

ABSTRACT

In this paper, we draw from 70 in-depth interviews with White southerners to examine their memories of and experiences with learning about race and whiteness. Our emphasis is on place, and how it shapes Whites' racial learning. To date, most research on racial learning centers ethno-racial minority children and their families, and emphasizes when racial learning occurs. Less attention is paid to where it takes place. To remedy this, we center southern kinds of places - those places and the social scenes within them that reflect, extend, and challenge dominant ideas about race and region. We examine three specific scenes - southern homes, southern schools, and southern college campuses - to illustrate how each shapes the racial lessons Whites receive. By bringing into focus the places White southerners draw upon when making sense of race, our research offers an important contribution to our understanding of whiteness and its transmission.

INTRODUCTION

This research centers racial learning: how social actors learn to make sense of race. Our interest is in how White southerners learn about whiteness, the historical and political system of racial classification that confers advantages to people socially defined as White (Du Bois 1935; Roediger 2007). Social scientific research makes clear that how we learn to see race, and make sense of what we think we see, is the product of countless interactions (Hagerman 2018; Pahlke, Patterson, and Hughes 2021; Ruck, Hughes, and Niwa 2021; Umaña-Taylor and Hill 2020; Underhill 2021; Winkler 2012). To date, research on racial learning has largely centered the racial learning that occurs among ethno-racial minority children and their families (see Umaña-Taylor and Hill 2020). While a good deal of scholarship emphasizes *when* racial learning occurs, fewer studies attend to *where* it takes place (c.f. Winkler 2012).

Here, we draw from an ongoing in-depth interview project with White southerners to better understand how place factors into when and how they learned about race's significance. Our analysis centers on three periods in their lives: early childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood. Within each period, place proves key to how race came to matter for these White southerners. In early childhood, many recalled experiences in their homes and local communities that made race salient. During adolescence, others spoke of southern school systems struggling to come to terms with court-mandated integration. And as young adults, some pointed to their southern college campus environment. These places are but with few exceptions *southern kinds of places* - places that reflect, extend, and even challenge dominant ideas about the region, and the color-line (see Aiken 2009). As we show, southern kinds of places are central in shaping ideas about race and whiteness to people socially defined as White. Put simply: place matters, for how race matters.

BACKGROUND

Scholarship on racial learning varies in its emphasis. Some scholars center the role of social and political movements in shaping racial ideologies (Saperstein, Penner, and Light 2013). Others emphasize the role of material and economic developments in shaping racial ideology within specific social and historical contexts (Fields 1990; Roediger 2007; Woodward 2001). Still others center the micro-level processes whereby ordinary actors learn the significance of race through encounters with social institutions like schooling (Bell 2021).

Within the latter, most research centers ethno-racial minority children, their families, and the racial socialization that occurs among them (Gartner, Kiang, and Supple 2014; Hughes 2003; Thomas and Blackmon 2015). Relatively few studies attend to Whites' racial learning (Umaña-Taylor and Hill 2020). Those that do emphasize the lessons imparted from White parents to their children (see Hagerman 2018; and Underhill 2021). The choices White parents make about where they live and where they send their children to school, for example, are informed by their own ideas about race. These ideas subsequently shape the ideas of their White children (Hagerman 2020). Still other research points to the messages received from adolescents' own direct exposure to racial discrimination and inequality, with special emphasis on school-based settings and media consumption (Bell 2021; Watford et al. 2021).

To date, most scholarship on racial learning emphasizes when it happens (e.g. early-childhood or adolescence). Fewer studies take seriously where racial learning unfolds (see Lewis 2003; Hagerman 2018; Underhill 2021; and Winkler 2012). Though scholars in Black studies and geography have well-theorized the relationship between place and race, place remains undertheorized within sociology. Gieryn (2000:464) argues that this is due to a concern that "the

particularities of discrete places might compromise the generalizing and abstracting ambitions of the discipline.” The sociology of race too often treats place as a confounding factor that should be controlled away, or a benign backdrop on which decidedly more important social processes play out (c.f. Robinson 2014). Yet our social worlds are both racialized and spatialized, and the intersections between race, place, and power have a lengthy history (Lipsitz 2007:12).

In this analysis, we center the American South and the racial learning among Whites of that region. We focus on *southern kinds of places* - those places that reflect, extend, and challenge dominant ideas and beliefs about race and region. Our use of *southern kinds of places* draws inspiration from Aiken’s (2009) analysis of southern landscapes as imagined through the writings of Nobel Prize-winning novelist William Faulkner, whom Aiken (2009:55) argues wrote tales that reflected a “microcosm within the South”, rather than of the South. As microcosms within the South, southern kinds of places are not universal; but they are familiar. They are places “where we have all lived, and where some of us come from,” (Irwin 1975:21).

In this way, *southern kinds of places* resist the more common narrative of southern exceptionalism. The region’s borders are porous, its boundaries blurred, and its culture varied (see Griffin, Evenson, and Thompson 2005; Reed 1999). Yet, Imani Perry (2022, 86) reminds us, the region’s centrality to the nation as a whole resides in “shared habits of the past and their justification.” The nation’s courts, politicians, and media, for example, were deeply complicit in the White South’s oppression of Black southerners (Woodward 2001; see also Griffin 2000). Today, many of the political, social, and economic characteristics historically linked to the South - the importance of law and order, the second amendment, states’ rights, the racial wealth gap, and White supremacy itself - now define the nation at large (see Applebome 1996; see also Cobb 2000). Our use of *southern kinds of places*, then, reflects our understanding of the region’s

continued role in shaping how many Americans understand the nation's color line. In the South, this color-line has historically been brightly drawn, and its racial dramas continue to play out in graphic form. This is not to minimize the violence and terror of White supremacy north of the Mason-Dixon line. Rather, we argue the American South puts into sharp relief the relationship between race and place (see Lechner 2018).

The historian Jennifer Ritterhouse's (2006) analysis of White southerners' memory-work illustrates our point. As children, Ritterhouse found, White southerners were taught the function of racial slurs in maintaining the South's racial caste system during Jim Crow. White southern children did not have to understand the complicated history of slavery, the politics of Reconstruction, or the violence and terrorism that marked the post-Reconstruction period. Their learning how to wield racial slurs, in combination with the sumptuary codes of Jim Crow and the institutionalization of segregated schooling, helped these children secure their place in the world as White. Sixty years after the legal end to Jim Crow, many of those lessons endure. In southern communities where the most restrictive institutional policies against Black people were established, White adults in those communities today are more likely to hold racially conservative attitudes and beliefs (Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen 2018:180). In what follows, we show how the American South continues to serve as a key vehicle for transmitting lessons about race and whiteness. By centering the southern kinds of places in which Whites' racial learning takes root, we put the transmission of whiteness - and the places in which it occurs - into focus.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Our analysis derives from an on-going, in-depth interview project of White people across two southern scenes: Oxford, Mississippi and Memphis, Tennessee. Oxford is a small city situated in

the northwest portion of the state, and best known as the home of the University of Mississippi. Memphis is situated in the southwest corner of Tennessee just 70 miles from Oxford, and is among the nation's thirty largest metro areas.

