+1		
RACPUSH	Black shouldn't push								+3	+3		+3	--			+3	+2		+3	+3	+3	+2		
RACSEG	Blacks should respect white areas							+3	+3	+3		+3	+3		+3	+3	+2	+3	+3	+3	+3	+2		
GENDER																								
FECHLD	Working mom worse for kids						--						--	--		+1	--		--	--	--	--	--	+2
FEFAM	Better if woman stays home						+3						+3	+2		+3	--	--	+2	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3
FEHELP	Wife should help husband's job						+3						--	--		+2	+1	+1	+2	+3	+2	+3		
FEHOME	Men should run country			+3	+3		+3	+3		+3	+3		+3	+3		+3	+3	+3	+1	+2	+2	+3		
FEOL	Men better suited for politics			--	+3		+3	+3		+3	+3		+3	+3		+3	+1	+2	+3	+2	+1	+3	+1	
FEPRES	Vote woman for president	+3		+2	+3		--			+3	+3		+3	--		+2	+3	--	+2	--	--	--	+3	
FEPRESCH	Child suffers if mother works						--						--	--		--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+1	+1
FEWORK	Woman should work	--		+2	+2		--	--		--	--		--	--		--	--	--	+1	+2	--	--	--	
FAMILY VALUES																								
ABANY	Abortion		--				+3	+3	+2	+3	+3	+3	+2		+3	+3	+2	+1	+2	+3	+3	+3	+2	+3
AGED	Share home with grown children			--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-2	--	--	--	--	--	--	-1	--
CHLDIDEL	Ideal number of children	+2		+2	+1	--	+1	--	--	+1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-2	--	--
DIVLAW	Should divorce be easier			--	+2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-1	--	--	-1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
PILLOK	Birth control to teens						--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+3	--	--	--	+3	--	--	--
PREMARSX	Premarital sex	+3		+3	+3		+3	+3	+3	+3		+3	+3		+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3
SEXEDUC	Sex education			+3	--		+3	+3	+3		--		+1			--		+3	+1	+3	--	--	+1	--

SEX

Code	Description																		
HOMOSEX	Homosexual relations wrong	+3	+3		+3	+3		+3	+3		+3	+2	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3
PORNLAW	Selling pornography OK	+1		--	--		+1	+2	--		+1	--	+3	--	+3	--	+2	+3	+1	+3
PORNMORL	Porn leads to moral breakdown	--	+2	--	+2	+3	+2	+2	--		+1	+3	--	+2	--	+2	+2			
PORNRAPE	Porn leads to rape	--	+3	--	+3	+3	+1	+3	--	+1	+2	+3	+2	--	--	+1	--			
XMARSEX	Adultery	+3	--	+1	+3	+3	+3	+2	+1	+3	--	+1	--	--	--	--	+1	+2	--	+1
XMOVIES	Seen x-rated movie last year	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

RELIGION

Code	Description																		
ATTEND	Church attendance	+3	+3	+3	+2	+3	+3	+2	+2	+2	+3	+2	+1	+2	+1	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3
BIBLE	Origin of Bible								+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3
PRAYER	School prayer	+1	+3		+3		+3	+3	+2	+2	+3	+2	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3

VIOLENCE

Code	Description																		
CAPPUN	Death penalty		-1		--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
COURTS	Are courts too harsh	--	--	--	--	--	--	-1	--	--	--	--	--	-1	--	--	--	--	-1	--
GUNLAW	Permit before buying gun	+3	+2	+3	+3	--	+3	+3	+1	+3	+2	+1	+3	+1	+3	+1	+3	+1	--	--
HIT	Ever hit by another person	-2	-2	--	-3	-3	-1	-1	-3	--	--	--	--	--	-2	--	--	--	--	--
HITOK	Ever OK to hit another person	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		--	--	-2	--	-2	--	--	--	--	--	--
SUICIDE1	Suicide OK if incurable disease			+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3

HAPPINESS

Code	Description																		
HAPMAR	Is marriage happy?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+3	+2
HAPPY	Is respondent happy?	--	+2	+1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+1
HEALTH	Respondents health	+3	--	+3	+2	+3	+3	+2	+3	+3	+3	--	--	--	+3	--	--	--	+2	+1
SATCITY	Satisfied with city	+1	+3	+3	--	--	+3	+1	+2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SATFAM	Satisfied with family	--	--	--	--	--	-1	+1	--	--	--	--	--	--	-1	--	--	--	--	--
SATHEALTH	Satisfied with health	--	--	--	+2	--	--	--	--	--	+1	--	--	-1	--	--	--	--	--	--
SATFRND	Satisfied with friends	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SATHOBBY	Satisfied with hobbies	--	--	--	-1	-1	-1	--	--	--	--	--	-2	-2	--	--	--	--	--	--
SATJOB	Satisfied with job	-1	--	-1	-1	--	--	--	--	--	-1	--	-3	--	--	--	--	-1	--	-1

