

“MEAN AND STRONG LIKE LIQUOR” AND “SOME REAL FINE PEOPLE”:
ENACTMENTS OF THE PROGRESSIVE SOUTHERN WHITE <MAN> IN THE DRIVE BY
TRUCKERS’ ALBUMS *SOUTHERN ROCK OPERA* AND *DIRTY SOUTH*

by

VERNON RAY HARRISON

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Communication Studies
in the Graduate School of
The University of Alabama

2009

Copyright Vernon Ray Harrison 2009
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

The lyrics of Drive By Truckers (DBT), a contemporary Southern Rock band, were critiqued to better understand the concepts of current constructions of Southern white masculine identity. The methodologies used as a lens to critique the lyrics were Kenneth Burke's theory of dramatism and Michael Calvin McGee's notion of the ideograph. The critique found that DBT offers a counter-cultural resistance to dominant "Old South" and "New South" ideologies that have traditionally and historically been adhered to the prototypal Southern white <man>. The band's response – one that challenges typical constructions of a Southern white <man> as racist, individually-motivated, and imbricated in Southern mores (such as states' rights) – can be considered a part of what the author deems the "Progressive South." Ultimately, the Southern white <man>, as envisioned in the lyrics of the DBT, protects his family, opposes racist political and ideological positions, views oppression based in class struggles instead of ethnic differences, and problematizes dominant Southern culture through a newly-fashioned rebel figure.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues, friends, and faculty members who helped me with this research project. I would like to offer a special thanks to Dr. Jason Edward Black, the chairperson of my thesis and my graduate advisor. Without his guidance and help I would have never been able to accomplish this project. I would also like to offer special thanks to my committee members Dr. Beth Bennett, Dr. Thomas Harris, and Dr. Gary Copeland for the valuable input they provided me along the way during this project. I would also like to offer special thanks for the members of the Drive By Truckers, especially Patterson Hood, for taking time out of their busy schedules to allow me to conduct interviews with them. I would like to thank the graduate students and faculty of the Department of Communication Studies, as well. Their guidance and ideas helped shape the scholar I am today. Finally, I wish to thank my family for their care, concern, and love. Without their support, my endeavors in higher education would not have been possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
a. Drive By Truckers.....	1
b. “Old South,” “New South,” and “Progressive South”.....	6
c. Précis.....	8
2. TOPICAL LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
a. Literature Review for Music in Communication.....	10
b. Literature Review for Masculinity/Whiteness Studies in Communication.....	14
3. METHOD SECTION.....	21
a. Dramatism.....	21
b. Redemption from Guilt.....	24
c. Ideograph.....	27
4. ANALYSIS.....	30
a. George Wallace as a Scapegoat.....	31
b. Construction of the Southern White <Man> Through the “Southern Thing”.....	37
c. Southern White <Man> As Class Conscious, Family-Oriented and Rebellious.....	44
5. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS.....	62

REFERENCES.....67
APPENDIX.....74

1. INTRODUCTION

According to critical scholar Eric King Watts, the majority of rock bands whose music plays on the radio today engage in what many critics would consider “commodity” music that has no soul or social awareness and typically achieves nothing greater than the maximum dollar amount for album sales (43). The Drive By Truckers (DBT) is not one of these bands. The band’s music is considered Southern Rock, and it carries a social commentary that tries to advance Southern white men away from historically stereotypical and non-Progressive constructions, while embracing some treasured cultural customs that have defined and continue to underscore the myths of the South.

Drive By Truckers

DBT is a Southern Rock band formed in Northwest Alabama and currently based in Athens, Georgia. Music scholar Renee Dechart says that DBT has been described as “an alternative country band steeped in twang, rock, punk, and Southern Gothic” (97). In the late 1990s, DBT emerged as one of the dominant second-generation bands of the Southern Rock genre made popular, in the 1970s, by acts such as the Allman Brothers Band, Molly Hatchet, .38 Special, and Lynyrd Skynyrd. The latter is the quintessential band of this genre and of the geographical area from which DBT hails.

DBT consists of members Patterson Hood (Florence, Alabama), Mike Cooley (Tuscumbia, Alabama), Brad Morgan (Piedmont, South Carolina), John Neff (Athens, Georgia), Shonna Tucker (Killen, Alabama), and Jay Gonzalez (Athens, Georgia). I had the opportunity to meet with Hood, and when asked about musical influences, he responded that “we listen to about

everything. We especially listen to old soul, rhythm and blues (R&B), country (the old stuff), Punk Rock, Arena Rock, all kinds of Rock and Roll, Blues, and Hip Hop” (Hood, “Personal Interview”). DBT was founded by Hood and Cooley as an Alabama-based band. According to Hood’s personal website by way of his website:

[Hood] grew up in Florence Alabama, across the Tennessee River from Muscle Shoals. Patterson began writing songs when he was in third grade and began playing guitar in bands at about 14. In 1985 he began a band with college roommate Mike Cooley, which was named Adam’s House Cat. After Adam’s House Cat broke up, Cooley and Hood moved to Memphis and later to Auburn, Alabama. They eventually broke up and moved on to other creative endeavors. Hood settled in Athens, Georgia in early 1994, playing solo anywhere they would let him. In 1996 he and Cooley reunited and formed Drive-By Truckers. (“Patterson Hood”)

After Hood and Cooley reunited in 1996, the band started to put together material for its first two albums. Those albums were Gangstabilly and Pizza Deliverance. Following its second release, the band embarked on a nationwide tour, resulting in a live album called Alabama Ass Whuppin' (Hood, “Patterson Hood”).

After an extended time on the road, DBT became a close knit band which inevitably led to DBT’s most critically acclaimed album to date, Southern Rock Opera. DBT began to gain positive critical attention with this third studio album. According to Hood’s website:

Southern Rock Opera received a 4 star review from Rolling Stone Magazine and was eventually picked up by Lost Highway Records in 2002. The making of Southern Rock Opera was a very turbulent period that nearly broke up the band and took its toll on all of the members' personal lives. (Hood, “Patterson Hood”)

Southern Rock Opera is loosely the story of an unnamed protagonist, known simply as “our hero,” who turns his back on his traditional Southern roots before eventually rediscovering the more progressive parts of his heritage and founding “Betamax Guillotine,” a fictional Lynyrd Skynyrd-type band. The album explores Hood and Cooley’s experiences of growing up in the Muscle Shoals area of Northwest Alabama, as well as delving into the cultural preoccupations of

the time: football, rock and roll, segregation, and the inexplicable “duality of the Southern thing” (Hood, “Personal Interview”). As Hood himself explained it, the “duality of the Southern thing” as a hybrid mélange of “good and bad aspects” of the South, based upon the region’s history (“Personal Interview”). An example of this duality is in a line from the Southern Rock Opera song “Southern Thing,” wherein the protagonist notes that he is “proud of the glory, [but] stare[s] down the shame” of Southern history (Hood, “Southern Thing”).

In 2004, DBT released The Dirty South, which further explored the mythology of the South, with songs discussing Sun Records producer Sam Phillips¹, selling moonshine, trafficking cocaine, racing stock cars, enduring economic hard times, rebelling against oppressive class-based laws, and challenging the law and order of Sheriff Buford Pusser². The Dirty South garnered rave reviews and was named one of the top Fifty Albums of 2004 by Rolling Stone magazine, Best of 2004 #8 by Amazon.com, 10 best albums by GQ magazine, one of the 40 best albums by Spin Magazine, and numerous other awards by independent writers and journalists (“Drive By Truckers Reviews”).

The next album produced by DBT was A Blessing and A Curse. Released on April 18, 2006, the album showcased DBT’s ability to branch out into new territory. It can be seen as the band’s response to critics, detractors, fans, and followers who desired “something new” from DBT (“Drive By Truckers Discography”). This album also garnered critical praise, and was

¹ Phillips was the founder of Sun Records in Memphis, Tennessee. He has been credited with taking African American forms of music, such as rhythm and blues, and uniting them with middle American white musicians such as Carl Perkins, Elvis Presley, and Johnny Cash. His “stable” of stars popularized rock and roll for white listeners (“Gigantic Voice”).

² Sheriff Buford Pusser was the sheriff of McNairy County, Tennessee. He was known for his virtual one-man war on moonshining, gambling, and other vices along the Alabama-Tennessee border. His story has directly inspired several books, movies and two movie remakes, and at least one television series all of which boasted the title Walking Tall.

named a top five album by one of USA Today's end of the year music critic (“Drive By Truckers Reviews”).

DBT's most recent album is Brighter than Creation's Dark. On January 22, 2008, this eighth album was released in the U.S. market and went to #37 on the Billboard 200 album chart (“Artist Chart History”). The album has received rave reviews and received the band's second four star rating from Rolling Stone magazine (“Drive By Truckers Reviews”).

More recent themes covered in DBT's songs include darker issues such as depression, unemployment due to layoffs, making ends meet by running illegal whisky stills and selling drugs, taking part in organized crime, and pressuring elected officials. Brighter, more positive themes in recent recordings of the band's music, reaffirm progressive Southern attitudes and honor work and family. Overall, DBT's music has consistently covered the day-to-day struggles of working-class Southern white man - again, a more progressive type of man.

Of the eight albums released by DBT, only two were selected for analysis in the chapters that follow: Southern Rock Opera and The Dirty South. This is the case, because of their apt political lyrics that address Southern culture. The songs that are used as discursive artifacts are “Southern Thing” (Hood), “Wallace” (Hood), “Ronnie and Neil” (Hood), and “Birmingham” (Cooley) from Southern Rock Opera, as well as “Where the Devil Don't Stay” (Cooley and Cooley), “Puttin' People on the Moon” (Hood), and “Never Gonna Change” (Isbell) from The Dirty South album.

When justifying a rhetorical critique of the lyrics of DBT, one does not have to look very hard to understand the need for further scholarly inquiry into Southern white masculinity. The reason it is important to delve deeper into lyrics from DBT is because the band's rhetoric offers a counter identity to the stereotype that Southern men are culturally backwards or, in the least, are

politically fixed in a myth of the Southern past. Southern historian James Cobb argues that this stereotype implies, from resistance to past events such as the Civil Rights Movement, that Southern white men are racist, individualistic, and complicit with the ills of past “Old South” and “New South” mores (Redefining 7). When asked about this, Hood contended that there is a sense in the United States that Southern white men are bigots and selfish philanderers (Hood, “Personal Interview”). Hood says he tries to temper, and in some cases *erase*, these stereotypes by making music that promotes a “Progressive South” that rejects such stereotypes.

As noted above, this study analyzes the lyrics of DBT from the most politically motivated songs on their albums The Dirty South (2004) and Southern Rock Opera (2001) and assesses how the lyrics come to enact a contemporary Southern white male identity. The purpose of this examination is to uncover the ways that DBT demystifies the stereotypes typically adhered to Southern white men, especially based on “old South” and “New South” norms. The two main methods being used as analytical perspectives to explore this identity formation are linguistic scholar Kenneth Burke’s notion of dramatism and communication scholar Michael Calvin McGee’s ideograph. Moreover, whiteness and masculinity perspectives are employed where necessary to help analyze the lyrics with respect to Southern white masculinity.

Employing these rhetorical perspectives, I address the purpose by arguing that DBT offers a counter-cultural resistance to dominant “Old South” and “New South” ideologies that have traditionally and historically been attributed to the prototypical Southern white <man>³. The band’s response – one that challenges archetypal constructions of the Southern white <man> as

³ Conduit and Lucaites first used angle brackets (< >) to denote ideographs in their article “Reconstructing <Equality>: Culturetypal and Counter-Culture Rhetorics in the Martyred Black Vision.” Words in quotations represent what that word means at that particular moment in time, while angle brackets represent the larger ideological meaning of the word(s) over time (diachronically).

racist, individually-motivated, and imbricated in Southern mores (such as states' rights) – can be considered a part of what I deem the “Progressive South.” Overall, this study further explores Southern culture, Southern white masculinity, and the movement to represent a more “Progressive South.”

The remainder of this chapter provides some context and background to the characteristics of the “Old South,” “New South,” and “Progressive South.” To that end, the next section engages in a brief discussion of Southern history as a bedding for the analysis that follows.

“Old South,” “New South,” and “Progressive South”

The American South has a long history of problematic identity issues. From the Civil War and Reconstruction to the Civil Rights Movement and contemporary race issues, the white South (in particular) has meandered between negative characteristics and the achievement of acceptable characteristics. Negative characteristics have been a part of what historians such as Cobb call the “Old South” (Redefining 7). That the U.S. nation has looked in on this bifurcation of Southern identity with curiosity, and oftentimes disdain, makes the South’s problematic image even starker.

After the South lost the Civil War, the era of Reconstruction ushered in a painful time for many Southerners. Cobb posits that the post-Reconstruction era generated the perfect storm to allow for leaders of the South to try and reconceptualize the region as the “New South” (Cobb, Away Down South 67). The “New South” was based upon the idea of “Northernizing” the South’s economy through industrial development while “doing their best to restore and then uphold the most definitively ‘Southern’ ideals of the Old South, especially its racial, political, and class hierarchies” (Cobb, Away Down South 68).

The problem that was encountered within the South was that it lost its “Old South” identity by faltering during the Civil War (Cobb, Redefining 152). The South had to face the problem of producing cotton to meet the world’s demand in a free labor market, but in an economically different way that veered dramatically from the previous mode of slavery. Cobb notes that, in the wake of Reconstruction, “white Southerners would surely have rejected any effort at a regional resuscitation that smacked of capitulation to the Yankees or a repudiation of the Confederate cause or their antebellum heritage” (Redefining 152). Southern historian Clarence Cason explains the identity problem with the South after Reconstruction more fully:

The crusade to build a New South involved “more than a program of building on the ashes. Somehow the ashes themselves had to be ennobled.” Consequently, even as the New South apostle Henry Grady⁴ preached the merits of economic modernization, he paid unceasing tribute to the “exquisite culture” of the Old South and insisted that “the civilization of the old slave regime in the South has not been surpassed, and perhaps will not be equaled among men. (152)

Similarly, Cobb contends that the “New South Creed” filled an important void and suggested a plan for economic revitalization, while addressing the fundamentally racial, emotional, and political problems of Southern white men, in particular (Away Down South 67). He notes, too, why white Southerners were quick to support the creed:

Defeated and embittered, Southern whites found inspiration and energy in the New South Creed’s assurances of a golden age ahead and comfort and consolation in its carefully constructed vision of a golden age behind, a stirring, romanticized portrayal of an antebellum heritage to be preserved and celebrated rather than surrendered and forgotten. Espousing a powerful mixture of myths about the past, illusions about the present, and fantasies about the future, New South Spokesmen succeeded in creating a new and enduring regional identity. (Redefining 150)

⁴ Cobb describes Southern historian Henry Grady as a leading proponent and orator who created the “New South Creed” (Away Down South 68).

Because the “New South” was based in economic expansion, proponents were able to rely on the concept of peaceful race relations as an excuse to promote segregationist policies throughout the South (Cobb, Redefining 154). Grady insisted in his speeches that separate but equal should apply “in every theater” as well as in “railroads, schools, and elsewhere” (as quoted in Cobb, Redefining 154). What the “New South’s” leaders were actually seeking was the regional equivalent to white supremacist home rule. Overall, the Southern identity created by the leaders of the “New South” lasted from the late nineteenth century until about 1970s.

In a related argument, Southern historian Curtis Wilkie claims the “Progressive South” is the contemporary movement away from the racist ideals of the “New South” (181). He sees the beginnings of this movement in progressive efforts of white citizens who stood with African Americans during the Civil Rights Movement. Other examples he gives of the Southern white <man>, in particular, fighting the racist foundations of the “New South” are leaders, who during the 1960-1980s, stood up to segregationists such as Jim Patterson, George Wallace, and white citizens councils (Wilkie 181).