Among southern kinds of places, Oxford has played an outsized role in shaping American ideas about southern life and culture. Much of this is owed to Faulkner himself, who across fifteen books and dozens of short stories told tales of southern place and identity against the backdrop of the fictional Yoknapatawpha County and its town of Jefferson. Faulkner based his accounts on the real-life Lafayette County and Oxford, the place he called home for most of his life. Oxford was, for Faulkner, "a kind of keystone in the universe; that, small as that keystone is, if it were ever taken away the universe itself would collapse," (Stein and Faulkner 1956). Memphis, meanwhile, offers important complement and contrast. In the antebellum Memphis served as a major port city for cotton exportation along the Mississippi River. From Reconstruction through the Great Migration, Memphis was a destination city for Black southern migrants, and an incubator for blues and soul music with roots stretching into the Mississippi Delta. Many Mississippians claim the city as their own; and the larger American public proclaims Memphis its 'city of Soul'.

At first glance both Oxford and Memphis appear extreme (see Table 1). After all, while the South is the nation's poorest region, it is not as impoverished as either Oxford or Memphis. And though the South is home to the nation's largest share of Black people, its share of Black residents is not nearly as high as these two southern scenes. What, then, can studying White people in Oxford and Memphis tell us about race and region? Or about whiteness in America?

Oxford and Memphis are ideal *southern kinds of places* in that they reflect, extend, and challenge dominant ideas about race and region. Both have deep roots in chattel slavery, and

each bore witness to White supremacist violence in the aftermath of Reconstruction. During the modern Civil Rights Movement, both served as staging grounds for the era's most monumental battles, including a race riot that changed the trajectory of higher education across the South, and the assassination of the Movement's most renowned figurehead (see Eagles 2014). Today, each plays host to struggles over Confederate iconography and public history.

Table 1: Oxford, Mississippi and Memphis, Tennessee Demographics

ACS 2017-2021 5-year estimates	Oxford, MS	Memphis, TN	South (region)
Total Population	25,859	634,139	125.4 million
% White, Alone	66.4	24.3	55.7
% Black, Alone	25.6	64.4	18.7
Unemployment	3.2	9.0	5.4
White, Alone	2.0	3.6	4.5
Black, Alone	6.3	12.1	8.5
Med. Household Income	\$51,096	\$43,981	\$63,524
White, Alone	\$57,379	\$64,778	\$68,834
Black, Alone	\$31,814	\$36,046	\$46,080
Poverty Rate	29.1	24.2	13.9
White, Alone	28.4	13.1	11.3
Black, Alone	33.1	28.8	21.3

As southern kinds of places, Oxford and Memphis highlight the range and diversity within the American South. At the same time, both Oxford and Memphis have played an outsized role in shaping our collective understanding of the South: from its music and foodways, to its violent contests over the color-line. Studying how race is learned and fashioned in these

places, then, has important implications for how we think about and understand whiteness across the South, and by extension America.

Sampling and Characteristics

We used a two-step process to recruit participants. We first mailed a pre-screener to a random list of 1,000 addresses in each location, along with a two-dollar cash incentive. Our pre-screener included basic demographic questions, along with four questions on southern identity from the Southern Focus polls (see Griffin and Bollen 2009; Reed 1999). We used this pre-screener to identify self-described Whites who at the very least believe their community is in the South even if they are unsure of their own southern identity. We offered individuals an additional twenty-five-dollar gift card as incentive to participate in an interview. Multiple efforts to follow up produced a sample of 70 White southerners, and interviews were conducted between February and November of 2022.

Respondents range in age from 21 to 88 years old, with a median age of 49 (see Table 2). Almost two-thirds are women. On the whole our sample is better educated than the typical White southerner, and those living in family-related households are more affluent. However, the range in respondents' incomes is more instructive: from as low as \$15,000 per year to a reported half-million. About 1 in 4 reported incomes of \$40,000 per year or less. Another 1 in 4 reported incomes of \$150,000 or more. Those with whom we spoke are more likely to identify as Democrat and liberal, likely due to our site selection. Memphis is a Democratic stronghold, while Oxford has an independent mayor and majority-Democrat Board of Aldermen. Though our sample skews more liberal than the South, our respondents are no less southern. Rather, they reflect an important and under-examined political context within the region.

Table 2: Selected Respondent Demographics

(n=70)	
Median age	49
Women	60%
Men	36%
Median income	\$80k*
Bachelor's degree or higher	73%
Democrat	36%
Republican	21%
High southern ID (3.0< on 4-pt scale)	71%

*Median family income = \$110,000; Median household income = \$40,000

We focused initial recruitment efforts within Oxford and Memphis, but many of those we spoke with were born and raised in communities all over the South: from sprawling cities like Atlanta and Houston, to small towns like Eutaw, Alabama and Melber, Kentucky. A few were born and raised outside of the South, but later made it their home. Others, still, were born in the South, moved away, and returned. In this way, our sample reflects a range among White southerners missing in the literature. And yet, our respondents' affinity for the region they call home tracks with previous survey research. Across nineteen telephone surveys administered to a random sample of southerners between 1991 and 2001, approximately 72 percent responded yes to the question, "Do you consider yourself a southerner, or not?" (Griffin et al. 2005). About 75 percent of our sample responded in the affirmative to this same question.

Interview Data and Analysis

Our semi-structured interviews centered on how White southerners think about and make sense of themselves as White people living in the South today. We asked questions about their experiences growing up, about key events that they have lived through, and their thoughts on a wide range of contemporary social and political issues. We also asked them to reflect on their status as White southerners - what they find significant or important about it; and what they find difficult or challenging about being White, today.

For this paper, we used a flexible coding strategy to analyze their reflections on when they first noticed race, and its significance (see Deterding and Waters 2021). Using our interview schedule as a guide, we coded large chunks of text corresponding to how respondents describe first noticing race. We then applied an analytic coding strategy to interrogate how respondents talked about racial learning. We used memos to generate insights, and to put ‘flesh-to-bone’ around emergent ideas. We used NVivo to facilitate identifying trends across cases, disconfirming evidence, and other information that helped us refine our initial explanations (Deterding and Waters 2021:732). All authors participated in the coding of the interview data. The principal investigator took the lead on applying our analytic coding strategy. We then interrogated the results of that coding strategy together. This collaborative process strengthened our analysis, and ensured that our findings were rooted in the observations of multiple researchers, rather than just one.

