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ARKANSAS REGIONALISM AND THE INDIRECT EFFECTS OF CULTURE

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Abstract

Arkansas has long been described as home to two distinct cultures, found in the uplands of the Ozarks and the bottomlands of the Mississippi Delta. Drawing upon earlier work by Savage and his colleagues, which tied these regional differences to Elazar's cultural typologies, we illustrate the sometimes indirect relationship between culture, behavior, and attitudes, drawing some specific examples from recent efforts to legalize gaming in the state.

In both the political folklore and the scholarly literature concerning the state, Arkansas is often portrayed as the home of two distinct cultures—cultures that have their roots in, and take their names from, the hills of the Ozarks to the northwest and the bottomlands of the Delta to the southeast (Savage and Gallagher 1977; Savage and Blair 1983; Blair 1988). While we may expect the values and viewpoints embodied in each of these cultures to shape the attitudes of Arkansans on a broad range of issues, the differences will not always be readily apparent in a simple comparison of regional differences. Sometimes, the effects of culture are expressed directly in terms of outright differences in opinions, attitudes, or behaviors; often, the relationship is more complex. It is our intention in this article to illustrate, using a contemporaneous example from Arkansas politics, that even when there are no apparent differences in the typical issue positions of members of different cultures, culture is still at work shaping those positions.

The particular issue we have chosen is one that should, on the face of it, be strongly influenced by culture. Given the moral, economic, and geographic implications of the politics of gaming in Arkansas, public opinion regarding the legalization of casinos, a state lottery, and bingo can be expected to be heavily structured by regional cultural differences. The remainder of this paper is devoted to determining if that is the case and to delineating the details of the relationship. While it will be necessary to devote some attention to other correlates of attitudes toward gaming, the primary focus will be on regionalism.¹

Geography and characteristics of the local social economy are useful for identifying regional boundaries and to measure membership in a region. But the importance of these geographically defined regions lies in their cultures. By culture, we mean "a system of basic common values that help shape the behavior of people in a given society" (Granato, Inglehart and Leblang 1996:608). Subsumed within this broad conceptualization of culture is the far narrower one of political culture. We find this approach congenial because it does not limit our view to purely political attitudes and orientations, as in work by Almond and Verba (1963, 1980) or Elazar (1984), and allows us to consider religious attitudes and leisure choices of Arkansans as expressions of cultural differences in the regions of the state. These, in turn, shape positions on issues of the day.

Arkansas' political geography

Virtually every author who takes up the task of writing about Arkansas history

and politics finds it necessary to address the question of Arkansas' political geography (Key 1949; Savage and Gallagher 1977; Savage and Blair 1983; Blair 1988).² Most begin by drawing, literally or figuratively, a diagonal line through the state, running from northeast to southwest. This line, however fuzzy its exact location, divides the upland and lowland regions of Arkansas. To the north and west lie the hills of the Ozarks and the Ouachitas, to the south and east, the Mississippi River Delta and the beginnings of the Gulf Coast Plain. It is in these simple facts of terrain and elevation that the roots of the differences in the culture of the two regions are to be found. Settlement patterns and differences in immigration played a role, as did the nature of the economics created by these new Arkansans.³

That differences associated with geography have shaped the politics of modern Arkansas is more than folklore. In the most detailed study of Arkansas regionalism to date (Savage and Gallagher 1977), clear empirical evidence of social, political and economic differences were found to exist. Using Q-factor analysis, those authors identified three underlying factors in a constellation of 71 county-level measures derived from census and election data. These factors were identified with three types of counties, which included the traditional Delta and Ozark division, as well as an Urban category.

One of the more intriguing aspects of the Savage and Gallagher study was their attempt to tie this tripartite typology to Elazar's cultural explanation of American regionalism. To do so, they sought a one-to-one correspondence between county types and cultural orientations: Delta-Traditionalistic (emphasis on hierarchy, elitism, preservation of the status quo), Ozark-Moralistic (emphasis on the commonwealth and government as a means of betterment), and Urban-Individualistic (government as a utility and politics as a marketplace). In the end, they conclude that the evidence is "only weakly indicative" of those links. Of the three pairings, Savage and Gallagher are least confident of the Urban-Individualistic pairing. However, looking to the future, they forecast demographic changes in those counties that may foster an increase in the competitive politics characteristic of an Individualistic culture.

Measuring Culture: An Update

Much can change in a decade or two. As Elazar has suggested in his study of national patterns, "continued migration has helped keep cultural patterns fluid" (1984: 132). In order to determine if the geosocial configuration observed by Savage and Gallagher in the 1970's has persisted into the 1990's, we performed a parallel type of analysis of county level data, albeit in a more parsimonious fashion.