DBT appears to promote the ideals of this “Progressive South” through its song lyrics. The purpose of this study is to investigate how DBT appears to support the ideals of this “Progressive South” rhetorically through their song lyrics.

Précis

The remainder of this study is organized as follows. Chapter Two discusses the previous research in the communication field on music, masculinity, and whiteness. Chapter Three, the methods section, presents the rhetorical perspectives (Burke’s theory of dramatism and McGee’s ideograph) that were used as tools of criticism for the documents that have been analyzed. Chapter Four analyzes the lyrics from the songs “The Southern Thing,” “Ronnie and

Neil,” “Wallace,” and “Birmingham” from the album Southern Rock Opera. Furthermore, the chapter examines the songs “Where the Devil Don’t Stay,” “Puttin People on the Moon,” and “Never Gonna Change” from The Dirty South Album. Chapter Five summarizes the study’s findings, discusses its limitations, and suggests implications for future research on Southern white masculinity and music as a rhetorical discourse.

2. TOPICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

As presented in chapter one, this study investigates the rhetorical formulation of Southern white masculinity in the song lyrics of the Southern rock band DBT. This chapter reviews the relevant literature for two bodies of scholarship: Music in Rhetoric/Communication Studies and Masculinity/Whiteness Studies. These literatures are vital to explore before moving ahead to an analysis of DBT's Southern Rock Opera and Dirty South albums.

Literature Review for Music in Communication

There has been much scholarly debate on how music influences people. Communication scholar Steven Chaffee says one side of the debate argues the musical score is the most influential aspect of music. The other side argues that it is the lyrics that influence people (Chaffee 420). Musicologists Lisa Chuang and John Hart note that the study of music in communication studies has traditionally followed one of three tracks (Chuang and Hart 185). First, music is analyzed by critiquing both the lyrics and the score. Second, music can be critiqued by looking at the score away from the lyrics. Third, music can be critiqued by assessing the lyrics away from the score (Chuang and Hart 185-187).

Communication scholar James Lull makes the argument that lyrics are the most important and that score only amplifies the message of the lyrics, not change them (368). Similarly, communication scholars Deanna Sellnow and Timothy Sellnow argue that score does have an effect on the rhetorical effects of lyrics and that lyrics and score should be taken together to understand the meaning of the music (395). In this study, I have accepted Lull's argument that the score of music only amplifies or de-amplifies the message of the lyrics but does not change

the meaning of the lyrics (368). As far as the impact of music as communication, there are many more studies that branch out away from the theoretical debate of whether score has an impact on meaning.

Music can be used as a reification tool for social groups. Myth scholar Janice Hocker Rushing found that gospel music calls for a reassurance of group identity and belief by the praise offered through the music (“Gospel Music” 29). Non-traditional songs can have an impact on social identity. Musicologist Makita Hoy found that the football songs sung by the fans of different teams in their social situations reinforced the stereotypes created by the dominate ideology (293).

Rhetorical studies scholar Kerran Sanger conducted work into slave spirituals as a form of resistance. She argues that African-American slaves used their spirituals to provide themselves with a self-definition that served to counter limiting definitions pressed on them by whites. Sanger contends:

In white Americans' attempts to oppress black slaves in the United States, the creation of self-doubt played an important role. White owners and overseers advanced limiting definitions of the slaves and sought to convince them that they were fit only for slavery. The black slave was defined by whites, variously, as three-fifths a human being, as chattel, and as a barbaric heathen. (78)

As a form of slave resistance to oppression, the spirituals were used to limit the slaves' value to owners while enabling them to assert their worth as human beings and not property.

Scholars have also looked at how music creates and helps sustain collective action by a group. The study by musicologist Vincent Roscigno on Southern textile worker mobilization reports that music and its emotional and cognitive impacts can be fundamental to the construction of social movement culture. This study looked at song lyrics from the Southern textile strikes of 1929-1934 in an attempt to show how music helped construct a collective

identity, shifted accountability for mill workers' problems towards the labor process and its beneficiaries, and suggested to the listener of the song a collective solution. In the present study I argue that DBT uses its lyrics to shift accountability to Southern forefathers while offering a collective solution for the "Progressive South."

Communication scholar Mark Meister studied the effects of the tragic frame in contemporary folk music. His study focuses on the lyrics of folk singer Nanci Griffith's contemporary folk song, "It's a Hard Life Wherever You Go." According to Meister, traditional folk artists opposing social injustice and discrimination advocate change through optimism and hope (63). He asserts that Griffith enacts the role of helpless observer, who documents injustice by observing instances of political, racial, and societal conflict, while maintaining traditional folk music norms regarding musical style (63-66).

Other more mainstream types of contemporary music, such as rock, punk rock, and most importantly, Southern Rock, have been observed. More contemporary punk rock acts such as Green Day have been the focus of scholars as of late. Chuang and Hart examined Green Day's "Jesus of Suburbia," as an artifact that reflects suburban American punk culture, and argue that that music can be seen as an effective tool for expressing the suburban punk experience due to its ability to convey both linguistic and emotional content (183).

Southern Rock is a hybrid of country music and rock music. Musicologist Mike Butler's essay on the post-Civil Rights South and Southern Rock music is a ground breaking piece that tries to understand race relations through Southern music. He investigated the Southern Rock movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s and argues that white male racial identities in the Post-Civil rights South began changing from an insistence upon white supremacy to a slow, subtle acceptance of the gains made by African Americans during the Civil Rights Movement.

He uses examples of white Southern Rock musician such as the Allman Brothers and Lynyrd Skynyrd paying homage to black blues musicians that influenced their music. Butler explains:

Southern rock bands rebelled against traditional Southern attitudes towards blacks most obviously by openly and frequently paying homage to the blues musicians who influenced their own creative musical style...[b]y giving public testament to the musical greatness of artist such as Robert Johnson, T-Bone Walker, Auther 'Big Boy' Crudup, Son House, and Willie Dixon in a time when most Southern whites viewed blacks as socially, intellectually, and culturally inferior to whites, Southern rock musicians rebelled against traditional Southern patterns of racial beliefs. (47-48)

Butler also claims that the movement showed that Southern whites separated their regional identities from their racial ideologies, which allowed them to continue some Southern traditions and project a love for their region while also accepting African Americans as potential equals (56). In my analysis of the lyrics, I found that DBT continues this move towards accepting African Americans as equals through Southern Rock music by going a step further to demonize those whites who participated in "Old South" and "New South" mores and who helped keep African Americans as a subjugated group.

Rap music has become a staple in music communication research. Rap music has been looked at as a form of commodity by business to a rhetorical manifestation of anger. Eric King Watts argues that rap "participates in a complex and fluid set of economic exchange relations among the lived experiences of artists, the operations of a consumer culture, and the dictates of rap music industry" (42). Christopher Sieving researched the effects of the controversial rap-rock fusion band Bodycount's song "Cop Killer." In his essay, Sieving focused on the opposition of political organizations and public officials in the United States to the *song*, while discussing how the *song* was circulated in various forms of media (334). He comments on the social implications for failure to acknowledge the *song* as a significant instance of cultural hybridity and argues that the song did create a hybrid culture of angry black youths and disenfranchised white youths

(351). Such anger and disenfranchisement is found in the lyrics of DBT, wherein the progressive Southern white <man> is misrepresented or, in the least, is misunderstood by a larger dominant culture. Music, thus, becomes a way to express these feelings.

Literature Review for Masculinity/Whiteness Studies in Communication

Masculinity and whiteness are a part of this study because the lyrics of DBT are unequivocally centered on male characters who are white. Gender scholar Robert Connell defined hegemonic masculinity as “the culturally idealized form of masculine character” (“Iron Man” 83). According to communication scholar Nick Trujillo’s study, scholars have identified five features of hegemonic masculinity in American culture: (1) physical force and control, (2) occupational achievement, (3) familial patriarchy, (4) frontiersmanship, and (5) heterosexuality (291).

First, masculinity is defined in terms of physical force and control. Connell describes this as men being holders of power and women being subordinate, which makes the superiority of men “naturalized” (Which Way is Up? 28). Trujillo extends this by noting that “the male body comes to represent power, and power itself is masculinized as physical strength, force, speed, control, toughness, and domination” (291). DBT weaves this into the character of the progressive Southern white <man> inasmuch as this force is used to fight a dominant ideology – typically a racist “Old South” and/or “New South.”

Second, masculinity is defined through occupational achievement. Trujillo says “Hegemony closely involves the division of labor [...] the social definition of tasks as either ‘men’s work’ or ‘women’s work,’ and the definition of some kinds of work as more masculine than others” (291). Therefore, masculinity in work is defined along gender lines. Part of the anti-individualism DBT ties to its Southern white <man> involves his commitment to hard work and

correspondingly his demand for fair pay and equal consideration by what the band calls “the fucking rich man” (Hood, “Southern Thing”).

Third, masculinity is patriarchal. Gender studies scholar Gerder Lerner describes patriarchy as “the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general” (94). Trujillo gives examples of patriarchal men as “breadwinners,” “family protectors,” and “strong father figures” whereas females are “housewives,” “sexual objects,” and “nurturing mothers” (291). Interestingly, the Southern white <man> constituted in DBT’s lyrics is both protector and nurturer. He is not a bullying paternalist but rather a caring individual to his children.

Fourth, masculinity is created by the idea of the frontiersman of times past, represented today in the embodiment of the “outdoorsman.” Trujillo argues that the general frontiersman image is ingrained and the American image is thus defined by it (291). He also attends to the “cowboy” and how it is “reproduced and exploited in literature, film, and advertising” (291). This part of hegemonic masculinity is the least prescient in terms of DBT’s lyrics. There is a sense, though, for the frontiersman in the Southern white <man> as he works through historical modes of anti-establishment such as whiskey running and trafficking. Fascinatingly, these illegal activities are performed for the sake of family and economic well-being as a last resort.

Fifth, masculinity is defined by heterosexuality. Trujillo believes that masculine male sexuality “embodies personal characteristics which are manifest by adult males through exclusively social relationships with men and primarily sexual relationships with women” and it “requires not being effeminate in a physical appearance or mannerisms; not having relationships with men that are sexual or overly intimate; and not failing in sexual relationships with women,”

(292). In other words, as gender studies scholar Gayle Rubin states, heterosexual masculinity must be “good, normal, and natural” (280). The Southern white <man> in DBT’s lyrics is heterosexual. The heteronormativity is invisible in the sense that it is assumed that heteronormative romantic relationships are the standard. This is only important for this study inasmuch as the <man’s> children are folded into his identity as a good father and hardworking provider. While heteronormativity remains situated in DBT’s songs, never is there a sense that it should be privileged above other sexual-subjectivities. Because of this, DBT’s progressive outlook does not include sexuality.

Whiteness is very hard to narrow down into any type of observable element that is found in rhetorical discourse. Communication scholars Thomas Nakayama and Robert Krizek, in their ground breaking work, uncovered six strategies of the discourse of whiteness. First, whiteness is tied closely to power in a rather upfront manner. Nakayama and Krizek give examples of their respondents defining “white” as the “majority” or the “status” (298). DBT’s lyrics focus on whiteness as the hegemonic power because they apologize to the subjugated group (African Americans) for the powerful group’s abuses of the subjugated group. Despite a so-called “majority” status, “white” to DBT involves openness and acceptance of African Americans, in particular.

A second strategy of whiteness involves negative or oppositional definitions of whiteness as opposed to positive definitions. In Nakayama and Krizek’s study, people responded by saying “white” meant being “not black” (299). White is defined by what it is “not,” and anyone who is “not white” is created as the “other.” Because the “other” is “different” or “not white,” the “other” is outside the norm, and thus whiteness becomes the center or the “universal space” (Nakayama and Krizek 299). DBT’s lyrics often respond to the “other” as racist whites

throughout their songs. The band does not create an oppositional contrast with African Americans but with those racist whites who are responsible for both black oppression *and* the tainting of white identity with the stain of the “Old South” and “New South.” The DBT lyric’s in “Ronnie and Neil” speaks to this separation from non-progressive Southern white men. In the song, DBT discusses how the 1963 bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama “tainted” *all* white people in the South: “a lot of good people dragged through the blood and glass/stain on a good name/and all of us take the blame” (Hood, “Ronnie and Neil”).

A third strategy “naturalizes white” with a scientific condition. One respondent from the Nakayama and Krizek study said of whiteness that “it just classifies people scientifically and not judgmentally” (300). Nakayama and Krizek link science with naturalization when they say, “the invocation of science serves to privilege reason, objectivity, and masculinity, concepts that have long been viewed in the Western tradition as stable, and therefore more trustworthy, poles in the dialectic relationships that exist as reason/emotion, objectivity/subjectivity, masculinity/femininity” (299-300). Accordingly, they add that “conflating the discourse of whiteness with the label of science serves to mask irrationality and contradictions with a rational image possessing cultural currency” (300). By making “white” cultural instead of natural it dispels power relations. It remains evident that DBT calls into question the newly progressive cultural position of the Southern white <man>, but the band does so in way that makes them a social/political subjectivity – not a naturalized “center.”

The fourth strategy confuses whiteness with nationality, which is a legal status conferred by social institutions. Respondents believe that whiteness meant that they were “American.” This idea of naturalized whiteness as American has been around since the founding of the country.

When the country was first formed the only people that could vote were white male landowners. DBT, in this case, takes whiteness not as a nationality but as a regional identity. Even though DBT speaks of Southerners as white, the band does not occlude African Americans from this identity label.

The fifth strategy is recognized in the discourse of people who refuse to label themselves. (Nakayama and Krizek argue that people who said “I do not want to be labeled” also listed that they were proud of their heritage (301). They found that “There is an emphasis on the ideology of individualism over subjectivity, the social construction of identity, is quite clear” (301). Also, by there not being a label, it allows for whiteness to continue to be invisible within the larger social order. This strategy does not seem important as a perspective to a study of Southern white <man>.

Finally, the sixth strategy of whiteness is linked to European ancestry. One respondent in the Nakayama and Krizek study said that being “white” meant that they were of European lineage (302). Traditionally Europe has been a source of world-wide power since the beginnings of the Roman Empire, which furthers the centeredness and power constructions of whiteness. The thesis shows that DBT does not reference any type of European ancestry, but it does reference its Southern ancestry, which, as noted earlier under strategy four, bases whiteness on being of Southern decedent.

Following this study, intercultural scholar Ronald Jackson decided to see if white people could adequately define what it means to be “white” in opposition to Nakayama and Krizek’s study that sought to find the discursive space of “white.” Jackson’s study argues that white people identified whiteness as: (1) incompleteness, (2) uninterrogateable space, (3) metaphor for the universal insider, (4) guilty and fair space, and (5) situationally immutable (45).

First, incompleteness is the idea that there is something missing. Jackson believes that his respondents, when asked to define whiteness, “necessitated fragmentation and ambiguity” (45). Because of this ambiguity it seems as though something is missing from the definition of whiteness that white people cannot quite explain or comprehend.

Second, Jackson asserts that whiteness was an uninterrogatable space. This is because “respondents identified themselves as the center from which all societal norms must come” (46). Therefore, the norms that whiteness create(s) typically are not questioned.

Third, is the metaphor for the universal insider. Jackson explains the universal insider as “the transportable feature of whiteness which permits Whites to transcend social boundaries and still gain a semblance of acceptance as an insider” (48). Jackson provides the pop-culture example of the movie *Dangerous Minds*, and a more recent movie would be *Freedom Writers* where a white person enters into a minority community and tries to “fix” them and their problems by getting them to accept white ideals of interaction and society.

