

ArkPSA

Arkansas Political Science Association

The Southern Voice: Political Consequences of a Regional Accent

Author(s): Jason A. Husser, Carrie P. Eaves, and Kenneth E. Fernandez

Source: *The Midsouth Political Science Review*, Volume 20, 2019, pp. 31-57

ISSN: 2330-6882 [print]; 2330-6890 [online]

Published by: Arkansas Political Science Association

Website: <https://www.arkpsa.org/mid-south-political-science-review-mpsrl/>

The Southern Voice: Political Consequences of a Regional Accent

Jason A. Husser
Elon University

Carrie P. Eaves
Elon University

Kenneth E. Fernandez
College of Southern Nevada

Migration into the South, along with an increasingly nationalized and globalized economy, has caused what some scholars have described as the nationalization of the South. We propose that although the South is now more demographically varied, there is still a southern identity. One method for identifying a southerner versus someone who has migrated to the South is the presence of a southern accent. Using data from 9 surveys conducted in North Carolina, we test to see if respondents with southern accents hold significantly different views from other residents. On a variety of policy issues we find that people with a southern accent are different on a number of dimensions (social, economic, and political). Whereas in prior studies a dummy variable was used to represent and account for a southern distinctiveness, we argue that individual variation clearly exists and is worth acknowledging in the evolving study of southern politics.

Introduction

For decades, social scientists found the South to be distinctly different (Grantham 1994; Key 1949). A dummy variable, representing the 11 states of the former confederacy, was routinely included to account for the unique nature of the region. Books have been written and countless classes taught on the distinctive nature of southern politics, while other regions of the United States have not received this same attention from scholars. Yet, recent literature has questioned how truly distinctive the South is from the rest of the nation. As people migrate from colder northern states to the sunny South the need to account for the distinct region of the country may have waned (Black and Black 2002). Migration within the United States has left states in the rust belt and northeast with declining populations, while the Bible Belt and Sun Belt gained population (U.S. Census 2011). This migration into the

South, along with an increasingly nationalized and globalized economy, has caused what some scholars have described as the nationalization of the South (Egerton 1974; Luebke 1998).

However, southerners with a discernible accent may still hold distinct political points of view. It may in fact be that those raised in the South, and who identify themselves as southern may still have a distinctly different political point of view. We propose that while a southern dummy variable may no longer be appropriate because of the increasingly diverse nature of the region, some southerners still share a unique set of beliefs on both political and cultural dimensions. One method for identifying a southerner versus someone who has migrated to the South is the presence of a southern accent. Accents are developed during childhood and young adulthood and are typically solidified by age twelve or thirteen (Tahta, Wood, and Loewenthal 1981). As a result, it is unlikely that a new southerner would develop a southern accent.

To leverage this idea that the presence of a southern accent signifies a deeper cultural commitment to the South, interviewers at a university survey research center were asked to identify respondents with a southern accent. Relying on nine telephone surveys of respondents from North Carolina, we test to see if respondents with southern accents hold significantly different views from other residents. In particular, we examine the political beliefs of white respondents from the state of North Carolina. Acknowledging that there are stark differences between white and black respondents on a variety of political views we turn here only to an examination of white respondents to ascertain whether those white North Carolinians with a southern accent have markedly different views on policy than other residents with no accent. We also examine the characteristics of those with strong, slight and no southern accents to see if they are markedly different across various demographic and cultural dimensions.

We propose that although the South is now more demographically varied, there is still a southern identity that a dummy variable for the South alone does not fully capture. On a variety of policy issues, we find that people with a southern accent have distinct policy views. In particular, we expect and find that those with a southern accent are more likely to hold conservative cultural and political attitudes. Whereas previous dummy variables for the South represented a regional variation, we argue that individual variation clearly exists and is worth acknowledging in the evolving study of southern politics.

Southern Identity

Beginning with Key's seminal work on southern politics (1949), many have studied the distinctive and evolving politics of the former states of the confederacy. The once solidly democratic block of states has evolved to a majority Republican region (Bullock and Rozell 2003). Often because of the idiosyncratic nature of the southern states, a dummy variable is included in various studies to account for the region. While some have begun to argue that migration to the South has yielded a more heterogeneous region, Hillygus and Shields (2008) find that southerners, despite these changes, still have a distinctive voting calculus.

Regional studies of the South have approached the concept of southern exceptionalism or distinctiveness from a variety of perspectives. As with studies of different countries, studies of the South frequently focus on the distinct historical events that residents have experienced that have shaped their attitudes, beliefs, and preferences. However, with many southern studies, these attitudes, beliefs and perceptions are frequently labeled not just as a "southern culture" but as a "southern identity" (Cooper and Knotts 2010b; Woodward 1958). Cooper and Knotts (2013) suggest this is because strong regional attachment is not typically found in other locations, at least not to the same degree as southerners. In the entertainment industry, popular bands have used southern accents as a way to signal their southern identity (Harriss 2018). However, "southern identity" is a concept filled with ambiguity (Huffmon, Lawrence, and Briggs 2014). For many, attachment to a regional group has to do with personal identification with that group rather than the current location of an individual (Reed 1982). Furthermore, the southern identity may be just one identity that an individual holds. Cooper and Knotts (2013) found that in one part of North Carolina, individuals have different degrees of attachment to various identities, including the identity of being an American, southern, a North Carolinian, and/or an Appalachian.

In this paper, we argue that an individual's accent may be an important characteristic that signifies their membership in a group. Rather than a causal variable in itself, we view accent as a proxy variable that differentiates political attitudes between residents of southern states. Those with southern accents and those without likely differ on a number of other relevant dimensions such as location of adolescence or childhood, parental characteristics or some other set of unknown variables. Consequently, we theorize that accent serves as a useful variable in studying which

southerners are politically distinct from national measures of central tendency.

Studies have shown that those individuals who have strong connections or claims of "southern identity" typically have a southern accent (Falk and Webb 2010; Griffin 2004). Kramsch (1998) suggests an accent helps an individual identify themselves as a member of a certain group or community; "from this membership, they draw personal strength and pride, as well as a sense of social importance and historical continuity from using the same language as the group they belong to (65-66)." Kretzschmar (2008) suggests the southern accent helps shape the southern identity and may even represent the ability of a community to resist pressures of "urbanization, nationalization, and globalization."

