

Does the South end in North Florida?

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Previous research has examined the existence and extent of "The South" and "Dixie" in Florida and has produced differing results (Lamme and Oldakowski 1982; Garreau 1981; Bigelow 1980; Zelinsky 1980; Reed 1976). Some studies have shown these regions to include all of Florida, while others have found them to be limited to certain areas of the state.

Moreover, the techniques, methodologies, and terminologies have varied among these studies. Some have examined these vernacular areas as part of larger national or regional analyses (Garreau 1981; Bigelow 1980; Zelinsky 1980; Reed 1976). Another has focused on vernacular regions specifically in Florida (Lamme and Oldakowski 1982). Different research methods have been used including sample surveys, telephone directories, demographic and socioeconomic data, and in-depth interviews. This paper will examine the location and boundaries of "The South" and "Dixie" in Florida. It will utilize data collected from survey interviews conducted with 479 Floridians [1]. It will then compare those findings with results obtained by analyzing listings in Florida telephone directories.

Background

Perhaps the most comprehensive quantitative analysis of The South and Dixie was conducted by Reed (1976). A sociologist, Reed views Southerners as an ethnic group, and feels the geographic boundaries of the South would be that part of the country where the people think they are Southerners. Due to a lack of existing survey data at that time, he employs an alternative strategy to determine the spatial extent of The South and Dixie. That is the use of business listings in telephone directories from cities across the country. The more frequently the terms "Southern" or "Dixie" appear as a part of

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business listings (e.g., Dixie Plumbing, Southern Pest Control), the more likely an area is to be part of those regions.

Reed's findings suggest that North Florida, north of a line from Steinhatchee on the Gulf to Saint Augustine on the Atlantic is part of a core South region that includes the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee. The Tampa Bay and Miami-Fort Lauderdale areas also had a proportion of "Southern" business listings similar to those in North Florida and would be considered part of this core. The remainder of the peninsula falls into a secondary South region, similar to Eastern Texas, Kentucky or Central Virginia.

Reed's findings for Dixie show a smaller core area than that for The South. Again, there is a similar line that separates North Florida, which is part of this core, from the rest of the peninsula. Also again, there are pockets of Dixie found in the Tampa Bay, West Palm Beach, and Miami areas. The remainder of the peninsula falls into a secondary Dixie region, similar to northern (e.g., Kentucky and Virginia) and western (e.g., Texas and Arkansas) fringe areas of the region. Reed concludes that Dixie represents the region's historic culture, and has more to do with attitude than latitude.

In his study of North American vernacular regions, Zelinsky (1980) also uses business listings in telephone directories for his analysis. However, he combines the terms Southern, Southeastern, and Dixie to determine the boundaries of The South. His results demonstrate "that all of Florida, except for Saint Petersburg, belongs to The South, albeit rather less staunchly than the states to its north."

Bigelow (1980) uses demographic and socioeconomic data from secondary sources to determine the cores and boundaries of the cultural regions of the United States. By mapping variables such as religion and voting behavior, he proposes the existence of over two dozen subregions within the Northern, Southern, and Western realms of the United States. Florida is once again split in two. He classifies North Florida as part of the Gulf Coast, "a transition zone between the Deep South and an area of northern culture, Peninsular Florida."

Dixie is one of the Nine Nations of North America identified by Garreau (1981). He uses the term synonymously with The South. His study is based not so much on primary data, but on the impressions of journalists about the regions in which they work. He combined these perceptions along with his own travel experiences and

informal interviews with residents across the continent to identify and demarcate the nine regions.

Garreau classifies the majority of Florida as part of Dixie. His map of Dixie includes the Florida cities of Pensacola, Jacksonville, Tampa, and Saint Petersburg. However, Garreau provides little evidence as to why the majority of Florida is part of Dixie. Rather, most of his references to the state deal with a nation referred to as "The Islands." This region includes the southern third of the peninsula, south of a line from Fort Myers on the Gulf to Jupiter Inlet on the Atlantic. In fact, Miami is considered to be the capital of The Islands region because of its economic importance to the Caribbean Region.