Table 1 (continued)

GSS Acronym	Variable Description	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	80	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	93	94	96	98	00
WORK ETHIC																								
GETAHEAD	Getting ahead hard work or luck	--	–2	--	--	--	--		--	--	--	+1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
RICHWORK	Work if rich?	--	--	--	--	--	--		--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE																								
EQWLTH	Reduce income differences							--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
HELPBLK	Government should help blacks			--									--	+1	+3	+1	--	--	+2	+2	+1	+1	+3	--
HELPNOT	Government help or individual			--							–1	--	–2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
HELPPOOR	Government should help poor				–1						--	–1	--	--	+2	+3	--	--	--	--	--	+1	--	+1
HELPSICK	Government should help sick			--							--	--	--	--	+3	+3	+1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NATARMS	Public spending on military	+3	+3	+3	+2	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+2	+3	+2	+2	+3	+2	+3	+3	+1	+3
NATCITY	Public spending on cities	+3	+2	+1	+3	--	--	--	+2	+1	--	--	+1	+1	--	+2	+3	+2	+2	+2	+2	--	--	--
NATCRIME	Public spending against crime	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NATDRUG	Public spending against drugs	--	--	+1	--	+2	--	--	--	+1	+3	--	--	--	--	--	--	+1	--	--	--	--	+1	+2
NATEDUC	Public spending on education	--	--	+2	+2	+3	+3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NATENVIR	Public spending on environment	+3	+3	+1	--	+3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NATFARE	Public spending on welfare	--	--	--	–2	--	–3	–1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NATHEAL	Public spending on health care	--	--	+2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+1	--	--	--	--	–1
NATRACE	Public spending on blacks	+3	--	--	--	--	–1	--	--	--	+3	--	+3	--	--	+1	--	--	--	+2	+3	+1	--	--
NATSPAC	Public spending on space	--	--	--	--	--	--	+2	+1	--	+1	--	--	--	--	+1	+1	+1	--	+1	--	+2	--	--
TAX	Federal taxes too high	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	–1	--	--	--	--	--	–2	+1	+1	--	--	--	--	--	--
SOCIAL CAPITAL																								
ANOMIA5	Average man getting worse	--	--	--	+2	--	+3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	+1	+1	--	--	--	--			
ANOMIA6	Not fair to bring child into world	--	--	+1	+3	+2	--	+3	+2	+1	+2	+3	+1	+1	+3	+3	+3	+2	+2	+2	+2			
FAIR	People take advantage of others	+1	--	--	+3	+3	--	+3	+2	+3	+2	+3	+3	+1	+1	+3	+3	+3	--	+3	+3	+2	+3

HELPFUL	Most people helpful	--	--	+3	--	+3	+2	+3	+1	--	+1	--	--	+2	+3	+2	+3	--	--	+3
NEWS	How often read newspaper	+3		--	+3	+3	+3	+3	+2	+3	+2	--	+2	+3	+2	--	+2	+1	+2	+3	--
SOCBAR	Last time in tavern		+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	--	+3	+1	+2	+3	+2	+3	--	--
SOCFREN	Last evening with friends		+3	--	+2	+2	+1	+1	+1	--	+1	--	+1	--	--	--	--	--	--
SOCOMMUN	Last evening with neighbors		--	--	-2	--	-3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
TRUST	People can be trusted	+3	+1	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+2	+3	+3	+1	+3	+3	+2	+3
TVHOURS	TV hours per day		--	--	--	+2	+2	+1	--	+1	--	+1	--	+1	--	+2	--	--
TOLERANCE																			
COLATH	Should atheist teach college	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+2	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	--	+3	+3	+3	+1
COLHOMO	Should homosexual teach college	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3	+3
COLRACE	Should racist teach college		-3	-3	-3	-3	-2	-1	-3	--	-1	--	-1	--	--	-2	--
GRASS	Legalize marijuana	+3	+3	+3	+1	+2	+1	--	+1	+2	+3	--	+1	+1	--	--	+3	+3
Full Sample Means		1.7	1.0	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.2	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.8	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.1

The numbers in the table represent significance levels from regressing region on each of the variables, with +3 (or −3) meaning that region is significantly related to the variable at the .001 level or greater; +2 (or −2) meaning that region is significant at the .01 level or greater; and +1 (or −1) meaning that region is significant at the .05 level or greater. A "--" means that region was not significant and a blank means that the dependent variable question was not asked in that year. A positive "+" significance means that region was related to the variable in the hypothesized direction (generally meaning that Southerners are more conservative/traditional than non-Southerners) and a "−" means it was significant in the direction that was opposite what was hypothesized (generally meaning that Southerners are less conservative/traditional than non-Southerners). For a listing of the hypothesized direction for the dependent variables see the appendix.