A Cautionary Note

Relying upon respondents' memories can be especially fraught. Interviews with White respondents are particularly challenging because a good deal of whiteness's power resides in its unmarkedness (see Frankenberg 2001; c.f. Richards et al. 2023). Some may wonder, then, *why should we trust what these White folks tell us?* This question implies white identity is empty, lacking awareness, blind to advantage, or evasive of the power that undergirds Whites' place within the American racial hierarchy. Wray (2019: 38) terms this a "hermeneutics of suspicion" whereby Whites are routinely regarded as unreliable narrators about their own racial subjectivity. This view fosters often-unwarranted skepticism towards White people's accounts of their own views about race. More importantly, if an interview's purpose is to seek objective truth, it will fail more often than not. Interviews are not windows into respondents' souls; but rather an ongoing, discursive accomplishment between those involved (see Briggs 1986; and Holstein and Gubrium 1995). Interviews help reveal how a person puts together the story of who they think they are, especially in relationship to others.

We know some of our respondents' memories do not correspond directly to experience. And yet, their reflections upon the past still underlie their sense of who they are, or who they want to be to others in the present moment (see Hall 1998; and Ritterhouse 2006). Our memories "help secure the identities that enable us to navigate, legitimate, and resist the present order of things," (Hall 1998). Rather than ask whether we should trust these White folks, we believe the more appropriate consideration is *what do their responses do for whiteness, and for the work whiteness does for them?*

The vast body of research on color blind ideology shows that it encourages the development among White Americans of rhetorical tools meant to evade, deny, minimize, and ignore how they benefit from the maintenance of the color line (Bonilla-Silva 2017; Burke 2018;

Mueller 2017 and 2020). Given the insights from this research, we might expect to find our White southern respondents participating in many of the same basic rhetorical strategies. And while we do find *some* elements of color blindness among our respondents, it is not all we find. Their memories, by and large, suggest an active and ongoing wrestling with what it means to be White in a period in which their dominant racial status is materially secure, and yet under increased public scrutiny. Asking White people to reflect back on the racial lessons they received may allow some to perform a kind of racial liberalism that is important for how they think about themselves, today. Yet even that is still a reflection of what it means to be White today, in that they still feel compelled to perform this kind of identity work given the enduring, structural advantages they maintain.

FINDINGS

White southerners' memories of racial learning cluster within three distinct periods: early childhood (54 percent), adolescence (19 percent) and young adulthood (19 percent). Many White southerners' racial learning, we found, took root and shape through *southern kinds of places* and the social scenes within them. These places—southern homes, southern schools, and southern college campuses—emerge from their responses to our questions about whether they talked much about race growing up, and whether and when they recall first noticing race's significance. Those who identified their early childhood as the period in which they first noticed race most often recalled their homes - and the racial dynamics within them - as the site where race was made salient. Others recalled their racial learning taking shape during adolescence within southern schools struggling to come to terms with integration. Still others discussed their racial learning occurring during young adulthood, and within the context of their southern college campuses.

To be clear, place is not as neatly discrete as these categories suggest. Southern homes and schools, for example, are nested within neighborhoods and communities. Some, of course, do not clearly reflect the common beliefs and imagery of the American South, nor its imbrication with whiteness. Moreover, even the racial learning of White southerners that does unfold within *southern kinds of places* is always nested within larger social and historical contexts. Yet even if their racial lessons are not invented in the South, they often do take root within southern kinds of places, reflecting, extending, and challenging common beliefs about the region and its imbrication with whiteness.

Racial Learning in White Southern Homes

Over half of our sample (54 percent) recalled early childhood as the period in which they first learned about race. For many, their racial learning was shaped by the context of their southern homes, by White family members or Black domestic workers. Here, some White southerners received lessons on their place in the world as White people by observing their family's interactions with Black domestic workers who cared for them as children. Their observations taught these White southerners how to draw distinctions between family and "like family."

Wanda, 70 years old, grew up in a suburb just outside of Atlanta, Georgia. Neither of Wanda's parents had more than an eighth-grade education, and both toiled at local factories. Growing up during the last gasps of Jim Crow, Wanda had very little social interactions with Black people until her high school was forcibly integrated. Yet Wanda recalled with great fondness her Black caretaker, Annie, who helped her parents around the house when Wanda was a small child. "She took care of my mom when they brought me home from the hospital," Wanda told us. "And I know she stayed there for a while and took care of me and my mom until she got

better...she was with us for years, helping out whenever.” Annie was also the first and only relationship that Wanda had with Black people while growing up. “I enjoyed her,” Wanda says. “And I know my mom and daddy adored her. She was funny. She was the first Black person I ever knew.”

Wanda’s fondness for Annie was common among others with whom we spoke. This fondness, however, is conditioned by the working relationship between Black caretakers and their White employers. Contrary to popular belief, the color-line of the Jim Crow South was never absolute. White people often transgressed it without fear of reprisal (Perry 2022:110; see also Hale 1999). White families with means often hired Black people to do a range of work, including the most intimate forms of care-work. The inverse, however, was nearly unimaginable. In this way, the South’s color-line was semi-permeable. One important way White southerners maintained the semi-permeability of the color-line was by making a distinction between family and “like family.” The latter allows for White households to express adoration for their Black workers yet still maintain strict boundaries between them, boundaries that White people could cross while Black people could not. Our interviews reveal that the southern home was a key place from which these boundaries were drawn and maintained; and from which lessons about who is family (White), and who is only “like family” (Black) were imparted. Importantly, these boundaries, and the discursive use of “family” and “like family” as a means to maintain them, were lessons White children learned as a means of securing their place in the world as White (see also Ritterhouse 2006).

Paula, 71-years old, is a sometimes-musician who also volunteers for a ministry that aims to discourage pregnant girls and women from seeking abortion care. When Paula was a child, her family employed a Black domestic worker, Lola. “My best friend was Lola, who raised me,” said

Paula. “Oh, I loved her so much...Lola was my person.” Lola did not have a car, and Paula remembered her parents taking her home after work. On one occasion, Paula’s family drove Lola to the downtown square of her Mississippi hometown. “Lola was buying somebody a pair of shoes, and she was making a payment on those shoes,” said Paula. “And I remember as a child, I wanted to go in and get those shoes for her because she couldn’t get them right out. I wanted to take care of that for her.” Paula is uncertain whether she considered “the racial aspect” of her desire to help Lola. “I think that was part of it,” she tells us. “But mostly it was economic. I thought she deserved better than that. I don’t know how to say that.” And yet, Paula’s family did not help Lola purchase those shoes. To do so would have blurred the lines between who is family and who is just “like family.” For Paula, this was a difficult lesson to learn. Lola may have been Paula’s best friend, even her person; but Lola was *not* family.

Paula and Wanda’s racial learning took place during Jim Crow rule. Yet our younger respondents recalled similar lessons. Their memories and experiences serve as an important reminder of how racial rule endured within southern kinds of places well after Jim Crow’s formal demise. Harry, 49-years old, remembered a Black man named Jerry working for his family when Harry was a child. “You didn’t talk about gay people back then,” Harry said. “In the 1980s, it wasn’t mentioned. But you could tell [Jerry] was very feminine and flowery.” Harry and his family referred to Jerry as their maid, undoubtedly due to Jerry’s sexual orientation. “He called himself our butler. We told him to quit calling himself our butler so he started calling himself our domestic servant.”