We sought to classify counties on the basis of a factor analysis of measures derived from the 1990 census, plus one additional geographic characteristic. The units of analysis for the factor analysis were the 75 counties that comprise the state. Careful perusal of the 71 variables included by Savage and Gallagher (1977) suggested that fewer of measures could be used to classify counties without a loss of validity in the resulting factor structure. Seven census measures, covering a range of economic and social characteristics, were entered in the factor analysis. Also included was a direct measure of the upland/lowland nature of each county, the elevation of the county seat.⁴

We have excluded all manner of outright political variables from the analysis. Given the nature of the relationship between culture (the latent concept we sought to identify and measure in the factor analysis) and attitudes or behaviors, we feel this strategy is the most appropriate. Political attitudes and behaviors are best treated as the product of a culture, not indicators of it. As such, they should not be used as measured

variables in a factor analysis. This distinction is necessary in order to avoid the tautology of simply predicting future behaviors on the basis of past ones (Kincaid and Lieske 1991; Lieske 1993).

The resulting rotated factor pattern is shown in Table 1.⁵ Figure 1 presents the results cartographically, with the counties grouped into quintiles based on factor scores. The first factor is a measure of the Urban-Rural nature of a county, with high scores corresponding to highly urbanized counties and low scores to rural ones. Variables with high positive loadings included income, education and population density. Variables with strong negative loadings included the percentage of residents below the poverty level and percentage employed in agriculture. The percentage of African Americans in the county and the elevation of the county seat have no relationship to this factor.

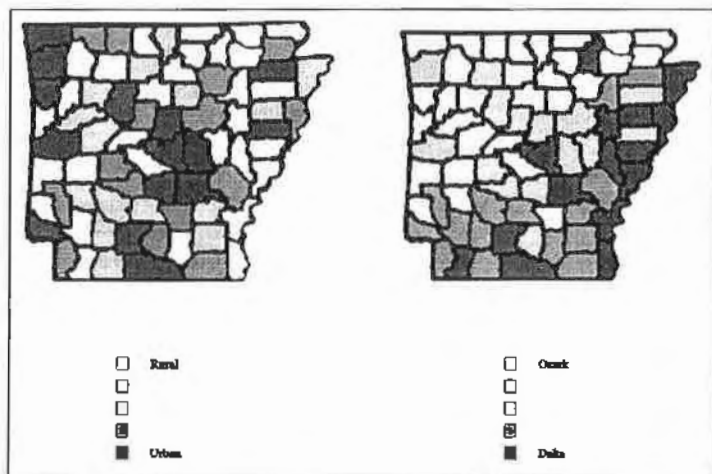


Figure 1 Cultural Patterns in Arkansas Counties

Table 1
Measuring Regionalism In Arkansas Counties
Factor Analysis Results

	Urban	Delta-Ozark
Median Income in County	0.97	-0.07
Percent in County with High School Education	0.84	-0.16
Percent in County Below Poverty Level	-0.74	0.57
Population Density in County	0.63	0.27
Percent Rural Dwellers in County	-0.47	-0.58
Percent in County Employed in Agriculture	-0.40	0.39
Percent African American in County	-0.13	0.89
Elevation of County Seat	0.02	-0.49

Table entries are loadings from the factor pattern matrix, maximum likelihood extraction, oblimin rotation.

The second factor is bipolar, with Delta counties at the high end and Ozark counties at the low end. The highest factor loading is associated with the variable measuring the percentage of African Americans in a county; the percentage of residents below the poverty level also has a strong positive association. The elevation measure loads quite highly on this factor as well, with the negative sign making the identification of the poles very simple. Interestingly, while the poverty measure loads highly on the factor, the measure of median income does not. This particular conjunction offers additional evidence of the validity of the factor solution. Neither of the two areas is blessed with a large number of high paying jobs. What sets the Delta apart is the large number of persons living in outright poverty, often surviving only on government assistance, while many in the uplands manage to find low-paying jobs in the factories and agribusinesses that have sprung up in that area over the last few decades. As Savage and Gallagher observed two decades ago, "If the Ozark County can only look forward to slow growth, the Delta County might be looking up if it had hopes of socio-economic stagnation" (1977: 102).