*Some of the race questions were asked to whites only before 1977 and the data for these questions are omitted from the analyses presented in Table 1 and all subsequent analyses.

have always and continue to hold more conservative racial attitudes than non-southerners. It is important to remember that the highly significant cell entries are achieved even with blacks in the sample.

The gender questions are also generally significant in the expected direction, with southerners holding more conservative attitudes. The exceptions are the insignificant relationships on the questions having to do with whether a woman should work—especially a woman with young children (FECHLD, FEPRESCH, FEWORK). This mirrors the findings of Rice and Coates (1995) and probably stems from the fact that so many Southern mothers have had to work over the years because of the lingering poverty that has plagued the region. Southerners may be more likely than non-southerners to want women in traditional roles, but this does not mean, in their eyes, that a working woman cannot be a good mother. Broadly speaking, the cell entries for the gender questions become somewhat less significant over time, suggesting that gender role differences may be diminishing slightly. This, too, matches the findings of Rice and Coates (1995).

The cell entries for the family values questions vary widely. There is no doubt that southerners hold more conservative views on abortion (ABANY) and premarital sex (PREMARSX), but they are not always more conservative when it comes to support for sex education in public schools (SEXEDUC) and birth control for teens (PILLOK). On the other three family values questions, including the query about whether divorce should be made easier (DIVLAW), Southern and non-Southern opinions rarely differ. Looking across the entire time period, there is very little evidence that regional variations in family values have changed significantly.

Southern attitudes about sexual matters are almost always more conservative than non-southern attitudes, particularly with regard to homosexual relations (HOMOSEX). Southerners are also more likely to oppose adultery and pornography (XMARSEX and PORNLAW), and they are more likely to think that pornography leads to rape and a moral breakdown of society (PORNRAPE and PORNMORL). It is interesting, though, that southerners and non-southerners are equally likely to have seen an x-rated movie in the last year (XMOVIES), suggesting that southerners' traditional sexual attitudes may not match their behavior. Scanning across all of the entries does not yield much evidence that regional differences in sexual attitudes have changed over the last quarter century.

When it comes to religious matters, southerners are definitely more conservative than non-southerners. Every one of the religious cell entries is significant and positive, and two-thirds of them are +3. Southerners are more likely than non-southerners to attend church (ATTEND), interpret the Bible conservatively (BIBLE), and favor school prayer (PRAYER). Moreover,

there is no indication that these regional differences are fading. Indeed, since 1993 all of the entries for all three religious questions have been +3, suggesting that the regions may be diverging in terms of religious attitudes and behavior. If, as many social scientists contend, religious beliefs influence many other attitudes, it is possible that the potentially growing religious differences between regions portend a strengthening of southern distinctiveness.

The questions on violence do not portray southerners as overly aggressive or punitive. In many years, southerners are actually less likely than non-southerners to say that they have been hit or beaten by another person (HIT). Southerners are also no more likely than non-southerners to support the death penalty (CAPPUN) or to think that the courts have been too lenient on criminals (COURTS). There is a difference on gun control, however, with southerners more likely to oppose requiring a police permit before buying a gun (GUNLAW). The largest regional variations in this category are on the question about whether suicide is justified for people with incurable diseases (SUICIDE1). Southerners have been consistently more opposed to suicide in this situation, perhaps because of their strong Christian beliefs. Looked at in total, there is not much evidence that regional differences have changed over time on these questions, except on the gun control query where the significance of the cell entries has generally fallen.

Regional differences in the next two categories, happiness and work ethic, are scarce. Southerners and non-southerners are about equally happy and satisfied with various aspects of their lives, including their marriage, family, friends, and job. The largest differences appear on the question that asks respondents to assess their health (HEALTH), with southerners regularly rating their health worse than non-southerners. There are virtually no regional differences on the two work ethic questions. Southerners and non-southerners think similarly on whether getting ahead is due to hard work or luck (GETAHEAD) and on whether they would continue to work if they became rich (RICHWORK).