Fourth, is guilty and fair space, which, according to Jackson, “seeks to justify white space by paradoxically suggesting that it is privileged space, but that the space is open and shareable, due to the believed existence of social parity” (48). The idea Jackson is promoting is that the respondents believe that we are all equal and that white people feel some amount of guilt if they try to say that space of whiteness is supposed to be inhabited by white people.

Fifth, Jackson says that whiteness is situationally immutable. Jackson claims that Whites have the option to try out other customs for “novelty” but can switch back if they feel uncomfortable. He goes on to say that if Whites began to commit themselves to different cultural communities they would be forced to “concern themselves with the counter-space that affects the

cultural community...[t]his would not only reorganize white space, but it would also virtually eliminate white privilege, racism, and prejudice as we know it” (50).

DBT does not completely commit to different ethnic communities. In its music there exists a fight against racism, prejudice, and class privilege overall. That could be in due part to DBT’s assertion that working class and middle class whites are no better off than working class and middle class African Americans in the South. The band insinuates that there is a double oppression built mostly through class divisions. DBT’s lyrics are concerned more with political and economic equality of all people of the South and do not emphasize one cultural community over the other, thus leaving open the traces of Southern-ness as a counter-space writ large.

Finally, rhetorician Michael Butterworth recently studied whiteness and the heroic constructions of Mark McGwire and Sammy Sosa in their race to break the single season home run record in 1998, and found that the U.S. has “drawn upon the frontier for its mythic identity...that is driven by the rugged individualist” and that “individual reinforces a masculine ideology constitute by strength, size, power, and the ability to tame and harness the forces of nature” (Butterworth 231). From that, “the rugged individual is presumed to be white” (Butterworth 231). This thesis will show, in part, that the Southern white <man> in DBT’s lyrics meanders between the rugged figure and more fatherly identities, and concomitantly between hard worker (in the vein of self-focused American Dream) and communitarian roles.

This chapter presented a review of literature concerning Music in Rhetoric/Communication Studies and Masculinity/Whiteness Studies. These perspectives will be used to help analyze the lyrics of DBT. Before delving into the analysis, the next chapter presents two overarching methodological approaches to the study of songs from the *Southern Rock Opera* and *Dirty South* albums.

3. METHOD SECTION

This chapter presents the two primary methodological lenses that are used to analyze the identity of the Southern white <man> in the lyrics of DBT. The chapter will first attend to Burke's dramatism and will then focus on McGee's ideograph.

Dramatism

The use of symbols is the primary building block to human communication. Rhetorical theorist Timothy Borchers argues that Burke posited the main difference between humans and animals is that humans have the ability to create and use symbols (146). According to linguist Joseph Gusfield, symbols allow humans "to imagine, to select, to create, and to define situation to which they respond" (8). Inherent in symbol use is the notion of naming. Borchers claims that when symbols are used, they often identify a person, place, object or event in such a way as to differentiate it from something else (146). The idea of using symbols to differentiate between people, places, objects, and events, is an important tenet of dramatism.

Burke was the first theorist to put forth the idea of dramatism. Borchers describes dramatism as "how the study of language and other symbol systems create the rhetorical word in which we live" (144). Specifically, Burke says:

Dramatism is a method of analysis and a corresponding critique of terminology designed to show that the most direct route to the study of human relations and human motives is via a methodical inquiry into cycles or clusters of terms and their function. ("Dramatism" 445)

In other words, dramatism is concerned with how language works to create and preserve communities of individuals.

Humans create symbols to represent objects, but they also have another way to conceptualize symbols; that conceptualization is defining an object by how it is different from other objects. As humans differentiate objects, they define them for what they are not, creating negative symbols. Burke writes:

The word – using animal not only understand a thou – shalt – not, it can carry the principal of the negative a step further, and answer the thou – shalt – not with a disobedient No. Logologically, the distinction between natural innocence and fallen man hinges about this problem of language and the negative. Eliminate language from nature, and there can be no moral disobedience. In this sense, moral disobedience is “doctrinal.” Like Faith, it is grounded in language. (Rhetoric of Religion, 186-187)

According to Borchers’ interpretation of Burke, using negative symbols allows society to create moral rules for how people should act, which allows society to say “thou – shalt – not” (147).

Burke argues the point that not only do humans invent the negative, but language and the negative invent us as well (“Language as Action” 9). Because humans are invented by the negative, we become moral agents with the ability to decide between doing what is acceptable and what is “not” acceptable.

When moral laws are violated by people engaging in what is “not” acceptable, guilt is created. Guilt is a primary actor in social change. Borchers describes guilt as “a sense of disorder, imbalance, or remorse that individuals and groups feel because of symbol use” (147).

Rhetorician Barry Brummet describes guilt as,

[A]n awareness that the carefully woven fabric of identifications upheld in hierarchy has been torn through what one has done or thought. If guilt is not expiated, mystery will be uncontrolled, and society cannot exist. Guilt must be expiated, and the person or group must achieve redemption that leads back to a secure hierarchy (reinstatement of the old or establishment of a new one). (255)

One aspect of human interaction that leads to guilt is the concept of hierarchy. Burke claims that we are “goaded by the spirit of hierarchy...and moved by a sense of order” (“Language as

Action” 15). Guilt is created from hierarchy when some people are allowed privileges that are denied to others (Borchers 148). Burke said, “Those ‘Up’ are guilty of not being ‘Down,’ those ‘Down’ are certainly guilty of not being ‘Up’” (“Language as Action” 15). In other words, hierarchy creates guilt from those that are “Up” because of there is an inequality that causes those who are “Down” to suffer or be different in some way from those who are “Up.”

This difference creates guilt because there is not equality between the two groups. In turn, being “Down” can create guilt because they have not achieved the status of “Up” which could cause someone in the “Down” group to feel guilt because they could feel as though they have not provided enough for their selves or their family.

Another aspect of hierarchy is mystery. Burke explains that “King and peasant are ‘mysteries’ to each other” (“Language as Action” 15). The mystery is the idea that, no matter what, the peasant will never know everything about the king. In society today, a good example is the Governor of a state. The media has an undeniable freedom to present even very personal news about the Governor because he is a public official. Yet, there are some things that cannot be reported that are protected under the guise of “security”; it is assumed that the public should/could not handle the information. For example, the Governor could know there are active terrorist cells within the state or what military training is currently under way. For that reason, there is information that members of the general public will never know, thus creating a hierarchical power structure based on the “mystery” that is allotted to the President. Also, the hierarchical power structure lends itself to the idea that the person that is elected to head the state is a good judge of what the community needs. The analysis that follows attends to the ways that the “power” given to George Wallace as the Governor of the State of Alabama led him to direct the community’s morality against de-segregation. This act, thus, created a “mystery” in the way

he acted as Governor to Southern Progressives. The “mystery” to Southern Progressive’s rest in the fact that even though he ran on a segregationist platform, he had traditionally been known as a progressive and had run for Governor once before and had even been endorsed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Interestingly, guilt can be spawned by perfection. Burke writes that humans are “rotten with perfection.” Humans seek to use “proper names” or try to live the “perfect life.” (“Language as Action” 15). An example is someone who is considered perfect by a current societal standard is a celebrity. A celebrity is rich, adored, and has access to almost anything money can buy. This person contrasts with the poorest people who live in society without power, adequate housing, or food. DBT sees the idea of “perfection” that the traditional “Old South” and “New South” held through the words and actions of Wallace. To him, the perfection of society was a society that was all white. Obviously, Wallace could not enact any type of genocide against minorities so he tried the next available alternative which was to separate black people from the white people through the use of segregation. The difference between their lifestyles, be it rich or poor, black or white, causes a “rotten” society and motivates the members of both echelons to experience guilt as a result. Yet, this quest for perfection leads society to seek a way to erase the differences.

Redemption from Guilt

Because humans are “rotten with perfection,” people seek to alleviate the guilt that is consequently raised through the creation of moral laws, hierarchy, and perfection. One way of accomplishing this task, according to Burke, is through tragic redemption. As Burke explains:

[A] dramatic analysis shows how the negativistic principle of guilt implicit in the nature of order combines with the principles of thoroughness (or “perfection”) and substitution that are characteristic of symbol systems in such a way that the

sacrificial principle of victimage (the “scapegoat”) is intrinsic to human congregation. The intricate line of exposition might be summed up thus: If order, then guilt; if guilt, then need for redemption; but any such “payment” is victimage. (“Dramatism” 450)

In other words, because American society (including the South) follows an order, and because it seeks to be perfect through moral laws and governmental laws, the laws will eventually be broken, which will lead to a need for a scapegoat. The scapegoat is the “payment” for the ills of the society.

When a society deems its scapegoat then action must be taken. According to communication scholars Cheree Carlson and John Hockings, “when the scapegoat is destroyed, the ‘sins’ are cast out” (206). Linguist Margaret Cavin continues by connecting the idea of the “thou – shalt – not” negative and purification through scapegoating when she writes:

When an individual or an agent of a particular group act in disregard of the limits of thou – shalt – not, guilt enters the field. The culture... must seek a type of purification... [t]he hero (an agent of the obedient ones) seeks a victim from within the cultural field, a scapegoat to represent the violation of the thou – shalt – not and sacrifices it, cleansing the culture in the process (279).

In other words, the individual or group that is chosen as the victim, they must be removed from the culture so that the culture can be clean and without guilt.

Burke outlines the process by which guilt is created and removed, and he calls this process “terms for order” (Rhetoric of Religion 170). Two general strategies are used for purification from guilt: Mortification and Scapegoating. According to Borchers, “Mortification occurs when the guilty individual or group admits their guilt and asks for forgiveness. The guilty are often punished and driven from the community” (156). Sometimes, as will be argued subsequently, asking for forgiveness is not sufficient and the guilty are still used scapegoats if the actions lead to “very deep” guilt within the community. Wallace dealt with his mortification when he asked forgiveness for his transgressions against the black community, yet, it was not

enough for the progressive South that is still haunted by its past. This leads DBT to scapegoating Wallace in the song “Wallace” (Hood, “Wallace”).

This leads to the second strategy of purification: scapegoating. Burke explained that the scapegoat is “the ‘representative’ or ‘vessel’ of certain unwanted evils, the sacrificial animal upon whose back the burden of these evils is ritualistically loaded” (“Studies in Symbolic Interaction” 39-40). This step involves substitution, which Burke explains by saying, “one character may be redeemed through the act or agency of another” (Rhetoric of Religion 176). Also, Borchers argues that the scapegoat must be worthy because humans seek a “perfect” scapegoat. If the scapegoat is not perfect, then he/she/it will not suffice to remove the guilt from the community (156).

Since a scapegoat must be seen as worthy before he/she/it can be used, Burke illustrates three ways in which a scapegoat may become worthy. First, the scapegoat can be legally responsible for the guilt and subject to the laws of the society. Rhetoricians Brian Ott and Eric Aoki note as an example what transpired in the court proceedings of the murder of openly gay college student Matthew Shepard in 1998 wherein his murderers were convicted as scapegoats for a homophobic society (493). Second, the scapegoat can be assigned in a fatalistic sense. Borchers claims these scapegoats are often seen as having a marked character flaw such as too much pride (156). Third, a scapegoat can be seen as “too good for this world”—a martyr. An example would be Jesus, because he lived a sinless life, something that no other human being was or is capable of doing, thus making him “too good for the world” (Borchers 56). This thesis shows that Wallace falls under the first two and becomes an adequate scapegoat for DBT. First, he was the one that ordered the police to try and quell the riots that had engulfed his state. Second, he was very ambitious, and in that ambition, broke moral laws to obtain power.

Burke's theory of dramatism begins by arguing that humans are symbol using creatures. He asserts that humans define objects by what they are not, or the negative. Defining objects by the negative allows for guilt to enter human interaction. Humans are obsessed with purification so human concepts of hierarchy and mystery also create guilt, and those creations of guilt lead to a need for purification through the act of mortification and scapegoating. This thesis will argue that the leaders of the South, specifically George Wallace, created guilt and he was used as a scapegoat by the progressive South to purify the culture.

Ideograph

The concept of the ideograph was first discussed and published by rhetorical theorist Michael Calvin McGee in his 1980 article titled The Ideograph: a Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology. Borchers argues that McGee explained that ideologies are present in the words we use to communicate (182). McGee defined an ideology as "a political language, preserved in rhetorical documents with the capacity to dictate decision and control public beliefs and behavior" ("Ideograph" 5). Borchers describes Ideographs are "short slogans or phrases" and they "characterize political language or ideology" (182). Since then, ideographs have been used to study many different subjects in communication, such as postcards during the women's suffrage movement (Palczewski 2005), 9/11 in the Service of Corporate Rhetoric (Amernic 2004), marriage and gay-male identity (Grindstaff 2003), puritans and Puritanism as an ideograph (Jasinski 2002), how ideographs work within public safety through the transit authority of Chicago (Coogan 2002), Fidel Castro (Delgado 1999), the visual representation of the Iwo Jima image in editorial cartoons (Edwards and Winkler 1997), and Chicanos' split with Mexican-American ideology (Delgado 1995).

In his work, McGee found three characteristics of ideographs. He describes the characteristics of ideographs as:

An Ideograph is an ordinary language term found in political discourse. It is a high order abstraction representing collective commitment to a particular but equivocal and ill-defined normative goal. It warrants the use of power, excuses belief or behavior which might otherwise be perceived as eccentric or antisocial, and guides behavior and belief into channels easily recognized by the community as acceptable and laudable. (“Ideograph” 15)

McGee argues that ideographs “exist in real discourse, functioning clearly and evidently as agents of political consciousness” (“Ideograph” 7). Rhetoricians Celeste Condit and John Lucaites add that “an ideograph is a culturally biased, abstract word or phrase drawn from ordinary language, which serves a constitutional value for a historically situated collectivity” (xiii). Similarly, Condit argues that as a rhetorical device, ideographs operate as mechanisms for social control or units of persuasion (Condit 4). Cultural critic Fernando Delgado says that in these moments ideographs allow for political struggle among competing elements and contestations between dominant and non-dominant groups (461). The present study explores how the ideograph of the Southern white <man> is a politically conscious persona found in the “Progressive South” ideology supported by DBT.

The work of Maurice Charland demonstrates how the use of ideographs reach beyond the state, or controlling social entity, and contains cultural meanings that can invite opposition to the dominant society. His analyses focuses on ideographs used to create groups that can challenge the dominant group or alter the ability of the group to close off dissent. Ideographic analysis, as Charland illustrates, encourages people “to exist as positions in a text” (138). Thus, the strategic use of ideographs creates individuals “conditioned to the critical vocabulary of ideographs as a prerequisite for belonging to the society” (McGee, “Ideograph” 15). This study points out that

the rebel ideograph is used to bring opposition to the dominant Southern culture and re-identify the meaning of the <rebel> with the progressive South's sub-culture.

For a long time scholars focused their rhetorical criticism on those who are/were in power. Delgado explains it when he says, "The presumption of state/hegemonic power encourages critics toward analyses of dominant discourses and ideographs" (464). Delgado also argues that, "a dominant ideology thesis is too mechanistic and fails to adequately account for 'the rhetorical process of public argumentation in which various organized and articulate interest groups negotiate the problems of resource distribution in the collective life of the community'" (464). Accordingly, any dominant ideology invites confrontation and the formation of "other" ideals from dissenting groups. Charland's study notes that "a collective subject is the first ideological effect of constitutive rhetoric, produced by and embodying ideology" (139). This thesis posits that the Southern white <man> ideograph becomes a type of constitutive rhetoric in the way that Charland envisions the concept. As Delgado mentions, the dominant ideology does not account for dissenting voices (464). Thus, the following analysis demonstrates how the "Progressive South" sub-culture takes the ideograph of the <man> away from "Old South" and "New South" ideologies. In so doing, DBT re-conceptualizes <man> to mean something different from the past meanings that had been associated with it in the traditional and historical South.