The Origins of Accents and Attitudes

Although accents in the South can vary across locations, they do seem to share several attributes that help identify speakers in this region from the rest of the country (Fridland and Bartlett 2006; Kretzschmar 2008). How an accent is acquired has been the subject of a number of linguistic studies. How long someone has lived in an area and during what part of their life are typically found to be the most important factors influencing the acquisition of an accent. However, many studies have also found a person's age, occupation, gender, race, ethnicity, and social class can influence how an individual incorporates different speech patterns (Laferriere 1979b). In some instances accent acquisition appears to function at a subconscious level and some studies have suggested we only have a very limited ability to control the manner we speak (Lippi-Green 1997). Accents are typically set by the age of 12 or 13, so that even after a child moves to a new area with a new language, the child is likely to keep their original accent, at least in part (Tahta, Wood, and Loewenthal 1981).

In this paper, we do not attempt to address the origin of accent adoption. Whether an individual has one because of prior socialization or an individual has attempted to adopt an accent for political or occupational reasons, the accent still remains an important cue of group membership (or attempt at becoming a member of a group). In fact, if our accents are a choice, it might indicate a strong attachment to a social group. This is especially true for the southern accent given that "even in the face of long-standing and often pejorative stereotypes, this speech region's continued distinctiveness clearly attests to the remarkable power of social and historical

solidarity in the face of external language pressure" (Fridland and Bartlett 2006). Furthermore, accents may be a better indicator of regional identity than geography because, at least according to some scholars, accents follow a person even when they move to new regions.

At the same time young children and adolescents are developing an accent they are also forming their political attitudes and beliefs. Although a full review of the origins and development of political attitudes is beyond the scope of this paper, is worth briefly discussing. Campbell et al. (1960) establish that political attitudes stem from family and one's environment. This socialization process happens early in life, much like the acquisition of accents, and as individuals develop an attachment to a political party this then informs their political attitudes which remain consistent over time. Recent findings continue to support the idea that political socialization largely occurs during childhood and can happen in unintentional ways (Healy and Malhotra 2013; Sears and Valentino 1997). While the importance of childhood socialization is largely accepted, it's important to note that there are competing theories of the origins of political attitudes. For example, Zaller (1992) argues that an individual's opinion is derived from the accumulation of elite opinions over time.

Research suggests that in the political arena the presence of an accent can influence an individual's perception of a candidate. Amira et al. (2018) found that candidates with a southern accent were judged more negatively and assumed to be more conservative than candidates without an accent in an experimental setting were. Peled and Bonotti (2019) argue that accent bias is harmful in a democratic society. This covert bias against those who sound discernibly different can cement systemic injustices and create normative problems.

We propose that the presence of a southern accent serves as a proxy for those who identify more strongly with the South as opposed to those who simply live in a southern state. As a result, we expect that these individuals will display different policy preferences across a range of various political issues. Rapid migration into the southern states means that simply living in the South may no longer be an appropriate measure of southernness when attempting to capture a distinctive set of policy preferences. At the same time, we recognize that all English speakers have an accent or dialect and that not all southern speakers have a discernible southern accent.

Data and Methods

To examine whether or not respondents with a southern accent do in fact hold different policy views, we relied on data obtained over the course of nine distinct surveys conducted by a university survey research center in North Carolina.¹ The surveys contacted North Carolina residents using both landline and cell phone numbers and were conducted by student callers. The phone numbers were obtained from the sampling company Survey Sampling International. One of the surveys was conducted via the internet using an online panel maintained by Survey Sampling International. All of the surveys were completed between February 2013 and February 2016.² The typical comparison we make throughout the paper are between those respondents subjectively identified by their voice as having a southern accent and those identified as not having such accent.

Measuring Accents

At the conclusion of each telephone survey interviewers were asked to code whether the respondent had a strong southern accent, slight southern accent or no discernible southern accent. Although survey measures of gender, race, income, and other traditional demographic characteristics are often plagued by measurement error, measuring a person's accent has some unique challenges. Assessment of accent was largely subjective to the particular interviewer. The interviewers at the university survey research center are students at a private liberal arts university and disproportionately come from the North Eastern part of the United States. Given their limited experience with southern accents, all respondents interviewed on the phone could have been judged to have a strong southern accent. This was not the case, over 9 surveys and over 8,000 white respondents living in North Carolina, interviewers found 25.7% to have a strong southern accent, 42.7% to have a slight accent and 31.7% with no accent. During interviewer training, supervisors informed survey interviewers that a post-survey question about accent would appear within their CATI software at the end of each survey as the supervisor discussed differences between presence of an accent or lack thereof.

To assess intercoder reliability we had a student polling supervisor listen to the same respondents over a monitoring system and determine whether

¹ More information about this survey research center will be provided after blind-review.

² See Appendix 1 for more information about the various polls conducted

respondents had an accent prior to the interviewer's assessment. The results from the student polling supervisor were compared with the interviewer's and we found an interrater agreement of 74.1% ($n=27$; Cohen's Kappa: 0.4220; $z= 2.41$). Because accent is coded at the end of a survey after interviewers learn of respondent attitudes, we also tested whether accent ratings were an artifice of survey interviewer projection. The correlation between interviewer accent ratings and respondent ideology was 0.223, slightly less than the 0.257 correlation among ratings of the supervisor who had not heard any answers from the respondent (only the introductory script). This suggests that projection is not driving our ratings measurement.

These results seem to confirm findings from other studies. Preston (1989) finds that test subjects in the United States were able to recognize and distinguish the southern accent. However, in another study the same author also notes that men are more frequently judged to have a stronger southern accent than women (Preston 2013). Alford and Strother (1990) find that even non-native English speakers were able to distinguish southern accents from accents of individuals from New York and Illinois.

Intercoder reliability tests may not capture another problem facing the measurement of accents. Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens (1997) argue that social desirability may influence southern respondents' answers in a survey regarding race, thus appearing to show that attitudes in the South have grown closer to those in the rest of the nation. Similarly, an individual may attempt to reduce their accent when responding to questions posed by Northerners.³ In an attempt to address the social desirability problem, we also conducted a survey online in June of 2015 and asked respondents if they considered themselves to have a southern accent. Self-identifying as having a southern accent in the online survey was strongly associated with opposing gay marriage and opposing the Obamacare.⁴ These results are very similar to the findings of the results from telephone surveys presented below.

North Carolina, the South, and Southern Distinctiveness

³ Although Cooper and Knotts (2012) find a gradual improvement in opinion towards southerners, they do note that many scholars have previously found the public to have negative views of the South and southerners.

⁴ The online survey was conducted using an opt-in online panel maintained by Survey Sampling International. The survey was conducted using Qualtrics between June 4-9, 2015. See Online Appendix 2 for results from the survey.

