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Nothing is the Matter with Kansas: White Southern Exceptionalism in American Politics

Paul White Jr.
University of South Carolina

NOTHING IS THE MATTER WITH KANSAS: WHITE SOUTHERN EXCEPTIONALISM IN
AMERICAN POLITICS

by

Paul White, Jr.

Bachelor of Arts
Hampton University, 2004

Master of Arts
University of South Carolina, 2007

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Accepted by:

Todd Shaw, Major Professor

Robert Oldendick, Committee Member

Laura Woliver, Committee Member

Kenny Whitby, Committee Member

John Aldrich, Committee Member

Lacy Ford, Senior Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

DEDICATION

To my Parents, Paul and Priscilla White, and my Godmother Patricia Williams.

You have supported me my entire life. I love you all so much!

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ABSTRACT

There are two research questions at the heart of this dissertation: Does the American South have a distinct political environment in comparison to other regions? If so, how does this distinction influence American politics? I argue that the American South has long been politically distinct from other regions in the United States. This southern ethos, this southern way of agrarian politics, is predicated on three factors- State Centered Federalism, Racial Conservatism, and Religious Conservatism. I consider these factors in a model I call "The Determinants of Southern Exceptionalism" or the D.S.E. Model. It views the American South as remaining distinctive throughout American political development relative to these three determinants.

This dissertation theorizes and analyzes each determinant and the nature of its distinction. I confine my analysis principally to the political attitudes, norms, behaviors, and institutions of the white south, because I presume white southerners and their exceptionalism is markedly different from that of African Americans. I identify key historical factors that support the distinct nature of each determinant in the American South and how said determinant produced a key feature of American political development. In addition, I empirically test the idea of Southern Exceptionalism within the mass electorate using American National Election Studies (ANES) data between the years 1996 and 2012. This test involves a comparing the political attitudes of southern citizens with those of citizens in other regions of the United States. The survey items

selected to assess southern distinction will theoretically deploy from each determinant within my model. All of these items will be factor analyzed to ensure that the survey items are actually measuring the three constructs. Results indicate that each determinant of Southern Exceptionalism remains distinct within the American South.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Beginning on December 20th, 1860, South Carolina formally seceded from the United States. Following this action, ten other southern states would secede from the Union and form another sovereign country called the Confederate States of America. These states included South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, Tennessee, and Arkansas. This is the American South. This is Southern Exceptionalism.

The American Civil War was the culmination of decades of regional conflict between the Northern states and the Southern states. This regional conflict was cultural, economic, and political. Once this military engagement was over, the regional differences were forever solidified throughout history. The American South's reentry into the Union did not change the ideology and behavior of all facets of southern society. Various social institutions (religion will be discussed later in detail) had formally separated prior to the war and continued to maintain their regional distinction afterwards. The main proposition of this research is that the American South has had and continues to have a distinct political culture due to a Southern Exceptionalism that is comprised of its State Centric Federalism, Religious Conservatism, and Racial Conservatism.

In this chapter I accomplish three things. First, I provide an in-depth synthesis of existing research on the American South. This involves a discussion of the schools of thought involved in the debate as to whether southern distinction still exists. Second, I

will put forth my theory of southern distinction which I call The Determinants of Southern Exceptionalism (D.S.E) Model. This will include identifying the model's primary claims and its various components (framing assumptions, state demarcation, etc.). In this dissertation, I focus principally upon the political attitudes, norms, behavior, and institutions of the white south, because they are markedly different from those of African Americans, in general, and African Americans in the south, particular. Finally, I will explain the significance of the study and the structure of the overall dissertation.

Southern Politics Research

Political Scientists have frequently referenced a pioneering work that explores the political culture of the American South -- V.O. Key's *Southern Politics in the Nation and State* (1949)[1]. This research profoundly captured the idea that the eleven states that seceded from the United States and started the American Civil War had a distinct political culture. In general, this line of research, which Key initially advanced, sparked a long and complex tradition of analyzing the different ways that the American South was politically distinct from the rest of the United States. These researchers resided in all subfields of political science and agreed with the premise that the American South is politically distinct. Among these researchers, southern scholars conducted rigorous regional analysis and compiled extensive data (Heard, 1952; Matthews, 1966). Several anthologies were released containing research articles on a variety of issues pertaining to the distinct nature of the American South (Harvard 1972; Bartley and Graham 1975; Bass and DeVries 1976).

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[1] V.O. Key was instrumental in this line of research, but there were several other notable scholars during this period: Alexander Heard (1952); C. Vann Woodward (1951)

Several researchers of southern distinctiveness have used Daniel Elazar's theory of political culture (1966) to explain the unique nature of its political and socioeconomic norms. He conceptualizes the southern culture as having a "traditionalistic political culture" whereby the antebellum south is guided by an ambivalent attitude toward the market place and a conservative view of the state. Elazar asserted, "It reflects an older, pre-commercial attitude that accepts a substantially hierarchical society as part of the ordered nature of things, authorizing and expecting those at the top of the social structure to take a special and dominant role in government" (Elazar, 1966, p. 24).

Black and Black (1987) use this theory to show how southerners reacted to various political and economic changes in American history. Aistrup (1996) and Woodard (2006) also invoke this theory when explaining their views on political activity in the south. The merging of the black race and white race within the Democratic Party behind civil rights issues is said to have influenced Southern Exceptionalism (Black & Black, 1987). This dynamic has been analyzed on the state and local level to show party activity that is specific to the southern paradigm (Bass & DeVries, 1976). This line of inquiry has even prompted some universities and colleges to establish research centers and institutes dedicated, in part, to analyzing the contours of southern politics[2]. Such institute and centers have sponsored symposiums to discuss contemporary research on Southern politics. All of these developments indicate that the American South is inherently different from the rest of the nation.

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[2] There is the University of Arkansas Diane D. Blair Center of Southern Politics and Society and The University of South Carolina Institute of Southern Studies to name a few.

The Debate

Up until the early 1970's, there was a scholarly consensus within American political development that different region locations within the United States fostered different political behaviors. After Key's groundbreaking research, several national changes occurred: urbanization, modernization, black voting enfranchisement, and the forced ending of Jim Crow laws. These national changes produced debate among political scientists as to whether southern politics was still distinct. Several scholars believe that the American South is still politically unique while others feel that it is now like the rest of the nation. This section will unpack the debate revolving around the question of whether Southern Exceptionalism still exists post-1970s. Generally, researchers today subscribe to the idea that the American South is no longer exceptional, but depend on the "southern" variable to create the most parsimonious models.

Proponents of Southern Exceptionalism assert that the southern region remains distinct from other regions in that it possesses a unique brand of conservative politics (Black, 2002; Bullock, Hoffman, & Gaddie, 2006; Bullock III & Rozell, 2003; Reed, 1983). These scholars claim that southern distinction persisted after recent periods of national modernization, urbanization, and the emergence of a black electorate. Aistrup (1996) asserts that the current era of southern politics was dramatically different than its predecessor, but southern politics remained unique compared to other regions in the United States. This school of thought has been explored on several fronts. Within political science, scholars of southern politics explore several fronts and utilize a variety of approaches when asserting claims of southern distinction. Public opinion research has examined attitudes (political, social, and economic) within each region of the nation as

compared to the American South (Cotter, Shaffer, & Breaux, 2006). Results have shown that southerners are more likely to support conservative beliefs in sanctioning school prayer (Feig, 1990) and are less likely to support sex education, abortion rights, and gay rights (Rice, McLean, & Larsen, 2002). Given the deep conservatism of the American South, researchers have wondered whether the conservative-liberal continuum is applicable (Carmines & Stanley, 1990).

Others believes that southern politics are no longer distinct from the rest of the nation and thus support a "nationalization" thesis (Shafer & Johnston, 2009; Steed, Moreland, & Baker, 2012). These scholars claim several factors contributed to the South losing its distinct behavior and becoming more national in its politics. Widespread change was to a story of the post-World War II South. There was vibrant economic development, moving the American South from subsistence agriculture to a modern economy. There was a veritable civil rights revolution, dismantling the institutions that perpetuated the longstanding southern racial order (Shafer & Johnston, 2009). This factor is said to have significantly contributed to southern transformation and integration into national politics. In addition to this, these researchers claim that there is a lack of research that supports the claim of a politically distinct American South (Shafer & Johnston, 2009). They suggest that scholars of southern politics lack the quantitative rigor involved in mainstream political science research and primarily utilize historical approaches. Another group within this contemporary southern literature is the "southernization" scholars (Bullock et al., 2006; Knuckey, 2005; Schuman, 1997). These scholars feel that post 1960's southern political culture has not disappeared but expanded to all regions. In many respects, the current Red State/Blue State divide in presidential

electoral politics is rooted in belief that the politics of the American South directly influences elements of the Middle West, Southwest, and sections of the west.

As an adherent of this perspective, this dissertation claims the nationalization of southern political norms. This suggests not only that Southern Exceptionalism still exists, but also that its distinctions have gained traction outside of the region.

This dissertation offers several insights into a more effective framework for empirically addressing this problem. More importantly, it begins a long needed discussion about the influence that the American South has had (and continues to have) on American politics. We must comprehend the different ways that the United States, and specifically the American South, have both facilitated and stymied democratization to effectively understand American politics over the past century. "For fifty of the seventy-two years from Washington to Lincoln, Southern men held the presidency and a comparable share of other major offices"(Woodard, 2013, p. 19). It is generally understood that the American founding fathers were defenders of the republic, but that was conditional on several factors that we understand today as integral in any democratic society (racial and gender equality, freedom, open elections, etc.). The idea that American democracy possessed several undemocratic practices is not limited to the American South, although it was most salient there. I view the American South as central to a larger narrative of American political development.

There are several theories about the distinct nature of Southern politics. With few exceptions, race is central to them all. Shafer and Johnston state, "Disciples elaborate, even just reiterate, the basic contours of an argument about the centrality of race. In a militantly ethnographic body of work, a myriad of factors do make an appearance, but

6

rarely such that they constitute propositions that would challenge a dominant factor explanation"(Shafer & Johnston, 2009, p. 6).   This research challenges this trend by offering a model with two additional and equal factors to explain the American South other than race, but integrally connected to race. The Determinants of Southern Exceptionalism model (DSE model) provides specific constructs through which the American South should be understood as distinct: State Centric Federalism, Racial Conservatism, and Religious Conservatism (Figure 1.1). It is important to stress that this is my broad conceptual model for the dissertation, but later I discuss my specific empirical or measurement model. As mentioned before, these distinctions can be seen within the electorate during national elections and among various legislators during the policymaking process.

Theoretical Framework: The Solid South

As aforementioned, the states that constitute the American South are the eleven states that seceded from the United States before the American Civil War. Several scholars consider other states to be southern. Major databases have followed suit. For example, the General Social Survey (GSS) has conceptualized the American South to include other states such as Oklahoma, West Virginia, and Washington D.C. Congressional scholars define the American South as including Oklahoma and Kentucky. Any researcher that has utilized these datasets is forced to subscribe to their delineation of the states. Scholars of the American South need a coherent and concise demarcation in order to examine the implications of political geography. Although different, this region shares several similarities and is still within the scope of the United States and its democratic norms. The tenets of conservatism can be seen nationwide, but there are three

7

distinctions in the American South that have caused a specific brand of conservatism:
The dominance of anti-government sentiment, religious orthodoxy, and black slave labor.
These dynamics produced a unique form of conservatism in the American South.

The Southern Electorate

Within the electorate, the political environment of the American South produced a specific brand of political behavior. According to Hartz, "Many of the poor whites that lived in the South instead of feeling that the presence of slaves put them in the position of a privileged peasantry, actually had the audacity to feel that it put them on a kind of par with the 'aristocrats' who led them" (Hartz, 1991, p. 168). After the American Civil War, this black population shifted from chattel slavery to limited citizenship. Black incorporation into American democracy, facilitated by the federal government, produced "southern resentment" within the American South. This resentment was a reaction to the southern population losing the American Civil War and federal troop presence within the postbellum south. Black freedom was a constant reminder of a period of past great prosperity and the new circumstances in which the American South was controlled by the federal government. Southerners blamed their issues on the federal government and the black population. Similarly, Nietzsche conceptualized resentment among the white working class as a misplaced aggression deriving from a marked perspective of inferiority. Rather than take responsibility for one's own subordinate power position, resentment always projects the responsibility onto other, more vulnerable people (Nietzsche, 2013). Although they lost the Civil War, working class and poor southern whites viewed blacks as racially inferior and supported all political actors and legislation that would keep blacks at the bottom of the social order. This took precedent overall

other political preferences. V.O. Key observes that the southern white electorate has a, "willingness to subordinate to the race question all great social and economic issues that tend to divide people into opposition parties" (Key, 1949, p. 316). This dynamic caused southern legislators to approach their new constituency with a focus on specific issues they knew would resonate and result in political support.

The Southern Politicians

How do white Southern legislators conceptualize representation? How does this coalition behave within the United States Congress? Gramsci feels that "a social group can and indeed must already exercise leadership before winning government power"(Steed et al., 2012). Southern politicians have acted cohesively and served the interest of an elite group. I argue that southern white politicians' behavior is politically distinctive. This produced a one-party region autonomous from and unique within the two-party system. This autonomy was conditional on the policy domains related to Racial Conservatism, Religious Conservatism, and State Centric Federalism.   Together, these issues created distinct and specific political behavior in the American South derived from agrarian and large planter interests. Before the Civil War, conflict between the southern agrarian and northern industrial economic systems was evident and this conflict fueled regional differences. Although the Civil War was lost when General Lee surrendered at Appomattox, the southern political coalition possessed viable political power that survived the defeat of the confederacy.

Significance of Study

This research will produce several dividends. First, this study will allow for a more accurate and systematic understanding of political cultures within the American

South. The unique disposition of the American South is very complex in contemporary politics. Historically, the consistency of political behavior within this region far outdates any party or issue. The primary proposition is that this regional homogeneity is predicated on Religious Conservatism, Racial Conservatism, and State Centric Federalism. Unlike previous research, this model offers consistency and equity among constructs[3]. If we want to explain the nature of American democracy, how the democratization process has unfolded, and the consequences of this process, then attention to the American South is fundamental. Southern politics have consequences that reverberate today. Second, this research will directly address claims that scholars of southern politics lack compelling empirical evidence of its ongoing distinction. Again, Shafer and Johnson assert, "Data which would most commonly be mobilized to test-to affirm or to refute- these grand propositions are curiously thin on the ground. Evidence does get marshaled, but in an unsystematic, even anecdotal, fashion" (Shafer & Johnston, 2009, p. 6). In this dissertation, I utilize current data and this allows for a contemporary view of southern distinction. The data utilized is from the 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 ANES surveys. More importantly, this data was collected after the most significant and latest partisan realignment was complete by the mid 1990s. The election of 1994 produced a major Republican victory and solidified the Solid South again due to a massive wave of party switching among white politicians in the south- from Democrat to Republican- beginning in 1948. U.S. House Representative and future Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich (R, GA), led this realignment nationally as he capitulated to southern preferences. Since this election, congressional electoral control and general

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[3] These are latent constructs with specific utility in the southern political system.

one-party patterns have persisted (J. Aistrup, 1996). Finally, this study offers a more

comprehensive and nuanced theory of Southern Exceptionalism. Southern literature is a

rich source of information. As is true of any vast literature, however, the very volume of

sources constitute an obstacle to understanding (Steed et al., 2012). This model explains

southern politics insofar as American political development as a whole. Future political

developments pertaining to these three determinants will surely occur in the American

South. For example, legislation in Mississippi and North Carolina predicated on

Religious Conservatism has emerged and legalizing discrimination against gays and

lesbians based on religious freedom. Ultimately, this research will provide more

analytical power for investigating sub-national political changes within any democracy

with recent, agrarian based origins.

Dissertation Logic and Structure

This dissertation is divided into two parts. Part 1 will explore the three

determinants of Southern Exceptionalism. Specifically, I argue that Racial Conservatism,

Religious Conservatism, and State Centric Federalism are interrelated and together have

produced a distinctly southern brand of conservative political behavior within the

American South. Historically, each determinant was institutionalized at some point in

American political development. The distinct behavior of the southern states has

produced a sequence of events that set into motion institutional patterns that have

deterministic properties (Mahoney, 2000). Each of the three determinants in the model of

Southern Exceptionalism represents these properties. More importantly, these

determinants have guided regional distinction over time with regards to political

behavior. I argue that to understand political behavior in the American South,

researchers must be cognizant of these three properties in the model of Southern

Exceptionalism and how they cause regional behavior to be distinct.

This study will examine each determinant of Southern Exceptionalism in three

stages. First, I will explain the distinct nature of each determinant in the American South.

This involves examining various factors within this determinant that have created

regional differences. Second, I will explore how each determinant of interest was used

by the American South to produce major change in American political development.

This will be accomplished with an examination of the American South as a whole in the

context of American history. Path-dependent sequences research offer explanations for

unique outcomes or instances of exceptionalism (Mahoney, 2000). The purpose is to

assess how the American South influenced political events via State Centric Federalism,

Religious Conservatism, and Racial Conservatism. I will be sure to expound upon how

other determinants serve as catalysts for the determinant of focus. This section will show

how these determinants work both individually and collectively to create Southern

Exceptionalism. For Racial Conservatism, I will explore how State Centric Federalism

played a role in its presence. For Religious Conservatism and State Centric Federalism, I

will focus primarily on Racial Conservatism. The remaining determinant will be

discussed, but Racial Conservatism has proven to be substantially more salient in its

facilitation of other determinants and Southern Exceptionalism as a whole. "In its grand

outlines, " Key notes, "the politics of the South revolves around the position of the

Negro. It is at times interpreted as a politics of cotton, as a politics of free trade, as a

politics of agrarian poverty, or as a politics of planter and plutocrat. Although such

interpretations have a superficial validity, in the last analysis the major peculiarities of

southern politics go back to the Negro. Whatever phase of the southern political process one seeks to understand, sooner or later the trail of inquiry leads to the Negro"(Key, 1949, p. 16). In short, race has not only mattered in the American South, but it is vital to our understanding of political outcomes. Race has produced distinct behavior within and outside the Southern region and will be accounted for during the empirical analysis. Generally, the American South has possessed autonomous theoretical schemes outside of, but intimately attached to American political culture.