These methodologies are next accessed to unpack the DBT's conceptions of Southern white masculinity in the lyrics from the albums Southern Rock Opera and Dirty South.

4. ANALYSIS

Through the use of Burke's theory of dramatism and McGee's concept of the ideograph, this chapter posits that DBT constructs a quintessential progressive Southern white <man> as a counter-culture away from the "Old South" and "New South." As noted previously, this type of <man> protects his family, opposes racist political and ideological positions, views oppression based in class struggles instead of ethnic differences, and problematizes dominant Southern culture through a newly-fashioned rebel figure, called the progressive South, and they have certain characteristics within their ideology of what a <man> should be.

This chapter first argues that DBT crafts an "Old South" and "New South" scapegoat through the figure of Governor George Wallace as an oppositional figure to the newly-fashioned progressive Southern white <man>. This sub-argument is assisted by Burkeian theory. Next, the concept of the "Southern Thing" – the zeitgeist of the progressive Southern white <man> – is discussed as an ideological foundation of the ideograph <man>. Finally, the largest part of the chapter presents the sub-argument that DBT's progressive <man> embodies an identity that resists racism, views oppression based in class consciousness, insists on family-centeredness, and challenges traditional and historical Southern mores. Labels such as progressive, worker, father, and rebel inhere in this Southern white masculinity. This last section relies on dramatism and the ideograph as frameworks. Moreover, throughout the entire chapter, strands of masculinity and whiteness as lenses will be woven through the analysis to underscore the ways that DBT's Southern white <man> functions.

George Wallace As a Scapegoat

The South has often been at the center of culturally-based societal conflicts. From the Civil War to the Civil Rights Movement, the South has been in the nation's eye as a hot bed of racial tension. The divide began with the Civil War in 1861; in fact, there were many Southerners who did not believe in slavery. In Fayette County, Alabama for instance Unionist sympathizers formed groups to protect themselves because they supported the North in the Civil War (Storey 58).

The South surrendered in 1865, and soon thereafter the federally instituted economic and cultural Reconstruction of the region began. Simultaneously, African Americans were granted freedom by the Thirteenth Amendment, their citizenship by the Fourteenth Amendment, and voting rights by the Fifteenth Amendment. Historians Commer Woodward and William McFeely contend that African Americans may have been free, but they still did not enjoy all the rights and privileges that their white counterparts did as citizens of the United States (7). African Americans were discriminated against by a collection of laws deemed Black Codes (or Jim Crow ideologies) that were designed to intimidate and subjugate them in the service of reifying the racial hierarchy that continued to elevate white privilege (Woodward and McFreely 7). Starting with Mississippi in 1890, the former Confederate States passed new constitutions or amendments that effectively “disfranchised most African Americans through a combination of poll taxes, literacy and comprehension tests, and residency and record-keeping requirements” (Woodward and McFreely 8).

Jim Crow laws kept the South segregated – with the help of Supreme Court cases like *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and its “separate but equal” doctrine – until the Civil Rights

Movement grew during the 1920s-1950s under the leadership of the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), among others. The Civil Rights Movement gained momentum in 1954 with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that overturned segregation in terms of public educational institutions. Historians Donnie Williams and Wayne Greenhaw outline the famous story of Rosa Parks, who 1955, during the same year as *Brown v. Board II*, refused to give up her seat to a white man in Montgomery, Alabama and was consequently arrested for her action (48). Her resistance was a part of a larger movement led by groups like the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the burgeoning Southern Christian Leadership Conference under the direction of Martin Luther King and more localized activists in the Deep South like Fred Shuttlesworth and Ralph Abernathy.

During this time of civil unrest in the South, white segregationists were being elected to public office increasingly under the promise of protecting white privilege while concomitantly securing so-called states rights to refuse federal intrusion in culturally localized customs. During this time, political scientists Stephen Leshner asserts, a prominent Southern politician named George Wallace rose to power as Alabama's Governor on a segregationist platform. (164).

George Wallace was sworn in as Alabama's Governor in January of 1963 in the same location that Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as the President of the Confederate States of America in 1861. During his inaugural address, Wallace spoke one of the most memorable lines of his political career when he said, "In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever" (Wallace, "1963 Gubernatorial Inauguration Address," par. 14).

Wallace curbed desegregation at every turn, and made an especially salient point at the University of Alabama, where he stood in front of Foster Auditorium on June 11, 1963 in an effort to prevent the enrollment of black students Vivian Malone and James Hood (Leshner 202). This event became known as the “Stand in the Schoolhouse Door.” Wallace disapproved fervently of the desegregation of the state of Alabama; in his own words: “The President wants us to surrender this state to Martin Luther King and his group of pro-Communists who have instituted these demonstrations” (204).

In 1970, Wallace faced incumbent Governor Albert Brewer, who was the first gubernatorial candidate since Reconstruction to openly court black voters. According to political campaign scholar Kerwin Swint, Brewer worked to build an alliance between blacks and the white working class. He said of Wallace's out of state trips, “Alabama needs a full-time governor” (227). The Wallace campaign aired TV ads with slogans such as “Do you want the black block electing your governor?” and circulated an ad showing a white girl surrounded by seven black boys, with the slogan “Wake Up Alabama! Blacks vow to take over Alabama” (Swint 228).

Seemingly, to DBT, in order for the “Progressive South” to establish an invigorated ethos, it is necessary that a scapegoat be created to remove the guilt from the community. The DBT have chosen Wallace as the scapegoat for the ills and moral laws, which, in the progressives’ eyes, have been created and broken. The broken system that Wallace represents is antithetical to the progressive Southern white <man>. There remains a need to find redemption for the region by first working through Burke’s “negative” – in whiteness studies, this is the mode of constructing whiteness through apposition to an “other” (Burke, “Dramatism” 450). The apposed “other” in this case is the racist South.

DBT constructs Wallace as the scapegoat by continually showing how he embodies guilt. He brings on a type of purification as he, in the DBT song “Wallace,” finds himself in hell where he is roasted (literally and figuratively) by the Devil itself. In the opening lines of the song, DBT establishes that Wallace has died and that he represented the worst part of the “Old South” and “New South” community: “Throw another log on the fire, boys/ George Wallace is coming to stay/ When he met St. Peter at the pearly gates/ I'd like to think that a black man stood in the way” (Hood “Wallace”). The fact that the Devil is acknowledging that Wallace is coming to Hell and a “black man” would stand in his way of heaven contains four important parts. First, the worst of the worst go to hell when they die. In Christianity, only people who do not repent for the sins they commit before they die are condemned. Through repentance, the scapegoat would attempt to rectify and ask for forgiveness for the “moral” laws that they broke. As stated above, sometimes, even if the scapegoat goes through mortification and asks for forgiveness, the community does not grant it. Sometimes the only way to truly expunge the evil that has taken hold of the community, the scapegoat must be punished. In this scenario, Wallace must be punished even though he publically apologized and asked for repentance from his Christian religion for the things he did as Governor of Alabama. Because a born again Christian that repented could still be sent to Hell only serves to make Wallace an apt scapegoat for DBT.

Second, the ultimate punishment for breaking “moral” laws is death. In American society, no punishment is harsher than the death penalty. The lyrics present the idea that *not even* death was a sufficient punishment for Wallace. Instead, he had to endure the ultimate “death penalty”: eternal damnation.

Third, throwing “another log on the fire” brings to light the idea that Hell should be even hotter for Wallace because his sins were above and beyond those who usually break the moral

law (Hood “Wallace”). There are some things that people do that are against the “moral” law that will warrant the usual punishment of hell, but sometimes the extent to which the law is abused, broken, or pushed causes for additional punishment to the perpetrator.

Fourth, the ironic idea of a black man standing in his way of heaven leads to the correction of the guilt brought by the hierarchal setup in the community. Wallace was the Governor and the head of the State of Alabama, as well as the ultimate savior of white privilege – in other words, the top of a Southern white hierarchy. African Americans, who were not even seen as worthy to share the same bathrooms and schools with white people, were at the bottom of the hierarchy. The plight, difference in lifestyle, and suffering were so severe in the Southern hierarchy because it was so unequal that the restructuring of the hierarchy had to reach past the physical life into the next, to create the justice that is being sought by DBT’s Southern white <man>. The “black man” wielding the power to stand in the way forbid Wallace’s entrance rectifies the hierarchal power difference that existed in the physical life and, more importantly, it serves as symbolically “perfect” punishment for Wallace standing in the way of the schoolhouse door at the University of Alabama.

Moreover, DBT explains why Wallace must go to hell even after he asked for repentance in 1995. This feigned gesture – at least according to DBT – was not enough to warrant personal salvation for Wallace and restructuring of the “order” in the “Progressive South.” Of this, DBT writes: “And if it's true that he wasn't a racist/ and he just did all them things for the votes/ I guess Hell's just the place for kiss ass politicians who pander to assholes” (Hood “Wallace”). This brings up the argument that being racist in itself is not enough for one to be victimized, yet, the incitement of racism and creating a culture that feeds off of it is what crossed the line between what is forgivable and what is not by society. Also, DBT argues that the ones who were

at the bottom of the hierarchy would see this as a fitting punishment: “I know, in the end, he got the black people's votes/but I bet they'd still vote him this way/ And Hell's just a little bit hotter/Cuz he played his hand so well/He had what it took to take it so far” (Hood “Wallace”). The line alluding to Wallace getting “the black people’s vote” shows that the “black people” had a hand in making him the head of the hierarchy, yet they may have never had a viable alternative at the time. This consent smacks of a hegemonic process of control. Now the “black people” can rectify the injustice by “voting” him into Hell. Again, the idea of Hell being hotter to punish Wallace is revisited in these lyrics, but the true victimization is brought to fruition when DBT admits that “he had what it took to take it so far.” “It” stands for the policies of inequality and culture of hate based on race, and because he did take it “so far” he is the scapegoat that the “Progressive South” uses to purge its guilt from their past.

At this point, Wallace has been scapegoated by DBT to rid the “Progressive South” of the guilt from the entire Old South and New South’s pasts. Interestingly, the last line of the song is, “Now the Devil’s got a Wallace sticker on the back of his car” (Hood “Wallace”). This gives the impression that the Devil is a supporter of Wallace by putting his sticker on the back of his car. This seals the connection between the evil of the Devil and Wallace. Through the Devil’s support, Wallace becomes a tool of evil. As the tool or medium for evil, it is easier for the “Progressive South” to demonize and scapegoat the tool of evil. Also, by making the Devil a Wallace supporter, anyone who supports him or his legacy is following the Devil’s point-of-view, thus making those members of society a tool of evil as well. In other words, they are guilty by association. By identifying those who support Wallace to be evil, DBT seems to aim to victimize and scapegoat future offenders of moral law when the time comes for purification.

To DBT, racism is a very important part of what causes guilt within the South – historically and contemporarily. Removal of this “negative” and apposed “other” becomes the first step in refashioning the Southern white <man>. Wallace, and his racist policies of segregation, rhetorical moments of defiance, and lack of punishment for the police that brutalized Civil Rights Movement advocates, are just a few of the moments that truly hurt the reputation of the South overall. And, of course, these circumstances harm black-white relations based in “Old South” and “New South” milieu.

Construction of the Southern White <Man> Through the “Southern Thing”

DBT fashions its idea of the “Progressive South” by enacting an alternate identity in apposition to dominant Southern culture through the song “The Southern Thing.” In this song, DBT starts defining the meaning of the Southern white <man> by accepting the aspects of Southern culture writ large that are seen as non-threatening to progressive ideals and rejecting the negative aspects of Southern culture. The band employs negative symbols to create an identity contrasting with the perceived dominant culture. “The Southern Thing” is in many respects the overall definition of what it means to be a progressive Southerner, according to DBT.

DBT begins its song by adopting the negative to define what being a Southern white <man> is not. The song starts with the lines: “Ain't about my pistol/Ain't about my boots/Ain't about no northern drives/Ain't about my southern roots” (Hood “Southern Thing”). By beginning with the negative, it defines the “Progressive South” against common stereotypes and misconceptions of “Old South” and “New South” ideologies and cultural forms. According to sociologists Jo Dixon and Allan Lizotte, the pistol is a representation or stereotype that Southerners encounter because of the Civil War and, in the present day, a strong opposition to

any form of gun control (389). The pistol is a synecdoche of armament and the inability to diplomatically resolve conflicts or give up staunch cultural views. By addressing that being a <man> is not about the “pistol,” DBT confirms the idea that the “Progressive South” involves a willingness to listen and discuss conflicts rather than obstinately reject differing viewpoints.

To many outside the South, it seems as if the South is obsessed with the Civil War, or what stereotypically “Old South” and “New South” proponents call the War of Northern Aggression. DBT argues that the “Progressive South” does not fixate on, obsess about, or draw its identity from the Civil War, especially as evidenced when the band sings, “ain’t about no northern drives” (Hood “Southern Thing”). “Northern Drive” is an allusion to the North encroaching into the South during the Civil War. During and after the Civil War, most Southerners referred to the Civil War as the aforementioned War of Northern Aggression (Rosen 12). Because this “drive” and war are not part of their identity, the progressive Southern white <man> does not place much emphasis on the Northern incursion into the South during the Civil War. This is potentially indicative of a culture that is more open to work with and talk to a so-called past enemy.

Next, DBT cuts ties with the established “Old South” and “New South” norms by singing, “Ain’t about my Southern Roots” (Hood “Southern Thing”). Dispelling traditional roots, the band discusses a new collective culture based on what the original culture is “not.” As noted earlier, this plays out in the “northern drives” and “pistols,” yet it will take on an even more pronounced role in defining the “Progressive South” later in the song.

Economic equality is a cornerstone to the Southern white <man’s> ideals, in DBT’s estimation. DBT addresses the issue of race and poverty when it sings, “Ain’t about the races, the crying shame/To the fucking rich man all poor people look the same” (Hood “Southern Thing”).

Here, DBT presents the idea that the struggle is not between races anymore, but is about class. The band clearly states that race does not matter as much as economic oppression, and the sentiment about past race relations “being a crying shame” implies that people in the “Old South” and “New South” focus on racial differences rather than see the bigger picture of poverty in the South. The “rich man” has caused the struggle among the majority of the people in the South. This oppression unites African American Southerners and white Southerners. Again, the counter-culture to the South (the new Southern white <man>) is being defined by what it is not.

DBT continues its assessment of traditional historical Southern mores by describing more identities of the “Progressive South” through a Burkeian type of negative. It does so in the lines: “Ain't about no hatred/ better raise a glass/It's a little about some rebels/ but it ain't about the past/Ain't about no foolish pride/Ain't about no flag/Hate's the only thing that my truck would want to drag” (“Southern Thing”). Again, DBT addresses the issue of hatred. This hatred has traditionally been targeted toward two sources: Northerners and African Americans. “Raising the glass” is traditionally done in celebration or acknowledgement of friendship at events such as weddings. DBT is arguing that there is no need to hate and that the two groups that have been the center of this hatred should be brought in to the “Progressive South” and treated as friends.

Historical roots are an important part the culture of the South (Cobb, Redefining 209). DBT argues that the past is important, but does not, given a sordid history, have to obscure progress. DBT does mention that there are some positive aspects of the legacy left by the Civil War when it writes “it's a little about the rebel/ but it ain't about the past” (“Southern Thing”). By reclaiming the persona of the “rebel,” DBT can take the positive aspect of the Civil War, which to a more progressive Southerner, is the generic fighting spirit that Confederates possessed

to disallow anyone from invading their homes. This gives the “Progressive South” the image of a people who do not need to believe in racism in order to stand up to outside forces. As we will soon see, the outside force – the dominant Establishment – against whom the Southern white <man> fights is the “Old South” and “New South” and its attendant ideologies.