Here, Harry adds flesh-to-bone to the distinction between family and “like family.” The practice of naming within Black tradition and white supremacy’s devaluing of Blacks’ preferred names has been the focus of much scholarship (e.g. Inscoe 1983). As a Black worker, Jerry’s

own status was not his to determine. Jerry's attempt to differentiate his labor from that of a maid - one no doubt deeply vested in a gendered division of labor, and meant to ascribe himself a higher status (see Duffy 2007) - was rejected by Harry's family. Such a title would confer upon Jerry a status his White employer believed undeserving for Black people. Even today, Harry refers to Jerry as "our maid." In denying Jerry such a simple thing as a preferred title, Harry's family conveyed an important lesson on racial boundaries: whatever distinctions may exist between Black workers and their duties, the most important distinction to be made is between them and their White employers. And, as with Wanda, the power to make these distinctions was vested in whiteness. The wielding of this power by Harry's family was one way Harry and others like him learned what it means to be White in this world.

Harry received further instruction on the distinctions between family and "like family" through his family's interactions with Jerry. "Jerry was so poor, he had to ride his bicycle from West Jackson [Mississippi] to our house, which was six or seven miles," Harry says. Harry's family did try to help Jerry get a driver's license, but Jerry failed to pass his driver's test. Harry's family eventually loaned Jerry money to purchase a moped, but Jerry soon wrecked it and was back to riding his bike to and from Harry's home. While Harry's family loaned Jerry the money to purchase a moped, it was not a gift. When Jerry crashed his moped, Harry's family still required repayment. The racial lesson was clear: those like Jerry who are "like family" are allowed to struggle because their struggle affirms the importance and significance of the color-line. "I saw a huge disparity between how the White people lived in northeast Jackson [Mississippi] and how Blacks lived," Harry remembers. "When you're that young, you don't think that it's systemic or endemic, and you don't know what those words mean. But you realize that something's off. Like, why is this guy doing all the work in this house - all the physical labor

- and riding a damn bicycle all the way over here? I'm sure my parents paid well. And when Jerry needed a loan, they just gave him cash. But that was one of my first exposures.” Like Wanda and Paula, Harry also learned what it means to be White in no small part through the distinctions made between his family and their hired Black help.

Not all White southerners who recalled first learning about race as small children were raised in homes with Black caretakers. Nor were all racial lessons learned ones that reinforced the color-line. Juliette, 29-years old, grew up just outside of Jackson, Mississippi. Juliette remembered her parents planning a sleepover for her and her friends when she was around five years old. One of Juliette’s friends invited to her sleepover, Olivia, was Black. When other parents learned Olivia was invited to Juliette’s sleepover, they prohibited their children from attending. “I remember asking my mom why isn’t Caitlin [a White friend] coming over? And my mom being like, ‘Caitlin’s mom doesn’t like Olivia because Olivia is a Black girl. And that’s why Olivia is coming over to our house. And Caitlin is not.’”

Juliette’s mother’s willingness to transgress a known racial rule is notable. Most White southerners learn that such transgressions are allowable so long as the transgressor is White. But White southerners also often learn to draw distinctions between Whites and Blacks based on the type of access each has to the White home, and family. By inviting Olivia to Juliette’s sleepover, her mother violated a key tenet of the racial order. But from Juliette’s perspective, that violation proved instrumental in shaping how Juliette thinks about and understands race and whiteness, today. Juliette recalled not only her parents’ own convictions, but also those of her grandparents. She tells us of how her grandfather helped to desegregate the Hattiesburg, Mississippi school district in which he taught. “My mom was really proud of her parents for really fighting for desegregation,” Juliette tells us. “My mom, she saw somebody, you know, in the 1950s being

like, “You do not say the N word, you do not treat people this way.” Juliette’s case illustrates how the southern home can also serve as a space for imparting lessons meant to challenge the primacy of the color-line. However, Juliette’s case of challenging the color-line within the southern home is an outlier. More commonly, the southern home reflected and extended White racial rule.

Wilson, 49-years old, is a lawyer from Jackson, Tennessee who thinks of himself as “a leftist or a dirty liberal.” Yet this is a far cry from his upbringing. “I don’t like what I was taught growing up,” he tells us. “I guess it’s not necessarily just from my parents, but school, culture, just being a child of the 1970s and 1980s. And being White.” Wilson’s remembering of his racial learning as a child shows he received lessons from not only his parents, but also from his schooling, from the culture in which he was embedded, and the times in which he lived. “There wasn’t much exposure [to Blacks] due to where I went to school and where I went to church. And those were the only places I did go, and they were all White.” Nevertheless, Wilson’s southern home was the scene of his most memorable lessons. “The things my dad would say were tongue in cheek, lighthearted. But unfortunately, based on old-timey racist stereotypes,” he says. Wilson’s mother was more explicit in her efforts to impart upon Wilson the importance of maintaining the racial caste system under which she herself was raised. “In my early age,” Wilson says, “she preached that the races should not mix and tied it to some Bible story, I’m sure.” Wilson’s mother believed that “the mere fact that they were born in this country as White people gave them the right to do just about whatever they wanted.” Wilson’s case is one of the few instances in which our respondents describe, explicitly, the racial lessons learned as lessons about what it means to be White, rather than ‘not White’. Many White Americans fail to see how their own racial status implicates them within the American racial hierarchy (see Lewis 2003).

Wilson, however, recalls his mother stressing that to be White is to have *carte blanche*, echoing W.E.B. Du Bois's (1920:18) observation over a century ago that whiteness is "ownership of the earth forever and ever, Amen!"

Both Wilson and Juliette were raised in southern homes with parents who stressed the importance of racial lessons. And yet, the lessons they learned were not the same. Juliette's family emphasized the importance of transgressing the color-line in an effort to dismantle it. Meanwhile Wilson - like Wanda, Paula, and Harry - received lessons on the importance of maintaining it. While both Wanda and Paula received their lessons during the Jim Crow era, Harry, Wilson, and Juliette were all raised in southern homes well after that formal system of racial rule had been legally dismantled. On the one hand, this illustrates the persistence of the color-line and the lessons surrounding it. On the other hand, Wilson and Juliette's contrasting experiences show that while the southern home can reflect and extend dominant ideas and practices about the color line, it can also serve as a key site from which to teach White people the importance of contesting it.