Speculating on how southerners would feel about the various types of government assistance was not always an easy matter. For the most part we followed popular wisdom and hypothesized that southerners would be more opposed to government spending than non-southerners, especially federal spending. However, we allowed for four exceptions. Given the region's conservative military tradition we expected southerners to be more in favor of military spending. We also expected the region's strong law and order tradition to lead southerners to favor government spending to fight crime and illegal drugs. Finally, we reasoned that southerners might be more in favor

of spending on education because it has historically been a local government responsibility. The results in Table 1 provide little support for our hypotheses because southerners and non-southerners generally agree on most spending priorities. The major exception is that southerners, as expected, are far more likely to favor increased military spending (NATARMS). Southerners are also somewhat less likely to favor assistance for blacks (HELPBLK and NATRACE) and cities (NATCITY). It is difficult to discern any trends over time on the spending questions, although the differences on military spending may be shrinking.

Social capital appears to be significantly lower in the South than the non-South. Southerners are less likely to trust other people (TRUST), less likely to feel that people try to be helpful (HELPFUL), and more likely to feel that people try to take advantage of others (FAIR). Newspaper readership (NEWS), a behavior associated with higher social capital (Putnam 1993), is lower in the South, and TV viewing (TVHOURS), a behavior associated with lower social capital (Putnam 1995), is higher in the South. Southerners are also less likely to socialize with friends and neighbors at home or in a tavern (SOCBAR, SOCFREN, SOCOMMUN). And, southerners are more likely to harbor the fatalist view that the future is so dim that it is unfair to bring children into the world (ANOMIA6). Looking across time, the cell entries give little indication that the social capital gap between regions has changed.

Tolerance is also lower in the South. Southerners are less likely than non-southerners to feel that an atheist (COLATH), homosexual (COLHOMO), or racist (COLRACE) should teach college (the racist cell entries are negative because we hypothesized that southerners would be more likely than non-southerners to feel that a racist should be allowed to teach). Southerners are also less likely to feel that marijuana should be legalized (GRASS). Regional differences in tolerance toward atheists and homosexuals have remained high over the period of study, as have attitudes toward marijuana, but the gap between the South and non-South has diminished on the question of whether a racist should be allowed to teach. This last result means that non-southerners have become less tolerant toward racists relative to southerners over the last three decades.

Taken as a whole, the results in Table 1 provide firm evidence that southern distinctiveness is alive and well as we head into the new century. Southern values are clearly more conservative on matters of race, gender, sex, and religion, and southerners are less tolerant and have lower social capital than non-southerners. Traditional attitudes on abortion, premarital sex, and gun control are also more common in the South, and southerners are more likely to favor increased military spending. In some areas,

however, regional differences in attitudes and behavior are rare. For instance, southerners tend to be just as happy and satisfied with their lives as non-southerners, and they claim to have just as strong of a work ethic. Interestingly, southerners are no more likely than non-southerners to say that another person has hit them or to favor harsher penalties for criminals. And, respondents in the two regions tend to agree on where government should spend money, except that southerners are somewhat less in favor of spending on programs to help blacks and, as noted above, they are more in favor of defense spending. For the most part, these findings are consistent with popular wisdom and earlier research, but the comprehensive nature of our work gives these long-held notions much more credibility.

The patterns across the cell entries in Table 1 make it easy to see where there are regional differences in attitudes and behaviors, but it is much less obvious whether these differences have decreased, stayed the same, or increased over time. A better way to check for differences across time is to average the cell entry scores by year. To be sure, mean scores by year are not ideal because the questions vary from year to year, but the number of questions in any given year is large enough to give us some confidence in the results. Moreover, if we focus primarily on general trends rather than single years we can have additional confidence in what the means reveal. The means were calculated by summing the cell entries by year and dividing by the number of entries. Insignificant entries (--) were recorded as 0 and negative entries were considered positive because we are concerned with the extent to which southern and non-southern attitudes differ, even if the differences are the opposite of what we had hypothesized. The means are displayed at the bottom of Table 1 and they do not show much of a drop in southern distinctiveness. When a regression trend line is fit to these data the slope is negative and significant at the .05 level, but this is due to the exceptionally large mean in 1972. With the 1972 mean omitted the slope is still negative, but it is no longer significant, telling us that there is no discernable decline in regional differences across the 1973 to 2000 period. Moreover, the lowest means—those below 1.0—are all found in the middle years, from 1984 to 1989. Since then, the means have risen a bit, ranging from 1.0 to 1.2. Based on these data, it does not appear as though regional variations are disappearing—southern distinctness is about as strong now as it was a generation ago.