Another reassuring measure of the validity of the two factor solution created from the analysis of only eight variables is its remarkably similarity to the Q-factor results obtained by Savage and Gallagher two decades ago. At first glance, one might be tempted to wonder how such a statement could be true, given the different number of factors in the two solutions. The answer lies in the nature of the factors in the two analyses and the correlations of the factors both within and across the two analyses.⁶

Table 2
Comparison of 3-factor and 2-factor County Categorizations

	Savage and Gallagher			Harding and Levenbach	
	Ozark	Delta	Urban	Delta-Ozark	Urban-Rural
Ozark	—	-0.77***	-0.29*	-0.88***	-0.18 n.s.
Delta		—	0.31***	0.88***	-0.24*
Urban			—	0.09 n.s.	0.69***
Delta-Ozark				—	0.14 n.s.
Urban-Rural					—

Entries are Pearson r values.

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; two-tailed.

County scores for the Savage and Gallagher factors taken from Savage and Gallagher (1977), Table 1.

The correlation matrix, shown in Table 2, reveals three things. First, the extremely high level of correlation (-0.77) between the Ozark and Delta factor loadings in the Savage and Gallagher analysis calls into question the need for two separate factors in their solution. A more parsimonious two-factor solution, with a bipolar Ozark-Delta factor, may have been equally as valid. Second, the identically high, but oppositely signed, correlations between our bipolar Ozark-Delta factor and the equiva-

lent factors in the Savage and Gallagher solution indicate that the two do indeed produce very similar results. The fact that the two correlations are virtually identical also offers further evidence that those two factors can be combined with little fear of losing information or explanatory power compared with the more complex Savage-Gallagher solution.

Finally, the Urban-Rural factors from the two analyses are also highly correlated, though not to the same extreme degree. The greater degree of slippage in the Urban-Rural scores comes, no doubt, from the more rapid pace of urbanization and associated cultural development, relative to the slower changes in purely regional cultural patterns. Even so, the still substantial level of correlation offers reassurance that our factor structure has produced a valid classification of the 75 Arkansas counties.

Culture and Gaming - Background and Expectations

Having successfully shown that regional cultural patterns are still present within the state, the next step is to establish their effect on important political attitudes and behaviors. In fact, this is where our odyssey truly began — not with the effort to show that culture mattered in Arkansas politics, but with an attempt to identify the antecedents of attitudes toward the legalization of gaming in the state. Based on our knowledge of the politics of gaming in Arkansas, we expected region and culture to play an important role in explaining why its citizens either supported or opposed legalization. It is an issue that ties together the moral, economic and geographic aspects of politics and culture in the state.

For many Arkansans, the opportunity to engage in some form of gaming lies just over the border. By the mid 1990's, Missouri, Texas and Louisiana all ran state lotteries. Oklahoma and Texas were home to several high-stakes Indian bingo halls. Finally, three neighboring states had legalized casino gaming. To the north, Missouri was home to an increasing number of riverboat casinos. Many of Missouri's boats were centered on the St. Louis area, but at least one had made it as far south as the Bootheel region, easily within reach of many Arkansans. To the east, immediately across the Mississippi River in the state of Mississippi, the area around Tunica had established a national reputation as an overnight gaming success story. To the south, the battle for the Gulf Coast was heating up, with the major contenders being the cities of New Orleans and Biloxi.

Given the spread of gaming along the Mississippi River, Arkansas was well placed to join this modern goldrush. One logical site would certainly have been West Memphis, which was fortuitously situated immediately across the river from Memphis, Tennessee, a locale with an international tourist reputation as the home of the Beale Street blues, Sun Records, and Graceland, the home of Elvis Presley. Furthermore, West Memphis, indeed the state of Arkansas, was no stranger to the gaming industry. Already, the state was home to a dog track in West Memphis and horse racing in Hot Springs.

While it can be said that Arkansas was well positioned to enter the race for the gaming jackpot, it was certainly not poised to do so. In fact, given the series of false starts in the early 1990's, the state seemed far from eager. These early battles over the legalization of casino gaming and the institution of a state lottery present an interesting mix of both too much and too little trust in direct democracy. In 1990, an initiative was introduced to set up a state lottery, the proceeds of which were to be dedicated to education. Ultimately, the initiative was struck from the November ballot by the Ar-

kansas Supreme Court on a finding that the proposal carried a misleading title. Many accused the court of lacking trust in the state's voters. An alternative view is that it was the backers of the proposal who lacked faith—in their ability to sell their idea to Arkansas' voters in an unvarnished state—and were thus motivated to use the misleading titles.