The analysis that follows uses data from nine telephone surveys conducted in North Carolina of adult residents (and in some cases registered voters) living in North Carolina. All of the surveys were collected using both landline and cellphone numbers and live student callers.⁵ Scholars have suggested that North Carolina is different from the rest of the South and more similar to the rest of the country (Key 1949; Luebke 1998; Vercellotti 2008). These scholars have noted the political attitudes of North Carolinians and their elected leaders typically were more moderate or progressive than their southern counterparts. However, not all scholars confirm North Carolina's status as the most progressive of southern states. Eamon (2008) suggests "the prevailing current among academics is much more skeptical, even hostile" to the view that the state is as progressive as previously declared. Furthermore, the success of the Republican party in North Carolina has followed a similar pattern as it has in many other southern states (Christensen 2008; Prysby 2008).

Cooper and Knotts (2010b) used language to create a three-tiered ranking of the 13 southern states (11 Confederate states + Oklahoma and Kentucky) by the level of "southernness". This ranking was a replication of a prior study by (Reed, Kohls, and Hanchette 1990) and used a content analysis of phone book directories to find which states had businesses that used the terms "Dixie" or "southern". The authors found states like Alabama and Mississippi to be the most "southern." North Carolina along with states like South Carolina, Arkansas, and Georgia were ranked in the middle, and states like Florida, Virginia, and Oklahoma were found to be the least "Southern". In his historical look at North Carolina, Christensen (2008) concludes that "North Carolina remains culturally conservative, more like Alabama than California" (313).

North Carolina is an excellent case study to examine the effects of accents on attitudes given it has experienced a considerable amount of migration to the state. Because of this migration, North Carolina is the ninth largest state in the nation, and this population contains a sizable population with an accent and without an accent. Cooper and Knotts (2010b) note the rapid economic and population change in North Carolina, but conclude there is still considerable amount of "southern pride" in the state. If one believes that individuals move to a state to be near like-minded individuals (Bishop 2009), then this makes North Carolina a more stringent test of our hypothesis. Migration of individuals with similar policy preferences would

⁵ See Appendix for more survey information.

dilute the effects of an accent. Instead, we would find that individuals regardless of accent share similar policy preferences.

Analyzing survey data from a single state offers some advantages. Each respondent is living in a state with a similar political environment, political institutions, and political leaders. This assists in controlling for these political environmental factors that could influence public opinion and attitudes.

Who has a Southern Accent?

Whether a respondent has a strong or slight accent (measured by two dichotomous variables) are the primary explanatory variables in our study. Table 1 provides descriptive statistics that illustrate some of the demographic differences between respondents with strong accents, with slight accents and those with no southern accent. Consistent with Laferriere's (1979a) finding about the "importance of age, sex, socio-economic level, and social class in conditioning the use of linguistic variants," Table 1 suggests that individuals with southern accents differ from other residents in North Carolina in a number of ways.

While certainly non-white residents of the South can and do often have a southern accent, for the purposes of this paper we examine only white southerners. We control for ethnicity by only examining white respondents. This is a frequent practice in the literature examining southern distinctiveness (Cowden 2001; Glaser 1994; Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens 1997). In addition, because we expect that a southern accent will yield more conservative cultural and political attitudes we feel it is appropriate to exclude black respondents. Black voters nationwide have a strong propensity to align with the Democratic Party and agree with the more liberal positions of the party.⁶

The presence and strength of an accent varies tremendously based on respondents' place of origin. Only 11% of those "originally from" North Carolina had no accent. This is less than half of the 28% of natives of other southern states with no accent and less than one-sixth of the 75% of non-southern natives with no accent. Similarly, only 3% of non-southern natives have strong accents. In contrast, 38% of North Carolina natives and 22% of natives of other southern states have a strong accent. The reason North

⁶ We did run the following models using only black respondents. These results did not yield any statistically significant findings.

Table 1: Distribution of Southern Accents across Demographic Groups

		Strong Accent	Slight Accent	No Accent	N
Education	< HS	54%	38%	8%	232
	HS	42%	40%	18%	1,143
	Some College	28%	45%	28%	2,283
	College Graduation	19%	44%	37%	2,201
	Graduate School	14%	44%	37%	1,289
Gender	Male	29%	42%	29%	3,604
	Female	22%	43%	35%	3,650
Age	18-30	17%	47%	37%	1,449
	31-40	20%	42%	38%	1,184
	41-50	23%	43%	34%	1,209
	51-65	29%	43%	28%	2,027
	65+	38%	35%	25%	1,373
Income	< \$25k	35%	43%	21%	931
	\$25k to \$50k	29%	43%	29%	1,444
	\$50k to &75k	28%	44%	29%	1,182
	> \$75k	19%	41%	39%	2,892
Church Attend	Never	19%	40%	42%	2,013
	A few times a year	27%	42%	31%	865
	Once or twice a month	27%	45%	28%	1,060
	Almost every week	28%	47%	25%	972
	Every week	30%	43%	27%	2,117
Place of Origin	Non-Southern Native	3%	21%	75%	1,725
	Southern Native	22%	50%	28%	926
	NC Native	38%	51%	11%	3,249
Partisanship	Democrats	22%	41%	38%	1,658
	Independents	24%	42%	34%	2,085
	Republicans	30%	45%	25%	1,118
Ideology	Liberals	13%	41%	46%	1,156
	Moderates	25%	45%	31%	2,706
	Conservatives	32%	43%	25%	2,450

Source: Elon University Polls, 2012-2015. Within-row relative frequencies. Results limited to whites. See Appendix 2 for details of the surveys used to create this table.

Carolina natives are more likely to have a southern accent than southern natives from other states could be due to high migration rates to North Carolina from areas in the South such as Florida and northern Virginia.⁷

Interviewers reported 29% of male respondents had strong southern accents in contrast to 22% of female respondents. The presence of a strong accent has a fairly linear relationship with age. Just 17% of respondents less than 30 had a strong accent compared to 23% of 41 to 50 year olds and 38% of those over 65. In general, churchgoers are more likely to have strong

⁷ According to the 2011 American Community Survey Florida and Virginia are the two largest sources of in-migration to North Carolina (Tippet 2013).

accents than those who never attend church. Among those who never attend church, only 17% have strong accents. However, the frequency of accents increases little as attendance moves from a few times a year (27% with strong accent) to every week (30% with strong accent).