Defending Whiteness in Southern Schools

Adolescence is generally understood as the period overlapping with middle- and high-school, when children experience significant physical, cognitive, and socio-emotional changes; and begin to develop greater reasoning skills, along with the ability to think abstractly (Branje et al. 2021; Sawyer et al. 2018). About 1-in-5 White southerners we spoke with recalled becoming aware of race during their adolescence. For them, coming of age in the American South posed its own set of challenges. Though the United States Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board* aimed to end school segregation, many school systems around the country refused to comply. In

1955, the Supreme Court ordered desegregation “with all deliberate speed.” Still, southern K-12 schools seized upon the ambiguity of “deliberate” to slow-walk their compliance. The court’s ruling in 1969’s *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* finally and unambiguously ordered the immediate desegregation of all public schools. Yet in the South, segregationist academies - private schools for White children - were formed almost immediately following the *Alexander v. Holmes* ruling. Some of these academies remain open today, and admit very few students of color. In addition to the emergence of segregationist academies, efforts to cement Lost Cause mythology within southern public schools endured across the twentieth century. For decades, Southern public schools adopted pro-Confederate textbooks, created curricula promoting the cause of the Confederacy, regulated the collections of school libraries, and honored Confederate figures and holidays (see Cox 2003; and AUTHOR 2021). Southern schools, then, are key sites where lessons on the need to maintain racial order are imparted, even well after the formal end of ‘separate but equal’.

Brigette, 22-years old, grew up in West Palm Beach, Florida. In the seventh grade, she and her family moved to Franklin, Tennessee, a small town about twenty miles south of Nashville. In comparison to West Palm Beach, Franklin felt to Brigette like a world apart. Few Black students attended Brigette’s school in Tennessee. Among those that did, it was a space in which they were not welcomed. “When I moved to Franklin, it was 97 percent White,” she tells us. It was here, in what Brigette remembered as an overwhelmingly White context, where her first lessons on the importance of maintaining White spaces were received. “A lot of the kids in my school were the typical ‘wear camo and live on a farm’ type,” Brigette says. “There were a lot of kids there who were racist. They would make comments and stuff. If you walked by in the hallway, you could hear stuff.” Brigette recalled a class project from high school in which she

and her peers examined the diversity of her school. “I was looking into actually figuring out how much diversity we had in our school,” Brigitte says. “And I was like, wow, like - it's really none. Like, none.”

Census data from 2010 shows that White people made up about 80 percent of Franklin’s total population, far less than the “97 percent” figure Brigitte provided in her own recollection. Yet her recollection of the Franklin school system tracks with the historical evidence. In 1971, the United States Department of Justice filed *U.S. v. Franklin Special School District* against the district for maintaining a dual, race-based system. At that time, Franklin’s school district had three elementary schools, separated from one another by just one mile. Two of those schools served mostly White students; the other’s enrollment was almost entirely Black (“Tennessee District Sued”, 1971). In 2006, just a few years before Brigitte’s family moved to Franklin, the US Department of Justice was still monitoring the district for its noncompliance with desegregation (“School Desegregation in Tennessee”, 2008). As an adolescent, Brigitte’s southern school system was effectively segregated, and her racial lessons derived in part from her inhabiting this predominantly white space (see Lewis 2003). In this instance, the lesson was not subtle: White space matters for the maintenance of whiteness, and schools are sites where White space is to be built and defended.

For others with whom we spoke, however, the lessons *were* subtle. During adolescence, some White southerners described a growing understanding that race mattered, even if they could not fully articulate it. They remembered this time as one of conscious reflection upon the significance of race; whether and how it might matter for them, and for those around them. Their southern schools helped seed those reflections, and put their experiences in sharp relief.

Darryl, 42 years old, was born in Nashville, Tennessee, but moved often as a child: a few years in Charlotte, North Carolina, a brief spell in Memphis, Tennessee, and then settling in Oxford, Mississippi, by middle school. Darryl recalled his schooling in Charlotte as one marked by controversy over school integration. “I was a Charlotte busser,” he tells us, referencing Charlotte’s controversial decision to use mandatory busing in order to achieve school integration. “So for three or four years in Charlotte, I went to inner city schools as a suburban kid.” Recalling this period, Darryl described himself as “a childhood racist, in a way that a child would not be really understanding.” Darryl and his friends would trade racist jokes, and engage in “n-word stuff”. “I don’t know where you’d learn it other than your parents or family,” Darryl admits.

But Darryl also recalled more subtle lessons from his schooling experience in Charlotte. “I was exposed more racially than my neighborhood school would have been,” he says. Darryl remembered how rumors of used needles left on the playground of newly integrated schools were commonplace, and meant to convey an association between Black student enrollments and increased criminal and drug-related activities. “Who was telling these stories?” we asked. “Well, that’s the thing,” Darryl replied. “I don’t know, but I would sense from the time it was the parents because a third grader is not going to make that story up.”

In comparison to Charlotte, Darryl’s middle-school years in Oxford were a time when race became more meaningful, or significant to him. *Quarles v. Oxford Municipal Separate School District* resulted in a 1970 court order mandating Oxford to absorb its historically Black schools into a unified and integrated school district. By the time Darryl enrolled, Oxford’s school system had just one middle school and one high school for all students. Darryl remembered becoming more aware of race during this time, including how race mattered, even as he

struggled to pinpoint anything specific. “I would say you notice and understand what you’re noticing more towards junior high,” he said.

Darryl’s ambiguity made it difficult to determine what lessons on race and whiteness he drew from this period. Adolescence is a period in which most children are developing a sense of who they are and their purpose. They do not yet have things figured out, nor are they fully capable of understanding the full weight of certain concepts. Darryl’s reflections demonstrate this kind of ‘in-process’ stage of racial learning. Unlike Charlotte, Darryl’s new Oxford school was the only public-school option for families with school-aged children. Having previously experienced what he described as a “more aggressive program for social integration” in Charlotte, Darryl’s middle-school transition to Oxford may have provided him opportunities to reflect more meaningfully upon what it means to be White. We believe that Darryl’s mentioning of his new Oxford school system - one undergoing a very different process of integration at the time - as the site where he did this reflecting is an important albeit subtle clue as to how and where Darryl’s racial learning took place.

Ross, 51-years old, was born and raised in Abbeville, a small town north of Oxford, and attended schools in his county’s school district. Abbeville was a majority-White town, but with a large Black population on its outskirts. Ross recalled being “the only White kid on our school bus.” He says, “It was weird how Abbeville was set up. It was mostly all White people. And then you head toward Hurricane Landing, and then that's where all the Black people lived.” Ross characterized the relationships between Black and White children within his schools as fraught. He described one instance from high school when the underlying conflict between White and Black children nearly boiled over. Ross had accidentally stepped on the shoe of a Black student at his school; “one of them” he tells us. The student confronted Ross in the hallway. “I stood in the

hall just waiting and I grabbed his shirt and picked him up,” he tells us. Ross laughed as he recalled the Black child asking Ross to set him back down on the ground. “And I set him down. But after that, no fights no nothing.” Ross described his school as crowded, with classes constantly changing, and some students “just looking for a reason to get mad at somebody.”

On surface, Ross’s description seems like a scene taken from any middle school. But his school’s southern context is key. Across the United States, desegregation unfolded unevenly. In some cases, districts shuttered formerly all-Black schools and relocated Black students into formerly all-White schools. Other districts, like Charlotte, NC, Kansas City, MO, and others engaged in complicated transportation strategies. Some used a combination of these methods, or others. In most instances, however, Black and White children were made to confront one another in spaces previously understood by each as for Whites or Blacks only. Yet in the South, these confrontations often played out within communities where the physical separation between White and Black people was often otherwise minimal. Their confrontations in schools, then, were also racial lessons about the enduring racial order: both the need to maintain it, and also contest it.