Part 2 examines the Determinants of Southern Exceptionalism model from an empirical standpoint and tests the regional distinctiveness of the American South among its electorate. This will show how secondary data can be incorporated into the model to create measurements for each determinant. Once completed, this study will use these measures to test the regional distinction of the American South. Through a series of regressions, this analysis will assess the presence of Southern Exceptionalism and its influence on the attitudes of white citizens. I conclude this dissertation summarizing my findings, discussing the limitations of the research, and outlining several implications of this work.
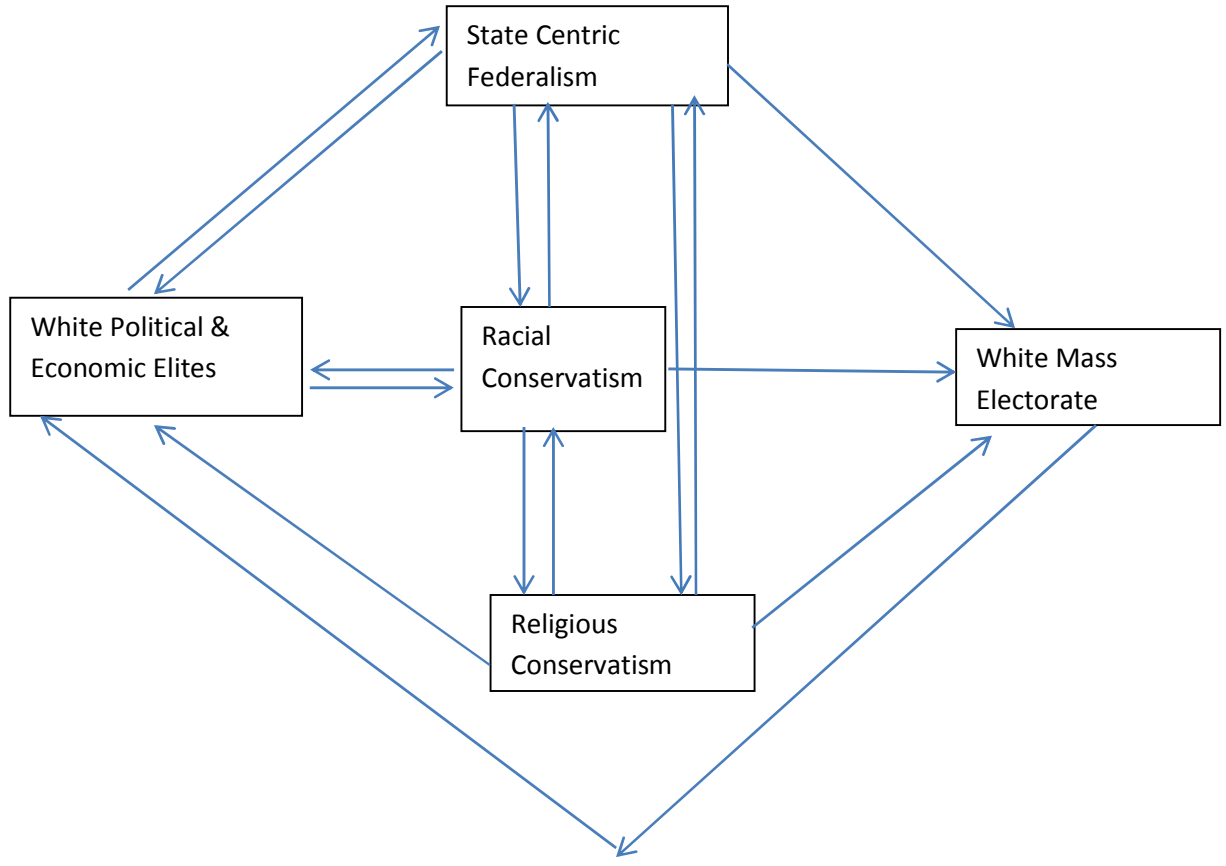
Figure 1.1 Conceptual model of Southern Exceptionalism. This is the system level model that explains the political behavior in the American South

CHAPTER TWO: STATE CENTRIC FEDERALISM

"If one party becomes identified as willing to use federal authority to push for equality of treatment for blacks, white southerners would vote against that party." (Brewer & Stonecash, 2001, p. 132)

The American South has been a defender of states' rights since the creation of the United States. This defense derived from a U.S. Constitution that provided each state with a substantial amount of political and juridical autonomy within a framework of dual government-state government sovereignty. This aspect of institutional design by the Constitution was based on the previous experience of the colonies under the rule of the centralized British crown. The nation formed after the American Revolution was understood as an "agreement entered into by separate and independent states, with each state retaining rights commensurate with its status as a formerly independent state" (Anderson, 2004, p. 11). Decentralization of power was necessary, but to what degree?

The Articles of Confederation was a social contract that reflected a strong decentralized government. This document was hastily created during the American War of Independence from Great Britain, and it would soon indicate the need for a strengthened and effective federal government[4]. Before the creation of a new constitution, supporters of the Articles of Confederation were primarily located within the American South. This federalism debate resulted in the idea of states' rights being included, although implicitly, in the tenets of the constitution. Thus, the American South

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[4] The Articles of Confederation were abandoned after Shay's rebellion. This event was interpreted as a consequence of newly formed government not possessing an enough powers to function effectively.

only needed to articulate this constitutional precedent by substantially defending against political behavior that would impede on their interests. State Centric Federalism in the American South means that each American state should possess fundamental government authority over the federal government within the bounds of the U.S. Constitution. This stance against centralized power in the antebellum south was articulated by John C. Calhoun and manifested into South Carolina claiming the authority to judge the constitutionality of legislation passed by the federal government. Once deemed unconstitutional, the state assumed the right to reject federal law. This, I argue, created the conditions for South Carolina and other southern states to secede from the Union. This idea is still central in American politics. More importantly, the American South is still a consistent defender of decentralized government.

This chapter will discuss State Centric Federalism as a determinant of Southern Exceptionalism. This chapter is organized in the subsequent fashion. First, the concept of State Centric Federalism will be unpacked insofar as its constitutional precedence. The American South has been able to sustain its unique disposition because it has operated within the scope of American political norms. The structural components of American federalism during the 19th century were somewhat conducive to or provide some justification for secession. Federalism permits high levels of state independence that allow differences between states to develop and persist. Understanding how State Centric Federalism was formed in the American South will begin with an analysis of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison wrote these documents, respectively, on the importance of states' rights. These resolutions were integral in substantiating states' rights within the federalism debate, but also legitimized

the constitutionality of southern politics within the national liberal tradition[5]. The American South has consistently opposed the federal government, but only when its legislation conflicted with agrarian interest.

Second, an analysis of the secession process will be conducted. John Wood (1981) identified five preconditions of secession to occur: geographical, social, economic, political, and psychological. He conceptualizes this as the "absence or decline of the legitimacy of the political system" (Wood, 1981, p. 118). The American South possesses each of these elements, but this section will focus on the political. Specifically, this focus will consist of an analysis of John. C. Calhoun and his influence on the regional politics and the federalist debate. As a scholar and politician, he crafted a defense of Southern political preferences that rested on constitutional concurrence and resulted in unification of the southern states and legitimized secessionist politics. Literature on secession claims that the most important predictor is a high level of grievance (Horowitz, 1985; Wood, 1981). Specifically, these grievances would be economic in nature between the secession group and the host state. Calhoun and the American South presented a united front against legislation impeding on their agrarian interest (i.e. Slave labor) and viewed secession as an option if demands were not met. This condition was eventually met once neither major political party would incorporate their preferences onto the formal party platform. This resulted in the dealignment[6] of the American South from the two-party system and created a third party platform in the

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[5] This liberal tradition assumes equality and freedom. Given these fundamental premises, the practice of slavery in a liberal society is a blatant contradiction. Given these fundamental premises, southern theorist depended on theories of race to justify the enslavement of the black population.

[6] The theory of dealignment is predicated upon the changing dynamics of party coalitions. The American South could easily be viewed as the largest coalition outside of the two parties.

election of 1860. Once their candidate was defeated, the southern states began to formally secede from the union. Finally, a content analysis of the letters of secession sent by South Carolina and the Confederate Constitution created by the states that formally seceded from the United States will be conducted. The unity of the southern delegation was predicated on agrarian interest and enslaved Africans were the most valuable commodities of the agriculture economy during this period. The constitutionality of slavery was evident, but the contradiction it produced in the face of American ideals was evident. Alexis de Tocqueville wrote about the character of democracy in his groundbreaking work, *Democracy in America (1835)*. In this, he observed slavery in the South as "the most formidable evil" that this new nation would face. He felt that this institution "dishonors labor. It introduces idleness into society and therewith ignorance and pride, poverty and luxury. It enervates the powers of the mind and numbs human activity" (Tocqueville, 2006, p. 35). This document formalized the political structure of the Confederate States of America.

States' Rights

State Centric Federalism is an idea with origins in the constitution. The idea of state sovereignty is grounded in the American federalism debate over where governmental power should reside in the democratic structure. Theoretically, this idea of State Centric Federalism finds its adherents in the works of anti-federalist and supporters of the Articles of Confederation. This political coalition was soon coalesced under the Democratic-Republican Party to become the counterbalance to the Federalist Party and supporters of an active central government. Party founder Thomas Jefferson found his support for states' rights justified in his agrarian republic theory. Jefferson wrote about

the inequality he saw in the developing factory cities in Europe and wanted to avoid the same inequality in the United States. As a Democratic-Republican, Jefferson believed equality could only be achieved through limited federal government and state sovereignty. His legislative philosophy resulted in a reduction in the number of federal employees during his time as president. He felt that the majority of governmental powers should be reserved for the individual states (Sheldon, 1991).

In 1789, Federalist president John Adams and the federalist dominated Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts. These acts would regulate aliens, criminalized seditious writing, talk, and behavior, as well as regular various taxes and war measures to prepare for the conflict with France (Bradburn, 2008). Political leaders James Madison and Thomas Jefferson challenged the constitutionality of the acts in both Kentucky and Virginia. Madison and Jefferson condemned the alien and sedition laws as unconstitutional. They both condemned the Federalist use of a foreign crisis for domestic political purposes as an immediate attempt to subvert the constitution to achieve their end (Smith, 1970). They explicitly discussed their concerns in documents known as the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. In general, these formal grievances concluded that the union under the Constitution was a compact among sovereign states with their own respective governments and institutions. Thus, this implied that without a national arbitrator, states possessed the power to defend their citizens from the federal government by nullifying any law that the states found to be unconstitutional (Anderson, 2004). Kentucky and Federalist Congressmen William Murray spoke out against the resolution. He felt that if a state was able to censure the federal government's policies that it would in turn be viewed as a separate entity. According to Smith, "The Adams administration

was a prelude to revolutionary measures; that insurrection and secession were the twin goals of the Republican critics in Kentucky" (Smith, 1970, p. 245). Several other federalists were against these resolutions being passed as law, but they could not deter them.

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions resulted in a substantial threat with no teeth. "Kentucky did not follow up its protest with acts", Smith explains, "directing state officers to enforce the declared will of the state, nor did the state government take measures to restrain officers of the federal government from enforcing the laws denounced as unconstitutional"(Smith, 1970, p. 246). The endgame was repeal of the Alien and Sedition Acts. Although a challenge was not achieved, Jefferson and Madison legitimized states' rights doctrines of the anti-federalist. The defense of individual rights by the state government was legitimized through the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. Both states continued to be the champion of these principles in the following decades (Cole, 1914). State governments would use this political tactic to challenge federal law they felt unconstitutional. For example, several states used this against the Embargo Act of 1807 as well as draft measures during the War of 1812 (Smith, 1970). The fear of the federal government overstepping its constitutional power was always present in American politics, but now there were practical political measures attempting to rebuff national authority.

The American South supported Jefferson's idea of agrarian republicanism and applied it to their political defense against federal legislation. Dauer explains: "With the advent of large scale business and industrialization, states' rights justify an argument against federal intervention in economic matters. To emphasize this as the end which

Jefferson had in view would merely be to confuse ends and means in terms of Jefferson's thoughts" (Dauer, 1948, p. 331). This was not coincidence, but a calculated interpretation of Jefferson. The American South successfully positioned themselves in the federalism debate as the antagonists to federal government power without compromising their interest. More importantly, their stance of State Centric Federalism was solidified now. This was because their future grievances against the federal government were now given constitutional precedence through the application of state legislation. This goal was attained without the subject matter involving agrarian interests or necessitating the leadership of the American South. With this new political tool, the south now had an even stronger message to garner support within the political arena as well as among its constituencies. Southern politicians were consistently warning their citizens about the dangers of the federal government. They felt that if the Federal government can make banks, roads, and canals under the constitution, they can free any slave in the United States(Cole, 1914). More importantly, the American South now had constitutional precedence to apply its states' rights doctrine to any legislation. Madison and Jefferson's theory was grounded in civil liberties and would soon serve as an integral aspect of the political defense put forth by John C. Calhoun in his defense against the Tariff Acts of 1828 and 1832.

John C. Calhoun: The Seeds of Secession

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina is one of most influential political thinkers in American history. He was an ardent defender of southern interests and was critical of federal intervention into agrarian activity. His work was grounded in the idea of states' rights and allowed the American South to create a political ideology that both defended

slavery as well as justified secession from the United States. At the height of Calhoun's

political career, he served as Vice-president to Andrew Jackson in 1828. This relationship

began when Calhoun gave his support to Jackson during the 1828 presidential election

with the hopes that he would reform the recently passed tariff legislation. This did not

happen and the cordial relationship between Jackson and Calhoun would dramatically

change and become a political battle steeped in the federalism argument. Specifically,

each sought to legitimize their policy preferences as consistent with the Jeffersonian

perspective. There are several differences between the two men to begin with[7], but this

section will focus on the political disagreement between them. Latner observes,

"Jackson's aversion to nullification owed something to his dispute with Calhoun, but his

opposition by no means hinged on a conflict of personalities" (Latner, 1977, p. 22).

During the election 1832, Calhoun was formulating a critique of the tariff

legislation at the request of the South Carolina legislature (Hatfield, 1997). This essay

was titled, "South Carolina Exposition and Protest". In this essay, Calhoun utilized

Jefferson's states' rights stance during the Alien and Sedition Acts that charged the

federal government with overstepping its constitutional power. John. C. Calhoun

asserted that the Tariff Act of 1828 was unconstitutional. Calhoun's perspective derived

from founding fathers James Madison and Thomas Jefferson's mechanical application of

the principle and defended the American South on the basis of its state sovereignty.

"Separate governments of the several states", Calhoun reasoned, "composing the Union

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[7] Jackson and Calhoun were not very similar as people. One is a military hero and the other a rigid intellectual. Their partnership started off on the wrong foot when Jackson pushed for an increase in the protective tariff. Calhoun strongly opposed this idea. He believed that the increase on the tariff heavily favored the north and hindered the southern states. Jackson had begun to develop high tariff legislation while Calhoun was still in office under John Quincy Adams.

and of one common government of all its members, called the Government of the United States. The former preceded the latter" (Calhoun, n.d.).   Calhoun believed that the Constitution was created so that we would be able to check tyranny through procedures that required a concurrent majority that allows each important interest in the community to agree with actions of the government (Jenkins, 1851). This requires unanimous consent of all the major interests in the community to prevent tyranny of the majority.

Calhoun's theory of nullification allows any state to nullify any federal law that the state has deemed unconstitutional. Thomas Jefferson developed the basis of this theory in 1798 in arguments with James Madison. Jackson was known for his belief in states' rights, but he did not support nullification[8]. While arguing for nullification, Calhoun threatened that his home state of South Carolina would secede from the Union as a last resort. He believed that if they did not take a stance and push for change that their liberty and sovereignty would be threated. Madison also feared centralized power, but spoke out that states did not have the power to nullify a federal law. Calhoun has articulated this fear of federal of federal power in grievances on behalf of the agrarian south. His approach was political in nature, but considered seceding from the United States a viable option. Calhoun drew from a constitutional principle and with that created a philosophical stronghold for the American South could use to defend its stance.

On November 24, 1832 the Ordinance of Nullification was passed into law by the state of South Carolina. The ordinance declared that the Tariff Acts of 1828 and 1832 were now null and void within the state borders. This transformed the federalism

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[8] Jefferson was a supporter of agrarian republicanism and the decentralization of federal power. That being said, he did not support secession because he felt it made the entire nation look weak.

argument into a tangible and irresolvable conflict. President Andrew Jackson viewed this as an act of treason. "This abominable doctrine strikes at the root of our Government and the social compact, and reduces everything to anarchy" (Society, 1897, p. 501). He went on to draw a clear distinction between his support of states' rights and the Southern disposition. "One will preserve the union of the states, the other will dissolve the Union by destroying the Constitution by acts unauthorized by it"(Society, 1897, p. 509). In reaction to South Carolina, Jackson issued the Nullification Proclamation of 1832 on December 10th, 1832. In addition to this, he requested that Congress authorize the deployment of naval ships to the shores of the South Carolina and a threat of ground troops to make sure that the tariffs were enforced. There was even talk of the hanging of John C. Calhoun because he was the head of this rebellion. When they were threatened by the military the state of South Carolina backed down and repealed the ordinance.

The political blowback on Calhoun and his nullifiers was evident. According to Cole, "Calhoun saw his friends swept from the favor of the administration and the southern influence greatly diminished in the new organization. He and his following became the most bitter of opposition" (Cole, 1914, p. 9). Jackson viewed Calhoun's perspective as a distortion of Jefferson and condemned the nullifiers behavior. After this final defeat, Calhoun resigned as Vice President on December 28, 1832. He was the first U.S. Vice President to resign from office. Jackson labeled Calhoun as a bitter loser who would sacrifice the good of the union for his personal ambitions. He blamed the crisis directly on Calhoun in the Washington Globe stating "disappointed ambition rather than the tariff spawned nullification" (Globe, February 1832).

There is general consensus among scholars of secession that its origins generally involve, "a desire to avoid or end economic exploitation or hardship and improve economic position of the seceding group relative to other groups within the borders of the host state"(Anderson, 2004, p. 3). John C. Calhoun greatly intensified the regional conflict before the Civil War because he was able to frame the Tariff crisis of 1828 and 1832 as a fight in the ongoing war to combat governmental tyranny. In effect, Calhoun framed the debate to imply that the southern states stood in defiance of the United States government as the American colonies defied the British Empire. This narrative positioned the American South at the epicenter of American ideals and the North as a threat to its republican government.

On the other hand, Jackson felt that this disunion was the only goal. "The tariff was only the pretext and disunion and southern Confederacy the real object"[9]. Calhoun was able to crystalize the defense of southern conservatism in the face of American liberalism. His political work galvanized the southern states on a national level by substantiating southern fear of economic and political domination by the industrial north. John C. Calhoun crafted a constitutional defense of the antebellum south. In his final public speech, Calhoun warned that the south will be forced to choose between abolition and secession (Jenkins, 1851).

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[9] Letter from Andrew Jackson to A. Crawford May 1, 1833. Basset, ed. Correspondence of Andrew Jackson. V. 2, P. 56.