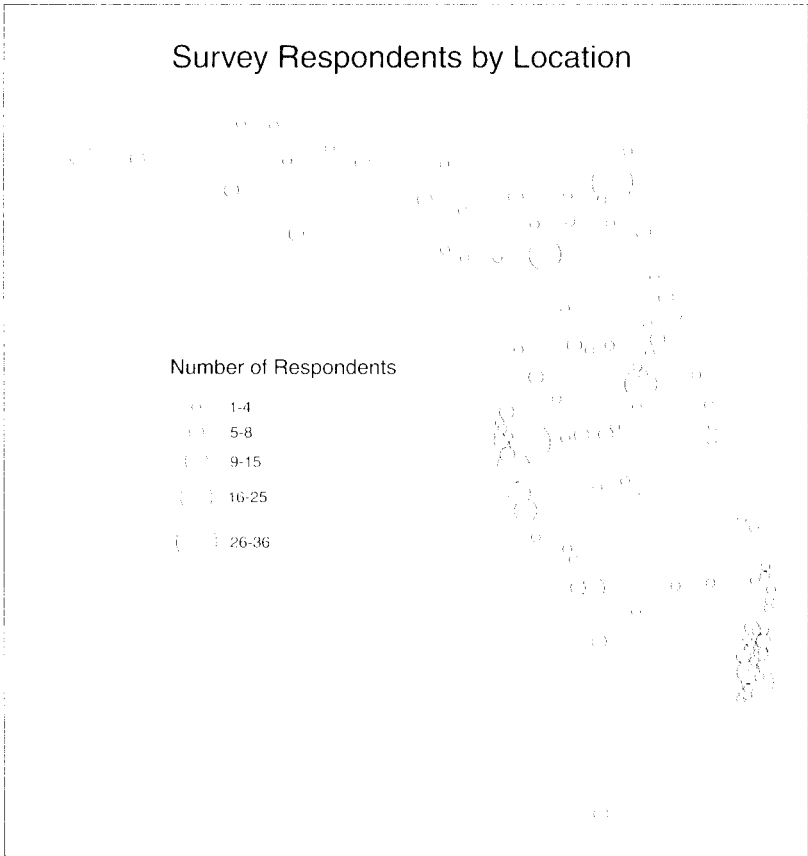
Another primarily qualitative analysis is provided by Ayers (1996). A historian, he acknowledges that distinctive attributes or attitudes may be useful to measure regional identity. However, he also argues that "history creates all sorts of latent meanings in a place, meanings that can quickly come to the surface as events change." In a twenty-page essay detailing The South, he mentions Florida only once. The context, he is visiting a craft fair in North Carolina and is asked by one of the locals if he had ever seen so many Yankees in his life. His reply "sure enough . . . the cars parked all around the square were from Pennsylvania, Florida, or New York."

Finally, in a prior study (Lamme and Oldakowski 1982) we surveyed Floridians attending the Florida Folklife Festival in White Springs, Florida. Respondents were asked if their part of Florida was part of The South, The Deep South, and several other national regions. Our findings revealed that most Floridians considered their home areas to be part of the South, and the spatial distribution of persons using this term encompassed all areas of the state. However, The Deep South was used primarily by residents from northern rural areas of the state.

Methods

Survey Population and Sample: The population for our survey was Florida residents aged 18 and older. A sample was selected using directory based random digit dialing (directory based RDD) and "last birthday" respondent selection. Directory based RDD involves the selection of telephone numbers from working telephone directories. These numbers were selected through random systematic sampling from Florida telephone directories. The last two digits of each telephone number selected are replaced with two random digits, thus allowing for unlisted numbers to be incorporated into the sample.