DBT next tackles the issue of current Southern culture and the reverence of the rebel flag. The Southern states have had a problem with removing the rebel flag from their state capitols (Reingold and Wike 569). The rebel flag is widely considered the single representation of slavery and racism in the South. By saying that it “ain’t about no flag,” DBT re/envisiones a progressive South that has no affinity or identity wrapped up in the most recognizable symbol of the Confederacy (Hood “Southern Thing”). The “foolish pride” causes the traditional Southerners to fight to keep the rebel flag on display in their states. The “foolish pride” is foolish because it is not rooted in the positive aspects of what it meant to be of a rebellious spirit, but rather in a hate-laden and racist persona.

DBT here addresses an important issue of past Southern culture. Many African Americans were killed by lynching in the nineteenth and early-to-mid twentieth centuries. Folks have been killed in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, as well. One example is the case of James Byrd, an African American, who was dragged to death in a pick-up truck in 1998 (King 3). DBT tries to nullify the painful memories and meaning of “dragging” when it states that “hate” is the only thing that is worthy of being dragged and, thus, killed or excised from the “Progressive South” (Hood “Southern Thing”). By removing the idea of dragging from progressive Southern culture and creating a positive metaphor for the destruction of hate, the Southern white <man>, in DBT’s construction, reclaims the image as something that will no longer be used as tool of oppression and division, but as a tool of freedom and unity.

Moreover, there are positive aspects of Southern culture that DBT weaves into the new identity of the “Progressive South.” The idea that there are positive aspects from the past events such as the Civil War creates a dichotomy. It is hard to understand how a positive link from the “Old South’s” and “New South’s” support of the Civil War and perhaps resistance to the Civil Rights Movement could be embraced by someone who describes himself as progressive. Yet, this is what DBT calls the duality of “The Southern Thing.” Of this dynamic, the band writes: “You think I’m dumb/ maybe not too bright/You wonder how I sleep at night/Proud of the glory/ stare down the shame/Duality of the Southern Thing” (Hood “Southern Thing”). The duality of the “Southern Thing,” according to Hood, is the acceptance of all the good things that are based in Southern Culture and the rejection of the bad characteristics. This duality is challenging for people outside of the South to understand (“Personal Interview”). DBT addresses this issue when it states, “You wonder how I sleep at night” (Hood “Southern Thing”). This sentiment refers to someone who is outside the South and who does not understand the duality that a Southern progressive faces with their identities linked to the past. It comes from the “glory” of standing up and fighting for individualism and rights that is rooted in fighting the invading North during the Civil War and George Wallace standing up to the Federal Government during the Civil Rights Movement.

Staring down the “shame” is the attempt to rectify the identity that is based in non-progressive ideals from the Civil War and segregationist era. DBT gives an example of this when it writes: “My Great Great Granddad had a hole in his side.../Got shot at Shiloh, thought he’d die alone.../Ain’t no plantations in my family tree/Did NOT believe in slavery, thought that all men should be free” (Hood “Southern Thing”). Effectively, DBT justifies why people from their culture’s past would proudly fight a war, which if won, would have kept people in slavery. This

duality is explained by the question his Granddad asks: “But, who are these soldiers marching through my land?” (Hood “Southern Thing”). The presence of invading Northern soldiers brought up a question of morality and human rights that led the questioning Southerner during the Civil War – especially one in disagreement with slavery or in the least ambivalent to it, as their economic status occluded them from participation in the “Peculiar Institution” – to make a decision of conflicting interests between freedom of African Americans or of Southern white men. Herein lies the duality of identity that would create problems for progressive Southerners for generations to come.

The negative aspects such as racism, intimidation, and hatred are the other side of the coin that creates the duality and are what DBT’s Southern white <man> tries to purge to end the dichotomy. By trying to end this duality, DBT ostensibly “sleep[s] at night” and clears its conscience from the negative aspects of the past (Hood “Southern Thing”).

Finally, DBT punctuates the construction of a “Progressive South” by showing how the “South will rise again” mentality remains entrenched more in rising to progressive heights than in a revivalist sentimentality of the “Old South” and “New South.” The story of Great Great Granddad comes back into the argument. DBT writes:

I heard the story as it was passed down/
About guts and glory/ and Rebel
stands/Four generations/a whole lot has changed/
Robert E. Lee/Martin Luther King/
We've come a long way rising from the flame/
Stay out the way of the southern thing. (Hood “Southern Thing”)

From the beginning of the list of Southern resistance – from the negative image of Robert E. Lee to the positive reference to Martin Luther King – DBT constructs an identity of progressivism since “rising from the flame” (Hood “Southern Thing”). Lee can be conceived as one of the most resonant human symbols of the Confederacy and its rebellion, according to Southern historian Allan Nolan (24). King is surely the positive embodiment of the Civil Rights Movement because

he was the leader that helped get the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act passed in 1964-65, writes historian Robert Loewy (341). “Rising from the flame” is a reference to Southern advancement since the Civil War both physically and morally such as reconstructing large Southern cities burned down during the war. But, for the Southern white <man>, the “rise” indicates an upwardly mobile “Progressive South” that works from and through human rights and equality. There is not as much an indication of rising *from* the rubble left by the Union forces, as there is of rising *above* the fray of racism and segregationism that the Confederacy insisted on holding close.

By beginning the song describing what the “Southern Thing” is not, and employing the negative, DBT hints at a new identity for the “Progressive South” based in apposition – a tenet of whiteness that places a current instantiation of whiteness alongside an “other.” While Nakayama and Krizek envisioned this “other” as ethnically different than white people, DBT’s “other” is clearly the archetypal figures of the “Old South” and “New South” (298). What DBT foments is the identity of a progressive South. DBT continues to solidify the identity by acknowledging the duality that exists in the “Progressive South” from the identity that is built on the perceived “glory” of fighting against the North during the Civil War. Again, DBT employs the concept of the negative by explaining that the ancestors of the Southern white <man>, from whom he derives his progressive identity, does not fight for any of the commonly held stereotypical reasons that people in the present might believe about him. By addressing the negative, DBT is able to create a positive progressive Southern identity that is accepting of the desire to fight against invasions from others. Again, though, “invasions” deals more with encroachment of the dastardly “Old South” and “New South” and the ancillary ideologies they invoke. Instead, DBT’s Southern white <man> does not conceive of himself as a “majority” – in the words of

Nakayama and Krizek – but a co-fighter for freedom and equality for all people (298). This <man> is open to the traces of fellow Southerners of all ethnicities and, surely, of working and middle classes. This characteristic will be addressed below as particulars of the Southern white <man> come to light in more lyrics from *Southern Rock Opera* and *Dirty South*.

Southern White <Man> As Class Conscious, Family-Oriented and Rebellious

This section examines DBT's representations of the Southern white <man> through a cluster ideograph that imbricates <man> with labels such as progressive, worker, father, and rebel. This <man> is found mostly in the songs "Where the Devil Don't Stay," "Ronnie and Neil," "Birmingham," "Puttin' People on the Moon," and "Never Gonna Change." Ultimately, the analysis reveals that the ideograph of <man> in the "Progressive South" challenges racism, protects his family at all costs, rebels against social structures, and exhibits anger with a Southern economic hierarchy that oppresses working and middle classes.

There are many different theories, definitions, and viewpoints regarding ideology as it can be found in and studied through discourse. Rhetorician Sonja Foss defines ideology as "a pattern of beliefs that determines a group's interpretations of some aspect(s) of the world" (239). Rhetoricians Janice Edwards and Carol Winkler concur, noting that the ideograph, in particular, can enliven words or groups of words that have a shared social meaning for cultures (297).

The concept of the ideograph was first published by Michael Calvin McGee in his 1980 article titled *The Ideograph: a Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology*. McGee explained that ideologies are present in the words we use to communicate. Later, in his work *Text, Context, and Fragmentation in Contemporary Culture*, McGee challenged the understanding of text and the context it is created in. He said:

Critical rhetoric does not begin with a finished text in need of interpretation; rather, texts are understood to be larger than the apparently finished discourse that presents itself as transparent. The apparently finished discourse is in fact a dense reconstruction of all the bits of other discourses from which it was made. (“Fragmentation” 70)

The ideograph, the understanding of the textual meaning of <man>, is therefore a sum of its parts. The cluster representation of the ideograph of the roles that a male plays in society creates the discursive meaning of <man>. The cluster ideographic roles that make a <man> in the lyrics of DBT involve monickers such as progressive, worker, father, and rebel. These roles help make sense of the way that DBT fashions Southern white masculinity in the “Progressive South.”

One of the most robust characteristics of the Southern white <man> is his role as a dedicated and strong-willed father willing to sacrifice for his family. The song “Where the Devil Don’t Stay” is the first song off of *The Dirty South* album (Cooley and Cooley). The song begins to address the issue of <man> as an ideograph by looking at the cluster of male terms with the story of a father, or in this case <daddy>. In this song, ideals of rebelling against social norms and dealing with class and race relations are also prevalent.

The term “daddy” falls within the requirement of McGee’s first tenant of ideograph, which is that the term is “ordinary language found in political discourse” (“Ideograph” 15). Daddy is a term that is used as a synonym for father, which is typically used in the Southern community. It is a very common word, such as one could expect either “daddy” or “mama” to be a child’s first word.

The “daddy” concept also meets McGee’s second tenant of the term being “a high order abstraction representing collective commitment to a particular but equivocal and ill-defined normative goal” (“Ideograph” 15). Edwards and Winkler note that for the ideograph “the equivocal normative goal is necessary to insure that the ideograph could never be empirically

verifiable” (299). In other words, the word must be able to be used for a collective meaning, but also have the ability for the society to be able to try and figure where the ideograph is leading the society as a whole, or in this case, what goal the ideograph is trying to accomplish by its representation of the Southern white <man>.

In the song “Where the Devil Don’t Stay,” DBT indicates the strength of the <man> as father or “daddy.” As the song opens, the protagonist’s father is unemployed, and must do what he can to support his family. As a jobless working class man, the “daddy” must not only make ends meet, but make sense of the class disparities that motivated his illicit economic modes:

My Daddy played poker on a stump in the woods back in his younger
days/Prohibition was the talk, but the rich folks walked to the woods where my
Daddy stayed/Jugs and jars from shiners, these old boys here, they ain't
miners/They came from the twenty-niners/It didn't take a hole in the ground to put
the bottom in their face. (Cooley and Cooley “Where the Devil Don’t Stay”)

Playing poker is a game of gamblers that is often linked with questionable moral activity and it is even more dubious because it is taking place in the “woods.” Events that take place in the “woods” and not in the city or around the rest of the community seem to elicit some sort of deviant connotation to the actions. The “rich folks” walking to see his father in the woods during prohibition leads to the irony that a strata of the class system that locked the father out still commodifies the worker in such a way that marks him as an outlaw.

Because the rich had to come see the protagonist’s father for moonshine, he was obviously serving the needs of the rich by supplying them with the illegal alcohol. Also, because the rich folks were the ones who talked up prohibition as political leaders and advocates, so as to seem moral, gives them the implied power within the community because the rich have the ability to make laws. But, there is an undertone in the meaning of the rich’s actions in fact they were hypocrites because they supported the illegal production and consumption of alcohol. This

means that the average man, or “daddy” in this song, is not hypocritical because he does not spout the moral vices of things such as alcohol or gambling, and is true to his identity. He is the kind of person that one can take at face value, someone who does not have to hide who he truly is. Also, this speaks to the “rebel” way of life by doing whatever it takes to provide for one’s family.

The song’s protagonist then invites his father to explain why class disparities exist in the “Old South” and “New South” environments in which the family is positioned. The protagonist demands: “Daddy tell me another story/Tell me about the lows and the highs/Tell me how to tell the difference between what they tell me is the truth or a lie/Tell me why the ones who have so much make the ones who don’t go mad/With the same skin stretched over their white bones/ and the same jug in their hand” (Cooley and Cooley “Where the Devil Don’t Stay”). The first lines are general questions about experiences in life that a father would teach his son if he was around and able to do such a thing. The third line leads into the interesting part because it deals with the difference and anxiety with class struggle. In this situation, because the son is asking why the ones who do not have much go mad with envy against those who do, one can infer that “daddy” and his family do not have much and are poor. The boy then brings in physical comparisons between the two different classes of people to show that they should suffer the same fate as the poor, but the question posed to the father is why does this not happen. It is inferred that the inequities of this societal structure are large, and should be demonized as a part of what a Southern white <man> should not be. That is, the kind of hypocrite who legislates the prohibition of alcohol and then consumes it underhandedly – purchasing it from the very people who members of his class have occluded from economic mobility – does not belong in a “Progressive South.”

This questioning of class structure is DBT's way of breaking away from "Old South" and "New South" norms, and offering a class critique as a part of defining the more progressive <man>. The protagonist also ties this class critique to race in describing his father's commitment to equality of classes and between African Americans and whites. To this point, DBT writes:

My Daddy played poker on a stump in the woods/ back when the world was gray/Before black and white went and chose up sides and gave a little bit of both away/The only blood that's any cleaner is the blood that's blue or greener/Without either you just get meaner and the blood you gave gives you away. (Cooley and Cooley "Where the Devil Don't Stay")

The world being gray is an allusion to a utopian ideal that was somewhat of a lived experience in smaller communities such as those in the Muscle Shoals, Alabama area (i.e., Leighton, Alabama) during the Jim Crow era. Typically, these subsistence farming and sharecropping communities witnessed lower class African Americans and whites comingling in a fraternity of survival. These groups also resisted the land barons, who represented the upper echelon of a post-slavery South's agricultural economy. DBT insinuates that black and white "went and chose up sides" as these upper classes pitted poor whites against African Americans, particularly before the Civil Rights Movement and in the midst of the struggle on the part of segregationists to protect white space and privilege. Before the Civil Rights Movement, in DBT's estimation, more progressive and/or lower class whites and African Americans did not disagree based upon race. They stayed together in communities because both groups were poor and they saw the enemy as the rich white man that subjugated both groups.

DBT wishes for that lost time to return as a lynchpin to the "Progressive South" when African Americans and whites do not fight based on race, yet they work together in a class struggle to make the South a better place to live for everyone, and thus more progressive. By playing cards and interacting with African Americans "back when the world was gray," "daddy"

is shown to be racially progressive. This identity runs counter to Nakayama and Krizek's argument that the rhetoric of whiteness involves positioning "white" as a majority center (282). Because "daddy" interacts with people outside of his race – something that was abhorred by the "Old South" and "New South" – he opens up the potentiality of racial equality in the "Progressive South."

In terms of DBT's critique of class and race, one of the most robust examples is found in a line from "Where the Devil Don't Stay" quoted above. DBT writes: "the only blood that is any cleaner is the blood that's blue or greener" (Cooley and Cooley "Where the Devil Don't Stay"). DBT sarcastically avers that the blood that is blue or greener, which is to say that belonging to people who have money or come from a prestigious family, are somehow cleaner than "daddy." Blue bloods are prestigious families who are often wealthy and the heads of the community. People with greener blood are people who have money, since green is the color of money, and they can buy their way to a "cleaner" life. DBT mentions that without money or status that people just get meaner. This is an important implication to the construct of class because "daddy" has neither and the protagonist, presumably, will not in his lifetime. This meanness is channeled, here, into a critique of the upper classes. The Southern white <man> is resentful of the way that these classes oppress African Americans and whites; this meanness will come back in DBT's lyrics (as will soon be evident) as a motivation for the <man> in the "Progressive South" to turn to class rebellion.