Accents are far less common among those with high levels of income and education. Strong accents are almost twice as common among those with less than \$25,000 household income than among those with incomes greater than \$75,000 (35% compared to 19%). Similarly, those with graduate education are about one-third as likely to have a strong accent as those with only a high school education (14% and 42%, respectively).

Southern accents are more common among conservatives and Republicans. For example, 38% of Democrats had no accent compared to 34% of Independents and 25% of Republicans. Correspondingly, 30% of Republicans had strong accents as opposed to 22% of Democrats. These differences were even greater in terms of ideology. Thirty-two percent of conservatives had a strong accent, almost two and a half times the 13% among liberals. Similarly, 46% of liberals had no accent in contrast to just 25% of conservatives. We make no argument that accent, in itself, leads to adoption of party identification or ideology. However, that we observe such strong relationships between the presence of an accent and ideology and partisanship suggests accent is an important aspect of political difference worth further inquiry.

Cultural Dimensions of a Southern Accent

Accents are far more prevalent among people with certain demographic characteristics and political identities. These accents also are associated with various cultural attitudes and behaviors. Those with southern accents are far more likely than their fellow accent-less southerners to engage in behavior stereotypically connected with the South. Table 2 presents selected cultural distinctions of individuals with southern accents.

First, we find that accent is very strongly related to answers to the following question in a November 2013 survey of white North Carolinians: "How proud are you that you live in the South?" Eighty-three percent of those with strong accents are very proud to be southern compared to 67% of those with slight accents and 54% of those with no accent. We also asked an open-ended question, "Imagine that you had to describe North Carolina to

Table 2: Cultural Distinctions of People with Southern Accents

	<u>Strong Accent</u>	<u>Slight Accent</u>	<u>No Accent</u>	<u>N</u>
Pride in Being a Southerner (% saying "Very Proud")	83%	67%	54%	565
Positive Description of NC (% providing positive open-ended response)	93%	87%	78%	560
NASCAR Fan (% saying they are NASCAR fans)	44%	29%	12%	551
NASCAR Attendance (% saying they attended NASCAR race)	56%	50%	33%	551
Civil War about Slavery or State's Rights (% saying slavery)	30%	39%	43%	598
Have an Immigrant Friend (% saying yes)	25%	27%	32%	1,684
Have a Gay Friend (% saying yes)	60%	73%	75%	567
National Crime Rate Increased (% saying yes)	72%	50%	42%	687
Local Crime Rate Increased (% saying yes)	63%	35%	34%	567
Death Penalty Fairness (% saying fair)	60%	57%	49%	567
Follow Local News (% following local news "most of the time")	83%	74%	64%	567

Source: Elon University Polls, 2012-2015. Results limited to whites. See Appendix 1 for details of the surveys used to create this table. N are for all white respondents who answered question.

someone who had never been to the state in just two words or two very short phrases. What would those two words or phrases be?" Ninety-three percent of those with a southern accent provided a positive description of the state compared to 78% of those with no accent.⁸ That accent is associated with positive perceptions of respondents' place of residence in the South is suggestive that those with accents have a stronger connection to southern identity.

Those with strong accents often perceived an increase in crime at both the national (72%) and local levels (62%). In contrast, southern residents without an accent were less likely to think that crime had increased nationally (42%) and locally (34%). At least in regards to local crime, strong accent holders might be, in part, more likely to incorrectly state the direction

⁸ For additional information about this question, see responses from South Carolinians to a Winthrop University Poll question that inspired our measure (Huffmon, Lawrence, and Briggs 2014).

of crime rates because they are more engaged with local news.⁹ Eighty-three percent of those with a strong accent followed local news closely compared to 74% of those with slight accents and 64% of those with no accent.

Strong accents were also associated with distinct responses to a variety of questions related to diversity. In April 2015, respondents were asked, "As you may know, Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant 150 years ago this month. If you had to choose, do you think the Civil War was more [about states' rights or more about slavery]?" Only 30% of those with strong accents said slavery compared to 43% of those with no accent. In contrast, 55% of those with strong accents said states' rights compared to 44% of those with no accent. This is consistent with many traditional southerners being more likely than non-southerners or new comers to the South to agree with "Lost Cause of the Confederacy" explanations that emerged after the war and argued that slavery was not a motivation for Confederate secession (Nolan 2010).

Social networks of those with accents are less diverse. Respondents with strong accents were less likely than those with no accent to have a gay friend (60% versus 75%, respectively) and to have an immigrant friend (25% versus 32%, respectively). Perceptions of the fairness of the death penalty also vary by accent. Sixty percent of those with a strong accent view the death penalty as being applied fairly in the country compared to 49% of those with no accent. Each of these patterns imply stronger accents align with less progressive social behavior and attitudes.

Beyond differences of crime, punishment, pride and diversity, accents also matter for consumption of popular culture. Marsden et al. (1982) found differences in leisure time activities between southerners and non-southerners. Our study found differences within North Carolina based on accent. Respondents with strong a southern accent were much more likely than those with no accent to have attended a NASCAR race (56% vs 33%) or to consider themselves a NASCAR fan (44% vs 12%). The large differences in NASCAR fandom is perhaps not very surprising given that the sport has been called "the most southern sport on earth" (Pierce 2001).

Dependent Variables: Measures of Policy Preferences

⁹ Gross and Aday (2003), among other scholars, note the correlation between local news viewership and perceptions of crime.

Hurlbert (1989) found that southerners were distinctive from non-southerners in 4 dimensions of public opinion: attitudes on racial issues, issues regarding individual freedom, religious/moral issues, and women's issues. We posit that within the South, individuals with a southern accent are likely to be distinctively different on these same dimensions. We examine seven different measures of public attitudes that touch upon these four dimensions: immigration and voter ID (race and xenophobia); gun control and perceptions of the Affordable Care Act/Obamacare (individual freedoms); gay marriage and the death penalty (religious and moral issues); and abortion (women's issues).¹⁰

In many cases, each measure touches upon more than one dimension. Attitudes toward Obamacare may be influenced by perceptions of the president and those perceptions could be influenced by Barack Obama's race. While race is a dimension of immigration, immigration also can tap into perceptions of national security and the economy. Support for requiring photo identification in order to vote is likely to be related to issues regarding race, immigration, and electoral reform. Abortion is both a moral issue and an issue highly salient to women. Although these measures are clearly not just one dimensional, they were chosen because the literature suggests that southerners should hold distinct opinions on these topics. We argue that what scholars are referencing when they use the term "southern" is really a person who strongly identifies as a southerner rather than someone who simply resides in the South. We propose that a method of capturing true southerners, besides simply accounting for place of residence, is the presence of a southern accent.