Figure 1



The sample was selected proportional to the population size of each metropolitan area or city (the most common geographic units for telephone directories) in Florida. Figure 1 illustrates the spatial distribution of survey respondents [2]. Some over-sampling was utilized for sparsely populated rural areas to obtain a reasonable number of respondents. For households with multiple eligible respondents (i.e., more than one Florida resident aged 18 and older), only one respondent was interviewed and the last birthday method of respondent selection was utilized. With this method, the eligible respondent who had most recently celebrated a birthday was chosen to be interviewed.

A total of 1,121 telephone numbers were selected for the sample.

Of these, 797 were determined to be working numbers with eligible respondents in the household. 479 completed interviews were obtained, resulting in a cooperation rate of 60%.

Table 1 illustrates the basic demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the survey respondents. In most instances, they are quite similar to data for the state of Florida collected by the U.S. Census Bureau and the University of Florida Bureau of Economic and Business Research. Hence, the sample appears to be representative of the general adult resident population of Florida.

Survey Data Collection: The data were collected via telephone interviews during Fall and Winter 2000/2001. Nearly all interviews were conducted in English, although bilingual interviewers were used for calls to counties with significant Spanish speaking populations such as Miami-Dade and Broward. A small number of respondents (less than 10%) preferred that the interview be administered in Spanish. A team of eight interviewers was employed to complete the project. Each of the interviewers had previous experience in administering surveys for social science research. Calls were made on weekdays, evenings and weekends. A minimum of ten contact attempts were made for each sample unit.

The questionnaire was designed to obtain information regarding the respondent's familiarity with and knowledge of vernacular regions in Florida. It also collected basic demographic and geographic information including the respondent's residential history. Information regarding the respondent's familiarity with vernacular regions was collected in both an unaided and aided fashion. Respondents were given examples of vernacular regions in other parts of the country, and then were asked if there were any nicknames used to describe the part of the United States/Florida that they lived in. These nicknames were recorded, and the respondents were then asked to provide their perceptions or the salient characteristics of the regions. Vernacular regions not initially mentioned by the respondent were then asked about in an aided fashion. For example, "Would you say that your part of United States/Florida is part of the South?"

Telephone Directory Business Listings: The frequency of business names beginning with the terms "Southern" and "Dixie" was determined by using a computerized telephone directory (InfoUSA 2002). Data were collected for all cities in Florida with populations larger than 1000. Listings that modified the use of the word Southern with a place such as South Broward Catering or South Florida Pool Sup-

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Variable	Percent of Sample
Age:	
18-34	23
35-64	49
65 & Over	28
Race:	
White (Non Hispanic)	70
Black	15
Hispanic (Any Race)	12
Asian	1
Other	2
Education:	
Less than High School	11
High School Graduate	31
Some College	28
College Graduate	21
Other	9
Income:	
Less Than \$10,000	9
Less Than \$20,000	13
Less Than \$40,000	33
Less Than \$60,000	23
Less Than \$80,000	12
Greater Than \$80,000	10
Gender:	
Female	56
Male	44

ply were omitted. We also did not count residential listings (there are quite a few families in the state with the last name of Southern or Dixie).

Clearly, the absolute number of entries is not an appropriate measure of the "Southernness" of a city. Larger cities may have more listings solely because they have more businesses. Hence, we created a standardized measure for each city by dividing the number of Southern and Dixie listings by the total number of listings beginning with the letter "R" [3]. That letter was selected because no counties or major cities in Florida begin with the letter "R," a circumstance that might have influenced the number of listings.

Results

Survey Interviews: As can be seen from the data in Table 2, a majority of Floridians consider their part of the state to be part of The South. Nearly 40% of the respondents mentioned The South when asked "What nicknames do you use, or have you heard used, to refer to your part of the United States/Florida?" An additional 46% of the respondents answered yes when asked, "Do you consider your part of the United States/Florida to be part of the South?"