Turning to issues of anti-racism, the DBT song "Ronnie and Neil" lends itself to a better understanding of the Southern white <man's> commitment to the "Progressive South's" ideology of equal rights (Hood "Ronnie and Neil"). At the same time, DBT challenges the prototypical and historical characteristics of the "Old South" and "New South" by contrasts to the

Burkeian negative. The song illustrates one instance in which racist events were happening in the 1960s-1970s South at the same time that there were Southern white <man> resisting this societal promotion of racism. As Hood noted in an interview, the song is really about the progressive “whites who were forgotten” in the maelstrom of dastardly events in the South (particularly in Alabama) (“Personal Interview”). “Ronnie and Neil” actually follows a musical-historical story of Alabama. While segregationists were excluding African Americans from public accommodations, and noted racists like Robert “Dynamite Bob” Chambliss were wreaking havoc on Dynamite Hill in Birmingham, the music industry in the “Heart of Dixie” was keeping race relations peaceable. The recording studio Muscle Shoals Sound near Florence, Alabama, in particular, was instrumental in bringing African American artists like Aretha Franklin and white Southern Rock acts like Lynyrd Skynyrd together in the same space, though not always at the same time.

The song “Ronnie and Neil” starts with a narrative of the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church – inarguably one of the worst tragedies of the Civil Rights Movement era – and the way that it impacted African Americans *and* whites in the South. They write:

Church blew up in Birmingham/Four little black girls killed/ for no goddamn
good reason/All this hate and violence can't come to no good end/A stain on the
good name/A whole lot of good people dragged through the blood and
glass/Blood stains on their good names/ and all of us take the blame. (Hood
“Ronnie and Neil”)

The “stain on a good name” seemingly refers to the ways that the South writ large was constructed. But, it also speaks to the way that whites, specifically, were constituted as an essentialized racist group of people. Even narrower, Southern white men were pivoted as racist instigators of violence, collusion, and injustice. The “good people” indicates a doubleness of subjectivities. One the one hand, innocent African Americans and vitally those seeking the

grandest goals of American life (equality and liberation) were, quite literally, dragged through the rubble of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, as well as Bethel Baptist Church, Arthur Shores' NAACP law offices, and scores of private homes and public places throughout the 1950s and 1960s. On the other hand, "good people" can represent those white folks, who the DBT considers Southern progressives. And, since white men were mostly seen nationally as the evil-doers, these "good people" could mean, to follow DBT's main argument about masculinity, the Southern white <man> in a "Progressive South." In the midst of the era's mayhem, there were signs of hope. As DBT notes, "Meanwhile in North Alabama/Wilson Pickett came to town/to record that sweet soul music/to get that Muscle Shoals sound" (Hood "Ronnie and Neil"). There were, in this instance, positive and open collaborations between white record studios and African American artists like Pickett, who built their reputations in a far more egalitarian Northwest Alabama than the stereotypical racist memories of Birmingham and Montgomery might indicate.

Other examples from this song related to progressive whites involve who the band Lynyrd Skynyrd came into contact with when they visited Alabama. The band writes, "Meanwhile in North Alabama/Lynyrd Skynyrd came to town/to record with Jimmy Johnson at Muscle Shoals Sound/and they met some real fine people/not just racist pieces of shit/and they write a song about it/and that song became a hit" (Hood "Ronnie and Neil"). Here, again, is a sign that not all Southern white men were racists. DBT's insistence on such examples underscores their point that the sons of this era raised in the wake of such tragic events can carry on the "Progressive South's" ideologies. (Speaking of familialism, Hood's father, after all, was a "Swamper" – a studio musician at Muscle Shoals Sound and F.A.M.E. recording studios who played bass for Aretha Franklin, Wilson Pickett, and scores of other soul and rhythm and blues artists in the 1960s and 1970s.)

Interestingly, DBT does not just define the positive white influences found in Alabama during this time period. The band also calls into question the negative “others” – the racist whites themselves – existing at the time. In “Ronnie and Neil,” the “Neil” is Neil Young, a Canadian musician who famously critiqued Southern culture during the 1970s. “Ronnie” is Ronnie Van Zant, the founder of Lynyrd Skynyrd. Young and Van Zant had a feud “in song” about the ways to fix the South: immediate action (Young) or gradualism (Van Zant) (Hood “Ronnie and Neil”). DBT owns-up to the legacies of racism as they were remonstrated by Young, especially in the lyric that notes, “Out in California/a rock star from Canada/wrote a coupla good songs about the bad shit that went down/’Southern Man’ and ‘Alabama’ certainly told some truth” (Hood “Ronnie and Neil”). Following on, though, the Southern white <man> is drawn out of the negative contrast to the Southern white man of the “Old South” and “New South.” DBT, thereupon, finishes the stanza with: “But there were a lot of good people down here/and Neil Young just wasn’t around” (Hood “Ronnie and Neil”). Young, it seems in DBT’s estimation, was one of the masses outside of the South who viewed all Southern white men as backwards or unprogressive. Notice how this theme relates to the analysis of the “Southern Thing” above in that both songs react to these stock and essentializing constructions of the South (Hood “Southern Thing”).

This anti-racist Southern white <man> is also redeemed in the same way in the song “Birmingham” (Hood). On this track, DBT tells the story of a fallen city’s propensity towards violence in the midst of the segregationist era. The song starts with: “Economics shut the furnace down/Bull Connor hosing children down/George Wallace stared them Yankee's down/In Birmingham” (Hood “Birmingham”). As with “Wallace,” DBT reintroduces the racist underpinnings of the “Old South” and “New South.” Figures such as Wallace and Connor (the

City of Birmingham's infamously segregationist Commissioner of Public Safety who shut down Civil Rights Movement marches, rallies, and freedom rides during the 1950s and 1960s) – are invoked to punctuate racial injustice. Their methods of dominance are mentioned: fire hoses for Connor and the “stand in the schoolhouse door” (in Tuscaloosa, Alabama) for Wallace.

Apposing the Southern white <man> of the “New South,” DBT alludes to a revival of the city in the “Progressive South.” To this point, the band sings:

Most of my family came from Birmingham/I can feel their presence on the street
Vulcan Park has seen it's share of troubled times/But the city won't admit defeat
Magic City's magic getting stronger/Dynamite Hill ain't on fire any longer
No man should ever have to feel he don't belong/in Birmingham/Birmingham. (Hood
“Birmingham”)

In this stanza, DBT reveals that its ancestor's racism can still be felt; after all, these “Old South” and “New South” modes of ideology do not disappear that easily, as evidenced by the need for DBT to re-characterize the “Progressive South.” The forebears and ghosts of Birmingham's past still walk and haunt the streets. One of the city's icons – the Vulcan statue positioned in Vulcan Park atop Red Mountain overlooking Birmingham – has spatially and culturally seen troubled times. Notice, however, that the Magic City's “magic” is returning. The sweat and promises and dreams of a mill town based in iron and steel profit, and the way capital grew the city in a matter of a few short years, earned Birmingham its nickname, Magic City. This era of mechanization in the 1880s-1920s was the peak of the “New South” period, as discussed in Chapter One. But, “this time” in DBT's “Progressive South,” the “magic” will be less about relining the iron and steel baron's pockets, and more about racial equality (Hood “Birmingham”). In the least, the bombs that earned the city its second nickname, “Bombingham,” are no longer heard from the College Hills neighborhood, unaffectionately called “Dynamite Hill” even some sixty years later. DBT undergirds this point with the line, “No man should ever have to feel he don't belong/in

Birmingham/Birmingham” (Hood “Birmingham”). Everyone now belongs, and the Southern white <man> relishes this thought; so much, in fact, that DBT wistfully breathes the city’s name a second time to assure listeners that they do, in fact, mean “Birmingham” despite what stereotypical popular opinions might hold about the city, the state of Alabama, and the South at large.

Taking a turn back to class and family as characteristics of the Southern white <man>, DBT expresses in “Puttin’ People on the Moon” the woes of a system that oppresses the working class and forces choices to be made in order to provide for a family (Hood). The analysis, here, is sympathetic to DBT’s argument. It should be noted, however, that the hegemonically masculine characteristics of heteronormativity and the “patriarch” work into this articulation of the Southern white <man>. This can be problematic, to be sure, but given that the critique is centered on class more than anything in this instance, there is little need to address the straight-centeredness and masculinity of the lyrics. Following from “Where the Devil Don’t Stay,” “Puttin’ People on the Moon” tackles issues of unemployment and lower class struggles to provide for one’s family (Hood). This song, according to Hood, is about “rocket envy,” the vernacular term given to the obsession of North Alabamians with the NASA Rocket Center in Huntsville that produces a fair share of the U.S. government’s main booster and sub-booster rockets for missions ranging from the Space Shuttle program to satellite launches (Hood, “Patterson Hood”). The song takes place in the mid-1980s and is told from the perspective of a man living sixty miles away from NASA’s Rocket Center. He finds it ironic that he is out of work from the local factory and cannot provide for his family, while down the highway the U.S. government continues funding “rock collecting” missions costing tax payers billions of dollars (Hood, “Patterson Hood”).

The song represents the struggles of a Southern white <man> in the working class who must take the rebellious spirit of his forebears and tenacity of the hypermasculine Southern white man and appropriate it in the service of class consciousness (social) and the need to survive (individual). Here, Southern white masculinity is not tough for the sake of “pose,” but is necessary to uphold the ideals of an ultimate “Progressive South.” The lyrics start with the protagonist’s personal situation:

Mary Alice had a baby/ and he looked just like I did/We got married on a Monday/ and I been working ever since/Every week down at the Ford Plant/ but now they say they're shutting down/Goddamned Reagan in the White House/ and no one there gives a damn/Double Digit unemployment/ TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority, a government energy project begun by the first Franklin Roosevelt Administration] be shutting soon/While over there in Huntsville/They puttin' people on the moon. (Hood “Puttin’ People on the Moon”)

From the outset of the song, the protagonist is shown to be a father and a husband. Since he was working at the Ford plant it is reasonable to ascertain that the protagonist was working at a blue collar job which places him and his family in the working class. With the plant closing, the protagonist will have a hard time providing for his family.

The protagonist seems to blame President Ronald Reagan for the collapse of his plant. This contrasts with the “New South” ideals concerning Reagan, as he won the state of Alabama handily in both of his elections and is considered a political hero of conservatism in the state overall. Here, there is certainly a rejection of this “New South” icon. What is more, the government, representative of, and represented by, the upper classes making money from what the DBT considers a worthless space industry in the face of “lived” poverty, is critiqued as a somewhat ignorant institution. People are starving, and NASA continues to “big budget” its way to the stars (Hood, “Patterson Hood”). DBT shows the class schism that is being faced in the protagonist’s home town; that is, it is facing economic hardship, while down the highway, the

economy is booming from the Reagan era defense spending and is not suffering from double digit unemployment.

As a result of this hardship, the <man> in the “Progressive South” works through the historical rebelliousness to support his family. The song continues:

So I took to runnin' numbers for this man I used to know/And I sell a few narcotics and I sell a little blow/I ain't getting rich now but I'm gettin' more than by/It's really tough to make a living but a man just got to try/if I die in Colbert County/would it make the evening news?/They're too busy blowin' rockets/Puttin' people on the moon. (Hood “Puttin' People on the Moon”)

The protagonist is, again, using illegal means to provide for his family. This is another example of class difference being played out and the <man> figure rebelling against the societal norms so as to provide for his family. It shows that when it comes to family a Southern <man> will forgo the set laws of the society and to take care of his own family at the risk of his freedom from being punished and put in jail. And, if caught – or killed – in the process of the illicit activity, DBT's protagonist is assured that his story will never be told because “rocket envy” has turned the state's and nation's eye to the burgeoning space industry. And, again, people are starving.

The struggles that the <man> faces continue to mount as he loses faith in a Southern economic system that ignores those in most need. The next stanza indicates the hypocrisies of the upper classes:

Another Joker in the White House/said a change was comin' round/But I'm still workin' at The Wal-Mart/ and Mary Alice, is in the ground [his wife died of cancer earlier in the song due to exposure from power lines]/And all them politicians, they all lyin' sacks of shit/They say better days upon us but I'm sucking left hind tit/And the preacher on the TV says it ain't too late for me/But I bet he drives a Cadillac and I'm broke with some hungry mouths to feed.../And if you say I'm being punished. Ain't He got better things to do?/Turnin' mountains into oceans/ Puttin' people on the moon. (Hood “Puttin' People on the Moon”)

The <man> is losing faith in the structure of society by mocking the elected leader by referring to the President as a “joker.” He also calls all politicians “lying sacks of shit.” This shows a

different kind of rebellion to the rules because in the other lyrics the <man> was rebelling against the laws that society passed as a whole. By referring to the President as a “joker” the <man> is rebelling against the power of a legally central authority figure. By calling all politicians “lying sacks of shit,” the protagonist is rebelling against the entire societal structure of governmental representation and furthering his rebel persona – a precipitation of the “positive” side of his forebears: the willingness to fight. Again, in the protagonist’s case, the fight is for economic justice.

Notice how the protagonist continues to attack the credibility of authority figures when he takes on the moral authority figure by showing the hypocrisy of the “preacher on TV” (Hood “Puttin’ People on the Moon”). Preachers are moral leaders in the Christian faith, and the South is often referred to in the United States as the “Bible Belt” because of the significance the region puts on the importance of Christianity in everyday life. It is yet another attack on the power representations of the New South, as DBT shows that the inequality and empty double speak of a man who is supposed to be poor to live a life of a preacher. A Cadillac is a luxury car that is a symbol of wealth and upper class mobility. If one has wealth, then he or she is not hungry. The protagonist cannot feed his family, so he is therefore poor. The protagonist is pointing to a question as he addresses the fact that the preacher says it “aint to late for me” (Hood “Puttin’ People on the Moon”). How can someone worry about salvation if they have to worry about providing the basic needs of a family or listen to a man represents everything he is supposed to speak against? It is easy for the preacher because he has wealth. That leads the protagonist to wish he had continued as an “outlaw” so that he could live a better life by providing for his family instead of working a legal job that kept him in the lower class (Hood “Puttin’ People on

the Moon”). It is another example of how the “New South” has failed to account for all its members in the society and how the “Progressive South” remains critical of these past inequities.

The last line of the song is important for figuring out how the Southern white <man> deals with class inequality through religion. He asks the question “And if you say I'm being punished/Ain't He got better things to do?” “He” is an allusion to God. The protagonist answers this question by saying, “Turnin' mountains into oceans/Puttin' people on the moon” (Hood “Puttin' People on the Moon”). The act of turning mountains into oceans is a Biblical reference to the power of God *and* to the ridiculousness of modern technologies, especially the U.S. government's NASA projects. DBT employs “puttin' people on the moon” as metaphor for the power of God. If the government of a Judeo-Christian nation is doing God's work by “puttin' people on the moon” (i.e., following through on a Puritanical “errand into the wilderness” that privileges progress over people), then it is forsaking a large amount of Old Testament and New Testament doctrine that suggests a righteous path of helping the poor. DBT's question “ain't He got better things to do?” is a sarcastic quip that challenges the double standard being played out not only nationally, but by the “New South” that elevates profit above its working class people.

Throughout the song “Puttin' People on the Moon,” DBT focuses on the concepts of “husband” and “father” – mostly as provider and protector – and how they come together to represent the Southern white <man> in a “Progressive South.” This <man> will become a rebel if he is forced into it by poor economic standing to protect and provide for his family. DBT also challenges the power structures of a representative government and the religious authority that is put in place by Southern communities to undergird its cultural mores.

The song “Never Gonna Change” takes a darker turn into descriptions of what it means to be a Southern white <man> (Isbell). The song delves deeper into the identity of the “rebel”

figure that has become closely tied to Southern masculinity since the Antebellum period, before the Civil War, when the federal government's insistence of tariffs on Southern goods invoked a nullification crisis that gave birth to the Southern "rebel."