Control Variables

As noted above, studies on accents found age, ethnicity, sex, socio-and economic status were associated with differences in linguistic use and practices (Laferriere 1979a). We control for these factors using an interval-level measure of age, a dichotomous measure of sex (male/female), and a dichotomous measure of education (college graduate/non-college graduate).

We include how often a respondent attends church as a control variable. Reed (1986) found that some differences between southerners and the non-southerners have declined over time, however differences between how often southerners and non-southerners attend church have increased, "with

¹⁰ See Appendix 2 for the dates and sample sizes of the surveys where these variables appear.

southerners reporting higher levels of church attendance." Smith, Sikkink, and Bailey (1998) suggest that just by living in the South individuals seemed to become more religious. We control for whether a respondent is originally from the South. This is important because we are arguing that accents capture something else other than geography, yet clearly having lived all your life in the South increases the likelihood of having a southern accent. Furthermore, the longer you have lived in the South the stronger your southern identity may be (Cooper and Knotts 2013), and in part we suspect that a southern accent is a mechanism where individuals express and identify their membership of a particular group.

Besides individual-level characteristics there may be attributes of an area or environment that may influence respondents. We include a contextual variable that measures a county's level of population density (number of residents per square mile). The population density of an area may influence both prevalence of an accent, southern identity, and political attitudes (Abrahamson and Carter 1986; Applebome 1997; Cooper and Knotts 2010a). We also control for the percent of a population in a county that is white. Scholars have also found the level of racial homogeneity may influence both accents and political attitudes (Cooper and Knotts 2010a; Perry 2013). Furthermore, we include variables for the percent of a county's population that is under the poverty level and the percent with a college education. All of the county-level contextual variables are based on statistics from the 2010 U.S. Census.

Findings

Table 3 presents estimates from multivariate models of the seven dependent variables tested. Southern accent and the aforementioned control variables are on the right side of each model. See Appendix 2 for details about the surveys providing data for each model.

Model 1 of Table 3 reveals those with southern accents are less likely to perceive immigrants as a benefit to society. A respondent with a strong southern accent has a 44.7% chance of saying immigrants are a benefit instead of a burden while a respondent with a slight southern accent has a 49.0% probability.¹¹ In contrast, a respondent without a southern accent has a

¹¹ All predicted probability simulations were calculated in Stata using Long and Freese (2014) SPOST package. Categorical and nominal level variables are set to the mode while interval level variables are set to the mean.

51.1% probability of saying “benefit.” This change in probability from a person with a strong accent to no accent is slight greater than the difference between a person with only a high school education and someone with a college degree.

Table 3: Policy Attitudes as a Function of Southern Accent

	Immigrant Support	Voter ID	Gun Control	ACA Support	Gay Marriage	Death Penalty	Abortion
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Accent Strong	-0.163* (0.0849)	0.816* (0.212)	-0.105* (0.0356)	-0.248* (0.0760)	-0.697* (0.181)	0.230 (0.584)	0.0912 (0.0702)
Accent Slight	-0.0553 (0.0659)	0.191 (0.160)	-0.0362 (0.0264)	-0.0706 (0.0689)	-0.281* (0.125)	-0.134 (0.418)	0.0750 (0.0647)
Education	0.538* (0.0881)	-0.979* (0.260)	0.0699 (0.0465)	0.521* (0.0997)	1.987* (0.215)	-0.310 (0.595)	-0.681* (0.114)
Female	-0.0746 (0.0482)	0.402* (0.113)	0.0929* (0.0220)	-0.115* (0.0529)	0.520* (0.101)	-0.0622 (0.281)	0.0036 (0.0490)
Ideology	-0.607* (0.0980)	2.762* (0.282)	-0.246* (0.0574)	-1.630* (0.110)	-3.840* (0.224)	1.580* (0.524)	1.439* (0.126)
Party ID	-0.342* (0.0994)	3.064* (0.320)	-0.123* (0.0351)	-1.745* (0.131)	-1.373* (0.178)	1.727* (0.422)	0.782* (0.0899)
Southern Origin	-0.00131 (0.0631)	-0.241* (0.132)	0.0618* (0.0258)	0.0005 (0.0582)	-0.410* (0.148)	0.694* (0.326)	0.0313 (0.0627)
Church Attendance	0.119* (0.0599)	0.295 (0.183)	0.00277 (0.0294)	-0.125* (0.0743)	-1.925* (0.142)	-0.618* (0.270)	0.904* (0.0474)
Age	0.153* (0.0903)	-0.892* (0.342)	0.319* (0.0545)	0.416* (0.114)	-2.179* (0.287)	-0.899 (0.706)	-0.188 (0.116)
County: % Density ₁₀	-0.0632 (0.0998)	0.434* (0.229)	0.00003 (0.0427)	0.0126 (0.0906)	0.535 (0.406)	0.270 (0.666)	0.0859 (0.120)
County: % College ₁₀	0.456* (0.248)	-2.358* (0.685)	0.0530 (0.140)	0.531* (0.227)	1.723* (0.989)	-1.454 (1.477)	-1.137* (0.398)
County: % White ₁₀	-0.0269 (0.247)	-0.449 (0.610)	-0.0748 (0.0887)	-0.0286 (0.243)	0.275 (0.533)	-1.298 (0.977)	0.0766 (0.203)
County: % Poverty ₁₀	-0.394 (0.678)	-1.080 (1.789)	0.0174 (0.309)	0.0348 (0.659)	1.844 (2.032)	-1.223 (3.108)	-0.766 (0.746)
Constant / Cut 1	-0.348 (0.300)	0.383 (0.681)	0.755* (0.112)	-1.270* (0.379)	2.828* (0.700)	1.367 (1.483)	0.738* (0.315)
Cut 2	-0.0877 (0.300)	- -	- -	-0.513 (0.366)	- -	- -	1.138* (0.316)
Observations	2,691	2,630	525	2,717	2,635	447	2,808
Pseudo R- squared	0.044	0.377	0.306	0.294	0.455	0.186	0.222

Source: Elon University Polls, 2012-2015. Sample limited to white North Carolinians. Independent variables range from 0 to 1. * p<0.05 one-tailed. See Appendix 3 for details. Robust Standards errors clustered on counties (100 in NC). Ordered Probit: models 1, 2, 7. Logit: models 2, 4, 6. OLS: model 3.