Southern Distinctiveness: Whites Only

The foregoing analyses make clear that there are many attitudinal and behavioral differences between southerners and non-southerners, even with

blacks in the sample. While this obviously does not mean that southern blacks and whites think alike on all matters, it does suggest that it makes sense to speak of a "southern culture" and not just a "white southern culture." Even if southern blacks hold attitudes that more closely mirror non-southern attitudes, our findings indicate that southern whites hold attitudes sufficiently different from non-southerners to render regional differences statistically significant in many instances. Our guess is that southern blacks and whites actually share many attitudes, but testing for this is better left to another study.

For now we turn to rerunning the hundreds of regression models in Table 1 with whites only to see if this changes the magnitude of the regional differences. The results of these models are almost identical to those in Table 1, providing further support for the view that regional differences should be studied with all inhabitants, not just whites. The white only findings are omitted for space considerations, but there are only a handful of major differences between these models and the full models (Table 1), and they can be summarized easily. Compared to the full models, the white only models show that southerners are: 1) more likely to oppose bussing to integrate schools (BUSING); 2) less likely to feel that government has an obligation to help blacks (HELPBLK); and 3) less likely to favor increased government spending to improve conditions for blacks (NATRACE). The regression results for the other race-related questions are almost the same across the two sets of equations. What this implies is that there is substantial disagreement between southern and non-southern whites over the extent to which government should be actively involved in assisting blacks. The only other major differences between the two sets of models are that the church attendance variable (ATTEND) is less significant in the white only equations and the death penalty variable (CAPPUN) becomes significant and positive in the 1990s in the white equations. These differences mean that the southern advantage in church attendance is greater with blacks in the sample and that southern whites have begun to support the death penalty more than non-southern whites in recent years.

Southern Distinctiveness: Controlling for Structural Factors

Scholars of the South have long debated whether regional variations in attitudes and behaviors are due primarily to deep-seeded culture differences or to differences in structural factors such as education, income, and urbanization. Defenders of the cultural thesis contend that southern distinctiveness transcends structural differences; that the South would remain unique even if southerners became as well-educated, wealthy, and urban as non-

southerners. Proponents of the structural thesis argue that regional differences in attitudes and behavior would disappear if southerners became as well-educated, wealthy, and urban as non-southerners. For the last part of our analyses we test these two theses by rerunning all of the regression models and adding independent variables to control for the major structural factors. If the region variable remains strongly significant in the face of these controls it is evidence in favor of the cultural thesis, but if region fades in importance it is evidence for the structural thesis.

We enter three independent variables in the regression models to control for structural factors that might influence differences in attitudes and behaviors across regions. Education is simply measured as the number of years of formal education, ranging from 0 to 20. Income is a bit more of a problem. Since the GSS surveys do not have a single income variable that is useable for all years because the income categories have changed substantially over time we settle for a subjective question that asked respondents their social class, coded lower class =1, working class = 2, middle class = 3, and upper class = 4. Place of residence was measured with a four category variable that was coded rural = 1, small urban = 2, the 13th to 100th largest SMSAs = 3, and the 12 largest SMSAs = 4. In addition to these structural variables we include three more control variables, gender (men = 1 and women = 2), race (white = 1 and black = 2, all other races excluded), and age (coded in years).

The results of regressing these six variables, along with the region variable (South = 1, non-South = 2), on each of our attitude and behavior questions by year produced evidence for both the cultural and structural theses. Rather than present the results of the hundreds of regression models individually, we summarize the findings in Table 2. Column 1 reports the mean values of the cell entries for each of the 11 categories in Table 1. For example, the mean figure for race, 2.22, was calculated by summing all of the cell entries in the race category in Table 1 and dividing by the number of entries (insignificant entries "—" are scored 0 and negative entries are entered as positive). Thus, the race score in column 1 indicates that the mean cell entry in the race category in Table 1 is 2.22. The categories with the largest values in column 1 are the areas with the largest regional differences before controlling for the structural factors. The figures in column 2 are the mean values for the region variable cell entries for each of the 11 categories after controlling for class, education, urbanity, gender, race, and age. In other words, we compiled a table just like Table 1 except that the entries were the significance levels of the region variable after controlling for the structural variables (using the same four category coding scheme as in Table 1, where insignificant = 0, .05 or greater = 1, .01 or greater = 2,