Political Parties and the South

Regional divides dominated the political party narrative prior to the American Civil War. Historians and other scholars label this period as the second party system[10]. This period of volatility within this party system produced temporary parties, third parties, and several other dynamics foreign to American politics. Specific to region, the American South significantly contributed to the rise and fall of the Whig Party was a phenomenon to which the American South contributed significantly. Tindal asserts, "The Whig party, born of opposition to Andrew Jackson in the 1830's, embraced diverse elements which favored both nationalism and state rights, those who disliked Jackson's rebuffs to the national bank and national roads and those who disliked his rebuff to nullification"(Tindall, 1972, p. 6). Although short lived, Jackson viewed this national coalition as reactionary given his policy priorities. More importantly, the American South primarily contributed to the demise of this new political party.

Prior to the tariff crisis of 1832, the southern coalition supported President Jackson. Andrew Jackson enjoyed a very diverse coalition of supporters with different and conflicting views. Up until this point, the American South was able to operate within the party system while simultaneously maintaining its identity due to the political capital it offered. Now that Andrew Jackson and the Democratic Party were not in full support of the American South, the south detached from the coalition. The Whig Party was created in 1833. This new coalition that opposed Andrew Jackson's presidency formed out of expediency not out of principles. "The name Whig, borrowed from English history,

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[10] The First Party System was a period between around late 1700s to about 1824. It was between the Federalist Party and the Democratic-Republican Party. Then around 1830 or a little earlier, the Second Party System was formed in the United States. It lasted until around 1854.

implied a restraint of autocracy, an emphasis upon legislative deliberation as against executive power and in particular against the furious whims of Andrew Jackson in the White House" (Phillips 1958, 131). Although their political power was significant after the election of Jackson in 1832, there was an apparent diversity of preferences was apparent within the Whig Party. Parts of the American South aligned with the new Whig movement, but never to the detriment of their principles of State Centric Federalism that were also proslavery.

Whigs consisted primarily of four coalitions: "the majority of northern Anti-Masons who united with Clay's group in 1834; Calhoun's group of extreme state-righters; and a moderate southern group, strong both in Virginia and Tennessee, who resented Jackson's preference for Van Buren over Senator Hugh L. White" (Capers, 2011, p. 170). John Quincy Adams described the Whig Party dynamics as having "two divisions "one based upon public principle and the other upon manufacturing and commercial interests". (Gatell, 1958, p. 218). Calhoun would prove to be the detrimental to this dynamic. He straddles the party line between Whig and Democrat. More importantly, he pressured the Southern Whigs to take a hard stance against the federal government. Calhoun shared this belief, but differed in that they viewed southern secession as a viable solution. "Calhoun and his followers were appalled by the putative consolidationism of Jackson's response to nullification" (T. Brown, 1980, p. 364). Jackson's actions that created the Whig Party only emboldened southern politicians to more assertively advocate for secession. For example, Congressman Robert Rhett consistently put forth secession as a solution to the conduct of the federal government. He asserted that the U.S. Constitution did not provide adequate protection from the

federal government for the southern states to peacefully enjoy their liberties, most especially their property rights. He felt that it was imperative that the said constitution should be amended or the Union of states dissolved (White 1932). There were significant adherents of this perspective were significant within the American South. In the presidential election of 1832, the nullifiers presented a presidential platform and nominated a candidate. This was the second third party candidate in American political history[11]. The nullifier party was a legitimate political party in American politics that openly advocated for sectionalism and state sovereignty. During this campaign there was talk of collaboration with the Republican nominee Henry Clay to present a united front against Andrew Jackson[12]. All these measures proved to be futile. Andrew Jackson carried all of the southern states except in Calhoun's home state of South Carolina, which gave all 11 electoral votes to nullifier candidate John Floyd. This narrative argues the southern coalition was in constant search of political allies that were in opposition to Jackson and exertion of federal authority over the states.

The Election of 1848 and the Wilmot Proviso

The Whig Party enjoyed a major victory in 1840 by electing their first president, William Henry Harrison. The Whigs appeared to be in power when regional tensions were highest. Both of the major parties were deeply divided over whether the Congress had the authority to regulate slavery and the Wilmot Proviso. The Wilmot Proviso intended to eliminate slavery in all of the territories ceded to the Untied States as a result

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[11] The first was the anti-masonic party in 1828 (Cole, 1914)(White 1932)

[12] This action was indicative of an impending party realignment. Clay was the republican candidate and strongest candidate opposing Jackson. More importantly, Clay was the "political counter to Jackson throughout the nullification crisis (T. Brown, 1980).

of the Mexican American War of 1846-1848. Fourteen of fifteen northern state legislatures had instructed their U.S. senators on how to vote for the proviso and requested their U.S. representatives to impose the proviso on any formal territorial governments that Congress established in the Mexican Cession. The regional conflict was evident and both parties attempted to deal with this during the election of 1848. In defense of the southern view, Calhoun intended to call a southern convention before the election of 1848. He advocated for a southern convention of slave states to coordinate and unify behind one political platform. Ultimately, he postponed this meeting in an effort to evaluate party behavior during the election. Since 1837, Calhoun corresponded with southern politicians, regardless of party, about the need for regional unity. With ongoing western expansion, he aggressively urged both parties to take a stance on the issue of slavery.

The Democratic Party attempted to address the regional conflict caused by the Wilmot Proviso by nominating Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan for president. Calhoun had again put his coalition behind the Democratic Party on the condition it supported state's rights. Cass was a champion for popular sovereignty and suggested the residents of the new territory decide the slavery issue. Calhoun was against supporting Cass as the Democratic candidate because he was from the north. The Whigs nominated Zachary Taylor. He was a military leader in the Mexican War and national hero. More importantly, he was a slaveholder. The Democratic Party also courted Taylor to become their nominee due to his reputation. With Taylor having great national appeal and no political history, Whigs were able to tailor their message on slavery. The Free Soil Party formed in 1848 after northerners felt both parties capitulated to the slave power. Calhoun

supported Taylor as the Democratic candidate, but Taylor ultimately decided to run under the Whig Party. The Whig party won the presidential election of 1848, but this would be the last Whig to ever hold the executive office. Although the Democratic Party was defeated, Calhoun's principles were satisfied. A southern slaveholder was president. Although Zachary Taylor owned slaves, the American South now faced new challenges. In addition to a strong coalition of abolitionist Whigs, there was a new political party in Congress - Free Soiler Party – and it was specifically against the slavery interests of the American South.

Thirty-First United States Congress and the Nashville Convention

There was a partisanship divide in the composition of the Thirty-First United States Congress (1848-1851) with 112 Democrats, 105 Whigs, and 13 Free Soilers. This dynamic was rife with sectional conflict. This became evident during the election of Speaker of the House. This conflict intensified when President Taylor pushed for the admission of California, a territory that banded slavery, as a state. Calhoun viewed this as an assurance that the Wilmot Proviso would become law. California's addition would undo the balance within the Senate. Jennings concludes, "With the additional representation from the free states, a northern dominated Congress could not only abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but it could abolish slavery everywhere" (Jennings, c1980, p. 44).

Zachary Taylor was inaugurated on March 5, 1849 and within a month the U.S. House passed a bill that would abolish slavery in Washington D.C. This legislation caused Calhoun to call upon senators from the south to meet to discuss a response to this.

This was a bold move by Calhoun. Partisan trends were present as it was obvious the Whigs did not support this move. Southern Whigs attended largely to defeat the whole proceeding to transpire. At the outset of the meeting, the Whigs loss by a vote of 8 to 7 to pass a motion that it was inexpedient to issue any address (Capers, 2011). Once this meeting was now underway, a subcommittee of five senators assembled to draft an address to have a regional convention. As the chairman of this committee, Calhoun would eventually write the final version of the State Centric Federalism address. He organized and requested that all politicians from the southern region sign a pledge not to infringe on the region's economic interest pertaining to slavery. This pledge only produced 48 signatures with only two signatures from Whig congressmen. This group discussed secession in the Senate chambers. Calhoun wanted to see the commitment of the southern politicians. This event laid the groundwork for future official conventions of the southern states.

John C. Calhoun and the American South orchestrated such meetings. "A bipartisan convention at Jackson in October 1849", Jennings observed, "issued a call for an all-southern convention in Nashville in June of the following year. Calhoun and his state were viewed as extremist, so other states took the imitative to get the ball rolling "South Carolina was still the most radical of the southern states in 1849…the movement for a cooperative endeavor in the form of a southern convention should come from another state" (Jennings, c1980, p. 6). This was akin to Calhoun not actually being the candidate for the nullifier party, for though he led the cause he was seen as too extreme to hold together the coalition.

During this period, the Whig party had failed on two fronts when dealing with Calhoun and the American South. First, President Taylor alienated Calhoun and the southern bloc. Calhoun's play for power led to circumstances that caused several miscalculations by the Whig. Second, while attempting to appease the American South, the Whigs neglected their supporter in the North. This allowed the Free Soilers coalition and Democrats of the north to quickly overtake their voting shares. These failures were evident in the elections to come (Table 2.1). The Democrats used southern Whig behavior during this convention and President Taylor's antagonism of the southern planter class as ammunition during the election. Democrats were able to show that southern interests were not within the Whig Party. The Whig party suffered huge defeats in the American South. The Whig Party lost two seats within the Senate (one to both the Free Soil and Democratic Parties). Within the U.S. House, the Whigs lost sixty seats. At the state level, the Whigs lost seven gubernatorial races. It was evident in the south that the Whig party was readily in decline (Table 2.1). Still operating by the logic of a two-region approach, the Whig Party could not withstand the pressure that the American South exerted on the party system and collapsed.

Election of 1860

The presidential election of 1860 was one that deviated from the previous patterns of American electoral politics. The Whig Party had collapsed and out of its ashes the Republican Party was born. Scholars described the election as belonging "outside the usual mechanics of the political canvass- the conventions, the campaigns, the actual balloting. The country was in turmoil and the elections was the eye of a hurricane, a moment of dreadful calm intensified by the memory of the wild events that had preceded

it and by the foreboding sense of the greater storm to come" (Schlesinger 1971). This election was the culmination of a longer process of mobilization and counter-mobilization of coalitions across and within the American South. More importantly, this was the final election before the American Civil War.

Many of the debates of the election of 1860, revolved around issues of federalism. This election tackled issues such as the shape of the banking structure, the extension and financing of international improvements (especially the indispensable railroads), the organization of the new territories to the west, the determination of the tariff schedule, and the training and education of the citizens in a free society (Schlesinger & Israel, 1971). Specific to the American South, the most salient and divisive issue was the federal government infringing on the southern states' right to practice the institution of slavery. To be sure, this issue had high political stakes and dominated the election. Schlesinger and Israel assert, "Tariffs, railroads, crops, counting houses, credit systems-all the stuff of reality- were shoved aside as irrelevant. This strange condition had been produced by the only issue that counted in 1860-slavery-and by all the economic, political, and social forces that clustered around it" (Schlesinger & Israel, 1971, p. 1101). Southern states ensured that this issue was framed as to the boundaries of the federal government's authority versus the authority of the states.

Four candidates ran for U.S. President (Table 2.2). This was another indication that the American two-party system had broken down due to differences in defining federalism. Again, the salient issue was slavery and its practices in the new states forming from western expansion. Specifically, at issue was the enforcement of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. This act stipulated that all enslaved blacks that escaped must be

returned to their owners even if they escaped to Free states and authorities and communities in that state objected to returning the enslaved. It required the co-operation local law enforcement officials in Free states. Candidates could not avoid addressing the act because it created such deep regional fissures. "Each of the four [candidates] expressed a distinct opinion of the central issue. John Bell sought no solution at all; Stephen A. Douglass worked for an ingenious compromise; John Breckenridge felt that the difference was irreconcilable; and Abraham Lincoln argued that the Union must be preserved at all cost" (Schlesinger & Israel, 1971, p. 1099).

This election was the pinnacle of regional conflict that had already become violent. Within political settings such as among members of Congress, ideological differences over slavery turned into physical altercations. For example, violence occurred when a "Radical Republican" and strongly avowed abolitionist Representative Charles Sumner gave a two-day speech condemning slavery. South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks was so infuriated that he attacked Sumner with a cane and beat him unconscious before being restrained. Brooks resigned and returned to South Carolina a hero. This was an opportune time for South Carolina to call for secession. Previous efforts had been stymied by federal government compromises as well as a lack of support from other southern states. Learning from previous missteps, South Carolina created and put into motion a secession strategy that was designed to encourage all southern states to follow. This strategy began with South Carolina informing its fellow southern states of its plan. South Carolina Governor William Henry Gist sent correspondence to the governors of North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida informing them of an impending secession should the 1860 election result in a perceived

anti-slavery candidate being elected president. These letters were strategic in that they

assured that if no state would join their movement that South Carolina would secede

alone. There was never a doubt that South Carolina was going to secede and that the

secession would force other states to choose sides. This was predicated on the level of

support that would follow from other states. Would they follow? Would they secede?

Formal Secession and the Confederate States of America

"Slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was
somehow the cause of the war"

-President Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865

The secession of the southern states and the formation of the Confederate States

of America were the precursors to the American Civil War. The process of secession was

sequential. South Carolina was the vanguard of this process since the regional conflict

over slavery began. In particular South Carolina's slaveholding politicians not only

pioneered in elaborating an ideological defense of racial slavery but also developed the

political theories that justified disunion; nullification, state sovereignty, state ownership

of national territories, and the constitutional authority to secede from the Union (Sinha,

2000). The act of secession was led by South Carolina. The nullification crisis provided

a justification for the state to create a standing army. Governor James Hamilton, Jr.

raised 27,000 men in militias and paramilitary organizations during the Nullification

crisis (Wiltse, 1968). In addition to this, South Carolina understood that if they seceded

that all "other planting states, and some of the Western States, would follow by an almost absolute necessity"[13].

These southern states created the Confederate States of America. The Confederate Constitution addressed several principles (sovereignty rights), but no subject was discussed more than the institution of slavery. Article I stated, "The importation of Negroes of the African race from any foreign country other than to slaveholding States or territories of the United States of America, is hereby forbidden; and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same" (Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 9). This reopened the slave trade that had been closed since 1808. In addition to this, it made slavery forever legal. "No bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law denying or impairing the right of property in Negro slaves shall be passed" (Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 9). This established the right of each citizen to transport slaves across state lines within the confederacy and as stated in Article IV, to "have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not be thereby impaired." (Confederate Constitution, Article IV, Section 2). The confederacy also legalized slavery in any territory acquired by the confederacy in the future. It read, "In all such territory the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the Territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such Territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States" (Confederate Constitution, Article IV, Section 3).

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[13] Nullifier convention of 1832, Address to the People of the United States. Pg. 76.

The Confederate Constitution received unanimous support and representatives from seven states that seceded signed the confederate constitution. After five states ratified this constitution, it became the law of the land in the Confederacy until the American Civil war ended (Schlesinger 1971).

Conclusion

State Centric Federalism within the American South is grounded in interpretation of constitutional precedence. This determinant prompted great political change, but was facilitated by deep divided rooted in race and slavery. From debates surrounding states' rights, nullification, and secession, came a uniquely southern interpretation of the limits of federal authority versus state authority that I label State Centric Federalism. Southern ideological assertions and norms prior to the American Civil War created a set of strong institutional norms and patterns that would last well into the 20th and even 21st century. I argue that this determinant of State Centric Federalism has shaped party platforms throughout American history in order to garner support among and for the southern bloc. For example, the success of Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater in American South during the 1964 presidential election was due to his stance opposing federal intrusion to halt laws and practices stemming from legalizing racial segregation (Brewer & Stonecash, 2001, p. 133).

Ultimately, this American principle of a distrust of centralized power in order to prevent tyranny assumes a particular form and has a distinct political resonance and influence upon southern thinking and behaviors. State Centric Federalism links to and nicely coincides with Religious Conservatism, precisely because the latter makes

assumptions about the morality ordering of a sovereign southern society. In fact, the

mobilization of whites in the American South across various socioeconomic statuses

before the American Civil war can be attributed to religion. Meadwell and Anderson

find, "The language of popular evangelicalism made easier the project of popular

mobilization outside the inner circle of planters and merchants" (Meadwell & Anderson,

2008, p. 211). Simultaneously in the North, the abolitionist movement has intensified and

incorporated a religious tone. In addition to this, a large slave revolt has occurred in

Virginia led by a black pastor by the name of Nat Turner. The culmination of these

determinants at play created a regional conflict that could only be resolved with war.

Table 2.1: Changes in the Parties Vote for President, 1848-1852

State	Democrat	Whig	Free Soil
Alabama	-4,292 (13.8%)	-15,444 (50.7%)	
Arkansas	+2,872 (30.9%)	-183 (2.4%)	
Connecticut	+6,198 (22.9%)	+41 (0.1%)	-1,845 (36.9%)
Delaware	+408 (6.9%)	-147 (2.2%)	
Florida	+1,304 (43.2%)	-1,206 (22.9%)	
Georgia	-10,087 (22.5%)	-30,851 (64.9%)	
Illinois	+24,682 (44.1%)	+12,081 (22.9%)	-5,736 (36.5%)
Indiana	+20,782 (27.9%)	+10,601 (15.1%)	-1,104 (13.7%)
Iowa	+6,525 (58.1%)	+5,926 (59.7%)	+501 (45.4%)
Kentucky	+5,014 (10.3%)	-9,505 (14.3%)	
Louisiana	+3,268 (21.2%)	-1,232 (6.7%)	
Maine	+1,779 (4.5%)	-2,582 (7.3%)	-4,066 (33.6%)
Maryland	+5,533 (16%)	-2,677 (7.1%)	
Massachusetts	+9,288 (26.3%)	-8,387 (13.7%)	-10,035 (26.4%)
Michigan	+11,100 (36.1%)	+9,912 (41.4%)	-3,156 (30.3%)
Mississippi	+276 (1%)	-14,967 (58%)	
Missouri	-1,512 (3.7%)	-2,714 (8.3%)	
New Hampshire	+2,234 (8%)	+1,366 (9.2%)	-865 (11.4%)
New Jersey	+7,425 (20.1%)	-1,453 (3.6%)	
New York	+147,763 (129.2%)	+16,279 (7.4%)	95,181 (79%)
North Carolina	+3,934 (11%)	-5,037 (11.4%)	
Ohio	+14,438 (9.3%)	+13,870 (10%)	-3,841 (10.8%)
Pennsylvania	+25,864 (15%)	-6,249 (3.4%)	-2,748 (24.4%)
Rhode Island	+5.089 (140.4%)	+846 (12.5%)	-85 (11.6%)
Tennessee	-1,209 (2.1%)	-5,341 (8.3%)	
Texas	+1,908 (16.3%)	-286 (5.4%)	
Vermont	+2,096 (19.1%)	-949 (4.3%)	-5,716 (39.9%)
Wisconsin	+18,657 (124.4%)	+8,493 (61.8%)	-1,609 (15.4%)

Source: Cole, A. C. (1914). *The Whig party in the South*

Table 2.2: Candidates in 1860 Presidential Election

Candidate	Political Party	Home State
John Bell	Constitutional Union	Tennessee
John C. Breckenridge	Southern Democratic	Kentucky
Stephen A. Douglass	Democratic	Illinois
Abraham Lincoln	Republican	Illinois

Source: Schlesinger, A. M., & Israel, F. L. (1971). *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789-1968*

CHAPTER THREE: RELIGIOUS CONSERVATISM

"Large portions of the church are in the midst of slavers. The institutions, which surround the church, are those, which are connected with slavery…. In many respects those are different from similar institutions where freedom prevails"

Barnes 2005, P. 20

"From the time of the first English encounters with Africa during the period of exploration and colonization, religious moralism had been central to the dynamic of racism. Christian imagery of the realms of light and darkness, good and evil, easily translated into racial categories. Blacks became the locus of generalized debasement and enslavement"

(Daly, 2002, p. 83)

Religion has always had a strong presence in American politics. Compared to other industrialized nations Americans are quite religious and a significant concentration of religious Americans live in the American South. The literature suggests that Christianity has several regional distinctions(Hill, 1972; Schweiger & Mathews, 2004). For example, southerners are more likely to support school prayer (Green & Guth, 1989) and they show less support for sex education, abortion rights, and gay rights (Rice et al. 2002). These trends particularly hold among southern white, evangelical Protestants.