A person's position on North Carolina's voter identification laws also is substantively and statistically significant related to accent (Model 2 - Table 3). While voter identification was popular as a whole among North Carolina residents, it was highly controversial, as evidenced by protest groups such as Moral Mondays and multiple federal court cases. Those with strong accents had an 89.5% probability of favoring voter ID compared to 82.1% for those with a slight accent and 79.1% for those with no accent. The 10% overall difference between a person with no accent and one with strong accent was slightly greater than the 7.5% difference between a person identifying as a Republican leaning independent and a person identifying as a strong Republican.

Perhaps not surprising given the history of guns in the South, those with strong southern accents were far more likely to oppose gun control than those without a southern accent (Model 3). We created a four-item index on support for gun control based on support for (1) waiting periods, (2) background checks, (3) assault rifle ban, and (4) magazine round limits. Higher scores indicated more support of gun control. North Carolina residents with no accent had a predicted score of 0.76 on this index. Those with slight accents had a 0.72 predicted score while those with no accent only scored 0.65. The 0.11 shift from no accent to a strong accent is greater than the 0.093 difference between a simulated male and a simulated female in the model.

Those with southern accents are also less welcoming towards the Affordable Care Act/Obamacare. Predicted probabilities from Model 4 show those with a strong accent had a 56.4% probability of thinking the ACA will make things worse in the state. This is almost 10 points higher than the 46.6% probability of those with no accent thinking ACA would make things worse. Those with only a slight accent were not statistically distinct from those in the reference group with no accent. In terms of support for the Affordable Care Act, a change from no accent to a strong accent is roughly equivalent to a one unit change on the seven-unit ideology variable.

Accent had substantively and statistically significant effects on support for gay marriage. Model 5's estimates show that a person with a strong southern accent had a 36.0% probability of supporting gay marriage compared to a 46.1% probability for a person with a slight accent and 53.1% probability for one with no accent. The 17% difference in gay marriage support between a strong accent and no accent is approaching the 23%

change in predicted support as a simulated person moves between attending church a few times a year to almost every week.

However, accent is not influential for all dependent variables tested. As shown in Model 6, the association between accent and the dependent variable measuring death penalty attitudes was not statistically significant. Similarly, estimates for both accent dummy variables in Model 7 fail to reach traditional measures of statistical significance. We expected to find a difference on abortion attitudes because other studies have found differences between southerners and non-southerners on this issue (Hurlbert 1989). In both the case of the death penalty and abortion, accent is significant only when party identification and ideology are not included on right hand sides of the models, suggesting that national partisanship can mitigate regional differences for highly salient long-term partisan disagreements.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to examine group differences in the South. Specifically, we examined three groups: whites with a strong accent, whites with a slight accent, and whites with no southern accent. The existence and strength of an accent represents, we argue, the strength of a respondent's "southern identity." "Southern identity" is an abstract, yet frequently used concept in the literature on southern distinctiveness. Although, abstract, it is clearly better at explaining a person's attitude than simply their geographic location. In fact, we find it remains an important predictor of attitudes, even when controlling for whether a white respondent is originally from the South or has migrated to the region. Prior studies have generally attempted to control for this southern distinctiveness or exceptionalism by including a regional dummy variable. In the past this statistical technique was effective in capturing or accounting for this difference (Glaser 2005; Woodard 2006); however, recent studies have begun to find fewer differences between respondents living in the South and non-South. Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens (1997) note in their review of the literature on the South "an abundance of survey research conducted over the past two decades has portrayed a "new South" in which the region's white residents now resemble the remainder of the country" at least in regards to racial attitudes. National studies that use the traditional "dummy variable" to indicate whether a respondent lives in the South or not have found differences in attitudes between southerners and non-southerners to be negligible (Carter et al. 2014). We recognize that not all survey researchers will be able to account for a respondent's accent, particularly as more survey researchers move to online polling methods.

Instead, our findings suggest that simply living in the South is not a sufficient measure. Geographic location does not necessarily equal a set of beliefs as the dummy variable for the states of the former confederacy often suggested. At the same time, we still find that there are distinct attitudes among some who live in the South. The presence of a southern accent is a predictor of that unique set of attitudes.

The results from this study show whites with southern accents have distinctly different views than whites without an accent living in the South. The traditional measure of "southern" is incapable of capturing this difference. This is, in part, because "treating the South as a monolithic region neglects the regional and group differences within the South" (Vercellotti 2008). To be clear, our findings are not meant to further stereotype or pigeonhole southerners into a particular political ideology. Instead, we believe these findings highlight the greater diversity within the South today. When regional studies of the South are attempting to measure how and why the South is distinct, they are often attempting to capture attitudes held by residents of the South with specific characteristics. We provide evidence that one of the most important of these specific characteristics of "southernness" is the existence of a discernable accent.

Appendix 1: Survey Dates for Data in Table 2

	<u>Date of Poll</u>
Pride in Being a Southerner	November 2013
NASCAR Fan	April 2014
NASCAR Attendance	April 2014
Civil War about Slavery or State's Rights	April 2015
Have Immigrant Friend	April 2013; Sept. 2013; April 2014
Have a Gay Friend	April 2013
National Crime Rate Increased	April 2013; February 2015
Local Crime Rate Increased	April 2013
Death Penalty Fairness	April 2013
Positive Description of NC	April 2014
Non-Opinion on NC BBQ	April 2014
Registration / Self-Identified PID Mismatch	February 2016

Appendix 2: Dates and Samples Sizes for Survey Used in Tables 1 and 3

<u>Poll Month</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u># of R</u>	<u>Dependent Variable in Table 3</u>
February	24-28	2013	921	Immigration; Voter ID; Gun Index
April	5-9	2013	789	Abortion; Death Penalty; Gay Marriage; Immigration
September	13-16	2013	767	Abortion; ACA Support; Gay Marriage; Immigration; Voter ID
November	15-18	2013	777	ACA Support; Voter ID
February	23-26	2014	1,057	ACA Support; Gay Marriage
April	25-28	2014	759	Abortion; ACA Support; Gay Marriage; Immigration; Voter ID
September	5-9	2014	1,158	Abortion; ACA Support; Gay Marriage; Immigration; Voter ID
October	21-25	2014	1,152	Abortion; ACA Support; Gay Marriage; Voter ID
February	16-20	2015	915	Abortion; ACA Support; Gay Marriage; Immigration

Appendix 3: Survey Question Wording

Below are the survey questions used to construct Table 2

Pride in Being a Southerner

How proud are you that you live in the South? Would you say you are very proud, somewhat proud, or not proud at all?

NASCAR Fan

Would you describe yourself as a NASCAR fan?

NASCAR Attendance

Have you ever attended a NASCAR race?