Table 2. Southern Distinctiveness Before and After Controls

Category	Mean Cell Entry for Region Before Adding Structural Controls	Mean Cell Entry for Region After Adding Structural Controls
Race	2.22	2.25
Gender	1.47	0.90
Family Values	1.11	0.74
Happiness	0.42	0.30
Work Ethnic	0.08	0.08
Religion	2.69	2.12
Sex	1.38	0.89
Violence	0.91	0.46
Government Assistance	0.59	0.66
Social Capital	1.45	0.83
Tolerance	2.17	1.40

and .001 or greater = 3). The mean of these new entries by category are the values in column 2. Comparing the values by category across the two columns in Table 2 gives us a rough idea of the relative importance of culture and structural factors in shaping southern attitudes and behaviors in each of the areas. Take the race category as an example. The values in columns 1 and 2 are almost identical, 2.22 and 2.25, meaning that after controlling for the structural factors the significance of the region variable remained almost the same, suggesting that culture, not structure, is driving differences in racial attitudes across regions. The story is somewhat different for gender attitudes. Here the mean cell entry for region before adding the controls is 1.47 and it falls to .90 after adding the controls, evidence that a healthy portion of the variation in gender attitudes between the South and the non-South is due to structural differences. If southerners were better educated, wealthier, and more urban we would expect differences in gender attitudes to decrease, but not disappear.

Contrasting all of the values in columns 1 and 2 reveals that controlling for the structural factors reduces the significance of region by .50 or greater in the areas of gender, religion, social capital, and tolerance. The significance of region is reduced to a lesser degree, .30 to .49, in the areas of family values, sex, and violence. It is important to note, however, that even though the significance of region is reduced in these areas, it remains a potent predictor of regional differences in all of these categories. Put another way, cultural and structural differences seem to share responsibility for southern distinctiveness in the areas of gender, religion, social capital,

tolerance, family values, sex, and violence. Controlling for the structural factors in the other three categories—happiness, work ethic, and government assistance—did not reduce the already weak impact of the region variable substantially. It is important to note that the largest means in columns 1 and 2 are for race, religion, and tolerance, indicating that these are the major areas of regional differences both before and after controlling for structural factors.

The general conclusion from Table 2 is that southern distinctiveness may erode somewhat as southern education and income levels increase, and as the region urbanizes. However, even if the South reaches non-south levels in these areas, there will still be substantial differences in attitudes and behaviors across regions. One of the most important findings in the table is that the striking difference in racial attitudes across regions will probably not fade even if southern education and income levels match non-southern levels, and even if the South becomes as urban as the non-South. Southern racial attitudes appear to be deeply ingrained in the culture.

Conclusion

In reviewing the contemporary debate about whether or not southern culture is disappearing, Rubin (1988, 226) notes that "[f]or the argument even to arise, it follows that there must still be certain aspects about life in the South that have managed to survive and remain distinctive. . . ." Our analyses of the GSS data from 1972 to 2000 make plain that he is correct; southern distinctiveness flourishes today. More specifically, we show the continuing strength of s.outhern culture in four ways. First, we find that the attitudes and behaviors of southerners are more traditional than non-southerners in a wide range of areas, including race, gender, religion, sex, social capital, and tolerance. Southerners are also more conservative on some family and government spending issues. Second, the magnitude of these differences remains about the same regardless of whether we compare all southerners and non-southerners or just white southerners and non-southerners. Southern culture is not just "white" southern culture as so many scholars have argued in the past; it remains quite distinct from non-southern culture even when all southerners, white and black, are included. Third, the differences between southerners and non-southerners persist, although often to a lesser degree, even after controlling for a host of other variables. The implication is that southern distinctiveness is due to both cultural diversity and differences in structural factors such as education, wealth, and urbanity. Fourth, there is little evidence that southern distinctness has declined over

the last quarter century, challenging those who contend that southern culture is in retreat.

The tenacity of southern distinctiveness over time may seem surprising given the increased levels of education, income, and urbanity in the region and the growing number of Northern influences. It may be, though, that the changes confronting the South have actually worked to heighten regional identity and consolidate regional views. Social psychologists have long recognized that in-group loyalty is enhanced and nonconformity discouraged in the face of an outside threat (Sherif and Sherif 1953; Tajfel 1970). If southerners view non-southern influences as threats to their native culture, it may lead them to cling tightly to their southern identity and traditional beliefs. This was certainly the case during the Civil War and the Civil Rights era when many southern whites closed ranks around racial discrimination and southern culture generally. It could be that the contemporary onslaught of non-southern values has caused some southerners, both black and white, to rally around many conventional southern beliefs more strongly than they might have otherwise. The heightened conservatism of these individuals may be enough to counterbalance any increase in southern liberalism due to other southerners moderating their views and liberal non-southerners moving into the region. If this is the case, southern distinctiveness may remain for years to come.