The spatial distribution of these responses is remarkably universal across the state (Figure 2). Respondents in North, Central, and South Florida, as well as respondents in urban, suburban, and rural areas felt their part of the state was part of The South. Only one minor deviation was found. Compared to the state as a whole, residents of North Florida were slightly more likely to mention The South unaided. That would suggest that phrase "The South" is used as a regional nickname more frequently in North Florida than in other areas of the state.

Table 2 shows a much different story for Dixie. Less than 2% of the respondents mentioned Dixie when asked "What nicknames do you use, or have you heard used, to refer to your part of the United States/Florida?" An additional 30% of the respondents did answer yes when asked, "Do you consider your part of the United States/Florida to be part of the Dixie?" However, that still left over two-thirds of the respondents who answered no.

Dixie also does not appear to encompass the entire state as did The South (Figure 3). Most respondents who felt their part of Florida was part of Dixie could be found north of a line that runs parallel to, but somewhat north of Interstate Highway-4. Respondents south of that boundary who felt they were part of Dixie were scattered

Figure 2

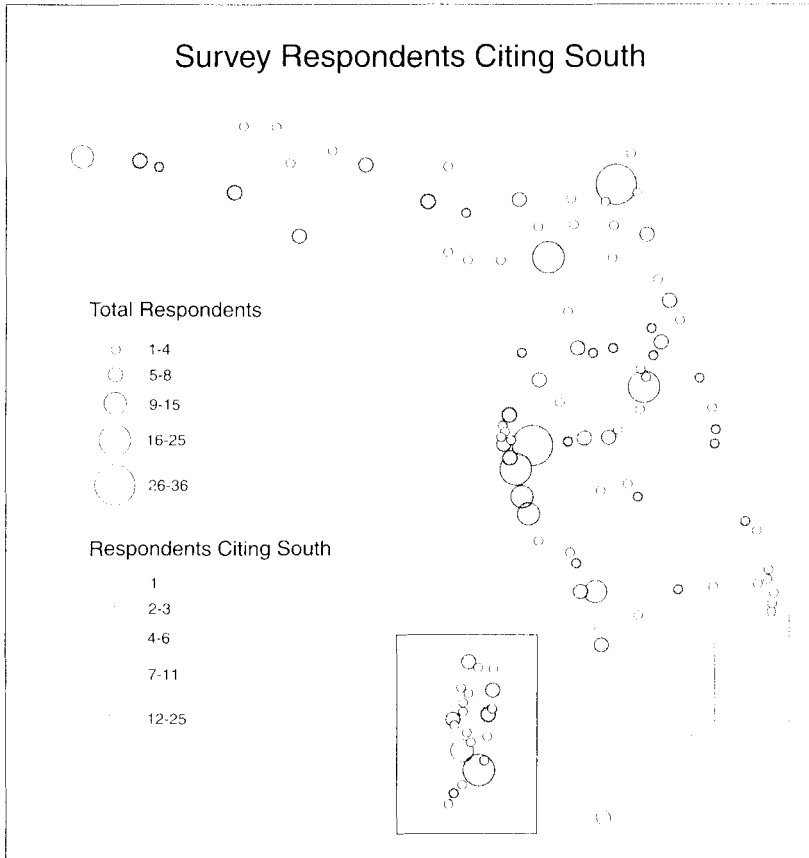
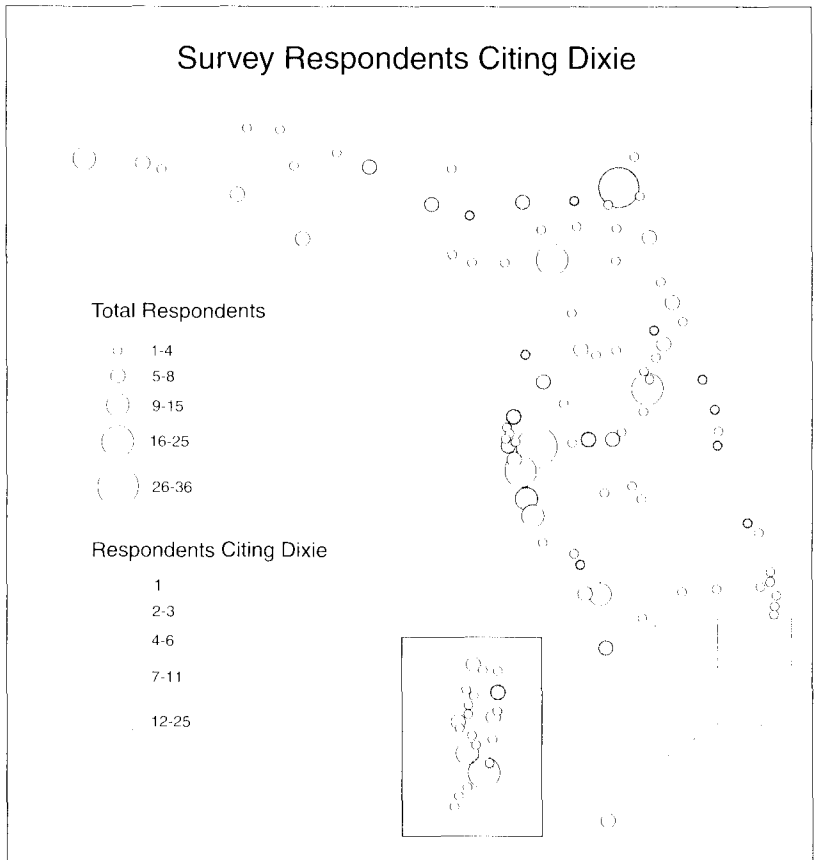