Four years later, 1994 brought a flurry of gaming initiatives. Among these was a proposal—backed by interests allied with the existing horse track in Hot Springs and greyhound track in West Memphis—to amend the state constitution to allow casino gambling at those two race tracks, to establish a state lottery, and to legalize bingo games operated by charitable organizations. Among the other proposals made were amendments to permit the establishment of a single casino at a particular site near a planned resort complex in West Memphis, or to establish a state lottery, or to authorize a state lottery and video poker machines. As in 1990, the state's Supreme Court again removed the issues from the ballot due to misleading titles. A proposed constitutional amendment to legalize charitable bingo and raffles was referred to the voters by the state legislature but was also removed from the ballot, due to the failure of the secretary of state to meet constitutional requirements regarding publication of the proposed amendment.

This backdrop serves to highlight several factors relevant to the discussion of attitudes toward gaming among Arkansans. Each of these factors is, in turn, related at least in part to where one lives within the state. The first two of these are based simply on the geographical circumstances of gaming in Arkansas; the latter three are directly tied to the cultural aspects of gaming.

First, while the desire to participate in gaming activities is bound to be an important aspect of the overall mix, it will by no means be decisive. Arkansans had ample nearby opportunities to engage in casino gambling in neighboring states, especially those living in areas offering easy and rapid access to Mississippi, Louisiana or the Missouri Bootheel, in other words, those living in the Delta.⁷ Second, in many of the proposals to legalize casino gaming, the sites of future casinos were restricted to particular areas of the state, often near West Memphis, again drawing attention to the Delta. Casinos as a basis for the generation of tourism dollars and as an engine of economic development must surely have been especially tempting to residents of a region plagued by poverty and unemployment. The success of nearby Tunica, heretofore one of the few areas of the nation where the future was equally as bleak, no doubt made the siren call of gaming dollars all the more appealing.

The cultural aspect of the regional distinctions generates expectations related specifically to traditionalistic, individualistic and moralistic cultures. Both in the limitation of future sites to areas with existing gaming facilities and the connections between current gaming operators and the proposals for the future, many proposals seemed intended to legalize gaming while still preserving the status quo, an important factor in a traditionalistic political culture linked to the Delta. As Elazar points out (1984, Table 5.1), the maintenance of traditional relationships and patterns as well as the attempt to restrict the initiation of new public programs to those that serve the interests of the elite are both important characteristics of traditionalistic culture.

The moral and instrumental arguments surrounding gambling and gaming may also be expected to resonate with various aspects of regional culture. This takes us beyond purely political culture into broader patterns of belief and behavior. On the one hand, many state governments have come to see gaming as just another source of

revenues, either directly through a state-run lottery or indirectly through taxes on private gaming enterprises. Such an instrumental outlook is often used in marketing campaigns aimed at increasing public support for legalization. Often, as has been the case in Arkansas, proposals for legalization contain language that earmarks gaming revenues for specific purposes, such as education or law enforcement. For these reasons, we can expect the instrumental approach common in an individualistic culture to matter in this context.

In addition, a shift can also be seen in a change in the attitudes of Americans concerning the nature of the activity, as seen in the change in terminology from 'gambling' to 'gaming,' from 'betting' to 'entertainment.' For example, in a 1994 survey of American adults, just over half of the respondents were found to believe 'casino entertainment' is 'acceptable for anyone.' More than one third found casino gaming 'acceptable for others, but not for me.'⁸ However, this 'amoralization' of gaming may not have taken place within the context of a particularly moralistic political culture, such as that found in the Ozarks.

Data and Preliminary Analysis

Taking advantage of the plethora of gaming proposals being advanced in the spring and early summer of 1994, we designed a statewide survey to investigate more thoroughly public support for gaming; data were collected in the first two weeks of June 1994. Random digit dialing techniques were used to secure the responses of household residents who were 18 years or older, and special care was taken to balance the representation of men and women. A total of 591 respondents were interviewed.

At the heart of the survey was a series of questions designed to capitalize on the variety of different proposals under consideration.

I would favor changing the Arkansas constitution to allow...

...casino gambling.

...a state lottery.

...bingo run by nonprofit organizations.

These attitudinal items in the survey are phrased in terms of 1-to-9—strongly disagree to strongly agree—scales. Because some of the constitutional amendments proposed would have legalized several forms of gambling at the same time, the questionnaire also included items asking, first, about combinations of two of the three types of gambling and then about all three. Respondents were also asked about many behaviors and attitudes related to lifestyle, religion and morality, and politics and government. Finally, an additional set of measures asked respondents about various types of gaming activities in which they may have personally engaged. These questions were used to create a gambling experience measure. Details on these and other measures are provided in the Appendix.