APPENDIX

Below are the GSS acronyms for each question used in this study and the question wording. In some instances the wording has been paraphrased to conserve space. Following each question is its hypothesized relationship with region put in terms of the Southern response.

ABANY. Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if the woman wants it for any reason? *(Southerners more likely to oppose abortion)*

AGED. As you know, many older people share a home with their grown children. Do you think this is generally a good idea or a bad idea? *(Southerners more likely to think it is a good idea)*

ANOMIA5. In spite of what some people say, the lot (situation/condition) of the average man is getting worse, not better. *(Southerners more likely to say things are getting worse)*

ANOMIA6. It's hardly fair to bring a child into the world with the way things look for the future. *(Southerners more likely to say it is hardly fair)*

ATTEND. How often do you attend religious services? *(Southerners more likely to attend church)*

BIBLE. Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally. The Bible is the

APPENDIX (continued)

inspired word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word. The Bible is an ancient book of fables, legends, history, and moral precepts recorded by men. *(Southerners more likely to believe Bible is actual word of God)*

BUSING. In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of (Negro/Black) and white school children from one school district to another? *(Southerners more likely to oppose busing)*

CAPPUN. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder? *(Southerners more likely to favor death penalty)*

CHLDIDEL. What do you think is the ideal number of children for a family to have? *(Southerners favor larger families)*

COLATH. Should an atheist be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? *(Southerners more likely to oppose atheist teaching)*

COLHOMO. Should a homosexual be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? *(Southerners more likely to oppose homosexual teaching)*

COLRAC. Should a racist be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not? *(Southerners more likely to support a racist teaching)*

COURTS. In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals? *(Southerners more likely to think courts not harsh enough)*

DIVLAW. Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now? *(Southerners more likely to support making divorce more difficult)*

EQWLTH. Should government do something to reduce income differences or should it not concern itself with income differences? *(Southerners more likely to say government should do nothing)*

FAIR. Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair? *(Southerners less likely to think people are fair)*

FECHLD. A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work. *(Southerners less likely to agree)*

FEFAM. It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family. *(Southerners more likely to agree)*

FEHELP. It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself. *(Southerners more likely to agree)*

FEHOME. Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men. *(Southerners more likely to agree)*

FEPOL. Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women. *(Southerners more likely to agree)*

FEPRES. If your party nominated a woman for President, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job? *(Southerners less likely to vote for a woman)*

FEPRESCH. A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works. *(Southerners more likely to agree)*

FEWORK. Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her? *(Southerners more likely to disapprove)*

APPENDIX (continued)

GETAHEAD. Some people say that people get ahead by their own hard work; others say that lucky breaks or help from other people are more important. Which do you think is most important? *(Southerners more likely to say luck)*

GRASS. Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal or not? *(Southerners more likely to oppose legalization)*

GUNLAW. Would you favor or oppose a law, which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun? *(Southerners more likely to oppose gun law)*

HAPMAR. Would you say that your marriage is very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy? *(Southerners more likely to say marriage happy)*

HAPPY. Would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy? *(Southerners more likely to say happy)*

HEALTH. Would you say your own health, in general, is excellent, good, fair, or poor? *(Southerners less likely to say they are healthy)*

HELPBLK. Some people think that (Blacks/Negroes) have been discriminated against for so long that the government has a special obligation to help improve their living standards. Others believe that the government should not be giving special treatment to (Blacks/Negroes). *(Southerners less likely to favor special treatment)*

HELPNOT. Some people think that the government in Washington is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and private businesses. Others disagree and think that the government should do even more to solve our country's problems. Still others have opinions somewhere in between. *(Southerners think government should do less)*

HELPPOOR. Some people think that the government in Washington should do everything possible to improve the standard of living of all poor Americans. Other people think it is not the government's responsibility, and that each person should take care of himself. *(Southerners more likely to think that people should take care of themselves)*

HELPSICK. Some people think that it is the responsibility of the government in Washington to see to it that people have help in paying for doctor and hospital bills. Others think that these matters are not the responsibility of the federal government and that people should take care of these things themselves. *(Southerners more likely to think that people should take care of themselves)*

HELPFUL. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves? *(Southerners less likely to say people are helpful)*

HIT. Have you ever been punched or beaten by another person? *(Southerners more likely to have been punched)*

HITOK. Are there any situations that you can imagine in which you would approve of a man punching an adult male stranger? *(Southerners more likely to say yes)*