Civil War about Slavery or State's Rights

As you may know, Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant 150 years ago this month. If you had to choose, do you think the Civil War was more about states' rights or more about slavery?

Have Immigrant Friend

Do you have any friends or relatives who are recent immigrants?

Have a Gay Friend

Do you have any close friends or relatives who are gay or lesbian?

National Crime Rate Increased

Is there more crime in the U.S. then there was a year ago, or less?

Local Crime Rate Increased

Is there more crime in your area than there was a year ago, or less?

Death Penalty Fairness

Are you in favor of the death penalty for a person convicted of murder?

Chance of Ebola Outbreak in 2014

From zero percent to 100 percent, what percent chance do you think a widespread outbreak of Ebola will occur and infect 100 or more people in the United States?

Follow Local News

Which of the following 2 statements | best describe you: I follow local news most of the time OR only when something important is happening.

No Opinion on NC BBQ Type

North Carolina is known for two styles of barbecue. Lexington style barbecue

Positive Description of NC

Imagine that you had to describe North Carolina to someone who had never been to the state in just two words or two very short phrases. What would those two words or phrases be? [Classified by two coders as positive or negative.]

Party Identification Mismatch

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else? (Responses to this question were compared to Party ID from voter registration file.)

Dependent Variables

Voter ID

As you may know, the state legislature is considering a law requiring voters to show some sort of government approved photo identification before they are allowed to vote... do you (support or oppose) such a law? (0 = "oppose," 1 = "support")

Abortion

Now, thinking more generally, do you think state laws in North Carolina should make access to an abortion more difficult or less difficult? (1 = "less," 2 = "same," 3 = "more")

Gay Marriage

Do you support or oppose gay marriage? (0 = "oppose," 1 = "support")

Death Penalty

Are you in favor of the death penalty for a person convicted of murder? (0 = "no," 1 = "yes")

Affordable Care Act Approval

In the long run, how do you think the Affordable Care Act, often referred to as Obamacare, will affect the healthcare situation in North Carolina as a whole? Will it make things better, not make much difference, or will it make things worse? (-1 = "make things worse", 0 = "not make much difference/don't know", 1 = "make things better")

Gun Index

Please tell me if you support or oppose the following:

Requiring a background check for all individuals buying a gun. (0 = "oppose," 1 = "support")

Requiring a waiting period before citizens can purchase a handgun. (0 = "oppose," 1 = "support")

Limiting the number of rounds of ammunition in clips or magazines. (0 = "oppose," 1 = "support")

Banning the sale of semi-automatic assault rifles. (0 = "oppose," 1 = "support")

Immigration

Please indicate which statement comes closest to your own view, even if neither is exactly right. (1 =

"Immigrants today are a burden to North Carolina because they use public services, 2 = "don't know", 3 =

"Immigrants today are a benefit to North Carolina because of their hard work and job skills)

Independent Variables (all have been recoded to a 0-1 scale)

Education

How much school have you completed? (0 = "less than high school", .25 = "high school/GED", .5 = "some college/associates/technical", .75 = "college graduate", 1 = "graduate school")

Female

(Coded Post-Interview by Caller) Was the person male or female? (0 = male, 1 = female)

Ideology

(Combined from branching questions into a 7 point scale) When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as liberal, moderate, conservative or haven't you thought much about this? (If conservative) Would you call yourself extremely conservative or not extremely conservative? (If liberal) Would you call yourself extremely liberal or not extremely liberal? (If don't know) If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal, a conservative or moderate?

Party ID

(Combined from branching questions into a 7 point scale) When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a democrat, independent, republican or something else? (If republican) Would you call yourself a strong republican or republican? (If democrat) Would you call yourself a strong democrat or democrat? (If independent) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or Democratic Party?

Southern Origin

(Two Questions) Are you originally from North Carolina? Are you originally from the South?

(0 = "not from South", 1 = "originally from the South")

Church Attendance

Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals? (If Attend = YES) Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never? (0 = "Never", .25 = "A few times a year", .5 = "Once or Twice a Month", .75 = "Almost Every Week", 1 = Every Week)

Age

How old are you? (Continuous variable recoded on a 0 to 1 scale)

County-Level Control Data from the U.S Census*Percent College*

The percent of individuals in the respondent's county with a college degree or higher.

Percent White

The percentage of the county residents who are white as reported in the 2010 census.

References

- Abrahamson, Mark, and Valerie J. Carter. 1986. "Tolerance, Urbanism and Region." *American Sociological Review* 51 (2): 287-94.
- Alford, Randall L, and Judith B Strother. 1990. "Attitudes of Native and Nonnative Speakers toward Selected Regional Accents of Us English." *Tesol Quarterly* 24 (3): 479-96.
- Amira, Karyn, Christopher Cooper, H. Gibbs Knotts, and Claire Wofford. 2018. The Southern Accent as a Heuristic in American Campaigns and Elections. *American Politics Research* 46:1065-1093.
- Appelbome, Peter. 1997. *Dixie Rising: How the South Is Shaping American Values, Politics, and Culture*. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co.
- Bishop, Bill. 2009. *The Big Sort: How the Clustering of Like-Minded America is Tearing Us Apart*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Black, Earl, and Merle Black. 2002. *The Rise of Southern Republicans*: Harvard University Press.
- Bullock, Charles S. and Mark J. Rozell. 2003. *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield Press.
- Carter, J Scott, Mamadi Corra, Shannon K Carter, and Rachael McCrosky. 2014. "The Impact of Place? A Reassessment of the Importance of the South in Affecting Beliefs About Racial Inequality." *The Social Science Journal* 51 (1): 12-20.
- Christensen, Rob. 2008. *The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics; the Personalities, Elections, and Events That Shaped Modern North Carolina*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Campbell, Angus, Phillip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Cooper, Christopher A., and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2010a. "Declining Dixie: Regional Identification in the Modern American South." *Social Forces* 88 (3): 1083-101.
- Cooper, Christopher A. 2010b. "Rethinking the Boundaries of the South." *Southern Cultures* 16 (4): 72-88.
- Cooper, Christopher A. 2012. "Love 'Em or Hate 'Em? Changing Racial and Regional Differences in Opinions toward Southerners, 1964-2008*." *Social Science Quarterly* 93 (1): 58-75.