To this data set we added two new measures, derived from the factor analysis reported above. The factor scores measuring cultural types at the county level were assigned to each respondent based on his or her county of residence, thus becoming individual level measures of the cultural milieu in which a respondent resides.

Table 3
Simple Bivariate Correlations
Regional Factors with Gaming Attitudes

	Urban-Rural	Delta-Ozark
I would favor changing the Arkansas constitution to allow...		
casino gaming	.11**	.07
a state lottery	.01	-.01
nonprofit bingo	.08*	.00
Legalized gambling would reduce the need for a tax increase to fund government services	-.01	.02
Gambling should be legalized to...		
help charitable organizations raise money	-.00	.04
generate state revenues to support law enforcement	.00	.02
generate state revenues to support improvements in education	-.04	.02
create jobs and promote economic development	-.02	.03
Gambling experience score	.08*	.03

Entries are Pearson r values.

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; two-tailed

Table 3 reveals the lackluster results of a simple correlational analysis of these variables with the gaming measures. To put it bluntly, there is no correlation between the various gaming attitudes and where one lives within the state. Arkansans who reside in the Delta simply do not differ from those living in the Ozarks in terms of the various gaming measures. It may be worth noting, however, the consistent direction of the relationship, however weak. The positive signs found for all but one of the correlations indicate that residents of the Delta are more supportive of gaming than are their neighbors to the northwest, which is in line with our expectations.

The story is slightly different when considering the measure of urban culture. Residents of the more urban areas of the state are more likely to approve of legalization of casinos ($r = .11$) and bingo ($r = .08$), as indicated by the significant and positive correlation coefficients. Those residing in urban areas also tend to score higher on the measure of gaming experience ($r = .08$). They do not differ in terms of the various instrumental reasons for legalizing gaming, which is surprising given the instrumental approach to politics one would expect in an individualistic political culture.

How can these rather weak results be explained? One obvious explanation is that Arkansas' various cultures simply do not matter, at least in terms of attitudes toward the legalization of gaming. Another explanation is that, while Arkansans from the various regions do not differ much in their willingness to legalize gaming, their reasons for doing so do vary from one culture to another.

Analysis: Culture, Lifestyle, and Public Opinion

To begin assessing the presence and extent of the relationship between the two regionalism factors and the various gaming measures, we must take into account the nature of the concept underlying the regionalism variables, the nature of culture. It is important to note that, while we agree with Savage and Gallagher that these cultural regions in Arkansas are associated with different types of political culture à la Elazar,

the differences go well beyond the purely political. Cultural values shape behaviors in general, so political culture is really just a way of narrowing the focus to behaviors that have a particularly political nature.

Different systems of values may, and often do, lead to different opinions on particular political issues of the day. On the other hand, they may lead to similar positions for different reasons. In order to analyze the relationship between culture and public opinion with any degree of verisimilitude, we must take into account the developmental nature of the relationship, from culture, to lifestyle and value choices, to concrete expressions of public opinion on specific matters of public policy. This relationship is diagramed in Figure 2.