Historically, white churches in the American south were intimately involved with the treatment and/or the racial mistreatment of blacks. Many white southern congregations fully supported slavery and those who benefited from it. After the Civil War, white religious leaders were still at the forefront of conservative, southern race

relations in that many supported a new racial order that subordinated blacks. Studies

have found that after slavery ended, church leaders in the south were involved in the

processes that officially created and sanctioned Jim Crow segregation laws and norms

(Ayers & Kenzer, 1995; Feldman, 2005). Quite interestingly, the analysis of Bailey and

Snedker indicates that the location of white churches in the American South is related to

greater incidents of the lynching of black people (Bailey & Snedker, 2011). In certain

cases, white church leaders would offer a religious justification for the lynching of blacks

so that they remained properly I their so-called place (Miller, 1957). Some studies have

explored the linkage of lynching and white religiosity, but I offer in this chapter a

contextual understanding or analytical basis as to why its presence could be causal.

This chapter unpacks Religious Conservatism and its influence within the

America South. Again, by Religious Conservatism I mean the adherence to

Christian/Protestant interpretations that endorse a conservative worldview and

political/policy stance. This determinant will be analyzed in three stages. First, I will

analyze how white southern religiosity treated the issue of slavery. The American South

justified chattel slavery through scripture as well as by historical patterns within the white

Anglo culture. Hartz noted, "Since a literal reading of scripture supported the ownership

of slaves, many Southerners began to think in terms of Hebrew patriarchy"(Hartz, 1955,

p. 168). The institution of white Christianity in the American South fully supported

slavery and its practices. Second, an investigation of the regional split of the formal

institutions within white Christianity will be conducted. This will provide a contextual

understanding of dynamics at play that produced such a major institutional changes.

Specifically, this analysis will examine the white Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian

denominations of Protestantism. Each one has a distinct history within the south, but each institution had a regional split. "The evangelical church split in form in 1837 (the Presbyterians), 1844 (the Methodist), and 1845 (the Baptist)" (Daly, 2002, p. 73). This separation was caused by ongoing debates about slavery. Finally, I will discuss the relationship between Religious Conservatism and race. This will involve an examination the birth of the black Christianity. The primary focus will be on the dualism of black and white Christianity. A new religious phenomenon was created in black Christianity among the formerly enslaved African Americans. This will provide better contextual and theoretical clarity to the unique relationship between religion and race in the American South, because as aforementioned, I do not presume white and black attitudes norms are the same. These dynamics have created and perpetuated a distinct Religious Conservatism within the white American South that is still present today.

Slavery, Biblical Interpretation, and the White Church

During the early 1800's, the religious population was rapidly increasing in the American South. Sydnor notes, "Between 1820 and 1850 the membership of the Methodist Church in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia increased from 93,000 to 223,713 and of the Baptist Church from 99,000 to 246,000 while aggregate population of these four states increased only one third," (Sydnor, 1966, p. 295). The economic implications of this growth resulted in a larger and more detailed institutionalized church presence. "The brush arbors and campgrounds of the back country and frontier", Harvey states, "were being supplemented if not replaced by buildings of brick or wood, and religious services were becoming more orderly," (Harvey, 1997, p. 295).

In the mid-19th century period, several white southern scholars of religion supported the practice of slavery. These apologist often claimed "God sanctioned American slavery in order to bring the Christian message to heathen Africans and teach "superior" peoples to care for the "inferiors" entrusted to them…by the 1850's such a view reigned as a virtually unchallenged orthodoxy among white southern evangelicals, be they elite divines or uneducated exhorters," (Harvey, 1997, p. 8). White religious leaders were in full support of slavery and the literal interpretation of biblical scripture. "Southern ministers found ample passages in the Bible that had been used to support slavery for hundreds of years," (Daly, 2002, p. 5). This message was constantly delivered from the pulpits every Sunday. From one view, the Bible can be interpreted as condoning slavery, so the owning and trafficking of human flesh was not viewed by most white southerner as immoral and could easily be seen as equivalent to any other standard occupation.

More specifically, one New Testament scripture reads. "Slaves, obey your earthly masters with fear and trembling," (Ephesians 6:5). This passage suggests slaves are never to question their master. Whites could perpetuate the most heinous acts against enslaved blacks and were psychologically justified by this interpretation. For example, planters justified raping and prostituting black women with scripture. Another scripture reads, "Tell slaves to be submissive to their masters and to give satisfaction to them in every respect" (Titus 2:9). The goal of white southern Religious Conservatism in this period was to articulate how slavery fit into the American system, was morally consistent with it, and was integral to southern and American prosperity. White southerners did not take the traditional imperialist approach toward racial hegemony. By this I mean many white

evangelicals did not subscribe to the theories of blacks being a different species as compared to whites. Several theories that flowed from ideas like the "Great Chain of Being" suggested that blacks were a separate and inferior species and thus a "missing link" between humans (whites) and other primates (apes) (Smedley, 2017). Instead, ministers justified the race-based institution of slavery by maintaining that blacks suffered from a degraded state. This assumption found textual support from the Old Testament Book of Genesis from the Bible. Daly explains, "Genesis 9 supposedly describes how the black race had descended through Noah's son Ham, whose offspring had been cursed with enslavement…. sweeping racial dichotomies no longer stressed the ascendancy of civilized human over heathen beast, but of moral victors over vanquished,"(Daly, 2002, p. 85). This logic justified race-based slavery and put the outright murder of blacks inside the purview of righteous behavior. "The extinction of a tribe, or even a whole people is not more to be lamented than the extinction of one generation to make room for another. God cares nothing for the pride of man…. He does that which promotes the highest good of universal humanity," (Daly, 2002, p. 86).

With blacks at the bottom of the racial order put forth by white theologians, this religious extinction would naturally consist of most, if not all, of the black race. Southern ministers framed Christianity as a way to deliver blacks from their natural, overly passionate dispositions. This narrative implies that if it were not for Christianity that these enslaved Africans would continue their degraded state and never enter the kingdom of heaven. This judgment on the black collective damnation was often coupled with an admiration of how devote they were. Again, Daly asserts, "Proslavery spokesmen who contemplated racial extermination had no qualms about praising the way slaves possess

44

great earnestness and zeal in their religious devotions…more earnestness and zeal than the whites themselves" (Daly, 2002, p. 87).

The Great Divide: White Northern Christians and White Southern Christians

The major white Protestant denominations in the United States experienced a regional separation before the Civil War. Opposing views on the practice of slavery prompted denominational splits. Geon notes, "Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian each with nationwide constituencies were increasingly agitated by disputes over slavery, sundered into northern and southern factions long before political rupture; thus opening the first major cleavage between slaveholding and free states; and that the denominational schisms portended and to some extent provoked the crisis of the Union in 1861" (Goen, 1983, p. 21). Although at different times, each southern wing detached from their national essieclastical body and created their own religious institutions. Prior to the Civil War, southern churches presented a united proslavery stance. "The southern churches had already resolved this dilemma by withdrawing from their national organizations, and now they were prepared to transpose their ecclesiastical arguments to the political conflict of the 1850's"(Goen, 1983, p. 22). Southern religious leaders were often also political leaders and had no quarrels with advocating for slavery in both the pulpit and on the congressional floors.

The Presbyterians

The Presbyterian Church was the first Protestant denomination to split over slavery. Before the separation, there were debates over divisive issues, but the church viewed these as inherent to church life and not a threat to the church body. There was

general consensus on a relative unity. They felt that the church body was "split into two nearly equal parts, each portion of the great body inheriting the views, the doctrines, the influence, the 'prestige,' of the whole" (Barnes, 1857, p. 50). This agreement would end over the slavery issue and prove too divisive to maintain unity.

The Presbyterian denomination experienced a regional split in 1837. "The great cleavage in the Presbyterian church, known as the Old School-New School schism, has been presented as the result of a struggle which was concerned almost exclusively with doctrine and ecclesiastical government," (Moore, 1935, p. 282). There were several issues involved in this divide, but slavery was at the forefront. The American South embraced the most conservative view because its perspective supported the institution of slavery.

When slavery was the subject of discussion, there was a clear consensus among Northern Presbyterians on it being evil. Slavery was discussed at length in the General Assembly of 1818 and a resolution resulted that labeled slavery a "gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, as utterly inconsistent with the law of God which requires us to love our neighbors as ourselves, and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ" (Barnes, 1857, p. 55).   These resolutions had major practical implications for the southern body and its slaveholding members. They suggested the Presbyterian Church was in the forefront in standing against slavery and in taking measures that contemplated it abolition. This assembly clearly articulated the evils of slavery and the goal of its worldwide abolition. In short, the holding of slaves was evidence of a Christian not being in good standing with the church. That being said there was a clear loophole or compromise: "A man who

sustained the relation of parent, or husband, or master of an apprentice, is, so far as these relations are concerned presumed to be in good standings with the church," (Barnes, 1857, p. 62). This allowed for participation in the institution of slavery while not being morally culpable for slaveholding. Both the reformists and conservative sides of the Presbyterian Church took a position on how to interpret these resolutions, but the divide was clearly between the slave and Free states. This would set the stage for a formal separation.

The assembly of 1837 was organized under reformist control. There was general agreement between the two schools of thought that the slavery issue was very complicated issue partly because it was legal in the secular world. This complication made it, according to assembly minutes, "impossible to deliberate and decide judiciously on the subject of slavery in its relation to the church; therefore resolved, that this whole subject be indefinitely postponed," (Minutes of General assembly, 1836). This did not deter southern Presbyterians from pushing their proslavery agenda forward. Northern Presbyterians were demanding disciplinary actions against slaveholders through resolutions while southern Presbyterians continued to defend the institution through scripture.

Before the convention of 1837, anti-slavery delegates met in a special convention. The pro-slavery southern Presbyterians were outnumbered. "In 1836 the membership of the Presbyterian church was 220,557, of which all but 57,309 were in the North, giving the South but 21% of the total," (General Assembly 1836). Southerners feared their interests would be overshadowed.

The Methodists

The stance of the Methodist Church on slavery has always been clear. Founder John Wesley believed it to be a vile institution and condemned it completely. After his visit to America from England, he advocated for the abolition of American slavery (D. G. Mathews, 1965). Although the black population in England was small, there was a significant abolitionist presence.

The Methodist Episcopal Church formally split in 1844. Before this, white Southern Methodist ministers consistently defended their position on slavery during national conferences. The slavery issue was always present and produced sectional divides. This came to a head at the General Conference in 1844 over the slaveholding practices of presiding Bishop James Andrews. Anti-slavery factions formulated a plan to remove him from office due to his involvement in slavery. Harvey explains, "A resolution was introduced in the General Conference in May of 1844 to restrain Bishop James O. Andrew of Georgia from exercising his episcopal office as long as he had any connection to slavery,"(Harvey, 1997, p. 298). This situation caused the southern ministers to defend Andrews and advocate for separation from the national denominations. They submitted a statement to formally separate from the ecclesial Methodist body known as the "Plan of Separation". This plan was divided into a series of resolutions and was a large undertaking. Matthews notes, that Southern Methodists found the abolitionist spirit of their Northern Brethren a consistent problem. In 1845, they withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church and founded an independent Southern Church (Mathews, 1965). The process was strikingly similar to the secession of the southern states government from the Union, but in this case the Northern Methodists

were pleased to oblige the separation. Conflict did not come until decades later the two

sides petitioned in court to properly divide church financial holdings and to determine

territorial jurisdictions decades later (Loveland, 1980).

The newly founded, southern Methodist faction removed all sections in their

church laws that were not pro-slavery. In addition to this, they voted to repeal an anti-

slave trade clause from church law. "On May19th, 1858, the General Conference of the

Methodist Episcopal Church, South, expunged the slave-trade rule by a vote of 143 to

8,"(Takaki, 1971, p. 136). At the state-level, this served as a tool to remove ministers

from the denomination that did not support the peculiar institution. In Texas, ministers

that opposed slavery were given 60 days to leave the state (Houston Telegraph April 14th,

1859). In Mississippi, the names of the seven ministers that voted against this resolution

were put in the newspaper(Takaki, 1971). The separation of the Methodists South from

the Methodist North was complete and southern proslavery agenda was in effect.

The Baptists

"The Baptist belief in the equality of the soul conflicted with the social practices
of their communities churches, and for slave owners…how to reconcile their theology
with the reality of slaves and slave owners in their church became the subject of frequent
and often intense debate"

(Najar, 2005: 162).

There has been a long history of white racial tensions blacks within the Baptist

church of the United States. Najar observers, "Slaves were part of the early audiences for

Baptist incinerates in the 1760's and 1770's, and after the War of Independence, slaves

began to join churches in increasing numbers….the church they built was biracial with

white and black members,"(Najar, 2005, p. 158).   This biracial presence was quickly

sacrificed due to political and economic pressures. The agrarian elite needed the power

of this social institution, the church, to facilitate its goals of pro-slavery ideology and was

successful in convincing Baptist ministers to endorse their slavery agenda. "By 1830,

white Baptists who had questioned slavery in the late-eighteenth-century were defending

it as a divinely sanctioned social order…Baptists worked feverishly on a Christian

proslavery apologetic,"(Harvey, 1997, p. 9).

The Southern Baptist church separated from the national denominations in 1845

over the issue of slavery. This process was initiated when the national body, controlled

by northern ministers, declared they would not appoint any slaveholders to national

position. Applying this rule retroactively, the Board of Foreign Missions forced Rev.

John Bushyhead, a slaveholding minister, to resign from his current post. Southern

Baptists immediately withdrew from the national body and organized the Southern

Baptist Convention(Baker, 1966).

The separation of southern churches was an important part of the history of

American institutions. "Once abolitionists had catalogued slavery as sinful and Southern

defenders had catalogued it as a thing that was right in the sight of God, compromise was

impossible" (Harvey, 1997, p. 299). One could argue that the divide of these white

Christian denominations significantly contributed to why the American South seceded

from the Union. Southern churches served as evidence of how secession was to play out.

They laid the moral groundwork for state secession. After the formal split, the southern

church body in each denomination was thriving. Goen notes, "There membership was

growing, their financial status was sound, their missionary and benevolent work was

expanding, and best of all, they were free from embarrassments previously suffered under antislavery attacks in their national assemblies," (Goen, 1983, p. 29).

In addition to a moral defense of slavery, the churches supported the constant assertion that secession would produce a south prosperous from the profits of slavery. Before the separation, leaders from both the north and south had always met at annual conferences to discuss their concerns together. "Participants in these meetings were well informed about developments outside their congregations and aware of the personalities and preoccupations of their counterparts from other regions," (Daly, 2002, p. 75). After the formal separation, each side was able to reinforce their negative image of the other without any debate. "Northern clergy thought that connivance with slavery corrupted both the gospel and the preachers who claimed to represent it. Southern theologians insisted that slavery was an ordinance of God fully sanctioned in scripture"(Goen, 1983, p. 31).

Now that the sectional lines had been drawn and each possessed its own respective denomination, interaction between these ministers and congregations ended. This left them within their own regions insulated from any significant dissenting views. "Many southern evangelicals after 1835 turned the abolitionist and then the North into heretical bogeymen and fodder for scathing sermons. Evangelicals thereby built the cultural foundations for secession and civil war over the course of the generation prior to 1860"(Daly, 2002, p. 74). This can also be seen in the works of southern religious scholars. Their work was voluminous and provided justification of the southern way of life insofar as slavery and secession were concerned. The intimate connection of economics and race within Southern Christianity produced a powerful social institution.

This new institution was able to infiltrate and influence any social institution that it could not directly control. For example, Southern churches formed several new, conservative colleges and universities when existing institution threatened their agenda (Daly, 2002).

Black Christians

Although this dissertation primarily focuses on Southern whites, it is important to discuss the importance and significant difference of black religiosity from white religiosity in the South. The conditions of chattel slavery in the United States produced a large population of enslaved Africans. Religion played a fundamental role in their lives from the moment they were captured to the moment they were freed. The consistent presence of Christianity in the lives of African slaves produced several unique developments. For example, enslaved Africans were from different tribes and possessed different cultures in the way that France and England are different. Christianity forged a more comprehensive identity among these ethnic and tribal affiliations. Africanized Christianity or Afro-Christianity formed the basis for common religious identity among their decedents in contemporary America (Akinyela, 2003). This feature is not present in descendants of enslaved persons in the Caribbean because they were allowed to practice the cultural norms of their native country. "Enslaved Christians in the antebellum South fashioned a religious culture that synthesized Euro-American Christian beliefs and African expressive styles into a sustaining faith," (Harvey, 1997, p. 11).

Southern planters were concerned about enslaved blacks becoming Christians. If slaves were Christians then how could one come to terms with oppressing a fellow Christian? The planter class resisted the spread of Christianity among their property and

several laws were passed to reach this end. Several states made it illegal for Africans to preach under any condition. In other places, they were allowed to preach as long as their white minister was present or some other "responsible" white person (Akinyela, 2003). Southern whites ensured the baptism or conversion of enslaved blacks to Christianity did not change their slave status. In addition to this, anti-literacy laws were created to ensure slaves could not read the Bible and thus discover biblical rationales from their freedom. Pertaining to their Holy Scripture, white Christian planters ensured their religion was given to slaves in a way to serve their interests. This involved making the slaves intimately familiar with scriptures that seemed to support slavery and obedience to one's master. Several aspects of the Bible could potentially produce insurrection. For example, Nat Turner in 1831 used the stories and prophets of the Bible to justify the largest slave revolt in United States history.   White Southern Christians often discouraged significant black congregations, but northern whites permitted the fairly free association of free blacks. For example, Delaware prohibited the congregation of more than a dozen blacks after 10pm unless three whites were present (Aptheker, 2012). After the American Civil War, many newly freed blacks created their own versions of Christianity while several continued to attend the worship services of their previous masters.