The song presents a message about the Southern white <man> and how he will literally "never change." Interestingly, this notion of the "stand" evokes memories of the Civil War. Crucially, however, the <man> in the "Progressive South" means he will never change in terms of fighting oppressive Southern authority. Here, the rebel spirit is in full swing. This time, though, it's in the service of helping disenfranchised people who have, economically, lost their livelihood in a region rife with inordinate unemployment statistics. The progressivism that the Southern white <man> stands for is eternal, writes DBT. No matter what a racist or classist Establishment does, the <man> is obstinate: "You can throw me in the Colbert County jailhouse/You can throw me off the Wilson Dam/but there ain't much difference in the man I wanna be and the man I really am" (Isbell "Never Gonna Change"). These lines reflect the stubbornness and strong will that this <man> has come to exemplify in his self-actualization that he has almost become the <man> he wants to be. You can put him jail, or you can kill him by throwing him off a bridge, but its too late because he has reached his personal goal of what, to him, creates his identity as a white Southern <man>: progressivism.

Imbedded in this rebel identity is what Trujillo calls "toughness" (291). There is present in the Southern white <man> a meanness that does battle with the "Old South's" and "New South's" meanness. It is almost as if traditional Southern culture has educated the <man> in the "Progressive South" about how to embrace masculinist fortitude. As DBT sings, the <man> is: "Mean and strong like liquor/Mean and strong like fear/Strong like the people from South Alabama/and mean like the people from here/Take it from me/We ain't never gonna change"

(Isbell “Never Gonna Change”). The meanness, here, is used to dismantle the old ways of racism and classicism, versus used to reify these ideologies.

The “meanness” that the people of the area portray is the self-realization of what it means to be a <man> and the protagonist is reaching and/or has reached this level of “meanness” as a description of his identity. This idea of meanness was also addressed in the song “Where the Devil Don’t Stay” and the “meanness” was created because of the class conflict between the upper and lower class (Cooley and Cooley “Where the Devil Don’t Stay”). The meanness comes from the lower class having to fight for everything it needs for survival.

The ideographic representations of the Southern white <man> found and repeated in the songs of “Where the Devil Don’t Stay,” “Ronnie and Neil,” “Birmingham,” “Puttin’ People on the Moon,” and “Never Gonna Change” are, to say the least, enlightening as to the understanding of how the “Progressive South” functions in terms of white masculinity. The Southern white <man> protects his family, challenges authority, embraces the rebel persona, demystifies the hypocrisy of government and organized religion, dismantles racism, and fights classicism.

The representations of the Southern white <man> parallel two of the five characteristics outlined by Trujillo (291). The first characteristic that this masculinity has in common with foundational hegemonic masculinity is the characteristic of patriarchy. The actions of the <man> in the “Progressive South” are found to be a result of him being the primary protector of his family. The second characteristic is the close relation to the frontiersman and the rebel. These two concepts are not the same, yet they are closely related in the mythos of American culture by the glorification of the rugged individual, albeit one interested in the well-being of others, a residue of the “duality of the Southern Thing” (Hood “The Southern Thing”). As for the other three characteristics of Trujillo’s hegemonic masculinity, heterosexuality is implicated given

family structure, but as a topic of adherence or critique is not addressed in the lyrics of DBT (294). Similarly, Trujillo's category of "dominance of women" is never overtly addressed in the DBT discourse (291). Arguably, the <man> as patriarch hints at such domestic hierarchy; but, again, in terms of outward content the lyrics do not broach this topic. Division of labor is addressed, but it is not separated into differences between men's and women's work. Rather, hard work (again, one of Trujillo's constructs) is separated based on class distinctions, such as blue collar and white collar, rich person's or working person's duties (Trujillo 298).

This chapter has contended that DBT crafts an "Old South" and "New South" scapegoat through the figure of Governor George Wallace as a foil to the progressive Southern white <man> with the use of Burkeian theory. Next, the concept of the "Southern Thing" was attended to as an ideological foundation of the ideograph <man>. The bulk of the analysis argued that DBT's progressive <man> embodies an identity that resists racism, views oppression based in class consciousness, insists on family-centeredness, and challenges traditional and historical Southern mores. Throughout the lyrics examined, terms such as progressive, worker, father, and rebel appeared to relate to the Southern white <man>. The entire chapter, as a whole, employed the lenses of masculinity and whiteness to underscore how DBT's <man> operates within the "Progressive South."

5. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

DBT offers a counter-cultural resistance to dominant “Old South” and “New South” ideologies that have traditionally and historically been adhered to the prototypical Southern white <man>. The band’s response – one that challenges typical constructions of a Southern white <man> as racist, individually-motivated, and entrenched in Southern mores (such as states’ rights) – can be considered a part of what the author deems the “Progressive South.” Ultimately, the Southern white <man>, as envisioned in the lyrics of the DBT, protects his family, opposes racist political and ideological positions, views oppression based in class struggles instead of ethnic differences, and problematizes dominant Southern culture through a newly-fashioned rebel figure.

This study has many ranging implications within the communication studies field as well as for the understanding of Southern white men’s identities. Implications of this study relate to the Southern white man, the use of Burke and the ideograph, music as rhetorical discourse, theories of masculinity, and theories of whiteness in communication studies.

The analysis has demonstrated why it is unquestionably important to try and understand Southern white masculinity. The stereotyping of one cultural group, or the promotion of ideas and theories that are sweeping about this particular cultural group, can be very damaging to others who do not fit within that particular group by silencing their voices. By acknowledging a counter-culture within the South, not only do we give adequate representation to other groups in scholarly work, but we also allow for other scholars to add to the understanding of Southern white masculinity

Many inroads into culture can be gained by the study of music in communication studies. Music plays a large role in the expression of ideas from subjugated groups. As mentioned before, Rushing's study of Gospel music found that the music was used as a tool to reaffirm group identity (29). These groups can vary extensively by music genre. For example, the Blues were created by African American men living in the South and the lyrics of their music focused on the hardships that they faced during the Reconstruction era after the Civil War. Music was a large influence during the late 1960s peace movements throughout America. Music allows a subjugated group a voice against a hegemonic dominant discourse that is not necessarily seen as threatening because it is not political speech, in the sense that it does not call for immediate political change of power, as say a politician's stump speech during an electoral campaign.

Burke's theory of dramatism and scapegoating and McGee's theory of the ideograph are valuable lenses of critique when looking at counter-cultures against dominant societal groups. Working with both theories together offers a more in depth analysis of whichever group one should decide to study. Dramatism and scapegoating can be used promote the existence of a counter-culture and their values based upon the objects they scapegoat to purify their group. The ideograph shows the value of what the counter-culture believes by bringing forth the ideals they place in certain words or group of words. Putting these two theories together allows for a limited, yet more in depth understanding of the counter-culture. This is so by not only gaining insight into scapegoating theory to understand the purification value of the group, but also by understanding the values that are placed into their words and representations of the group. Thus, the use of these particular theories allows for better understanding of a culture through the use of individual words and meanings, and through the use of more complex forms of expression from the community.

Another implication that can be seen is the use of the “cluster ideograph” to get a more complete understanding of particular representations of people in the counter-culture. By using the cluster ideograph a scholar can garner a better picture of the ideals that are placed upon a certain word when studying other words that build together to create a unified representation of the cluster. For example, in this study, <son>, <father>, and <husband> were all used to understand the ideograph of <man>. The use of the cluster ideograph can give the scholar a more complete understanding of the values placed onto words by a group.

This thesis offers a different perspective on the concept of masculinity within communication studies. The analysis has illustrated how some of the characteristics of masculinity, as put forth by Trujillo, are problematic because Trujillo’s essay was based on a dominant discourse and did not take into account other discourses from smaller American cultures, especially based on region. I argued this by analyzing the cluster ideographical representation of <man> in the lyrics of DBT. It could be helpful to address masculinity by regional distinctions instead of a mass understanding based upon sports coverage of an athlete. By breaking masculinity down into regions, one can take into account varying cultural differences and counter-culture representations of masculinity.

The concept(s) of whiteness still needs to be reexamined in the communication and cultural studies fields. Theories of whiteness in the field of communication studies is mainly driven by two qualitative studies of white college students, with one being a very minimal representation of white America. This thesis adds to the understanding of whiteness by enacting a rhetorical critical analysis of whiteness through musical lyrics. It offers a different set of theories to try and understand what exactly whiteness is and what it represents. Also, whiteness can be studied in the same way as masculinity by breaking it up into regionalities instead of

nationalistic studies. The nationalistic studies of whiteness offer sweeping assumptions of whiteness and its representation against all white people, and do not take into account other aspects of identity such as region, religion, sexual identification, shared ethnic identification, etc. In addition to complicating white cultural identities, failing to account for the particulars of whiteness can also serve to re/center whiteness itself. When whiteness is not interrogated, cultural groups get moved farther to the margins or, in the least, are kept in place at the margins. In the end, studying the nuances of whiteness assists in explaining whiteness as much as demystifying whiteness as a dominant identity structure.

Future study within the field of Southern white masculinity can be taken in many different and exciting directions. The selection of different texts is one direction. Scholars could begin to look at other texts, such as political speeches, local television shows, art, and even stand-up comedy that address Southern white masculinity. Different theories could be applied to the study of Southern white masculinity. For instance, the paternalistic timbre of familial protectionism by the “patriarch” is one inroad of future research that could be achieved. And, of course, more scholarly work could be addressed within music by looking at other bands based in Southern rock that speak to the identity of Southern white masculinity.

The study of Southern white masculinity is often overlooked or lumped together with historical assumptions based upon generalized views of past events. We as a scholarly community, and a community as a whole, need to reevaluate the generalities and stereotypes that are placed upon perceived groups. If it can be achieved, we will then move further away from our ignorance about assumed positions in research, and provide a better understanding of the different groups that are often looked over in communication studies. From a popular culture perspective, DBT has begun to unravel the threads of these misrepresentations of Southern white

masculinity. Hopefully, by not generalizing theories and looking at different aspects of identity through the lenses of regionality, sexual orientation, class identification, and other aspects that link groups together, we will then get a much clearer picture of what it means to be white and masculine.

REFERENCES

- Amernic, Joel H. "9/11 in the Service of Corporate Rhetoric: Southwest Airlines' Letter to Shareholders." Journal of Communication Inquiry 28.4 (2004): 325-41.
- "Artist Chart History-The Drive By Truckers." Billboard Magazine. Mar. 4. 2009
http://www.billboard.com/bbcom/retrieve_chart_history.do?model.chartFormatGroupName=Albums&model.vnuArtistId=263158&model.vnuAlbumId=767421.
- Beebe, Thomas O. "Ballad of the Apocalypse: Another look at Bob Dylan's 'A Hard Rain.'" Text and Performance Quarterly 11.1 (1991): 18-35.
- Body Count. "Cop Killer." Body Count. One-on-One Records, 1991.
- Borchers, Timothy. Rhetorical Theory: An Introduction. Belmont: Thompson Wadsworth, 2006.
- Brummett, Barry. "Burkean Scapegoating, Mortification, and Transcendence in Presidential Campaign Rhetoric." Central States Speech Journal 32.4 (1981): 254-64.
- Burke, Kenneth. A Grammar of Motives. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- . "Dramatism." International Encyclopedia of Social Science. Ed. David L. Sills. New York: Macmillan, 1968. 445-52.
- . Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.
- . The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- . The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
- Butler, Mike. "'Martin Luther King Was a Good Ole Boy': The Southern Rock Movement and White Male Identity in the Post Civil Rights South." Popular Music and Society 23.2 (1999): 41-61.
- Butterworth, Michael L. "Race in 'The Race': Mark McGwire, Sammy Sosa, and Heroic Constructions of Whiteness." Critical Studies on Media Communication 24.3 (2007): 228-44.

- Calhoun, Lindsay R. ““Will the Real Slim Shady Please Stand Up?”: Masking Whiteness, Encoding Hegemonic Masculinity in Eminem’s *Marshal Mathers LP*.” The Howard Journal of Communication 16.4 (2005): 267-94.
- Carlson, A. Cheree, and John E. Hockings. “Strategies of Redemption at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.” Western Journal of Speech Communication 52.3 (1988): 203-51.
- Carrigan, Tim, Connell, Bob, and John Lee. “Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity.” The Making of Masculinities: The New Men’s Studies. Ed. Harry Brod. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1987.
- Cason, Clarence. 90 Degrees in the Shade. University of Alabama Press, 2001.
- Cavin, Margaret. “Replacing the Scapegoat: An Examination of the Rebirth Strategies Found in William Sloane Coffin’s Language of Peace.” Peace and Change 19.3 (2001): 276-95.
- Charland, M. “Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the *Peuple Quebecois*.” Quarterly Journal of Speech 73.2 (1987): 133-50.
- Chaffee, Steven H. “Popular Music and Communication Research: An Editorial Epilogue.” Communication Research 12.3 (1985): 413-24.
- Chuang, Lisa M. and John P. Hart. “Suburban American Punks and the Musical Rhetoric of Green Day’s ‘Jesus of Suburbia.’” Communication Studies 59.3 (2008): 183-201.
- Cobb, James C. Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- . Redefining Southern Culture: Mind and Identity in the Modern South. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999.
- Condit, Celeste M. “Democracy and Civil Rights: The Universalizing Influence of Public Argumentation.” Communication Monographs 54.1 (1993): 1-18.
- Condit, Celeste M. and John L. Lucaites. Crafting Equality: America’s Anglo-African Word. Chicago: Wayward Johnson’s Music, 2004. University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- . “Reconstructing <Equality>: Culturetypal and Counter-Cultural Rhetorics in the Martyred Black Vision.” Communication Monographs 57.1 (1990): 5-24.
- Connell, Robert W. “An Iron Man: The Body and Some Contradictions of Hegemonic Masculinity.” Sport, Men, and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives. Ed. Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1990.
- . Which Way is Up? Essays on Sex, Class, and Culture. Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1983.

- Coogan, David. "Public Rhetoric and Public Safety at the Chicago Transit Authority: Three Approaches to Accident Analysis." Journal of Business and Technical Information 16.3 (2002): 277-305.
- Cooley, Mike. "Birmingham." Southern Rock Opera. Wayward Johnson's Music, 2002.
- Cooley, Mike and Ed Cooley. "Where the Devil Don't Stay." The Dirty South. Wayward Johnson's Music, 2004.
- Dechert, Renee. "Pizza Deliverance." Popular Music and Society 26.1 (2003): 97-99.
- Delgado, Frenando P. "Chicano Movement Rhetoric: An Ideographic Interpretation." Communication Quarterly 43.4 (1995): 446-76.
- . "The Rhetoric of Fidel Castro: Ideographs in the Service of Revolutionaries." Howard Journal of Communication 10.1 (1999): 1-14.
- Dixon, Jo and Alan J. Lizotte. "Gun Ownership and the Southern Subculture of Violence." The American Journal of Sociology 93.2 (1987): 383-405.
- "Drive By Truckers Reviews." Drive By Truckers. 12 March 2009
<http://drivebytruckers.com/reviews.html>.
- "Drive By Truckers Discography." Drive By Truckers. 12 March 2009
<http://drivebytruckers.com/discography.html>.
- Drive By Truckers. A Blessing and a Curse. New West Records, 2006.
- . Alabama Ass Whuppin'. Second Heaven Records, 2000.
- . Brighter Than Creations Dark. New West Records, 2008
- . Decoration Day. New West Records, 2003.
- . Gangstabilly. Soul Dump Records, 1998
- . Pizza Deliverance. Soul Dump Records, 1999.
- . Southern Rock Opera. Soul Dump Records, 2001.
- . The Dirty South. New West Records. 2004
- Edwards, Janis L. and Carol K. Winkler. "Representative Form and the Visual Ideograph: The Iwo Jima Image in Editorial Cartoons." Quarterly Journal of Speech 83.3 (1997): 289-310.