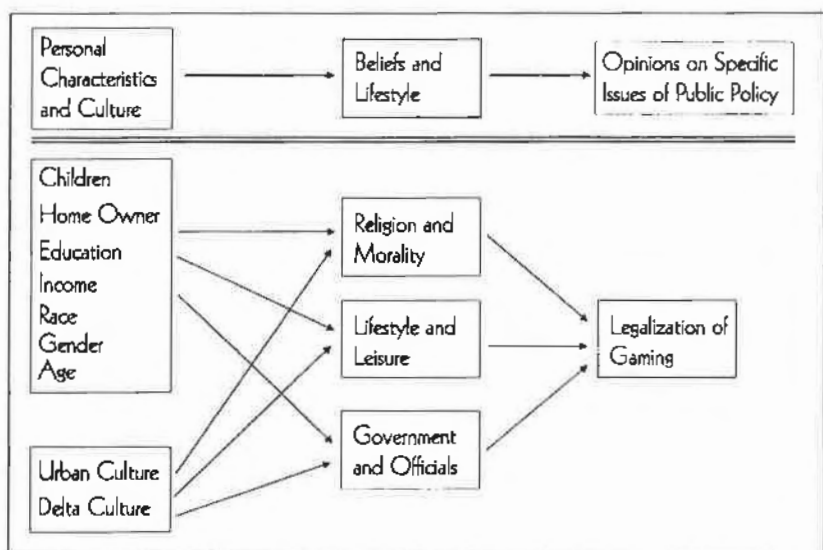


Figure 2 The Indirect Effects of Culture on Public Opinion

Elsewhere, we have shown that the direct antecedents of public opinion regarding the legalization of various forms of gaming are indeed lifestyle variables (Harding, Levenbach and Talmadge, 1994). The most important of these measures, as indicated in Figure 2, are related to religion and morality, lifestyle as expressed by choice of leisure activities, gambling experience, and attitudes toward government and politics. A full list of all variables and a description of their measurement is provided in the Appendix. Taken together, those four sets of measures account for approximately one third of the variation in attitudes toward legalization, as indicated in a multiple regression analysis (Harding, Levenbach and Talmadge, 1994, Table 4).

Here, we are interested in the impact of culture on the lifestyle choices that precede a vote for or against gaming. We expect, therefore, to find differences across cultures in terms of religiosity and church attendance, trust in government and the like. Choice of leisure activities and degree of gambling experience are also, we hypothesize, important aspects of culturally determined behavior which is shaped by the basic common values embodied in a culture. It is reasonable to suspect that culture, at least in part, determines whether one prefers to spend an evening watching television,

participating in church related activities, or going to a nightclub. All of these, in turn, we already know have a large impact on opinions concerning legalization of gaming.

There is one final complication to be considered. It is unreasonable to expect that everyone who lives within the geographic confines of a culture to be affected by that culture equally. In particular, those who have only recently taken up residence in the Delta, or in a highly urbanized county, should not be expected to have become socialized to that particular culture to the extent of someone who has lived in it for many years, perhaps all of his or her life. Unfortunately, we have no detailed measures of the length of current residence for our respondents, nor histories of the various counties or states in which they may have lived prior to taking up that residence. We do have, however, the results of a question asking respondents if they are a native of the state, and so the results presented are for native Arkansans only.

This measure is by no means a perfect one. It is, however, theoretically and statistically valid. Theoretically, we argue that nativism may be considered simply a noisy measure of the concept in which we are interested, exposure to a culture.⁹ Statistically, as a noisy measure, it offers a strong test of the effect because, if anything, the measurement error present will serve to attenuate the estimate. Any statistically significant results found using this measure would only increase if a better measure were to be found.

It is important to keep in mind that the data being analyzed are measured at the individual level; by controlling for the various demographic characteristics at the level of the individual respondent, it is impossible to argue that the relationship is a spurious one due to aggregate level differences in median incomes or levels of education across those regions. In short, one cannot argue that the cultural effects are merely 'race, education or income effects in another guise because the effects of those variables are already being accounted for by their inclusion as separate explanatory factors in the equation.

The coefficients associated with the two cultural measures, derived from the Urban-Rural and Ozark-Delta factors as reported above, for each of the ten regression analyses, are shown in Table 4.¹⁰ These results demonstrate that regional differences, at least in terms of the traditional Delta-Ozark dichotomy, do indeed exist. Residents of the Delta are more likely to engage in outdoor activities (hunting, fishing, camping and the like) and are also more likely to score higher on the Sedentary/Unengaged factor (mainly television watching) than are their counterparts in the Ozarks, even controlling for the various demographic characteristics such as income, education, and race. On the other hand, lowlanders tend to score lower on the Sedentary/Engaged factor (which includes activities such as reading, attending church-related events, and visiting). Only one of the four activity factors, Active/Away from Home, fails to show a significant relationship to Ozark-Delta cultural differences.

The Ozark-Delta split also shows a strong relationship to religious and moral orientations. For example, other things being equal, those living within the culture of the Delta not only tend to rate themselves as more active in church groups. They also rate religion and following God's will as more important. On the other hand, these cultural differences do not seem to have a bearing on ratings of their own moral performance.

In terms of overtly political matters, Ozark and Delta cultures do not seem to produce divergent reactions to state government. Residents of the Delta are less likely to trust state officials and more likely to feel that state government is elitist and nonre-

sponsive, attitudes that are to be expected in the closed, elitist politics of a traditionalistic society. However, those differences fail to achieve accepted standards of statistical significance (for the trust measure, $t=1.49$; for nonresponsiveness, $t=1.44$).