Conclusion

As an ideal, Religious conservatism began in the American South to serve as the moral defense of race-based slavery. This, in turn, caused a regional divide within the major denominations of American Christianity. These denominational separations were precursors to the impending secession of the states. "The same passions were at work in

both arenas, and in each case the secessionist thought it more important to preserve

slavery than to maintain unity" (Goen, 1983, p. 24). With political and religious actors

expressing unresolvable regional differences and advocating secession, churches

reinforced these divisions. Many of them utilized John C. Calhoun's doctrines designed

to protect southern religion and evolved into a major institutions that served elite agrarian

interests. While in the last two chapters, I focused upon the 18th and 19th century roots of

the last determinant- Racial Conservatism.

CHAPTER FOUR: RACIAL CONSERVATISM

"The Southerners by reason of the seniority rule in Congress are chairman or occupy strategic places on most of the Senate and House committees. If I come out for the anti-lynching bill now, they will block every bill I ask Congress to pass to keep American from collapsing. I just can't take that risk"
    -President Franklin Roosevelt on his inaction on the anti-lynching legislation

"There are not enough troops in the world to force the southern people to breakdown segregation and admit the nigger race into our theatres, into our swimming pools, into our homes"

Strom Thurmond, 1948

" You shall not crucify the South on this cross of civil rights"

Charles J. Block (D-GA) at the 1948 Democratic Convention

Race has been a dominant feature of American politics. Within the American South, race relations are distinct due to the presence of a large African American population as an artifact of American slavery. When mixed with historic white supremacist ideology and modern anti-black racism, this condition has produced Racial Conservatism unlike other racial environments within the United States. From white electoral primaries to the lynching phenomenon, southern race relations are a unique phenomenon. White Southern politicians were steadfast in their defense of the status quo and race was no exception. Although they operated within the two-party system, white southern politicians did not compromise on any other issues pertaining to race. When their stance of Racial Conservatism was threatened, the Southern coalition would simply

withdraw their support. Dealignment theory asserts that partisan changes can occur without either party benefiting (Brewer & Stonecash, 2001). It can result in no immediate change to the balance of power. The 1948 U.S. presidential election and Strom Thurmond's presidential bid was a result of the American South concluding neither major party aligned with their preferences. This distinct Southern conclusion explains the court-packing plans and other strategic behavior by the American South within the two-party system. Previous studies claim that this transformation of American politics began with the Civil Rights Movement and Barry Goldwater's southern strategy (J. A. Aistrup, 2010; Black & Black, 1992), but the point of transformation is actually a generation earlier. In fact, I assert that the election of 1948 marked the beginning of "Southern" dealignment. This dealignment occurred when the American South abandoned the Democratic Party due to its commitment to civil rights legislation. This legislation would directly impact the racial dynamics within their region. The American South understood both parties to be in support of the federal government using its power to secure civil rights for blacks. This did not result in an immediate entry into the Republican Party.

Racial Conservatism will be analyzed in three stages. I define Racial Conservatism as white Southerners adhering to beliefs and attitudes that reinforce white racial advantage, either implicitly or explicitly, and black racial oppression. First, I will discuss Racial Conservatism and the American South. This will unpack the distinct racial environment that was present in the United States in the early 20th century and how it produced a distinct political behavior in the American South. Substantively, this will focus on President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and the reaction of the American South as related to Racial Conservatism. I will explain how the New Deal legislation

ultimately caused the American South to oppose Roosevelt. This conflict created the conditions that would lead to the breakdown of the Democratic Party's coalition and produce major partisan change. Second, I will explore Strom Thurmond and his political history will be explored. Much like his fellow South Carolinian John C. Calhoun, Strom Thurmond led a coalition of white Southern politicians. This section will discuss Thurmond's political behavior prior to the 1948 election as rooted in racial conservatism and the formation of the Southern, pro-segregation Democrats or Dixiecrats. This coalition of political actors was very similar to the nullifiers of the 1800's. Working from within the Democratic Party and led by Strom Thurmond, this group pushed to maintain the racial status quo. Once their goal was unattainable, they created a third party on the basis of these racial grievances.

Finally, I discuss the 1948 election will be conducted. Specifically, I will examine the National Democratic Convention and its deliberation of its party platform. This will involve tracing the Dixiecrats coalition and their strategic approach to defending Racial Conservatism in the American South. Once this coalition declared their separation from the Democratic Party, they had a specific strategy that would attempt a last stand at maintaining Racial Conservatism through American law. Ader (1953) claims this third party was not, "simply an irrational and inadequate protest against the party and its leaders. Rather, it was a well-organized movement with adequate financial backing and a program calculated to appeal not only to voters in the South but to all voters concerned with the centralization of governmental powers" (Ader, 1953, p. 356). The strategy for Strom Thurmond was to gain control of the 127 electoral votes in the

American South. This would lead to the election being decided in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The New Deal and the Southern Racial Order

Since 1877, the American South had built a "solid" equilibrium within the Democratic Party[14]. Franklin D. Roosevelt swept the southern states in the presidential election of 1932, but conflict within the Democratic Party began to occur given the American South's conflict over his New Deal legislation. This legislation expanded the arms of national government- in clear violation of State Centric Federalism.

On the issue of race, the American South did not waver in its demand for the status quo. Cobbs states, "Roosevelt had little alternative to seeking the support of, and capitulating to the racism of, the white southerners who controlled Congress. He needed their votes for New Deal legislation and appropriations, and the president would take no action on the racial front that would estrange the white southern politicians who commanded over half the committee chairmanships and a majority of leadership positions in every congressional session during the 1930's (Cobb, 1984, p. 118). The political strength of the American South was apparent in Washington DC for it commanded attention. This gave the Southern coalition leverage in how the New Deal would be administered in areas with high black populations.

Again, the American South has possessed the largest African American population in the United States due to their enslaved labor first being tied to its

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[14] This period was when President Rutherford Hayes removed the federal troops from the last two states of the American South. Another fundamental partisan marker for the American South was the fact that President Lincoln was a Republican.

agricultural based economic system. The race-based plantation system was greatly

disrupted by the American Civil War, but was still the dominant feature of the southern

economy.   Southern elites ensured that all programs enacted by the New Deal did not in

any way improve the status of blacks. Cobb concludes, "The early New Deal efforts at

economic recovery starkly revealed the institutional and structural determinants

inhibiting salutary change for black southerners," (Cobb, 1984, p. 121). Specifically,

programs including the National Recovery Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment

Administration, and the Tennessee Valley Authority completely excluded blacks.

Although southern demands were met, there were still serious suspicions about the New

Deal programs from southern conservatives. They made sure that the various farming

programs did nothing to the racial order, but the New Deal was still significantly

expanded the power of the national government.

By 1936, Roosevelt had executed the implementation of his New Deal legislation

and the Democrats controlled Congress in a way that the southern bloc was as vital to the

Roosevelt coalition. Prior to this point, Roosevelt was cautious on various civil rights

plans – such as his initial reluctance to press for federal anti-lynching legislation –

because he did not want to upset the southern Democrats whose he needed.   But by

1936, Roosevelt and the Party did not need to capitulate to the conservative south

anymore to maintain its voting majority and immediately abandoned their Racial

Conservatism. By the election of 1938, Roosevelt openly backed several liberal

challengers in an attempt to alter the stronghold conservative incumbent Democrats in the

south had upon the United States Congress. For example, he orchestrated a "purge"

campaign in 1938 that challenged the strongest conservative politicians. This strategy

failed miserably and created a strong political narrative in the south focusing on "outside intervention". Outside of conservatives, this tactic was even used by various southern liberal politicians due to its radical nature. This behavior implied a level of regional cohesiveness stronger than party political ideology. Beneath the surface was a much greater fear shared by conservatives and liberals alike in the American South. They knew that outside intervention in southern politics would undo the racial institutions in place.

1948 Presidential Election

The 1948 presidential election was a four-way race between Harry Truman, Thomas Dewey, Henry Wallace, and Strom Thurmond. Previously, the Democratic Party supported or at least relented to southern racial preferences. This section will unpack how the American South reacted when the Democratic Party abandoned their racial platform.

Civil rights was the most salient topic during the election of 1948. This issue was gaining support by Northern Democrats. When the civil rights platform was presented they forced a vote. After the platform won the vote, the southern delegation was defeated. After the successful nomination of Harry Truman as the presidential nominee, the American South realized that the Democratic Party would not capitulate to their demands. This resulted in the southern states leaving the convention and the two-party system. Similar to 1860, the American South now sought to make a presidential bid as a third party. On April 23rd, 1860, the Democratic Party held its national convention in Charleston, South Carolina. During the convention, congressmen from the American

south walked out and held another convention nearby after the proslavery platform was defeated.

Strom Thurmond and the Dixiecrats

The American South has always had a unique brand of politicians. During the election of 1948, the preferences of the southern coalition were directly related to Racial Conservatism. The Democratic Party received the political support of the American South until 1948. If there were a Southern conservative hall of fame, Strom Thurmond would be in it. He held political office until the age of 100. So, it is safe to say that he was exceptional. This research will focus on Strom Thurmond for two reasons. First, his partisan activity gives us a very unique understanding of the American South and its relationship with the two political parties. He was a member of both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party during his career. Second, Senator Thurmond challenged both parties and represented a third party during the 1948 presidential election. Strom Thurmond represents the core of the American South on the issue of segregation in the Presidential election of 1948. This research purports that Strom Thurmond's presidential candidacy represents the fracture that began the separation of the American South from the Democratic Party.

Election Turnout

The American South ran as the Dixiecrats in the general election. Their strategy was never to win the election. The Dixiecrats, who supported Strom Thurmond's candidacy, planned to gain control of all of the 127 electoral votes available in the solid South and vote as a bloc against the civil rights platform confirmed by the other two

parties (Ader 1953). The Dixiecrats were able to get on the presidential ballot as the official Democratic nominee in South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. These were the only states from which Thurmond received electoral votes. Thurmond was able to acquired 39 electoral votes in total. This constituted 67% of the popular vote in these states. A total of 645,878 Dixiecrat votes were casts for Thurmond out of a total of 960,045 for Thurmond, Truman, and Dewey (Ader, 1953). After his defeat, Strom Thurmond returned to South Carolina to begin his career in Congress. In 1950, he lost his only campaign in the Democratic primaries. He then began to endorse the Republican brand as the new home for Southern interests.

Strom Thurmond and the American South as a whole were in a state of partisan limbo for the next two decades[15]. Their overall preference were not supported in either major party, so identification was decided based on which party catered to the needs of individual state politicians in each context. In general, the party system was in a period of transition. Research found that the 1950's and early 1960's produced a period of voters supporting different parties at the congressional and presidential levels (aka split-ticket voting). Specific to the American South, this trend occurred in more than 40% of all congressional districts (Ladd, 1985). Understanding the trends in party switching among the southern delegation will offer a unique understanding of partisanship during this period. Dixiecrats were comprised of a coalition of governors and members of Congress. Several of these legislators remained in the Democratic Party after the

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[15] The Republican Party capitulated to southern interest with Barry Goldwater in 1964. This began the partisan shift of the American South from partisan limbo to the Republican Party.

Dixiecrats failed[16]. Ninety-three percent of the senators and governors that supported the Dixiecratic Party remained Democrats for life. Roberts and Smith (2003) investigated a partisan realignment after the 1960's. They found that "conservatism and being southern are associated with a disproportionally strong increase in party unity"(Roberts & Smith, 2003, p. 315). A general consensus around Barry Goldwater and George Wallace presidential runs suggest that realignment began during the 1960's.

Conclusion

Political parties are a function of the government and simply facilitate the grouping of the numerous coalitions of interest in the public sphere. Aldrich notes, "Political parties are so deeply woven into the fabric of American politics that they cannot be understood apart from either their own historical context and dynamics or those of the political system as a whole,"(Aldrich, 1995, p. 39).   Within this American two-party system framework, one party concedes to the Southern preferences to attain its political power. When a party does not adhere to their preferences, the American South will stand-alone until one of the major parties decides to do so.

Scholars have concluded that racial politics and the behavior of the black population are outside of the norms in the American electorate. "With exception to race, socioeconomic groups divide their votes broadly between the candidates of both parties," (Aldrich, 2011, p. 9). This distinction could be said about the American South with proper consideration of region. Carmines and Stimson (1989) model the evolution of the

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[16] Notable dixiecrats: Strom Thurmond (SC); Jesse Helms (NC); Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr.; Gov. William H. Murray; Sen. Thomas Gore; Sen. Spessard Holland; Sen. Sam Ervin; Sen. Russell Long; Sen. Robert Byrd; Sen. Richard Russell; Sen. Olin Johnston; Sen. Lister Hill; Sen. John C. Stennis; Sen. John Sparkman; Sen. John McCellan; Sen. James Eastland; Sen. Herman Talmadge; Sen. Herbert Walker; Sen. Harry Byrd; Sen. George Smathers; Gov. Frank Dixon; Gov. Filding

issue of race as a policy dimension. They model the evolution of this issue within Congress over time. Their model predictions were quite robust, but two errors stood out. "Both early in the series, 1947-1948, and two decades later, differences are not predicted by a parsimonious model. The former we regard as a fluke," (Carmines & Stimson, 1989, p. 77). They explain the second anomaly as reflecting a temporary compositional change of seats in the two elections prior. Because region was not properly accounted for, these researchers could not explain the interparty of differences in 1947-48. This so-called "fluke" was the result of Racial Conservatism.

CHAPTER FIVE: TESTING THE DETERMINANTS OF SOUTHERN EXCEPTIONALISM

In the previous chapters, I discuss how the Determinants of Southern Exceptionalism (DSE) Model -- including Racial Conservatism, Religious Conservatism, and State Centric Federalism – are undergirded by 18th, 19th, and 20th century histories and American political developments. I now bring this story forward to the current era and test it using data from the most contemporary period of partisan realignment, especially the 1990s and 200s. While there have been extensive debates about Southern Exceptionalism being more salient prior to World War II, and my previous chapters have rehearsed this history, my analysis in this and the preceding chapter seeks to demonstrate that Southern Exceptionalism remains an important feature of white Southern political and racial attitudes eve in the 21st century. In particular, this chapter will analyze each determinant and its relationship with the other determinations using data from the American National Election Study (ANES). More importantly, this analysis will create measures for hypothesis testing of Southern Exceptionalism in subsequent chapters.

There is ample empirical evidence of the American South's political distinctiveness in the contemporary period. Researchers of southern politics have examined how the region reacted to changes in the two-party system since 1948 and found that partisanship changes in the American South were not based on changing political views because southerners have held consistent views overtime (Campbell,

1977; Feagan, 1972; Miller, 1957). This suggests that the various periods of partisanship realignment did not lead to any change in political preferences.

The presupposition that regional location influences political behavior must be approached carefully. It assumes that people in the American South have historically been socialized into their political orientations and this produces specific preferences and behaviors relative to specific issues. Previous chapters have substantiated the distinct behavior of the American South during periods of national political change, but are Religious Conservatism, Racial Conservatism, and State Centric Federalism relevant in today's political environment? This chapter explores the relationship between the three constructs within the Determinants of Southern Exceptionalism Model (Figure 5.0). The objective is to create the most effective measurements of the three constructs within the Model while being *cognizant of their theoretical relationship.* This will allow for the most robust empirical test of regional distinction given the data available.

This objective will be pursued in three stages. First, I will identify survey items that are conceptually related to the three determinants of Southern Exceptionalism. The data from this study was obtained for the years 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 through the ANES. The samples of these surveys were collected through a series of pre- and post- election surveys. Respondents were English-speaking men and women who are at least 18 years of age. Each survey item for this dataset was selected based on its relationship with Racial Conservatism, Religious Conservatism, and State Centric Federalism (Figure 5.1). Additional survey items were selected based on the decades of scholarship on southern politics such as use and approval of violence and force, conservative political attitudes, conservative racial attitudes, conservative attitudes

towards women, and conservative moral and religious orientation (Degler, 1997; Hurlbert, 1989).

Missing data was addressed through imputations[17]. Once all survey items were identified, they were factor analyzed to determine which had the highest level of correlation across time[18]. The factor analysis was done on a pairwise correlation matrix. An oblique rotation was used and seeks to explain the maximum variance in individual uncorrelated factors. This specific rotation method is necessary because there is more than one factor in the DSE model and each factor correlates with one another[19]. The function of this is to analyze the items that were hand selected from the ANES so to create the most viable measures for each determinant of Southern Exceptionalism. I used a 1.0-eigenvalue criterion as a standard for each survey item. This will offer theoretical value and construct validity insight. I will replicate this factor analysis with a subset of the American South and the black belt states. Each subset should theoretically cause the factors to increase in correlation and the survey items in each factor stay consistent across groups.

Second, variables were created from factor analysis on data from the years of 2004 and 2012, respectively. These variables were used for hypothesis testing in the next chapter. Factor loadings are misleading when constructed from data merged from several different years with different respondents. Ideally, these items and respondents must be

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[17] R was the statistical program used to conduct this analysis. Imputations were needed for the missing data. List wise deletion resulted in the sample being too small for the factor analysis. To address this, I imputed the average of the overall sample in cell with missing responses.

[18] The correlation matrix contains all the survey items from 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. These loadings will provide conceptual value only due to the nature of the data.

[19] I also conducted the promax rotation on individual determinants. Model can be found with the Appendix.

the same across surveys via panel data. That being said, there are several measures that

are consistent across these two survey years (Figure 5.1 BOLD). In addition to this, the

use of the years 2004 and 2012 is valid in that each year provides interesting contrasts or

points of comparison. First, these years have incumbent presidents from the Republican

and Democratic parties. In 2004, George W. Bush was entering his second term and in

2012 Barrack Obama was entering into his second term. In addition to this, these years

offer interesting dynamics related to the determinants of Southern Exceptionalism. For

Racial Conservatism, Barrack Obama was the first black president in United States

history. For Religious Conservatism, these years offer vastly different LGBT policy

climate. There was a substantial anti-gay agenda during 2004. The year 2012 addressed

the rights of the LGBT community and positioned the administration to enact policies

that expanded rights. For State Centric Federalism, the approval levels of Congress were

different. During 2004, approval of Congress ranged from 41% to 48%. In 2012,

congressional approval ratings were between 10% and 21% (Gallup Poll 2012). Each of

these conditions will produce a more robust test of Southern Exceptionalism across time.

This examination will provide some initial insight into regional distinction, but ultimately

these factors will be used as dependent variables. With these variables, regional

distinction can accurately be tested.

Findings

The ANES data was factor analyzed in several ways to examine how these survey

items correlate. First, the entire dataset across all years was analyzed- 1996, 2000, 2004,

2008, and 2012. This should signal if there are any factors created across years. This

would provide strong evidence for the presence of the determinants in the model.