Confronting Whiteness on Southern College Campuses

While the majority of our respondents recalled noticing race in either early childhood or in their adolescence, about 1-in-5 relayed that it was not until college when they first began to consider race, and its significance. For some of these White southerners, it was their college coursework that enabled them to think critically about race. Still for others, the southern college experience reflected and extended their ideas and beliefs about the color-line and its relationship to the region.

Luke, 75-years old, grew up in a small, western Kentucky town. Our own analysis found eleven documented lynchings in the area where Luke was raised. Even decades after the last known lynching, Luke recalled a town still in the clutches of Jim Crow's ghostly grip. "My father did not prefer to be socially active with Black people," he remembered. "You basically stayed on your side of the road, and I stayed on my side of the road." Luke's schools did not integrate until he was in high school. "Initially, there were Black schools and White schools. And when I was in high school, we became fully integrated," Luke said. "The biggest thing I remember when we became fully integrated, there were like four Blacks in the high school. So, we didn't take to racial integration."

As he explains, Luke's racial learning was well under way before he enrolled in college, first at Murray State, and then later the University of Mississippi. We asked Luke to elaborate on his transferring institutions. "I found out when I came to Ole Miss from Kentucky, that there was - I would say - more prejudice. Because a lot of times if you socialize with Blacks [at Ole Miss], you might get ostracized. Back in the 1960s that wasn't quite acceptable." Even though Luke identified several ways race was made salient for him prior to college, he recalled his southern college campus as where the color-line was made most apparent to him. "When I came from Kentucky to Mississippi," he says, "I learned - I'll use a derogatory statement here - but I learned the difference between a Negro and a [n-word] down here. Just like back home with what we called White trash. There are the people that didn't have anything but got out and worked, versus the ones that lived off of everybody else."

Luke's response reveals how southern kinds of places impart racial lessons to those within them. Yet Luke's reflections show how southern kinds of places are also where those ideas and beliefs are most vigorously defended. For others, however, the southern campus scene

provided an important corrective to their previous education as White southerners. That is, their college experience reflected a southern kind of place where dominant ideas about race and whiteness were confronted, and contested.

Dorothea, 54 years old, is from Houston, Texas. Today, Dorothea thinks of herself as “definitely Left”, politically. But it was not always so. When Dorothea enrolled at the University of Mississippi as an undergraduate, she joined the College Republicans. She also enrolled in a course on American history taught by a well-known university professor at the time. His class had a profound effect on Dorothea’s subsequent ideas, including her ideas about race. “[That professor’s class] was a defining moment,” she tells us. “We read *Coming of Age in Mississippi* [by Annie Moody], and then *Absalom, Absalom!* [by William Faulkner], which really to this day I have no idea what it's about. I couldn't read it. But when I read *Coming of Age*, oh my gosh!” Dorothea had only a basic knowledge about the civil rights movement, “race riots and the bus boycotts, you know, the big events.” But, she tells us, she didn’t know the stories behind them. “In 1980 they were not even in all the textbooks because if you had a ten- or fifteen-year-old history textbook in 1980, it was written in 1965. We were still going through all this then,” Dorothea says. “If it wasn’t a brand-new history book, there would be a bunch missing.” Dorothea’s experience prior to college is a familiar one. The historian Karen Cox (2003) describes in great detail how Confederate memorial associations helped to shape public schooling in the South. Across the twentieth century, members secured appointments on statewide textbook committees, and helped steer southern public schools to adopt pro-Confederate textbooks, promote Lost Cause curricula, regulate school library holdings, and institutionalize Confederate figures and holidays. So totalizing were their efforts that the

historian John Dittmer (1995) found the belief in the veracity of the Lost Cause was still rampant among White Mississippians even toward the conclusion of the twentieth century.

Mike, 56-years old, had an experience similar to Dorothea's. As an undergraduate, Mike attended Duke University, and pledged Kappa Alpha Order, a fraternity founded in 1865 at Washington and Lee University, and whose mission centers on "reverence to God, duty, honor, character and gentlemanly conduct as inspired by Robert E. Lee, our spiritual founder." While at Duke, Mike and his fraternity participated in events celebrating the Confederacy and its legacy, including formal dances where "our dates would be in hoop skirts, and there would be Confederate and Union uniforms." Yet Mike's fraternity's partnering with Duke's Black Student Alliance for a set of service projects had a significant effect on how he came to think about race and whiteness. "There was this conversation that I still remember, where [one of the BSA students] talked about what it means to see a Confederate flag, what it means to walk down the road and know that someone could throw a brick at your head for no other reason than you're Black. Or if you're driving in the wrong part of town you will be stopped by the police."

For some White southerners, then, their southern college campus was the first place in which dominant ideas and beliefs about race and whiteness were seriously confronted. Dorothea tells us, for example, "That was a turning point for me to start understanding how significant those events were. It was years of struggles, and a lot of people died, and there's a lot of horrible stuff going on. But I never got that growing up. Certainly not from my parents. And I don't remember it being in the history books." Likewise, Mike tells us that hearing how racism affected his Black peers at Duke "certainly caused me to feel differently and to be more self-aware." Dorothea, meanwhile, describes her history course as "divine intervention", and "the single most important and best class I took."

Jackie, 30 years old, expressed similar sentiments. After working in law enforcement for seven years, Jackie enrolled in law school, where she is finishing her second year in the program. Today, she tells us, “I’m really invested in civil rights, especially towards the LGBTQ community,” of which she is a member. Jackie tells us that the schools she attended as a child were racially diverse. Yet it was not until she came to the university that Jackie says she noticed race. “Honestly, I noticed race probably in undergrad for what it was,” she says. “I knew that some people were black, some were Hispanic. And some people were Asian American. But when did I start understanding it? When I got into my coursework on criminology. I didn’t really understand the disproportionality in the criminal justice system. But I got to dive into that a little bit. And I’ve been hyper aware of it since.”

Southern college campuses, as a *southern kind of place*, are by and large not bastions of the Jim Crow racial order as Luke’s experiences suggest. Nor, however, are they free from the vestiges of the Old South, as others’ experiences might indicate. Rather, as *southern kinds of places* these campus scenes reflect, extend, *and* challenge dominant ideas about race, region, and the color line, today.