Table 2
Survey Respondents Stating Their Part of Florida is
Part of the South or Dixie

Region	Unaided	Aided	No
The South	38%	46%	16%
Dixie	1%	30%	69%

Figure 3



throughout the remainder of the state and did not appear to demonstrate any clusters or pockets of Dixie. Residents of rural areas did seem to be more likely to consider their area to be part of Dixie than did urban residents. Although again, this was most common in North Florida. Furthermore, among the state's large metropolitan areas, only residents of Jacksonville were more likely to consider themselves part of Dixie than not.

Telephone Directory Business Listings: Through the use of a computerized telephone directory, it was determined that in the State of Florida there were 1,680 business listings beginning with the word "Southern," and 318 beginning with the word "Dixie" [4]. The num-

Table 3
Business Listing Ratios

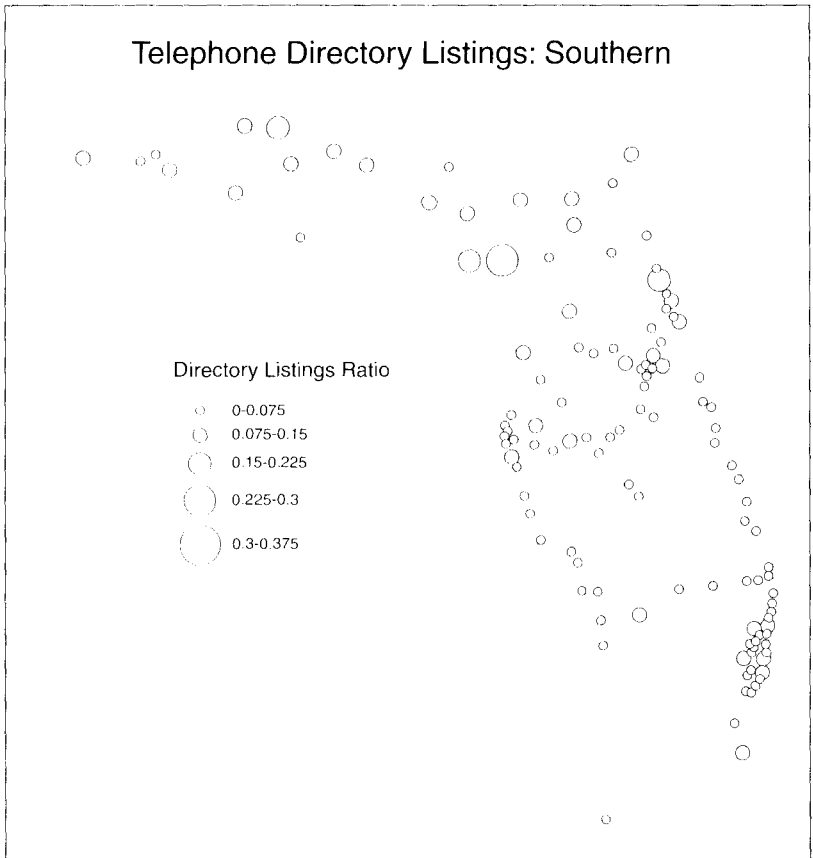
		Southern Ratio		Dixie Ratio
Maximum		.375		2.16
Minimum		.000		0.00
Highest Ratios	Trenton	.375	Cross City	2.16
	Marianna	.166	Apalachicola	.117
	Cross City	.166	Madison	.050
Large Cities	Pensacola	.113	Lake Worth	.040
	Panama City	.098	Panama City	.033
	Tallahassee	.092	Lakeland	.031