Table 4 The Effect of Culture on Orientations to Leisure, Religion, and State Government Among Native Arkansans, Controlling for Demographic Characteristics

	Urban-Rural Culture Score	Delta-Ozark Culture Score
<u>Leisure Activities</u>		
Active/Away	-0.02 (.426)	0.02 (.449)
Active/Outdoors	-0.01 (.238)	0.14 *** (2.767)
Sedentary/Engaged	-0.10 ** (2.528)	-0.10 * (1.763)
Sedentary/Unengaged	0.03 (.706)	0.10 * (1.776)
<u>Religion and Morality</u>		
Activity in Church Groups	-0.22 * (1.796)	0.50 *** (2.792)
Importance of Religion	-0.02 (.567)	0.11 * (1.929)
Moral Self-Assessment	-0.06 (.653)	0.01 (.113)
<u>State Government</u>		
Trust	0.04 (.400)	-0.22 (1.494)
(Too Much) Government Intervention	-0.13 (1.157)	0.01 (.007)
Government (non)Responsiveness	-0.03 (.238)	0.22 (1.437)

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$.

Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients, t-ratios shown in parentheses.

Additional (control) variables which were included in the regression equation but are not shown here are: income, education, race, age, homeownership, having children under the age of 21, and gender.

Urbanity seems to have a more limited set of effects. Across the ten regression analyses, the coefficient for the Urban-Rural factor is significant in only two. Those living in counties scoring high in this factor are less likely to pursue sedentary, engaging activities such as visiting with friends, reading, and going to church. On a related matter, within the category of religion and morality, urban dwellers are also less likely to be active in church related groups. All of the other coefficients are far from significant. Like Savage and Gallagher before us, we are led to conclude that these results do not "warrant the assertion of a dominant Individualistic orientation" in the urban counties of Arkansas (1977: 103).

Table 5

The Effects of Culture on Gaming Experience Among Native Arkansans

	b	beta	t
Children Under 21	-0.056	-0.013	-0.239
Own a Home	0.497	0.099	1.614
Less than High School	-0.387	-0.067	-1.195
More than High School	-0.167	-0.018	-0.349
Non-Hispanic White	0.232	0.042	0.728
Income	0.339***	0.180	2.965
Gender	0.180	0.043	0.738
Age	0.024***	0.190	2.762
Activity in Church Groups	-0.147***	-0.218	-3.270
Importance of Religion	0.068	0.032	0.541
Moral Self-Assessment	-0.020	-0.021	-0.335
Leisure: Active/Away	0.622***	0.301	4.942
Leisure: Active/Outdoors	-0.201	-0.094	-1.355
Leisure: Sedentary/Engaged	-0.103	-0.048	-0.835
Leisure: Sedentary/Unengaged	-0.061	-0.030	-0.552
Urban-Rural	0.014	0.009	0.171
Delta-Ozark	0.299**	0.147	2.495

constant 0.769

F = 5.56; df 17, 318; p=0.000

R-square = 0.229

* p < .10; ** p < .05; *** p < .01; two-tailed.

By way of a final demonstration of the effects of regional culture on important antecedents of attitudes toward gaming, we present in Table 5 the results of a more inclusive regression model. In our other analyses of those attitudes, we have shown that gambling experience is an incredibly strong predictor of an individual's opinions on legalization, even controlling for general orientations toward leisure activities, morality and religion, and state government and politics (Harding et al., 1994). As shown here, the Delta-Ozark cultural factor has a large impact on gaming experience ($b = 0.299$, $t = 2.495$), controlling not only for the various demographic measures discussed above, but also for the measures of religion and morality and general orientations to leisure activities, which are themselves partially a product of these two cultures. The magnitude of the effect is best seen in a comparison of predicted scores on the gambling experience measure. A comparison of predicted gaming scores for residents of strongly Ozark counties such as Carroll and strongly Delta counties such as Chicot reveals an expected difference of over one full point on the six point scale, other things being equal.

Conclusions

Our major purpose in conducting this analysis was to determine whether or not cultural differences among the citizens of Arkansas help to shape attitudes toward legalization of gaming. We had many reasons to suspect the traditional Ozark-Delta split within the state would be correlated with opinions on this issue, but our initial analyses failed to support that assertion. However, taking a more sophisticated approach to the developmental nature of the relationship between culture and public opinion has shown that, among native Arkansans, culture does play such a role. It does so by shaping one's orientation to more general aspects of the world, if not to politics and government directly, then through matters such as choice of leisure activities, and orientations to religion and morality. The lesson concerning the indirect effects of cul-

ture on specific matters of public policy is perhaps the most important to be learned from this research, given its general applicability to the study of culture.