- Foss, Sonja K. Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration and Practice. 3rd ed. Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2004.
- Green Day. "Jesus of Suburbia." American Idiot. Reprise Records, 2004.
- "Gigantic Voice." C'Mon...Sun Studio: Your Ticket to the Birthplace of Rock N' Roll. Sun Studio. 13 March. 2009 <http://www.sunstudio.com/>.
- Griffith, Nancy. "It's a Hard Life Wherever You Go." Storms. Ocean Way Studio, 1988.
- Grindstaff, Davin. "Queering Marriage: An Ideographic Interrogation of Heteronormative Subjectivity." Journal of Homosexuality 45.2 (2003): 257-75.
- Gusfield, Joseph R. Kenneth Burke: On Symbols and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Hess, Mickey. "Hip-Hop Realness and the White Performer." Critical Studies in Media Communication 22.5 (1998): 334-54.
- Hood, Patterson. "Birmingham." Southern Rock Opera. Soul Dump Music, 2001.
- . "Patterson Hood." Patterson Hood. 12 March 2009
<<http://www.pattersonhood.com/bio.html>>.
- . "Personal Interview." 15 September 2008, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.
- . "Puttin' People on the Moon." The Dirty South. Soul Dump Music, 2004.
- . "Ronnie and Neil." Southern Rock Opera. Soul Dump Music, 2001.
- . "The Southern Thing." Southern Rock Opera. Soul Dump Music, 2001.
- Hoy, Mikita. "Joyful Mayhem: Bakhtin, Football *Songs*, and the Carnivalesque." Text and Performance Quarterly 14 (1994): 289-305.
- Isbell, Jason. "Never Gonna Change." The Dirty South. House of Fame Music, 2004.
- Jackson, Ronald L. "White Space, White Privilege: Mapping Discursive Inquiry into the Self." Quarterly Journal of Speech. 85.1 (1999): 38-54.
- Jasinski, James. "Puritans/Puritanism as Ideograph." The Review of Communication 2 (2002): 90-96.
- King, Joyce. Hate Crime: The Story of a Dragging in Jasper, Texas. New York: Pantheon Books, 2002.

- Leip, David. "1980 Presidential Election Results." Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. 24 January 1999. <http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/>.
- Lerner, Gerder. The Creation of Patriarchy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Leshner, Stephen. George Wallace: American Populist. Cambridge: Da Capo, 1995.
- Loevy, Robert. The Civil Rights Act of 1964. Albany, State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Lull, James. "Popular Music: Resistance to New Wave." Journal of Communication 32.1 (2006): 121-31.
- McGee, Michael C. "Text, Context, and Fragmentation of Contemporary Culture". Contemporary Rhetorical Theory. Ed. John Louis Lucaites, Celeste Michelle Condit, Sally Caudill. New York: Guilford Press, 1999. 65-78.
- "The Ideograph: A Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology." Quarterly Journal of Speech 66.1 (1980): 1-16.
- Meister, Mark. "Drama and Tragedy in Contemporary Folk Music: Nanci Griffith's 'It's a Hard Life Wherever You Go.'" Communication Studies 47 (1996): 62-72.
- Nakayama, Thomas K. and Robert L. Krizek. "Whiteness: A Strategic Rhetoric." Quarterly Journal of Speech 81.3 (1995): 291-309.
- Nolan, Alan T. Lee Considered: General Robert E. Lee and Civil War History. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Ott, Brian L. and Eric Aoki. "The Politics of Negotiation Public Tragedy: Media Framing of the Matthew Shepard Murder." Rhetoric and Public Affairs 5. (2002): 483-505.
- Palczewski, Catherine. "The Male Madonna and the Feminine Uncle Sam: Visual Argument, Icons, and Ideographs in 1909 Anti-Woman Suffrage Postcards." Quarterly Journal of Speech 91.4 (2005): 365-94.
- Reingold, Beth and Richard S. Wike. "Confederate Symbols, Southern Identity, and Racial Attitudes: The Case of the Georgia State Flag." Social Science Quarterly 79.3 (1998): 568-82.
- "Rock N' Roll Was Born." C'Mon...Sun Studio: Your Ticket to the Birthplace of Rock N' Roll. Sun Studio. 13 March. 2009 <http://www.sunstudio.com/>.
- Roscigno, Vincent J., Danaher, William F., and Erika Summers-Effler. "Music, Culture and Social Movements: Song and Southern Textile Worker Mobilization, 1929-1934." International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy 1.3 (2002): 141-74.

- Rubin, Gayle S. "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality." Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality. Ed. Carol Vance. Boston: Routledge, 1985, 267-319.
- Rushing, Janice Hocker "Gospel Music Rhetoric." Religious Communication Today 1 (1978): 29-35.
- . "The Rhetoric of the American Western Myth." Communication Monographs 50 (1983): 14-32.
- Sanger, Kerran L. "Slave Resistance and Rhetorical Self-Definition: Spirituals as a Strategy." Western Journal of Communication 59.3 (1995): 177-195.
- Sellnow, Deanna D. "Rhetorical Strategies of Continuity and Change in the Music of Popular Artists Over Time." Communication Studies 47 (1997): 46-62.
- Sellnow, Deanna and Timothy Sellnow. "The 'Illusion of Life' Rhetorical Perspective: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Music as Communication." Critical Studies in Media Communication. 18.4 (2001): 395-415.
- Sieving, Christopher. "Cop Out? The Media, 'Cop Killer,' and the Deracialization of Black Rage." Journal of Communication Inquiry 22.4 (2005): 372-89.
- Storey, Margaret M. Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004.
- Swint, Kerwin C. Mudslingers: The Top 25 Negative Political Campaigns of All Time: Countdown from No. 25 to No. 1. Westport: Greenwood, 2006.
- Trujillo, Nick. "Hegemonic Masculinity on the Mound: Media Representations of Nolan Ryan and American Sports Culture." Critical Studies in Mass Communication 8.3 (1991): 290-308.
- Wallace, George. "The 1963 Inaugural Address of Governor George C. Wallace." 12 April. 2002. Alabama Department of Archives and History. 12 March. 2009.
http://www.archives.state.al.us/govs_list/InauguralSpeech.html.
- Watts, Eric King. "An Exploration of Spectacular Consumption: Gangsta Rap as Cultural Commodity." Communication Studies 48.1 (1997): 42-58.
- Wilkie, Curtis. Dixie: A Personal Odyssey Through Events that Shaped the Modern South. New York: Scribner, 2001.

Williams, Donnie and Wayne Greenhaw. The Thunder of Angels: The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the People Who Broke the Back of Jim Crow. Chicago: Chicago Review, 2006.

Woodward, Commer and William S, McFeely. The Strange Career of Jim Crow. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

APPENDIX

DBT LYRICS FROM *SOUTHERN ROCK OPERA* AND *DIRTY SOUTH*

Ronnie and Neil:

Church blew up in Birmingham
Four little black girls killed for no goddamn good reason
All this hate and violence can't come to no good end
A stain on the good name.
A whole lot of good people dragged through the blood and glass
Blood stains on their good names and all of us take the blame

Meanwhile in North Alabama, Wilson Pickett comes to town
To record that sweet soul music, to get that Muscle Shoals sound

Meanwhile in North Alabama, Aretha Franklin comes to town
To record that sweet soul music, to get that Muscle Shoals sound

And out in California, a rock star from Canada writes a couple of great songs about the
Bad shit that went down
"Southern Man" and "Alabama" certainly told some truth
But there were a lot of good folks down here and Neil Young wasn't around

Meanwhile in North Alabama, Lynyrd Skynyrd came to town
To record with Jimmy Johnson at Muscle Shoals Sound
And they met some real fine people, not no racist pieces of shit
And they wrote a song about it and that song became a hit

Ronnie and Neil Ronnie and Neil
Rock stars today ain't half as real
Speaking their minds on how they feel
Let them guitars blast for Ronnie and Neil

Now Ronnie and Neil became good friends their feud was just in song
Skynyrd was a bunch of Neil Young fans and Neil he loved that song
So he wrote "Powderfinger" for Skynyrd to record
But Ronnie ended up singing "Sweet Home Alabama" to the lord

And Neil helped carry Ronnie in his casket to the ground
And to my way of thinking, us southern men need both of them around

Ronnie and Neil Ronnie and Neil
Rock stars today ain't half as real
Speaking their minds on how they feel
Let them guitars blast for Ronnie and Neil

The Southern Thing:

Ain't about my pistol
Ain't about my boots
Ain't about no northern drives
Ain't about my southern roots
Ain't about my guitars, ain't about my big old amps
"It ain't rained in weeks, but the weather sure feels damp"
Ain't about excuses or alibis
Ain't about no cotton fields or cotton picking lies
Ain't about the races, the crying shame
To the fucking rich man all poor people look the same

Don't get me wrong, it just ain't right
May not look strong, but I ain't afraid to fight
If you want to live another day
Stay out the way of the southern thing

Ain't about no hatred better raise a glass
It's a little about some rebels but it ain't about the past
Ain't about no foolish pride, Ain't about no flag
Hate's the only thing that my truck would want to drag

You think I'm dumb, maybe not too bright
You wonder how I sleep at night
Proud of the glory, stare down the shame
Duality of the southern thing

My Great Great Granddad had a hole in his side
He used to tell the story to the family Christmas night
Got shot at Shiloh, thought he'd die alone
From a Yankee bullet, less than thirty miles from home
Ain't no plantations in my family tree
Did NOT believe in slavery, thought that all men should be free
"But, who are these soldiers marching through my land?"
His bride could hear the cannons and she worried about her man

I heard the story as it was passed down

About guts and glory and Rebel stands
Four generations, a whole lot has changed
Robert E. Lee
Martin Luther King
We've come a long way rising from the flame
Stay out the way of the southern thing

Wallace:

[Scene: set in Hell, September 1998. Told from the Devil's point of view]

Throw another log on the fire, boys, George Wallace is coming to stay
When he met St. Peter at the pearly gates, I'd like to think that a black man stood in the way.
I know "All should be forgiven", but he did what he done so well
So throw another log on the fire boys,
George Wallace is a coming...

Now, he said he was the best friend a black man from Alabama ever had,
And I have to admit, compared to Fob James, George Wallace don't seem that bad
And if it's true that he wasn't a racist and he just did all them things for the votes
I guess Hell's just the place for "kiss ass politicians" who pander to assholes.

So throw another log on the fire, boys, George Wallace is coming to stay
I know, in the end, he got the black people's votes, but I bet they'd still vote him this way.
And Hell's just a little bit hotter cuz He played his hand so well
He had what it took to take it so far

Now the Devil's got a Wallace sticker on the back of his car

[Now the Mule-ettes walk out in devil horns and tails, raise their hands in the air and sing:]
"OH ----- ALABAMA..."

Birmingham

Economics shut the furnace down
Bull Connor hosing children down
George Wallace stared them Yankee's down
In Birmingham

Take a left on the interstate
In the middle of this sultry state
I can't wait to see your face
In Birmingham

"I don't think it was worth it"
the last thing Stanley said to me
Twenty four years then a bullet in the chest and
I still see him in my sleep
Fifteen dollars in the purse He could not save
Her family didn't buy a stone to mark his grave
"Give me a call, if you need a place to stay in Birmingham"
Birmingham

Most of my family came from Birmingham
I can feel their presence on the street
Vulcan Park has seen it's share of troubled times
But the city won't admit defeat
Magic City's magic getting stronger
Dynamite Hill ain't on fire any longer
No man should ever have to feel He don't belong in Birmingham
Birmingham

Where the Devil Don't Stay:

My Daddy played poker in the woods they say, back in his younger days
Prohibition was the talk, but the rich folks walked to the woods where my Daddy stayed
Jugs and jars from shiners, these old boys here, they ain't miners
They came from the twenty-niners
It didn't take a hole in the ground to put the bottom in their face

Back in the thirties when the dust bowl dried
And the woods in Alabama didn't see no light
My Daddy played poker by a hard wood fire
Squeezing all his luck from a hot copper wire
Scrap like a wildcat fights till the end
Trap a wildcat and take his skin
Deal from the bottom, put the ace in the hole
One hand on the jug but you never do know

Son come running
You better come quick
This rotgut moonshine is making me sick
Your Mama called the law and they're gonna take me away
Down so far even the Devil won't stay
Where I call to the Lord with all my soul
I can hear him rattling the chains on the door
He couldn't get in I could see he tried
Through the shadows of the cage around the forty watt light

Daddy tell me another story
Tell me about the lows and the highs
Tell me how to tell the difference between what they tell me is the truth or a lie
Tell me why the ones who have so much make the ones who don't go mad
With the same skin stretched over their white bones and the same jug in their hand

My Daddy played poker on a stump in the woods back when the world was gray
Before black and white went and chose up sides and gave a little bit of both their way
The only blood that's any cleaner is the blood that's blue or greener
Without either you just get meaner and the blood you gave gives you away

Puttin' People on the Moon:

Mary Alice had a baby and he looked just like I did
We got married on a Monday and I been working ever since
Every week down at the Ford Plant but now they say they're shutting down
Goddamned Reagan in the White House and nobody gives a damn

Double digit unemployment, TVA be shutting soon
While over there in Huntsville, they puttin' people on the moon

So I took to runnin' numbers for this man I used to know
And I sell a few narcotics and I sell a little blow
I ain't getting rich now but I'm gettin' more than by
It's really tough to make a living but a man just got to try

If I died in Colbert County, Would it make the evening news?
They too busy blowin' rockets, Puttin' people on the moon

Mary Alice she quit askin' why I do the things I do

I ain't sayin' that she likes it, but what else I'm gonna do?
If I could solve the world's problems I'd probably start with hers and mine
But they can put a man on the moon
And I'm stuck in Muscle Shoals just barely scraping by

Mary Alice got cancer just like everybody here
Seems like everyone I know is gettin' cancer every year
And we can't afford no insurance, I been 10 years unemployed
So she didn't get no chemo so our lives was destroyed
And nothin' ever changes, the cemetery gets more full
And now over there in Huntsville, even NASA's shut down too

Another joker in the White House, said a change was comin' round
But I'm still workin' at The Wal Mart and Mary Alice, in the ground
And all them politicians, they all lyin' sacks of shit
They say better days upon us but it's sucking left hind tit
And the preacher on the TV says it ain't too late for me
But I bet he drives a Cadillac and I'm broke with some hungry mouths to feed

I wish I'z still an outlaw, was a better way of life
I could clothe and feed my family still have time to love my pretty wife
And if you say I'm being punished. Ain't He got better things to do?
Turnin' mountains into oceans Puttin' people on the moon
Turnin' mountains into oceans Puttin' people on the moon

Never Gonna Change:

Let this be a lesson to you girl: Don't come around where you know you don't belong.
They're riding on the avenue and probably coming after you and they all look mean and strong.
Mean and strong like liquor.
Mean and strong like fear.
Strong like the people from South Alabama and mean like the people from here.
Take it from me... We ain't never gonna change.

Daddy used to empty out his shotgun shells and fill 'em full of black-eyed peas.
He'd aim real low and tear out your ankles or rip right through your knees.
There ain't much traffic on the highway. There ain't much traffic on the lake.
The ATF and the ABI got everything they could take.
Take it from me... They didn't take it from me.

We ain't never gonna change.
We ain't doin' nothin' wrong.
We ain't never gonna change
so shut your mouth and play along.

I thought about going in the army. I thought about going overseas.
I wouldn't have trouble with a piss test; only problem is my bad left knee.
My brother got picked up at Parker's, got him a ride in a new Crown Vic.
They said that he was movin' on a federal level but they couldn't really make it stick.
Take it from me...

We ain't never gonna change.
We ain't doin' nothin' wrong.
We ain't never gonna change
so shut your mouth and play along.

You can throw me in the Colbert County jailhouse.
You can throw me off the Wilson Dam
But there ain't much difference in the man I wanna be and the man I really am.

We ain't never gonna change.