ber of entries for each city was standardized by the total number of business listings beginning with the letter "r" for that city. The resulting ratios for each term can be found in Table 3.

Ratios for Southern business listings ranged from .000 to .375. The highest ratios were found in the towns of Trenton, Marianna, and Cross City, all in North Florida. Among larger cities, the highest Southern ratios were found in Pensacola, Panama City, and Tallahassee, also all in North Florida. Ratios for Dixie listings ranged from .000 to 2.16. Cross City, which is located in Dixie County, had 13 businesses beginning with the word Dixie, and only 6 businesses beginning with the letter "r." Large cities with the highest Dixie ratios included Lake Worth, Panama City, and Lakeland.

Figure 4 illustrates the distribution of Southern listings. The darker, larger dots indicate higher ratios. Clearly, the cities with higher ratios are found in North Florida. The majority of darker, larger dots can be found in the Panhandle, North Central and Northeast Florida. A boundary line could be drawn from northeast to southwest extending through Volusia, Seminole, northern Orange, and Northern Hillsborough counties. Again, this roughly parallels Interstate Highway-4. Although high ratios of Southern listings can be found in both rural and urban areas, all of Florida's largest cities (i.e., Jacksonville, Orlando, Miami, and Tampa) had

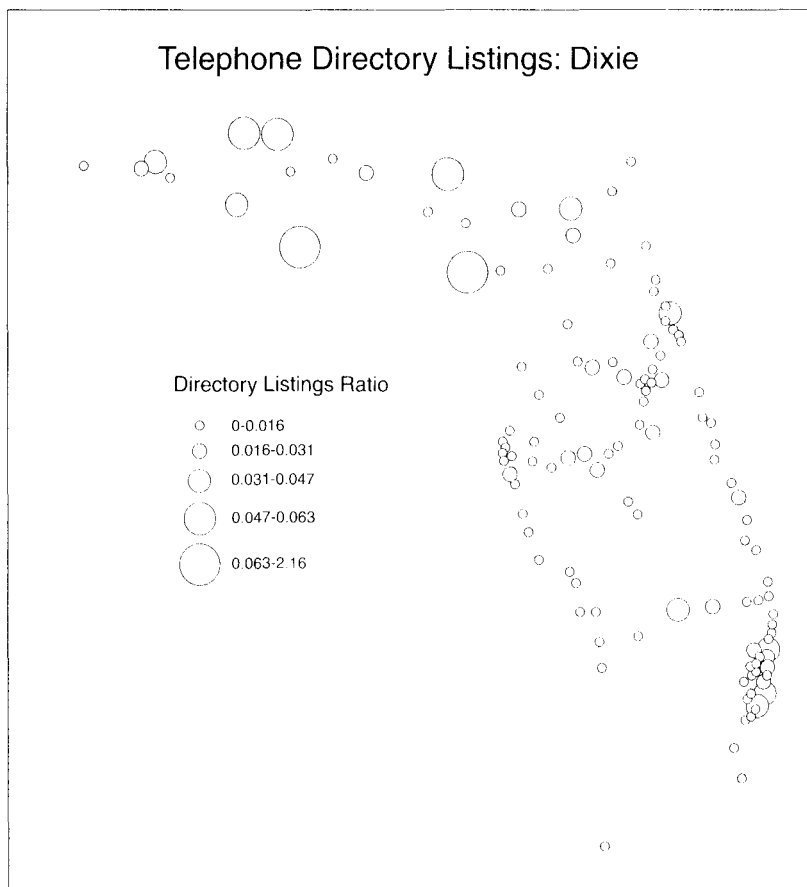
Figure 4



ratios well below .010. Here, the telephone directory method may introduce a bias against larger cities. Their directories are more likely to contain regional listings for out of state businesses and listings of businesses found in surrounding areas. This would inflate the denominator for our calculations and result in a lower ratio.

Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of Dixie listings. Again, cities represented by the larger, darker dots have higher ratios. These cities are primarily found in North Florida's Panhandle region. Places such as Cross City, Apalachicola, Madison, Marianna, and Chipley all fall in the two highest ratio categories. There are several cities outside of the Panhandle that also have high ratios, yet they are

Figure 5



somewhat misleading. Lake Worth in Palm Beach County, as well as Pompano Beach, Hollywood, and Hallandale in Broward County have high ratios and collectively account for over 30 Dixie business listings. However, nearly half of these businesses are located on Dixie Highway, a commercial thoroughfare that runs through the area [5].

Conclusions

Both the survey interviews and telephone directory business listings have provided useful information in our attempt to identify and delimit the culture regions of The South and Dixie in Florida.