Although the respondents and survey items were different, these results would imply that the constructs being measured were highly correlated. Substantively, this would suggest some level of continuity among these constructs. Results indicate five factors were created out of the factor analysis. Three dimensions were related to Racial Conservatism, one related to Religious Conservatism, and one related to State Centric Federalism. The items that loaded on each factor can be seen in Figure 5.2.

Factor 1 contains seven survey items with six Racial Conservatism items and one State Centric Federalism indicator. One question asked if blacks had gotten less than they deserved (2012). Two items were stereotype questions asking about the intelligence level of blacks (2012) and whether blacks work hard or not (2012). Three questions had something to do with government action towards blacks. One item provided a 7-point scale rating how much assistance the government should give to blacks (2012), one asked if the government should ensure fair jobs for blacks (2012). The State Centric Federalism variable asked if less government is better or does government need to do more (2012).

Factor 2 contained three-items with one Racial Conservatism item and three gender conservatism variable. The racial item asked how much influence a respondent thinks blacks have (2000). The gender questions assessed respondents feelings about the women's movement (2000), homosexuality (2000), and feminism (2000).

Factor 3 contained two Racial Conservatism items. Both items used the Likert scale to assess how strongly the respondent agreed or disagreed. One statement said that

blacks should work their way up like other groups (2004) and the other said that blacks should try harder to succeed (2004).

Factor 4 contained two Religious Conservatism items. One survey item asked if religion was an important part of the respondent's life (2000) and the other asked how often she or he prayed (2000).

Factor 5 contained two items with a State Centric Federalism and Religious Conservatism items. One item asked if the Bible is the word of God or man (2008) and the other asked a respondent's approval of the United States Congress (2000).

Factor 1, 2, and 5 each contained items theoretically related to other determinants. In addition to this, survey items correlated primarily with other items from that were collected in the same year. Factor 5 was the only factor that crossed both year and determinant. Although some overlap is expected given the theory, the factors generally revolve around the same determinants as expected.

2004 and 2012

The entire sample from the 2004 dataset was factor analyzed and produced six factors (Figure 5.3):

1) <u>Religious Conservatism 1</u> contains four survey items: (1) Religion provides some guidance in day-to day (2) Religion is an important part of the respondent's life (3) How often does the respondent pray; and (4) how often the respondent attended church services?

2) <u>Racial Conservatism 1</u> contains five survey items: (1) History makes more it more difficult for blacks to succeed (2) Blacks should work there way up like other groups; (3)

Black have gotten less than they deserve (4) Government should provide assistance to blacks (7-point scale); and (5) Black should try harder to succeed

3) Racial Conservatism 2 contains three survey items: (1) Hard working 7-point scale: Blacks (2) Intelligent 7-point scale: Blacks; and (3) Trustworthy 7-point scale: Blacks

4) State Centric Federalism 1 contains four survey items: (1) How much government waste money (2) Is government run by few big interest or to benefit the people (3) How many crooked people run government; and (4) How often trust government in Washington to solve problems

5) State Centric Federalism 2 contains three survey items: (1) Does the respondent favor or oppose the tax cuts President George W. Bush initiated (2) Do the rich pay the right amount of taxes; and (3) Party Identification: Does the respondent think of themselves as a Republican or Democrat

6) State Centric Federalism 3 contains two survey items: (1) Do the poor pay the right amount of taxes; and (2) Does the respondent think they pay the right amount of taxes.

When the factor analyses were run including respondents from the American South only, factors loadings changed slightly (Table 5.4). The overall number of loadings reduced from six to five - State Centric Federalism 3: Attitudes towards taxes no longer exist.

When run with the Black belt states only six factor loadings emerged (Table 5.5). Although the overall number was consistent with the United States, the survey item makeup of the factors changed. Religious Conservatism 1: Frequency, State Centric Federalism 1: Government Effectiveness, and Racial Conservatism 2: Perception of

71

Blacks remained consistent. Racial Conservatism 2 Black Economic Advancement only contains two survey items as opposed to five.

Next, the black belt created two new factors:

State Centric Federalism 4: Sexism/Classism contains two survey items: (1) Women's role in society (placement scale) (2) "What about poor people? Do you feel poor people are asked to pay MORE THAN THEY SHOULD in federal income taxes, about the RIGHT AMOUNT, or LESS THAN THEY SHOULD?"

Religious Conservatism 2: Religion/Policy Connection contains two survey items: (1) Respondent's position on gay marriage and; (2) is the Bible the word of God or Men?

2012 Survey

The surveys administered during the 2012 elections allowed for several additional measures to be selected for the factor analysis. The factor analysis of the 2012 with the entire population produced eight factors (TABLE 5.6):

1) Racial Conservatism 3 contains five survey items: (1) blacks should work way up without any assistance (Agree/disagree); (2) past slavery makes it more difficult for blacks (Agree/disagree) (3) blacks have gotten less than they deserve (agree/disagree) (4) blacks must try harder to succeed (Agree/disagree) (5) Government assistance to blacks (7-point scale)

2) State Centric Federalism 4 contains five survey items: (1) Government bigger because too involved; (2) Need strong government for complex problems; (3) Less government

better OR more that government needed; (4) Regulation of Business; and (5) In favor or Opposed to taxes on Millionaires

3) Religious Conservatism 2 contains four survey items: (1) Abortion (self-placement scale) (2) is religion an important part of respondent's life; (3) How often does the respondent pray; and (4) Is the Bible the word of God or Men?

4) Racial Conservatism 4 contains three survey items: (1) Stereotypes: Blacks Hardworking (2) Stereotypes: Blacks intelligent; and (3) Feeling thermometer: Blacks

5) Racial Conservatism 5 contains two survey items: (1) Is the respondent in favor or opposed to Affirmative Action in universities (2) Is the respondent in favor or opposed to Affirmative Action in the workplace

6) Religious Conservatism 3 contains two survey items: (1) Does religion provides guidance in respondent's day-to-day life; and (2) How often does the respondent attend religious service

7) State Centric Federalism 5 contains two survey items: (1) Federal Budget Spending: welfare programs; and (2) Federal Budget Spending: aid to the poor

8) State Centric Federalism 6 contains two survey items: (1) Favor or Opposed state decision whether federal law applies; and (2) Feeling: How much favor or oppose decision whether fed law applies

When these variables are run with the American South only, the number of factors was reduced to seven (Table 5.6). This was due to the fact that the Religious Conservatism factors merged into one. All factors remained consistent except State

Centric federalism 3. This factor gained another survey item: How many in government are crooked. When the black belt was factor analyzed eight factors were produced (Table 5.8). Racial Conservatism 1, Religious Conservatism 1, State Centric Federalism 2, and Religious Conservatism 2 remained the same. Racial Conservatism 2 contains one less survey item (Government Assistance to blacks). State Centric federalism 1 contains two less survey items (Government business regulation; Taxes on millionaires). State Centric Federalism 3 gained one item (How good would it be if we had a women president). This is consistent with the 2004 factor analysis of the black belt.

Conclusion

The series of factor analysis conducted lends evidence to the contemporary presence and structure of the three determinants of Southern Exceptionalism - State Centric Federalism, Racial Conservatism, and Religious Conservatism. The factors remained fairly consistent across the different subsets. Some minor overlap between determinants is to be expected given their relationship. These findings suggest that the black belt sub-region should be further explored insofar as gender and class are concerned. While these preliminary findings are interesting, I recognize the limitations of this analysis given inconsistent measures across these datasets. However, I run Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) solutions, as opposed to Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) solutions because the latter would not be a proper test of regional distinction at this stage of the work. There needs to be consensus on regional distinction. "CFA is used in later phases after the underlying structure has been established on prior empirical and theoretical grounds,"(T. A. Brown, 2015). I utilize EFA solutions to offer evidence of construct validity. CFAs, such as structural equations modeling, will be

possible once the determinants relationship and measurements are empirically established.

This chapter conducted a series of exploratory factor that created robust dependent variables that effectively deployed from a comprehensive theory of regional distinction. In short, it was important to test, even if in a limited way, those elements of what I have referred as the Determinants of Southern Exceptionalism (DSE) are still present in the racial, religious, and governmental attitudes of white southerners. While again there are limitations to this analysis. This empirical test of regional distinction is the best possible given the data available to me. The next chapter will tests these constructs within the Southern electorate and explore whether the politics of the American South is distinct insofar as these determinants are concerned.
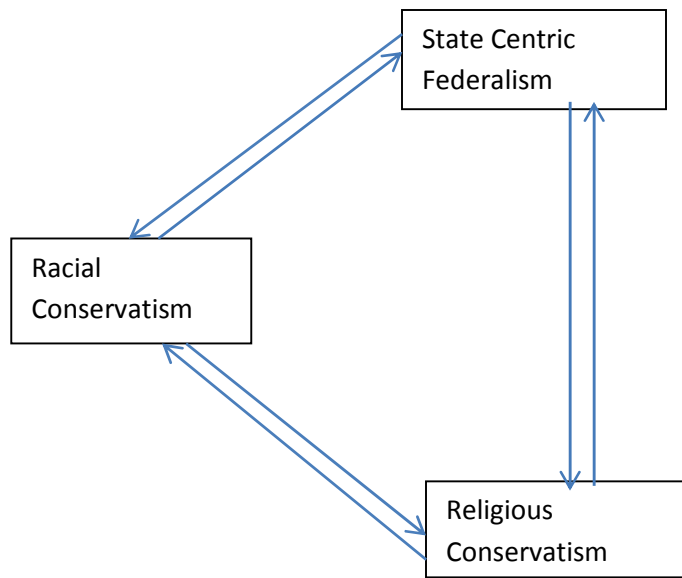
Figure 5.1: Relationship Between Determinants of Southern Exceptionalism

Table 5.1 American National Election Study: Survey Items

	2004	2012
Racial Conservatism	**-Hardworking 7-pt scale: blacks** **-Intelligent 7-pt scale: blacks** -Trustworthy 7-pt scale: blacks -Blacks should work their way up like other **History makes more difficult for blacks to succeed** Blacks gotten less than they deserve Blacks should try harder to succeed -Government assistance to blacks-7 point scale	-Does R favor or oppose affirmative action at work -Blacks should work way up w/o special favors **-Past slavery make more difficult for blacks** -Blacks have gotten less than they deserve -Blacks must try harder to get ahead -For or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks Was the President born in the U.S? -Does the Administration favor blacks or whites? -Feeling thermometer: Blacks **-Stereotype: Blacks hardworking** **-Stereotype: Blacks intelligent** Discrimination in the U.S. against Blacks
Religious Conservatism	**Is religion important part of R life?** -Religion provides some guidance in day-to-day living -How often does R pray -Bible is word of God or men **-Ever attend church/religious services**?	**-Is religion important part of R life** -Religion provides guidance in day-to-day living -How often does R pray Is Bible word of God or men **-Attend religious services how often**
State Centric Federalism	How often trust government in Washington to -How much does government waste tax money **-How many crooked people running government**	-Favor or oppose tax on millionaires -Favor or oppose state decision whether federal law applies -How much favor/opposed state decision whether federal law applies

	-Does R favor/oppose tax cuts Pres. Bush initiated Does R think pays right amount of taxes Do rich pay right amount of taxes	-Govt bigger because too involved OR bigger problems -Need strong govt for complex problems OR free market -Less govt better OR more that govt should be doing -Regulation of Business **-How many in government are crooked**
Other Survey Items within the Southern Ethos	-Is govt run by few big interests or benefit of all -Favor govt funds to pay for abortions -Women's role - 7-point scale self-placement -Do poor pay right amount of taxes? -R position on gay marriage	- -Opinion about govt ensuring fair jobs for blacks Federal Budget Spending: welfare programs -Federal Budget Spending: aid to the poor -Abortion: self-placement -Should laws protect gays/lesbians against job discrimination -Does R favor or oppose affirmative action in universities -7pt scale govt assistance to blacks scale: self-placement -How good would it be if we had a woman President

Table 5.2: Factors deriving from entire survey data 1996-2012		
Factor 1	PRE: 7pt scale govt assistance to blacks scale:	0.61
	POST: Agree/disagree: past slavery make more dif	0.54
	POST: Agree/disagree: blacks have gotten less	0.65
	POST: CASI/WEB: Stereotype: Blacks hardworking	0.57
	POST: CASI/WEB: Stereotype: Blacks intelligent	0.51
	POST: Opinion about govt ensuring fair jobs for	0.51
	POST: Less govt better OR more that govt should	0.52
Factor 2	D2r. Thermometer women's movement	0.53
	D2u. Thermometer homosexuals	0.57
	D2y. Thermometer feminists	0.54
	K1b. Blacks influence	0.51
Factor: 3	L5a. Blacks should work their way up like other	0.60
	L5d. Blacks should try harder to succeed	0.60
Factor 4	S3/S3.T. How often does R pray	0.51
	W1. Is religion important part of R life	0.51
Factor 5	W4. Bible is word of God or men	0.53
	B3x. Summary R approval of US Congress	0.55
NA	0 > .5	

Table 5.3 2004 Factor Analysis: Entire United States

Standardized loadings (pattern matrix) based upon correlation matrix

		item	PC2	PC1	PC3	PC4	PC5	PC6	h2	u2	com
Religious Conservatism 1	v3220	11	-0.87						0.75	0.25	1
	v3219	10	0.85						0.71	0.29	1
	v3221	12	0.76						0.62	0.38	1.1
	v3223	14	0.73						0.53	0.47	1.2
Racial Conservatism 1	v5194	18		0.8					0.63	0.37	1.2
	v5195	19		0.76					0.61	0.39	1.1
	v5193	17		-0.7					0.6	0.4	1.2
	v5196	20		-0.6					0.54	0.46	1.7
	v3158	3		0.58					0.44	0.56	1.3
Racial Conservatism 2	v5227	26			0.85				0.71	0.29	1
	v5231	27			0.85				0.73	0.27	1
	v5223	25			0.8				0.7	0.3	1.1
State Centric Federalism 1	v5199	23				0.7			0.51	0.49	1.3
	v5198	22				0.66			0.55	0.45	1.2
	v5200	24				0.66			0.46	0.54	1.1
	v5197	21				-0.63			0.48	0.52	1.3
State Centric Federalism 2	v3148	2					0.73		0.55	0.45	1.1
	v3176	5					0.57		0.41	0.59	1.5
	v3114	1					0.51		0.45	0.55	2.6
State Centric Federalism 3	v3177	6						0.77	0.63	0.37	1.1
	v3175	4						0.68	0.56	0.44	1.5

Table 5.4 2004 Factor Analysis: American South

Standardized loadings (pattern matrix) based upon correlation matrix

	item	PC2	PC1	PC3	PC4	PC5	h2	u2	com
Religious Conservatism: Frequency v3220	11	-0.84					0.73	0.27	1
v3219	10	0.77					0.66	0.34	1.1
v3221	12	0.75					0.58	0.42	1.1
v3223	14	0.74					0.56	0.44	1.3
Racial Conservatism: Economic Advancement v5193	17		-0.71				0.55	0.45	1.1
v5195	19		0.68				0.56	0.44	1.3
v5196	20		-0.66				0.53	0.47	1.4
v5194	18		0.62				0.47	0.53	1.3
v3158	3		0.55				0.4	0.6	1.4
Racial Conservatism 2: Perception of Blacks v5231	27			0.84			0.74	0.26	1
v5227	26			0.82			0.67	0.33	1.1
v5223	25			0.8			0.71	0.29	1.1
State Centric Federalism: Government effectiveness v5199	23				0.73		0.56	0.44	1.3
v5198	22				0.68		0.58	0.42	1.4
v5200	24				0.62		0.46	0.54	1.4
v5197	21				-0.6		0.43	0.57	1.4
State Centric Federalism 2: Party/Policy Connection v3176	5					0.63	0.45	0.55	1.3
v3114	1					0.62	0.43	0.57	1.3
v3148	2					0.6	0.44	0.56	1.4

Table 5.5 2004 Factor Analysis: Black Belt

Standardized loadings (pattern matrix) based upon correlation matrix

		item	PC2	PC3	PC1	PC4	PC5	PC6	h2	u2	com
Religious Conservatism: Frequency	v3220	11	-0.85						0.75	0.25	1.1
	v3219	10	0.77						0.67	0.33	1.3
	v3221	12	0.71						0.57	0.43	1.4
	v3223	14	0.68						0.62	0.38	1.6
Racial Conservatism 2: Perception of Blacks	v5231	27		0.87					0.77	0.23	1
	v5227	26		0.86					0.72	0.28	1.1
	v5223	25		0.81					0.74	0.26	1.2
Racial Conservatism 2: Economic Advancement	v5194	18			0.87				0.74	0.26	1
	v5195	19			0.77				0.65	0.35	1.1
State Centric Federalism: Government Effectiveness	v5198	22				0.77			0.66	0.34	1.2
	v5199	23				0.7			0.56	0.44	1.4
	v5200	24				0.56			0.55	0.45	2.3
	v5197	21				-0.55			0.41	0.59	1.6
State Centric Federalism 4: Sexism/Classism	v3177	6					0.68		0.57	0.43	1.7
	v5196	20					0.65		0.58	0.42	1.5
Religious Conserv 2: Religion/Policy Link	v3222	13						0.69	0.58	0.42	1.4
	v3210	9						0.62	0.45	0.55	1.5

Table 5.6: 2012 Factor Analysis: Entire United States

		PC1	PC5	PC2	PC4	PC3	PC8	PC6	PC7	h2	u2	com
Racial Conservatism 3	RESENT_WORKWAY	-0.77								0.61	0.39	1.1
	RESENT_DESERVE	0.76								0.63	0.37	1.1
	RESENT_SLAVERY	0.75								0.58	0.42	1
	RESENT_TRY	-0.71								0.58	0.42	1.3
	AIDBLACK_SELF	0.57								0.52	0.48	1.4
State Centric Federalism 4	GOVROLE_MARKET		-0.75							0.6	0.4	1
	GOVROLE_LESSMORE		0.7							0.57	0.43	1.2
	GOVROLE_BIG		0.65							0.55	0.45	1.2
	GOVROLE_REGBUS		0.58							0.41	0.59	1.2
	MILLN_MILLTAX		0.55							0.41	0.59	2.2
Religious Conservatism 2	RELIG_IMPORT			-0.9						0.77	0.23	1.1
	RELIG_WORDGOD			0.75						0.64	0.36	1.1
	RELIG_PRAY			0.75						0.7	0.3	1.2
	ABORTPRE_4POINT			0.5						0.45	0.55	2
Racial Conservatism 4	STYPE_INTBLACK				0.89					0.75	0.25	1
	STYPE_HWKBLACK				0.83					0.74	0.26	1
	FTCASI_BLACK				-0.65					0.55	0.45	1.2
Racial Conservatism 5	AA_UNI					0.89				0.8	0.2	1
	AA_WORK					0.89				0.8	0.2	1
Religious Conservatism 3	RELIG_GUIDE						-0.85			0.72	0.28	1
	RELIG_CHURCHOFT						0.68			0.54	0.46	1.2
State Centric Federalism 5	FEDSPEND_WELFARE							0.72		0.54	0.46	1.1
	FEDSPEND_POOR							0.66		0.56	0.44	1.4
State Centric Federalism 6	NEONULL_STRULEST								-0.6	0.37	0.63	1.3
	NEONULL_STRULE								0.53	0.38	0.62	1.5