In demonstrating these effects, we have also had to first show that regional cultures still exist within the state. While not exactly replicating the findings of Savage and Gallagher concerning the exact factor structure, we have reconfirmed the essential nature of their results, and done so in a far more parsimonious manner. There are identifiable cultural clusters of counties within the state, most especially those clusters typically referred to as the Delta and the Ozarks. Like Savage and Gallagher, we also wonder if there is an emergent cultural cluster, not associated with any particular quadrant of the state, but instead growing in its more urbanized counties.

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Appendix: Measurement of Key Variables

Religion and Morality

Activity in church groups - self rating of activity, from 1 (not at all active) to 9 (extremely active)

Importance of religion - factor score derived from responses to two 1-to-9 (strongly disagree to strongly agree) ratings: "Religion is important to me" and "Following God's will is important to me."

Moral self-assessment - self rating, on a 1-to-9 scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree): "I would say I lead a Christian life."

Lifestyle

Lifestyle measures were based on a series of question asking respondents to rate, on a 1 to 9 scale, the amount of time they spent engaging in each of nine activities: reading, home improvement and gardening, church and church-related activities, hunting/fishing/camping, going to nightclubs or bars, visiting friends or relatives, going to movies or plays, playing or attending sporting events, and watching television. These measures were then entered into a factor analysis. A detailed solution is reported in (Harding et al., 1994). The four factors that resulted were:

Active/Away from Home - largest loadings were associated with nightclubs and bars, movies and plays, sporting activities and, to a lesser degree, hunting/fishing/camping and visiting.

Active/Outdoors - home improvement and gardening, hunting/fishing/camping, and, to lesser degree, sports and church.

Sedentary/Engaged - reading, church, visiting and movies, and moderate negative loadings for hunting/fishing/camping, nightclubs, and watching television.

Sedentary/Unengaged - dominated by watching television, small loading for visiting. With regard to the latter, we suspect that this is picking up the "going over and watching television" sort of visiting, especially given the moderate loadings for the visiting variable on two other factors.

Gambling Experience Score

A simple additive index, created from a count of positive responses to the following activities: playing bingo for money or prizes, buying a lottery ticket, visiting a casino, playing any game at a casino, visiting a horse or dog track, and placing a bet at a horse or dog track. The resulting index varies from 0 to 6.

Beliefs about State Government

Trust - rating on a 1-to-9 scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree) of the statement "State officials in Arkansas can be trusted to do what is right."

(Too Much) Government Intervention - rating on a 1-to-9 scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree) of the statement "State government is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and private business."

Government (non)responsiveness/external efficacy - rating on a 1-to-9 scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree) of the statement "State government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves."

1. Readers interested in the broader model are directed to [Harding et. al, 1994].
2. Savage and Blair (1983), in particular, provide a detailed discussion of other studies of regionalism in Arkansas. For a recent discussion of regionalism in a nation context, see Lieske (1993). His figure 2 lends additional support to the Ozark-Delta diagonal line bisecting the state.
3. See Blair (1988) for a review of the political consequences of early migration patterns in the state.
4. Elevations were taken from the 125th edition of the Rand McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide. In cases where a county had two county seats, the average elevation of those towns was used.
5. Maximum likelihood factor analysis was used to extract the factors. A two factor solution was chosen, based on an examination of the eigenvalues as well as the chi-square test available as part of the maximum likelihood extraction.
6. Scores for the counties in the Savage-Gallagher analysis were derived from their Table 1 (1977).
7. The desire, or at least willingness, to engage in gaming is also itself related to where one lives, as is discussed below.
8. As reported in "Gambling Nation" *New York Times* July 17, 1994, 6: 36.
9. Technically speaking, we expect nativism to interact with culture. In fact, we expect it to interact with many of the explanatory variables, race and gender being only two possibilities. As our primary purpose here is not to show that native Arkansans are different from nonnatives, but to test for cultural effects on important antecedents of public opinion, the following analyses are restricted to native Arkansans. As additional support of this assertion, we offer the following two pieces of information. First, the dichotomous nativism measure is correlated at 0.78 with a measure of the percentage of the respondents life spent in Arkansas. Second, native Arkansans in the sample had lived an average of 87.8 percent of

their life in the state, while nonnatives averaged 34.6 percent in Arkansas. One further note: this latter figure indicates that finding significant effects for culture among nonnatives is quite possible; many have spent a large portion of their lives in Arkansas. That comparison, however, is left for future research.

10. The coefficients for the seven control variables also entered in each regression are not shown. Because we are interested in neither the absolute effect of any of those demographic variables on the dependent variables, nor the relative effects of culture compared to any demographic variables, we have chosen to forego the presentation of these more detailed results.

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