Deanne, age 40, grew up in Jackson, Mississippi. Just before kindergarten, Deanne’s parents relocated to the suburbs. Deanne recalls that at the time “south Jackson was becoming more Black, which was not okay with my mom.” Like many others, Deanne’s racial learning began at an early age. “My grandfather was overwhelmingly racist,” she remembers. “He would use all of the terms that you’re not supposed to use.” Deanne also recalled her mother’s reaction to finding out Deanne’s sister had begun dating a Black man. “My mom lost her mind...so that’s when I knew that she was also a racist.” Despite these memories, Deanne pointed to her college experience as the period in which she first noticed race’s significance. Though decades after

Luke had matriculated, Deanne also attended the University of Mississippi. Yet for most of the twentieth century the University of Mississippi has played host to one racist drama after another. As a student in the early 2000s, Deanne recalled the University's band ending its tradition of playing "To Dixie, With Love" at home games, retiring its 'Colonel Rebel' mascot, and the University's dedication of a monument to its first Black student, James Meredith. Each of these events were met with significant White racial backlash. "You know, watching these idiots act like they never thought that would happen...I had never seen such hostility or tantrums until I got to Ole Miss," Deanne said. "I mean, my first year here, eyes wide open, you know."

Deanne worked for the student newspaper and spoke at length about her experiences covering several racist events. "When I was in the newsroom, we came across a fraternity that had a party. I think it was like Halloween, where everybody's dressed up," Deanne said. "We came across this party picture of a student - one of the fraternity members - in Black face. On the ground, picking cotton balls up and putting them in a bucket. And we made this decision to run it on the front page of the newspaper, which got the fraternity kicked off campus." The decision to run this image came at significant risk. "That was my first death threat," Deanne recalled, but it was not her last. "Our editorial board, we went against the grain of everybody else and wrote a huge editorial in 2001 about changing the state flag. That started the next round of threats and stuff. And so sitting in a newsroom and being informed of all of these things really shaped how I sort of view the world." She tells us, "I was there when we were really trying to move the university in a different way and saw the backlash from it. It shocked me, that people were so committed to their traditions that they couldn't see how it was hurtful, and that it was necessary [to change them]."

On the whole, our interviews reveal how important southern kinds of places are to structuring White people's sense of race, and whiteness. Southern universities like the University of Mississippi are southern kinds of places where dominant beliefs and ideas about race and region have historically been seeded, cultivated, and even exported elsewhere. They are also sites where important challenges to those beliefs and ideas were launched (Carter 2000; Eagles 2014).

Conclusion

Our interviews reveal how White southerners' racial learning is rooted in *southern kinds of places*, and the social scenes within them. Our analysis demonstrates how *southern kinds of places* shape how race matters for Whites. Our findings make an important contribution to our understanding of how whiteness is transmitted by situating that transmission *in place*.

Southern kinds of places include scenes like southern homes. Here, White southern children learn to make racialized distinctions between their White family, and their Black caretakers; and receive lessons on the importance of defending the color-line. For some, however, the southern home is also where they receive important instruction in how to actively contest it. Southern kinds of places also include scenes like southern schools, where resistance to integration was alive and well long after *Brown v. Board*. Here, White southerners learn that part of their responsibility as White southerners was to protect and maintain White space, including their predominantly White school settings. Confrontations with Black students - from the mundane to the physically violent - serve as reminders of the old racial order, and a means for White children to exercise the embodiment of that racial order. Yet our interviews also reveal that these confrontations provide White southerners an opportunity to reflect upon whether that order ought to be preserved or defended. Finally, southern kinds of places include the southern

college campus. Southern universities have historically served as battlegrounds for some of our nation's most monumental racial conflicts (see Carter 2000; Eagles 2014; AUTHOR et al. 2020). Here, on these contested grounds, White southerners received the first meaningful challenges to lessons previously learned. These challenges came in the form of their coursework, and interactions with memorable professors. But the challenges also came from the southern campus itself, and the decades-long conflicts over the maintenance of campus traditions steeped in racist history.

Simply put, place matters for how race matters. And nowhere has place mattered more than the American South. Our analysis reveals the region's continued role in shaping the nation's color-line. The boundary between White and Black predates those racial categories, and is necessary for their racial formations (see Harris 1995). Whereas law was the primary means through which the color-line was drawn and redrawn in the Jim Crow South, today the color-line is both recreated and contested in routine and informal racial lessons. In the American South, these lessons take *place* - that is, they are situated in social scenes that shape how those lessons are given, and received.

Contributions notwithstanding, our analysis has some limitations. First, our sample is not statistically representative of the American South. Yet, our respondents reflect a wide range of White southerners' experiences, many of which are often under-analyzed or ignored entirely in statistical treatments of White people, including but not limited to literature on Whites' racial attitudes. A second limitation concerns our reliance upon our respondents' memories. And memory can be a fickle beast. We believe it's best to think of memory as something our respondents "think with", and their remembering as something they do rather than something they have (Griffin and Bollen 2009). Memories aren't meant to be taken as gospel. Rather,

memory is an active force in how people understand themselves and make sense of the world around them. What people choose to remember, of course, is also “always a form of forgetting” that “distorts and suppresses as much as it reveals,” (Hall 2005:1233).

Without question, some of our respondents engage in active mechanisms of white racial ignorance, whereby they creatively reproduce, revise, or resist recalling the lessons learned (Mueller 2017). Their White racial ignorance helps minimize or ignore whiteness, and the advantages it confers. At the same time, racial learning is a dynamic and ongoing process, and not overly-determined. Many adults reject the racial lessons learned as children, and come to form new ideas about race and racism as they mature, as did Deanne and Wilson (see Hagerman 2020). What we show in our analysis here is how place factors into that ongoing process.

Racial learning is an area ripe for further inquiry, and more research on Whites’ racial learning is necessary. The lessons White southerners drew from each of the three scenes we examine is not an exhaustive set. Nor are the scenes in which that racial learning takes place. While we focus on homes, schools, and college campuses, future research might center the racial lessons drawn from other social settings. Finally, more focus on *southern kinds of places* and their many variants can prove fruitful for understanding how dominant beliefs and ideas about region intersect with those about race; and help us continue to improve our knowledge of how place matters, for how race matters.

References

Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2018. *Deep Roots*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Aiken, Charles S. 2009. *William Faulkner and the Southern Landscape*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Applebome, Peter. 1996. *Dixie Rising: How the South is Shaping American Values, Politics, and Culture*. San Diego, CA: Mariner Books.
- Bell, Marcus. 2021. *Whiteness Interrupted: White Teachers and Racial Identity in Predominantly Black Schools*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2017 *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*, 5th edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Branje, Susan, Elisabeth L. de Moor, Jenna Spitzer, and Andrik I. Becht. 2021. "Dynamics of Identity Development in Adolescence: A Decade in Review." *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 31(4):908–27.
- Briggs, Charles. 1986. *Learning How To Ask: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal of the Role of the Interview in Social Science Research*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Burke, Meghan. 2018. *Colorblind Racism*. Medford, MA: Polity Press.
- Carter, Dan T. 2000. *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*. 2nd edition. Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press.
- Cobb, James C. 1994. *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2000. "An Epitaph for the North: Reflections on the Politics of Regional and National Identity at the Millenium." *The Journal of Southern History* 66(1):3-24.
- Cox, Karen L. 2003. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