Table 5.7: 2012 Factors Analysis: American South

		PC1	PC6	PC2	PC4	PC3	PC5	PC7	h2	u2	com
Racial Conservatism Factor 1	RESENT_WORKWAY	-0.75							0.61	0.39	1.1
	RESENT_TRY	-0.68							0.58	0.42	1.3
	RESENT_DESERVE	0.67							0.63	0.37	1.3
	RESENT_SLAVERY	0.66							0.55	0.45	1.1
State Centric Federalism Factor 1	GOVROLE_MARKET		-0.74						0.58	0.42	1
	GOVROLE_LESSMORE		0.7						0.56	0.44	1.2
	GOVROLE_BIG		0.66						0.55	0.45	1.2
	GOVROLE_REGBUS		0.58						0.42	0.58	1.2
	MILLN_MILLTAX		0.52						0.38	0.62	2.4
Religious Conservatism Factor 1	RELIG_PRAY			0.79					0.67	0.33	1.1
	RELIG_WORDGOD			0.73					0.62	0.38	1.2
	RELIG_IMPORT			-0.64					0.49	0.51	1.4
	ABORTPRE_4POINT			0.59					0.43	0.57	1.5
	RELIG_CHURCHOFT			0.59					0.41	0.59	1.8
	RELIG_GUIDE			-0.56					0.4	0.6	1.8
Racial Conservatism Factor 2	STYPE_INTBLACK				0.86				0.73	0.27	1
	STYPE_HWKBLACK				0.8				0.72	0.28	1.1
	FTCASI_BLACK				-0.61				0.53	0.47	1.3
Racial Con 3: Affir. Action	AA_UNI					0.89			0.79	0.21	1
	AA_WORK					0.88			0.78	0.22	1
State Centric Federalism 2	FEDSPEND_WELFARE						0.67		0.49	0.51	1.2
	FEDSPEND_POOR						0.6		0.52	0.48	1.6
State Centric Federalism Factor 3	NEONULL_STRULE							0.61	0.45	0.55	1.3
	TRUSTGVPO_CROOK							0.55	0.35	0.65	1.7
	NEONULL_STRULEST							-0.55	0.32	0.68	1.2

TABLE 5.8: 2012 Factor Analysis: Black Belt

Standardized loadings (pattern matrix) based upon correlation matrix

		PC1	PC5	PC2	PC6	PC3	PC4	PC7	PC8
Racial Conservatism 1	RESENT_WORKWAY	0.71							
	RESENT_SLAVERY	-0.7							
	RESENT_DESERVE	-0.7							
	RESENT_TRY	0.65							
State Centric Federalism 1	GOVROLE_MARKET		-0.72						
	GOVROLE_LESSMORE		0.71						
	GOVROLE_BIG		0.66						
Religious Conservatism 1	RELIG_IMPORT			-0.82					
	RELIG_WORDGOD			0.73					
	RELIG_PRAY			0.7					
	ABORTPRE_4POINT			0.57					
Racial Conservatism 2: Belief in Black Stereotypes	STYPE_INTBLACK				0.88				
	STYPE_HWKBLACK				0.83				
	FTCASI_BLACK				-0.62				
Racial Conservatism 3: Affirmative Action	AA_UNI					0.87			
	AA_WORK					0.86			
State Centric Federalism 2	FEDSPEND_WELFARE						0.64		
	FEDSPEND_POOR						0.57		
Religious Conservatism 2	RELIG_GUIDE							-0.8	
	RELIG_CHURCHOFT							0.63	
State Centric Federalism 3	NEONULL_STRULEST								0.72
	WPRES_GDSTR								-0.58

CHAPTER SIX: TESTING THE REGIONAL DISTINCTION OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH

While the previous chapter establishes that these baseline constructs of Racial Conservatism, Religious Conservatism, and State Centric Federalism exists as theorized by my Southern Exceptionalism argument, it is important to understand the dynamics of southern regional distinction. This involves a comparison of the political attitudes of southerners versus with citizens in other regions of the United States. This chapter empirically examines a portion of the Determinants of Southern Exceptionalism Model. Specifically, this chapter will test regional distinction among the electorate (Figure 6.1).

I conduct this analysis in three stages. First, I run a series of regressions will be ran to test whether there is a relationship between region and survey responses among the electorate. I will utilize the factors created in Chapter five as the dependent variables. Both logistic and ordinary least square (OLS) models will be run because responses to the survey responses were dichotomous or ordinal. I incorporated a Bonferoni procedure due to the fact that the variables of interest are dummies. This will offer the initial test of whether the American South differs from other regions.

Second, I will add several controls to see if region is still significant relative to other independent variables. This will allow me to statically compare several models and evaluate the effects of regional location. Finally, I will create interaction terms between a respondent's race and her regional location. Specifically, I will look at white respondents

from the black belt and south to assess how these groups significantly differ across regions.

Data and Measures

The ANES collected the survey questions being used during the years 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012. These data were collected through a series of pre- and post- election surveys. The model in this empirical test utilizes region location, income, and age as predictors of survey responses to each survey item.   As previously mentioned, the American South is traditionally defined as the eleven states that seceded from the United States prior to the Civil War. For the region variable, I will divide the United States into several dummy variables. The south will serve as the reference category. In addition to this, the American South will be divided into three sub-regions based on existing scholarship. There are several significant distinctions within the Antebellum South worth exploring. Scholars have found evidence of these sub-regional differences within the elite and among the electorate(Black, 2002; Glaser & Gilens, 1997). "The deep south and the Peripheral South can accordingly be described as different political subcultures," (D. Mathews & Prothro, 1966, p. 173).

 The variables are as follows:

1) The American South- South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Florida. Again, these are the states that seceded to form the Confederate States of America during the Civil War.

The Black Belt- South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana. Each of these states has a black population above 25%. My logic rest upon V.O. Key's assertion

that the character of the politics of individual states will vary roughly with the proportion

blacks comprise of the state's total population (Key 1949).

2) <u>Non-southern states-</u> Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut,

and Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, Washington DC, and

Maryland, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota,

South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah,

Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico, Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, and

Hawaii. In short, this will consist of all the states that do not comprise the eleven states

of the American South.

3) <u>Additional Variables-</u> This analysis will have three control variables: Education, Age,

and Income. Education will be coded in years. Income will be measured in thousands of

dollars (held constant for inflation).   Age will be coded in years.

The series of hypotheses guiding this analysis are:

H1: Southern Exceptionalism is present in the American South.
This will be confirmation of my overall thesis about Religious Conservatism, Racial
Conservatism, and State Centric Federalism being more prevalent in the American South
than other regions of the United States.

H2: Regional location has a significant effect on the white electorate's attitudes about
State Centric Federalism.
This will serve as confirmation of several earlier studies. More importantly, it puts region
central to the study.

H3: Regional location has significant effect on the white electorate's attitudes pertaining
to race.
This will serve as confirmation of several earlier studies. More importantly, it puts region
central to the study.

H4: Regional location has a significant effect on the white electorate's attitudes about religion.

This will serve as confirmation of several earlier studies. More importantly, it puts region central to the study.

Primary Findings

The factor analysis conducted on data from 2004 and 2012 were used to test regional distinction among the electorate located in the American South. As mentioned before, these years have elements that are both substantive and empirically valuable insofar as comparability is concerned. For example, in 2004, there was a republican incumbent while in 2012 there was a democratic incumbent. In addition to this, these years are before and after important events such as the financial crisis of 2008, the election of the first black president, and campaign finance reform in 2010. Results produced fourteen factors- six factors from 2004 and eight factors from 2012. These fourteen factors were used as dependent variables to examine the effects of region of the electorate's attitude.

This analysis used models that employ region, race, income, and age to predict and explain the determinants. Likelihood ratio tests were conducted to see if region increase the model fit. In addition to this, interaction terms were created between race and region. For each model several robustness test were ran to examine model fit. The Breusch-Pagan test was ran to test the presence of heteroscedasticity. The RESET test was ran to test if there were any nonlinear combinations that explain the dependent variables better. Results are as follows:

Hypothesis 1, Southern Exceptionalism is present in the American South. Region had a significant impact on respondents in eight of the fourteen variables created.

2004

Results indicate that a region model was not preferred over the most parsimonious model in any of the six factors created with the 2004 survey data collected.

For Racial Conservatism 1, the more parsimonious model is preferred (Table 6.1). Heteroscedasticity is not present because the Breusch Pagan is not significant. There is also model misspecification because RESET test was significant.. Religious Conservatism 1, the most parsimonious model was preferred (Table 6.2). This model shows misspecification per the RESET test. For State Centric Federalism 2, the more parsimonious model is preferred (Table 6.5).

2012

Results indicate that a region model was preferred over the most parsimonious model in one of eight factors created with the 2012 survey data collected.

For Racial Conservatism 3, the more complex region model was preferred (Table 6.7 Model 2). the parsimonious model shows misspecification per the RESET test. OLS was used as well with similar misspecification. Considering the most specified model though (Southern Whites) it appears that white southerners show an increased attenuation towards negative beliefs about black economic advancement.

For Religious Conservatism 2, the most parsimonious model does not show misspecification per the RESET test (Table 6.8). Per the comparison of log Likelihoods, the more parsimonious model is preferred. While nothing about region explains changes

religious conservatism, as income increases there is a corresponding increase in the average religious conservatism of respondents.

For Racial Conservatism 4, the more parsimonious model is specified per the RESET test and the more complex models do not display better explanation of variance (Table 6.9). Therefore one cannot state that region or race explain changes in this factor. Racial Conservatism 5, the more parsimonious model is preferred given its specification and equivalent explanation of variance (Table 6.10). Only increases in income appear to show an increase in agreement with traditionally Black stereotypes. The presence of region does not explain any more about this factor.

For State Centric Federalism 4, the more complex model did not display better explanation of variance that the parsimonious model (Table 6.11). The more parsimonious model is specified per the RESET test. Therefore one cannot state that region (or race) is significant.

For State Centric Federalism 5, the more parsimonious model is preferred given its specification and equivalent explanation of variance (Table 6.12). However increases in income are associated with small but significant increases in negative attitudes towards federal welfare spending.

For State Centric Federalism 6, no variables are significant so there does not appear to be support for the theory that this factor is influenced region (Table 6.13). The most parsimonious model shows misspecification per the RESET test. OLS was used as well with similar misspecification.

For Religious Conservatism 3, the more complex models do not offer better leverage than the more parsimonious model (Table 6.14). All models are specified per the RESET test. No variables are significant so there does not appear to be support for the theory that this factor is influenced by race or region.

Hypothesis 2, The American South has an effect on the white electorate's attitudes about state centric federalism. Results indicate that region was significant in explaining three of the six dependent variables created.

For State Centric Federalism 2, being located within the Black belt area was significant (Table 6.5 Model 15). Also, being white and located in the black belt area of the American South is significant.

For State centric Federalism 4, being white and located in the American South was significant (Table 6.11 Model 13).

For State Centric Federalism 6, being located in the black belt part of the American South is significant (Table 6.13 Model 21).

Hypothesis 3, The American South has an effect on the white electorate's attitudes pertaining to race. Findings indicate that region was significant in four of the five dependent variables created.

For Racial Conservatism 2, there was a significant relationship among respondents who were white and located within the Black belt part of the American South (Table 6.1 Model 3).

For Racial Conservatism 3, being white and located in the American South is significant (Table 6.7 Model 2). Also, being white and located in the Black belt area of the American South was significant (Figure 6.7 Model 3).

For Racial Conservatism 4, being white and located in the American South was significant (Table 6.9 Model 8). Also, being a white and located in the black belt was significant with a positive coefficient (Table 6.9 Model 9).

For Racial Conservatism 5, white respondent located in the American South was significant (Table 6.10 Model 11). A respondent located in the black belt was significant as well as being white and located within the black belt area of the American South (Table 6.10 Model 12).

Hypothesis 4, The American South has an effect on the white electorate's attitudes about religion. Results indicate that region was significant in three of the three dependent variables created.

For Religious Conservatism 1, being located within the black belt area of the American South was significant. In addition to this, being white and located within the black belt area of the American South was significant (Table 6.2 Model 6).

For predicting attitudes towards Religious Conservatism 2, being located within the black belt region of the American South was significant as well as being white and located within the black belt area of the American South (Table 6.8 Model 6).

For Religious Conservatism 3, being located in the black belt was significant as well as being white and located within the black belt area of the American South (Table 6.14 Model 24).

Limitations

These findings offer some confirmation of my overall thesis about Religious conservatism, Racial Conservatism, and State Centric Federalism being more prevalent in the American South than other regions of the United States. The primary weakness of this research design was that several of the models that showed region to be significant were plagued with heteroscedasticity and model misspecification.
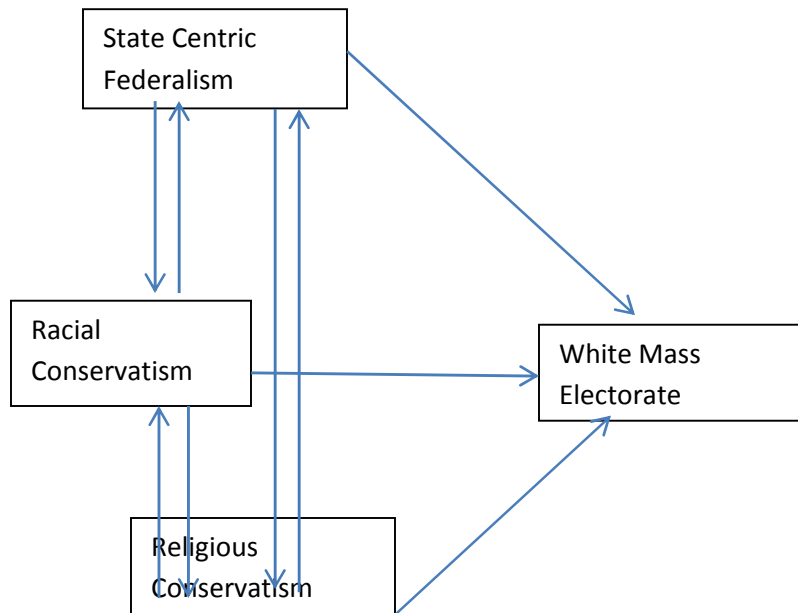
Figure 6.1: Southern Exceptionalism Model: Empirical Model

Table 6.1: Racial Conservatism 1

	MODEL 1				MODEL 2				MODEL 3			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	4.125	0.338	12.199	***	4.208	0.376	11.195	***	4.334	0.346	12.525	***
Age of Respondent	0.006	0.006	1.062		0.006	0.006	1.016		0.046	0.005	9.200	***
Respondent's Income Bracket	-0.010	0.016	-0.632		-0.010	0.016	-0.625		-0.007	0.016	-0.438	
White Respondent	2.236	0.221	10.104	***	2.000	0.285	7.019	***	1.913	0.243	7.872	***
South					-0.165	0.376	-0.439					
White Southern Respondent					0.783	0.454	1.724					
Black belt									-0.784	0.452	-1.735	
White Black belt Respondent									5.420	1.462	3.707	***
R-sq		0.084				0.088				0.112		
Adj-Rsq		0.081				0.085				0.104		
F		36.490	p<0.05			23.17	p<0.05			6.208	p>0.05	
DF		1200				1198				1198		
logLik		-3167.574				-3164.556				-3164.5666		
RESET		2.477	p>0.05			3.662	p<0.05			6.208	p>0.05	
BP		7.775	p>0.05			13.998	p<0.05			13.981	p<0.05	
logLik v MODEL 1						-1.998				-2.002		

Table 6.2: Religious Conservatism 1

	MODEL 4				MODEL 5				MODEL 6			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	3.538	0.452	7.834	***	4.257	0.498	8.543	***	3.749	0.461	8.132	***
Age of Respondent	-0.056	0.008	-7.209	***	-0.053	0.008	-6.937	***	-0.048	0.007	-6.857	***
Respondent's Income Bracket	0.076	0.021	3.571	***	0.069	0.021	3.228	**	0.062	0.021	2.952	**
White Respondent	1.649	0.296	5.578	***	1.221	0.378	3.233	**	1.519	0.323	4.703	***
South					-1.682	0.498	-3.378	**				
White Southern Respondent					0.471	0.602	0.782					
Black belt									-1.621	0.601	-2.697	**
White Black belt Respondent									-1.251	0.797	-1.570	
R-sq		0.064				0.083				0.091		
Adj-Rsq		0.062				0.08				0.087		
F		27.450	p<0.05			21.57	p<0.05			24	p<0.05	
DF		1200				1198				1198		
logLik		-3515.853				-3503.916				-3503.916		
RESET		0.547	p>0.05			1.542	p>0.05			1.542	p>0.05	
BP		15.928	p<0.05			27.121	p<0.05			27.121	p<0.05	
logLik v MODEL 4						-1.993				-1.993		

Table 6.3: Racial Conservatism 2

	MODEL 7				MODEL 8				MODEL 9			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	8.851	0.222	39.782	***	8.940	0.248	36.067	***	8.983	0.229	39.227	***
Age of Respondent	0.005	0.004	1.323		0.005	0.004	1.382		0.005	0.003	1.667	
Respondent's Income Bracket	-0.017	0.011	-1.590		-0.018	0.011	-1.662		-0.010	0.011	-0.909	
White Respondent	0.748	0.146	5.134	***	0.674	0.188	3.586	***	0.684	0.161	4.248	***
South					-0.204	0.248	-0.825					
White Southern Respondent					0.140	0.300	0.468					
Black belt									-0.424	0.299	-1.418	
White Black belt Respondent									0.609	0.398	1.530	

	MODEL 7	MODEL 8	MODEL 9
R-sq	0.026	0.027	0.028
Adj-Rsq	0.023	0.024	0.024
F	10.710 p<0.05	6.584 p<0.05	6.933 p<0.05
DF	1200	1198	1198
logLik	-2663.528	-2663.115	-2663.115
RESET	0.541 p>0.05	0.696 p>0.05	0.696 p>0.05
BP	12.995 p<0.05	14.402 p<0.05	14.402 p<0.05
logLik v MODEL 7		-2.000	-2.000