HOMOSEX. What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex—do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all? *(Southerners more likely to say wrong)*

NATARMS. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on the military, armaments, and defense? *(Southerners more likely to say too little)*

APPENDIX (continued)

NATCITY. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on solving the problems of the big cities? *(Southerners more likely to say too much)*

NATCRIME. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on halting the rising crime rate? *(Southerners more likely to say too little)*

NATDRUG. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on dealing with drug addiction? *(Southerners more likely to say too little)*

NATEDUC. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on improving the nation's education system? *(Southerners more likely to say too little)*

NATENVIR. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on improving and protecting the environment? *(Southerners more likely to say too much)*

NATFARE. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on welfare? *(Southerners more likely to say too much)*

NATHEAL. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on improving and protecting the nation's health? *(Southerners more likely to say too much)*

NATRACE. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on improving the conditions of Blacks? *(Southerners more likely to say too much)*

NATSPAC. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on the space exploration program? *(Southerners more likely to say too much)*

NEWS. How often do you read the newspaper—every day, a few times a week, once a week, less than once a week, or never? *(Southerners read newspapers less often)*

PILLOK. Do you agree or disagree that methods of birth control should be available to teenagers between the ages of 14 and 16 if their parents do not approve? *(Southerners more likely to disagree)*

PORNLAW. There should be laws against the distribution of pornography. *(Southerners more likely to agree)*

PORNMORL. Sexual materials lead to breakdown of morals. *(Southerners more likely to agree)*

PORNRAPE. Sexual materials lead people to commit rape. *(Southerners more likely to agree)*

PRAYER. Do you approve or disapprove of the Supreme Court outlawing school prayer? *(Southerners more likely to disapprove)*

PREMARSX. If a man and woman have sex relations before marriage, do you think it is always wrong? *(Southerners more likely to think it is wrong)*

RACMAR. Do you think there should be laws against marriages between (Negroes/Blacks) and whites? *(Southerners more likely to think there should be laws)*

RACOPEN. Suppose there is a community-wide vote on the general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote on. Which law would you vote for? One law says that a homeowner can decide for himself whom to sell his house to, even if he prefers not to sell to (Negroes/Blacks). The second law says that a homeowner cannot refuse to sell to someone because of his or her race or color. *(Southerners more likely to vote for the first law)*

RACPRES. If your party nominated a (Negro/Black) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job? *(Southerners less likely to vote for a black)*

APPENDIX (continued)

RACPUSH. (Negroes/Blacks) shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted. *(Southerners more likely to agree)*

RACSEG. White people have a right to keep (Negroes/Blacks) out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and (Negroes/Blacks) should respect that right. *(Southerners more likely to agree)*

RICHWORK. If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you would like for the rest of your life, would you continue to work or would you stop working? *(Southerners more likely to stop working)*

SATCITY. How much satisfaction do you get from the city or place you live in? *(Southerners get more satisfaction)*

SATFAM. How much satisfaction do you get from your family life? *(Southerners get more satisfaction)*

SATHEALTH. How much satisfaction do you get from your health and physical condition? *(Southerners get less satisfaction)*

SATFRND. How much satisfaction do you get from your friendships? *(Southerners get more satisfaction)*

SATHOBBY. How much satisfaction you get from non-working activities—hobbies and so on. *(Southerners get more satisfaction)*

SATJOB. How satisfied are you with the work you do? *(Southerners less satisfied with job)*

SEXEDUC. Would you be for or against sex education in the public schools? *(Southerners more likely to be against)*

SOCBAR. How often do you go to a bar or tavern? *(Southerners less likely to go to a tavern)*

SOCFREND. How often do you spend a social evening with friends who live outside the neighborhood? *(Southerners less likely to spend evenings with friends)*

SOCOMMUN. How often do you spend a social evening with someone who lives in your neighborhood? *(Southerners less likely to spend social evening with neighbors)*

SUICIDE1. Do you think a person has the right to end his or her own life if this person has an incurable disease? *(Southerners less likely to say yes)*

TAX. Do you consider the amount of federal income tax that you have to pay as too high, about right, or too low? *(Southerners more likely to say they pay too much in taxes)*

TRUST. Would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? *(Southerners less likely to say you can't be too careful)*

TVHOURS. On the average day, about how many hours do you personally watch television? *(Southerners watch more TV)*

XMARSEX. What is your opinion about a married person having sexual relations with someone other than the marriage partner? *(Southerners more likely to think it is wrong)*

XMOVIE. Have you seen an X-rated movie in the last year? *(Southerners less likely to have seen a movie)*

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