- Deterding, Nicole M., and Mary C. Waters. 2021. "Flexible Coding of In-Depth Interviews: A Twenty-First-Century Approach." *Sociological Methods & Research* 50(2):708–39.
- Dittmer, John. 1995. *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1935. *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co.
- Duffy, Mignon. 2007. "Doing the Dirty Work: Gender, Race, and Reproductive Labor in Historical Perspective." *Gender & Society* 21(3):313–36..
- Eagles, Charles W. 2014. *The Price of Defiance: James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Fields, Barbara J. 1990. "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America." *New Left Review* 181(1):95–118.
- Frankenberg, Ruth. 2001. "The Mirage of an Unmarked Whiteness," in B. Rasmussen, I. Nexica, E. Klinenberg, and M. Wray, eds. *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 72-96.
- Gartner, Meghan, Lisa Kiang, and Andrew Supple. 2014. "Prospective Links between Ethnic Socialization, Ethnic and American Identity, and Well-Being among Asian-American Adolescents." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 43(10):1715–27.
- Gieryn, Thomas F. 2000. "A Space for Place in Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26(1):463–96.
- Griffin, Larry J. 2000. "Southern Distinctiveness, Yet Again, or Why America Still Needs the South." *Southern Cultures* 6(3):47-72.

- Griffin, Larry J., and Kenneth A. Bollen. 2009. "What Do These Memories Do? Civil Rights Remembrance and Racial Attitudes." *American Sociological Review* 74(4):594–614.
- Griffin, Larry J., Ranae Jo Evenson, and Ashley B. Thompson. 2005. "Southerners, All?" *Southern Cultures* 11(1):6–25.
- Hagerman, Margaret A. 2018. *White Kids: Growing Up with Privilege in a Racially Divided America*. New York: NYU Press.
- . 2020. "Racial Ideology and White Youth: From Middle Childhood to Adolescence." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 6(3):319–32.
- Hale, Grace Elizabeth. 1999. *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940*. New York: Vintage.
- Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd. 1998. "'You Must Remember This': Autobiography as Social Critique." *The Journal of American History* 85(2):439-465.
- . 2005. "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past." *The Journal of American History* 91(4):1233–63.
- Harris, J. William. 1995. "Etiquette, Lynching, and Racial Boundaries in Southern History: A Mississippi Example." *The American Historical Review* 100(2):387-410.
- Holstein, James A. and Jaber F. Gubrium. 1995. *The Active Interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hughes, Diane. 2003. "Correlates of African American and Latino Parents' Messages to Children about Ethnicity and Race: A Comparative Study of Racial Socialization." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 31:15–33.
- Inscoe, J.C. 1983. "Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation," *Journal of Southern History* 49: 527-54.

- Irwin, John T. 1975. *Doubling and Incest/Repetition and Revenge: A Speculative Reading of Faulkner*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lechner, Zachary J. 2018. *The South of the Mind: American Imaginings of White Southerness, 1960–1980*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Lewis, Amanda. 2003. *Race In The Schoolyard: Negotiating The Color Line In Classrooms And Communities*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Lipsitz, George. 2007. “The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race: Theorizing the Hidden Architecture of Landscape.” *Landscape Journal* 26(1):10–23.
- Mueller, Jennifer C. 2017. “Producing Colorblindness: Everyday Mechanisms of White Ignorance.” *Social Problems* 64(2):219–332.
- . 2020. “Racial Ideology or Racial Ignorance? An Alternative Theory of Racial Cognition.” *Sociological Theory* 38(2):142–69.
- Pahlke, Erin, Meagan M. Patterson, and Julie Milligan Hughes. 2021. “White Parents’ Racial Socialization and Young Adults’ Racial Attitudes: Moral Reasoning and Motivation to Respond without Prejudice as Mediators.” *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 24(8):1409–26.
- Perry, Imani. 2022. *South to America: A Journey Below the Mason-Dixon to Understand the Soul of a Nation*. New York: Ecco.
- Reed, John Shelton. 1999. “Where Is the South?” *Southern Cultures* 5(2):116–18.
- Richards, Bedelia N., Hugo Ceron-Anaya, Susan A. Dumais, Jennifer Mueller, Patricia Sánchez-Connally, and Derron Wallace. 2023. “What’s Race Got to Do With It? Disrupting Whiteness in Cultural Capital Research.” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 9(3):279–94.

- Ritterhouse, Jennifer. 2006. *Growing Up Jim Crow: How Black And White Southern Children Learned Race*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Robinson, Zandria F. 2014. *This Ain't Chicago: Race, Class, and Regional Identity in the Post-Soul South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Roediger, David R. 2007. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso.
- Ruck, Martin D., Diane L. Hughes, and Erika Y. Niwa. 2021. "Through the Looking Glass: Ethnic Racial Socialization among Children and Adolescents." *Journal of Social Issues* 77(4):943–63.
- Saperstein, Aliya, Andrew M. Penner, and Ryan Light. 2013. "Racial Formation in Perspective: Connecting Individuals, Institutions, and Power Relations." *Annual Review of Sociology* 39(1):359–78.
- Sawyer, Susan M., Peter S. Azzopardi, Dakshitha Wickremarathne, and George C. Patton. 2018. "The Age of Adolescence." *The Lancet Child & Adolescent Health* 2(3):223–28.
- Stein, Jill, and William Faulkner. 1956. "The Art of Fiction No. 12." *The Paris Review*.
- Tennessee Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. 2008. "School Desegregation in Tennessee." Washington, DC: United States Commission on Civil Rights. <https://www.usccr.gov/files/pubs/docs/TNDESEGFULL.pdf>
- "Tennessee District Sued." 1971. *New York Times*, L-15. June 29, 1971.
- Thomas, Anita Jones, and Sha’Kema M. Blackmon. 2015. "The Influence of the Trayvon Martin Shooting on Racial Socialization Practices of African American Parents." *Journal of Black Psychology* 41:75–89.

- Umaña-Taylor, Adriana J., and Nancy E. Hill. 2020. "Ethnic–Racial Socialization in the Family: A Decade’s Advance on Precursors and Outcomes." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 82(1):244–71.
- Underhill, Megan R. 2021. "Managing Difference: White Parenting Practices in Socioeconomically Diverse Neighborhoods." *City & Community* 20(2):79–98.
- Watford, Jon Alexander, Diane Hughes, Sohini Das, Trel Francis, Olga Pagan, Caitlin Keryc, Blair Cox, and Niobe Way. 2021. "Racial Stories as Learning Moments: An Ecological Exploration of Black Adolescents’ Racial Learning Experiences." *Journal of Social Issues* 77(4):1149–73.
- Winkler, Erin N. 2012. *Learning Race, Learning Place: Shaping Racial Identities and Ideas in African American Childhoods*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Woodward, C. Vann. 2001. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Commemorative Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wray, Matt. 2019. "A Typology of White People in America." In Lia Kindiger and Mark Schmitt, eds. *Intersections of Whiteness*. New York: Routledge, 38-52.