- Cooper, Christopher A. 2013. "Overlapping Identities in the American South." *The Social Science Journal* 50 (1): 6-12.
- Cowden, Jonathan A. 2001. "Southernization of the Nation and Nationalization of the South: Racial Conservatism, Social Welfare and White Partisans in the United States, 1956-92." *British Journal of Political Science* 31 (2): 277-301.
- Eamon, Thomas F. 2008. "The Seeds of Modern North Carolina Politics." In C. A. Cooper and H. G. Knotts (Eds.), *The New Politics of North Carolina* (15-36). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Egerton, John. 1974. *The Americanization of Dixie: The Southernization of America*: Harper's Magazine Press.
- Falk, William W, and Susan Webb. 2010. "Southerners All?: New Northern Neighbors and the Changing Sense of Place." *Southern Cultures* 16 (1): 65-85.
- Fridland, Valerie, and Kathryn Bartlett. 2006. "Correctness, Pleasantness, and Degree of Difference Ratings across Regions." *American Speech* 81 (4): 358-86.
- Glaser, James M. 1994. "Back to the Black Belt: Racial Environment and White Racial Attitudes in the South." *The Journal of Politics* 56 (1): 21-41.
- Glaser, James M. 2005. *The Hand of the Past in Contemporary Southern Politics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Grantham, Dewey W. 1994. *The South in Modern American: A Region at Odds*. New York, NY: Harper Collins.
- Griffin, Larry J. 2004. "Whiteness and Southern Identity in the Mountain and Lowland South." *Journal of Appalachian Studies* 10 (1/2): 7-37.
- Gross, Kimberly, and Sean Aday. 2003. "The Scary World in Your Living Room and Neighborhood: Using Local Broadcast News, Neighborhood Crime Rates, and Personal Experience to Test Agenda Setting and Cultivation." *Journal of Communication* 53 (3): 411-26.
- Harriss, Chandler. 2018. "Whistlin' Past Graveyards: The Drive-By Truckers and Southern Identity." *Popular Music and Society* 1-19.
- Healy, Andrew and Neil Malhotra. 2013. "Childhood Socialization and Political Attitudes: Evidence from a Natural Experiment". *Journal of Politics* 75(4): 1023-1037.

- Hillygus, D. S. and Shields, T. 2008. *Polls and Elections: Southern Discomfort? Regional Differences in Voter Decision Making in the 2000 Presidential Election*. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 38: 506-520.
- Huffmon, Scott H., Christopher N. Lawrence, and Allie Briggs. 2014. "Describing Ourselves: Identity Overlap and Fault Lines Regarding How Southerners Would Describe the South to Non-Southerners." *Hungaran Journal of English and American Studies* 22(1): 53-78.
- Hurlbert, Jeanne S. 1989. "The Southern Region." *The Sociological Quarterly* 30 (2): 245-66.
- Key, Valdimer Orlando. 1949. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Kramsch, Claire J. 1998. *Language and Culture*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kretzschmar, William A., Jr. 2008. "Language in the Deep South: Southern Accents Past and Present." *Southern Quarterly* 45 (2): 9-27.
- Kuklinski, James H., Michael D. Cobb, and Martin Gilens. 1997. "Racial Attitudes and the "New South"." *The Journal of Politics* 59 (2): 323-49.
- Laferriere, Martha. 1979a. "Ethnicity in Phonological Variation and Change." *Language* 55 (3): 603-17.
- Laferriere, Martha. 1979b. "Ethnicity in Phonological Variation and Change." *Language*: 603-17.
- Lippi-Green, Rosina. 1997. *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Long, Scott, and Jeremy Freese. 2014. *Regression Models for Categorical Dependent Variables Using Stata*. 3rd ed. College Station, TX: Stata Press.
- Luebke, Paul. 1998. *Tar Heel Politics 2000*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Marsden, Peter V., John Shelton Reed, Michael D. Kennedy, and Kandi M. Stinson. 1982. "American Regional Cultures and Differences in Leisure Time Activities." *Social Forces* 60 (4): 1023-49.

- Nolan, Alan T. 2010. "The Anatomy of a Myth" In G. Gallagher and A. Nolan (Eds.), *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (11-34). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Peled, Yael and Matteo Bonotti. 2019. "Sound Reasoning: Why Accent Bias Matters for Democratic Theory," *The Journal of Politics* 81, (2): 411-425.
- Perry, Samuel L. 2013. "Racial Composition of Social Settings, Interracial Friendship, and Whites' Attitudes toward Interracial Marriage." *The Social Science Journal* 50 (1): 13-22.
- Pierce, Daniel S. 2001. "The Most Southern Sport on Earth: Nascar and the Unions." *Southern Cultures* 7 (2): 8-33.
- Preston, Dennis R. 1989. *Perceptual Dialectology: Nonlinguists' Views of Areal Linguistics*. Providence, RI: Foris Publications.
- Preston, Dennis R. 2013. "The Influence of Regard on Language Variation and Change." *Journal of Pragmatics* 52: 93-104.
- Prysby, Charles L. 2008. "The Reshaping of the Political Party System in North Carolina." In C. A. Cooper and H. G. Knotts (Eds.), *The New Politics of North Carolina* (61-84). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Reed, John Shelton. 1982. *One South: An Ethnic Approach to Regional Culture*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Reed, John Shelton. 1986. *The Enduring South: Subcultural Persistence in Mass Society*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Reed, John Shelton, James Kohls, and Carol Hanchette. 1990. "The Dissolution of Dixie and the Changing Shape of the South." *Social Forces* 69: 221-33.
- Sears, David O. and Nicholas Valentino. 1997. "Politics Matters: Political Events as Catalysts for Preadult Socialization". *American Political Science Review* 91(1):45-65.
- Smith, Christian, David Sikkink, and Jason Bailey. 1998. "Devotion in Dixie and Beyond: A Test of the" Shibley Thesis" on the Effects of Regional Origin and Migration on Individual Religiosity." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37 (3): 494-506.
- Tahta, Sonia, Margaret Wood, and Kate Loewenthal. 1981. "Foreign Accents: Factors Relating to Transfer of Accent from the First Language to a Second Language." *Language and Speech* 24 (3): 265-72.

- Tippet, Rebecca R. 2013. "Visualizing State-to-State Migration" University of North Carolina- Carolina Population Center.
<http://demography.cpc.unc.edu/2013/12/16/visualizing-state-to-state-migration/>
- Vercellotti, Timothy. 2008. "How Southern Is the Old North State?: Public Opinion in North Carolina." *The New Politics of North Carolina* (38-60). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Woodard, J. David. 2006. *The New Southern Politics*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Woodward, C. Vann. 1958. "The Search for Southern Identity." *Virginia Quarterly Review* 34 (Summer): 321-28.
- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origin of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