Table 6.4: State Centric Federalism 1

	MODEL 10				MODEL 11				MODEL 12			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	2.959	0.210	14.090	***	2.895	0.234	12.366	***	2.926	0.217	13.484	***
Age of Respondent	-0.004	0.003	-1.333		-0.004	0.004	-1.056		-0.004	0.003	-1.333	
Respondent's Income Bracket	-0.009	0.009	-1.000		-0.009	0.010	-0.856		-0.007	0.010	-0.700	
White Respondent	0.486	0.138	3.522	**	0.499	0.177	2.813	**	0.509	0.152	3.349	**
South					0.154	0.234	0.660					
White Southern Respondent					0.057	0.283	0.203					
Black belt									0.238	0.283	0.841	
White Black belt Respondent									0.134	0.376	0.356	
R-sq		0.009				0.013				0.013		
Adj-Rsq		0.008				0.009				0.009		
F		4.430	p<0.05			3.096	p<0.05			3.226	p<0.05	
DF		1200				1198				1198.000		
logLik		-2595.325				-2594.227				-2663.115		
RESET		2.027	p>0.05			0.045	p>0.05			0.045	p>0.05	
BP		5.632	p>0.05			9.525	p>0.05			9.526	p>0.05	
logLik v MODEL 10						-1.999				-2.052		

Table 6.5: State Centric Federalism 2

	MODEL 13				MODEL 14				MODEL 15			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	8.167	0.237	34.460	***	7.987	0.264	30.289	***	7.967	0.244	32.652	***
Age of Respondent	-0.007	0.004	-1.750		-0.008	0.004	-1.873		-0.007	0.004	-1.750	
Respondent's Income Bracket	-0.069	0.011	-6.273	***	-0.068	0.011	-6.042	***	-0.067	0.011	-6.091	***
White Respondent	-0.962	0.155	-6.206	***	-0.677	0.200	-3.388	**	-0.704	0.171	-4.117	***
South					0.393	0.263	1.493					
White Southern Respondent					-0.809	0.319	-2.540	**				
Black belt									-0.948	0.318	-2.981	**
White Black belt Respondent									-1.533	0.423	-3.624	***
R-sq		0.073				0.078				0.083		
Adj-Rsq		0.070				0.076				0.079		
F		31.380	p<0.05			20.43	p<0.05			21.66	p<0.05	
DF		1200				1198				1198		
logLik		-2741.466				-2737.666				-2737.666		
RESET		2.228	p>0.05			1.275	p>0.05			1.275	p>0.05	
BP		15.749	p<0.05			17.473	p<0.05			17.473	p<0.05	
logLik v MODEL 13						-1.997				-1.997		

Table 6.6: State Centric Federalism 3

	MODEL 16				MODEL 17				MODEL 18			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	3.187	0.182	17.511	***	3.134	0.203	15.474	***	3.144	0.188	16.723	***
Age of Respondent	0.012	0.003	4.000	***	0.012	0.003	3.794	***	0.012	0.003	4.000	***
Respondent's Income Bracket	-0.019	0.008	-2.375	**	-0.019	0.009	-2.149	*	-0.019	0.009	-2.111	*
White Respondent	0.084	0.119	0.706		0.075	0.153	0.489		0.137	0.132	1.038	
South					0.133	0.202	0.658					
White Southern Respondent					0.126	0.245	0.515					
Black belt									0.221	0.245	0.902	
White Black belt Respondent									0.266	0.326	0.816	
R-sq		0.016				0.019				0.017		
Adj-Rsq		0.014				0.017				0.013		
F		6.695	p<0.05			4.812	p<0.05			4.184	p<0.05	
DF		1200				1198				1198		
logLik		-2421.751				-2419.774				-2421.321		
RESET		3.079	p>0.05			2.843	p>0.05			2.843	p>0.05	
BP		20.785	p<0.05			24.291	p<0.05			24.291	p<0.05	
logLik v MODEL 16						-1.998				-2.000		

Figure 6.7: Racial Conservatism 3

	MODEL 1				MODEL 2				MODEL 3			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	2.445	0.228	10.747	***	2.543	0.156	16.311	***	4.334	0.346	12.525	***
White Respondent	2.572	0.099	25.946	***	2.320	0.140	16.551	***	0.046	0.005	9.200	***
Respondent's Income Bracket	-0.010	0.005	-0.135		-0.001	0.006	-0.184		-0.007	0.016	-0.438	
Age of Respondent	-0.012	0.091	-0.430		-0.500	0.180	-2.771		1.913	0.243	7.872	***
South					-0.010	0.005	-1.817					
White Southern Respondent					1.190	0.214	5.564	***				
Black belt									-0.784	0.452	-1.735	
White Black belt Respondent									2.642	0.6	4.403	***
R-sq		0.084				0.088				0.102		
Adj-Rsq		0.081				0.085				0.098		
F		36.490 $p<0.05$				23.17 $p<0.05$				27.21 $p<0.05$		
DF		5910				5908				5908		
logLik		-3167.574				-3164.556				-3164.5666		
RESET		0.345 $p>0.05$				15.018 $P<0.05$				3.662 $p<0.05$		
BP		7.1089 $p>0.05$				13.998 $p<0.05$				13.981 $p<0.05$		
logLik v MODEL 1						-1.957, $p>0.05$				-1.998		

Table 6.8 Religious Conservatism 2

	MODEL 4				MODEL 5				MODEL 6			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	3.786	0.137	27.608	***	3.930	0.095	41.211	***	4.156	0.143	29.036	***
Age of Respondent	-0.004	0.003	-1.657	.	0.572	0.086	6.676	***	-0.004	0.003	-1.520	
Respondent's Income Bracket	0.013	0.003	3.875	***	0.013	0.004	3.458	**	0.011	0.003	3.494	***
White Respondent	0.746	0.060	12.479	***	-0.844	0.110	-7.650		0.546	0.078	7.004	***
South					0.000	0.003	0.014					
White Southern Respondent					0.224	0.131	1.714					
Black belt									-0.808	0.102	-7.948	***
White Black belt Respondent									0.280	0.121	2.319	*
R-sq		0.064				0.083				0.091		
Adj-Rsq		0.062				0.08				0.087		
F		27.450	p<0.05			21.57	p<0.05			24	p<0.05	
DF		5906				5904				1198		
logLik		-3515.853				-3503.916				-3503.916		
RESET		0.704	p>0.05			1.542	p>0.05			1.542	p>0.05	
BP		15.928	p<0.05			27.121	p<0.05			27.121	p<0.05	
logLik v MODEL 4						-1.993				-1.993		

Table 6.9 Racial Conservatism 4

	MODEL 7				MODEL 8				MODEL 9			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	3.549	0.073	48.542	***	3.705	0.047	79.357	***	3.620	0.077	46.957	***
Age of Respondent	0.002	0.001	1.367		0.208	0.042	0.052		0.002	0.001	1.429	
Respondent's Income Bracket	-0.017	0.011	-1.590		0.006	0.109	-2.994		0.001	0.002	0.067	
White Respondent	0.273	0.032	48.542	***	-0.162	0.054	4.959	***	0.684	0.161	4.248	***
South					0.001	0.002	0.322					
White Southern Respondent					0.149	0.064	2.332	*				
Black belt									-0.157	0.055	-2.875	**
White Black belt Respondent									0.137	0.065	2.111	*
R-sq	0.026				0.027				0.028			
Adj-Rsq	0.023				0.024				0.024			
F	10.710 p<0.05				6.584 p<0.05				6.933 p<0.05			
DF	1200				1198				1198			
logLik	-2663.528				-2663.115				-2663.115			
RESET	0.541 p>0.05				0.696 p>0.05				0.696 p>0.05			
BP	12.995 p<0.05				14.402 p<0.05				14.402 p<0.05			
logLik v MODEL 7					-2.000				-2.000			

Table 6.10 Racial Conservatism 5

	MODEL 10				MODEL 11				MODEL 12			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	0.279	0.200	1.394		0.623	0.127	4.915	***	0.657	0.210	3.120	**
Age of Respondent	0.001	0.003	0.037		1.673	0.114	14.675	***	-0.006	0.004	0.164	
Respondent's Income Bracket	0.008	0.005	1.707	.	0.007	0.005	1.407		-0.007	0.005	1.454	
White Respondent	2.080	0.138	3.522	***	-0.868	0.147	-5.920		0.509	0.152	3.349	***
South					-0.004	0.004	-1.012					
White Southern Respondent					0.977	0.174	5.617	***				
Black belt									-0.847	0.149	-5.666	***
White Black belt Respondent									1.004	0.178	5.655	***
R-sq		0.009				0.013				0.013		
Adj-Rsq		0.008				0.009				0.009		
F		4.430	p<0.05			3.096	p<0.05			3.226	p<0.05	
DF		1200				1198				1198.000		
logLik		-2595.325				-2594.227				-2663.115		
RESET		2.027	p>0.05			0.045	p>0.05			0.045	p>0.05	
BP		5.632	p>0.05			9.525	p>0.05			9.526	p>0.05	
logLik v MODEL 10						-1.999				-2.052		

Table 6.11 State Centric Federalism 4

	MODEL 13				MODEL 14				MODEL 15			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	2.066	0.083	24.821	***	2.038	0.058	35.252	***	7.967	0.244	32.652	***
Age of Respondent	-0.007	0.001	-0.164		0.799	0.052	15.364	***	-0.007	0.001	-1.119	
Respondent's Income Bracket	0.001	0.002	0.884		0.002	0.002	0.772		-0.002	0.002	0.817	
White Respondent	0.832	0.036	22.970	***	-0.094	0.067	-1.411		-0.744	0.048	15.566	***
South					-0.001	0.002	-0.317					
White Southern Respondent					0.234	0.079	2.955	**				
Black belt									-0.112	0.062	-1.793	.
White Black belt Respondent									0.232	0.074	3.133	**
R-sq		0.073				0.078				0.083		
Adj-Rsq		0.070				0.076				0.079		
F		31.380 p<0.05				20.43 p<0.05				21.66 p<0.05		
DF		1200				1198				1198		
logLik		-2741.466				-2737.666				-2737.666		
RESET		2.228 p>0.05				1.275 p>0.05				1.275 p>0.05		
BP		15.749 p<0.05				17.473 p<0.05				17.473 p<0.05		
logLik v MODEL 13						-1.997				-1.997		

Table 6.12 State Centric Federalism 5

	MODEL 16				MODEL 17				MODEL 18			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	2.652	0.060	44.810	***	2.661	0.045	59.244	***	2.681	0.062	42.921	***
Age of Respondent	-0.005	0.001	-0.535		0.351	0.040	8.694	***	-0.005	0.001	-0.505	
Respondent's Income Bracket	0.006	0.001	3.807	***	0.006	0.002	3.324	**	0.005	0.001	3.728	***
White Respondent	0.084	0.119	0.706	***	-0.097	0.052	-1.859		0.305	0.034	8.968	***
South					0.002	0.002	1.506					
White Southern Respondent					0.053	0.062	0.858					
Black belt									-0.062	0.044	-1.389	
White Black belt Respondent									0.266	0.326	0.816	
R-sq		0.016				0.019				0.017		
Adj-Rsq		0.014				0.017				0.013		
F		6.695	p<0.05			4.812	p<0.05			4.184	p<0.05	
DF		1200				1198				1198		
logLik		-2421.751				-2419.774				-2421.321		
RESET		3.079	p>0.05			2.843	p>0.05			2.843	p>0.05	
BP		20.785	p<0.05			24.291	p<0.05			24.291	p<0.05	
logLik v MODEL 16						-2.998				-2.000		

Table 6.13 State Centric Federalism 6

	MODEL 19				MODEL 20				MODEL 21			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	0.582	0.032	18.341	***	0.589	0.020	29.053	***	0.607	0.033	18.126	***
Age of Respondent	-0.007	0.004	-1.750		-0.045	0.018	-2.477		-0.007	0.004	-1.750	
Respondent's Income Bracket	-0.069	0.011	-6.273		0.001	0.001	0.749		-0.007	0.007	0.899	
White Respondent	-0.030	0.014	-2.229	*	-0.051	0.024	-2.180		-0.045	0.018	-2.458	*
South					0.001	0.001	1.513					
White Southern Respondent					0.016	0.028	0.556					
Black belt									-0.053	0.024	-2.249	*
White Black belt Respondent									-1.533	0.423	0.739	
R-sq		0.073				0.078				0.083		
Adj-Rsq		0.070				0.076				0.079		
F		31.380	p<0.05			20.43	p<0.05			21.66	p<0.05	
DF		1200				5908				1198		
logLik		-2741.466				-2737.666				-2737.666		
RESET		2.228	p>0.05			1.275	p>0.05			1.275	p>0.05	
BP		15.749	p<0.05			17.473	p<0.05			17.473	p<0.05	
logLik v MODEL 19						-1.997				-1.997		

Table 6.14 Religious Conservatism 3

	MODEL 22				MODEL 23				MODEL 24			
	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig	b	s	t	sig
Intercept	-0.440	0.066	-6.632	***	-0.372	0.049	-7.644		3.144	0.188	16.723	***
Age of Respondent	0.004	0.001	-0.360		0.010	0.044	0.232		0.003	0.001	-0.266	
Respondent's Income Bracket	-0.002	0.001	-0.221		0.002	0.002	1.142		0.001	0.002	-0.192	
White Respondent	0.084	0.119	0.706	***	-0.269	0.056	-4.786		0.137	0.132	1.038	
South					0.000	0.002	-0.102					
White Southern Respondent					0.178	0.067	2.675	**				
Black belt									-0.226	0.050	-4.559	***
White Black belt Respondent									0.150	0.059	2.545	*
R-sq		0.016				0.019				0.017		
Adj-Rsq		0.014				0.017				0.013		
F		6.695	p<0.05			4.812	p<0.05			4.184	p<0.05	
DF		5910				5908				1198		
logLik		-2421.751				-2419.774				-2421.321		
RESET		1.307	p>0.05			1.154	p>0.05			2.843	p>0.05	
BP		20.785	p<0.05			24.291	p<0.05			24.291	p<0.05	
logLik v MODEL 22						-1.999				-2.000		

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS/DISCUSSION

The primary goal of this analysis has been to test whether southerners significantly differ from non-southerners. This study builds on the theoretical framework of V.O. Key, which emphasizes the distinct nature of politics within the southern states. More specifically, this dissertation presents a model explaining the distinct nature of politics in the American South entitled "Determinants of Southern Exceptionalism". This model was predicated on three concepts-State Centric Federalism, Religious Conservatism, and Racial Conservatism. First, I will quickly summarize the findings of each chapter and then extend upon these findings by considering the implications of what I have found.

Overall, I took an approach whereby I highlighted key features, personalities, organizations, and institutions within specific time periods. Chapter Two explored State Centric Federalism and its role in American political development, most especially the early 19th century. In an interesting respect, South Carolina and its white Southern Exceptionalism played a prominent role in my narrative. Specifically, this chapter analyzed the political behavior of the American South during the administration of President Andrew Jackson and the presidential election of 1848. In particular, I focused on the central role that John C. Calhoun and his theory of nullification played in developing a unique southern interpretation of philosophical and constitutional principles of limited government. Chapter Three unpacked Religious Conservatism in the

American South. Specifically, the significant role the American South played in the regional separation of several Christian denominations. Although my narrative discussed what emerged as divisions between various southern and northern denominations, again South Carolina (especially relative to the stark divide between white and black interpretations of Christianity) was a key part of this narrative. Chapter Four unpacked Racial Conservatism. This chapter explained the political behavior of the American South during the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the presidential election of 1948. Here again, South Carolina's longest serving public official – at one time most especially with the emergence of the Dixiecrats or the "State's Rights Democratic Party." These chapters argue that up until and shortly after World War II that the American South has remained cohesive in their defense of these determinants. More importantly, this distinct political behavior has produced national political change throughout American political development.

Chapter Five utilized ANES survey data to examine the relationship between the indicators of each determinant of Southern Exceptionalism. This chapter utilized exploratory factor analyses (EPA) of the United States as well as subsets of the American South and Black belt. More importantly, this chapter created dependent variables to test regional distinction in the American South. Chapter Six tests regional distinction of the American South. Utilizing variables created in Chapter Five, this chapter assesses the explanatory power of region through likelihood ration test. In addition to this, interaction terms were created between race and region. Bruesch Pagan and RESET test were used to test for model misspecification and heteroskedasticity.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

Although I have made a solid foray into questions of Southern Exceptionalism, there are still two key limitations this study. First of all, I am aware that my historical narrative (Chapters 2, 3, and 4) focused primarily on the development of Southern Exceptionalism between the late 18th and mid-20th centuries. I did this to demonstrate the long historical roots of Southern Exceptionalism and that is has been a relative constant feature of American political history. I am aware that a discussion of Southern Exceptionalism between the 1950s and 1990s would further enhance my work. But I have erred on the side of empirical demonstration of Southern Exceptionalism (Chapters 5 and 6) as opposed to continuing my historical timeline into the present. Second of all, in my Chapters 6 and 7 I am aware that I do not have the same measures (variables) across the various waves of the ANES that I employed. Like the limitations of all secondary data analysis, this means that one must be careful with the inferences drawn from this analysis. Having said this I think I have presented interesting findings that do indicate the presence of contemporary Southern Exceptionalism among white southerners.

In general, my findings indicate that there are still significant differences among American citizens predicated on their location relative to the American South. This present several new possible lines of inquiry. A good initial approach would be to expand research on each determinant. This would involve factor analyzing other data, such as the General Social Survey, to further understand the relationship between State Centric Federalism, Racial Conservatism, and Religious Conservatism. Overall, explorations of these determinants should involve but not be limited to several techniques

of historical analysis such as process tracing and path dependency. This will ultimately result in more accurate measurements to explore how Southern Exceptionalism has changed and expanded to other states. Evidence of this is seen in the success of George Wallace and Barry Goldwater electoral success during the 1960' in non-southern states. This is an indication of the nationalization of southern political norms.

Several researchers argued that the American South has shifted from a one to a two-party system (Lamis 1984; Steed, Black and Black 1987; Clark, Bowman, and Hadley 1998). This research suggests that the political shift of the South from a region dominated by Democrats to one dominated by Republicans, together with relatively stable political patterns elsewhere around the nation is a more accurate narrative of political development. Political change occurred consistently within the United States, but it has never resulted in the American South politically coalescing with the rest of the nation. For example, modernization has been an explanation for how the American South is no longer distinct. There is consensus that this phenomenon appeared in the American South decades after the North. This naturally implies their processes were different and not just behind the North. Similar to that of Prussia[20], the American Southern experience was (and still remains) different from the North insofar as modernization due to the former agrarian economy and its distinct political environment. Political geography within the United States still matters; and we understand this more fully through the American South.

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[20] Lenin created a concept known as the Prussian Road. This describes the "transformation whereby the landlord expropriated the tenants on his estate, either by depriving them of land altogether or reducing considerably their usufruct rights while increasing the levels of rent" (Lenin 1962: 238)

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