Both methodologies indicate that the regions are not identical and the terms are not synonymous. The South appears to be the larger of the two. The survey interviews indicate that The South encompasses the entire state, whereas Dixie is confined to the Panhandle and northern third of the peninsula. The telephone directory business listings suggest that both regions cover smaller areas. Business listings for The South are most frequent in the Panhandle and northern third of the state, and business listings for Dixie are found primarily in the Panhandle.

Combined with the findings of previous research, our results suggest that Floridians from all parts of the state do consider themselves to be part of The South. However, the intensity of belonging or self-identification with the region may be highest in northern parts of the state. This would help to explain a higher ratio of business listings in those areas. Dixie appears to be restricted to the northern third of the state, and primarily the panhandle. There were over 1000 fewer Dixie business listings than Southern business listings. In addition, over two-thirds of survey respondents did not consider their part of Florida to be part of Dixie. It is hoped that future research will begin to determine if residents across the state have similar perceptions of The South and Dixie. Moreover, what characteristics determine if an area is included or excluded from these and other culture regions?

Endnotes

[1] The authors wish to thank the Florida Geographic Alliance and Jacksonville University for providing the funding to conduct the statewide telephone interviews.

[2] The authors wish to thank Jason Geiger for the production of all maps in this article.

[3] In his analysis of telephone directory listings of major metropolitan areas, Reed standardizes Dixie and Southern listings against listings beginning with the word "American." We attempted this procedure, however many of the smaller cities in our sample had no American listings.

[4] The implication that Florida is less Southern than its neighbors appears to be true when assessed in terms of telephone directory

business listings. Alabama, with 10 million fewer residents than Florida, had approximately 1150 Southern listings and 285 Dixie listings. Georgia, with a population slightly larger than half of Florida, had approximately 1825 Southern listings and 330 Dixie listings.

[5] This may help to explain Reed's findings that suggested pockets of Dixie in the telephone directory business listings of West Palm Beach and Miami.

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