ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: DIXIE'S LAST STAND: OLE MISS, THE BODY, AND THE SPECTACLE OF DIXIE SOUTH WHITENESS

Joshua Isaac Newman, Doctor of Philosophy, 2005

Dissertation directed by: Professor David L. Andrews
Department of Kinesiology

The interrelated studies within this dissertation provide new insights into the problematic nature of identity and the political disposition of the performative body in the contemporary American South. In particular, this research project will expand upon an emergent critical sociology of the South, particularly by interrogating the sporting and physical cultures of the University of Mississippi ('Ole Miss')—an institution which has historically functioned to discipline and authorize a preferred culture of the segregated body and the segregation of physical cultures. By investigating the genealogical ascendancy of whiteness at the University, as well as the more contemporaneous materializations of iniquitous social hierarchies, this dissertation disrupts 'traditional' notions of representation, subjectivity, and identity at Ole Miss. Looking beyond black and white, past the conventions of modern identity theory, this study interrupts the binaries of race and gender and reconsiders the dominant subject positions which actively shape the social experience on the Ole Miss campus.

Through analysis of local cultural physicalities, namely the celebrity discourses of sporting icons Archie and Eli Manning and Confederate Civil War heroes such as the 'University Greys,' the symbolic embodiments of the Ole Miss brand (from the waving of the Confederate flag to the caricatured physicalities of the sporting mascot, Colonel Rebel), the complex relations between the student body and the campus space, and the spectacular practices of corporeal whiteness, this dissertation empirically identifies and theoretically criticizes the disciplinary regimes of power which normalize and marginalize the cultural experiences of the Ole Miss student subject. Engaging a qualitatively-grounded, multimethod analysis of the multifarious ways in which whiteness is encoded and decoded through discourses of the corporeal, this project is intended to begin the formulation of a broader interpretive framework from which the cultures of the body and the discourses of overt Southern whiteness can be understood as: 1) intersecting planes of postmodern subjectivity; and 2) the return of a conservative American 'ethnocentric monoculturalism.'

DIXIE'S LAST STAND: OLE MISS, THE BODY, AND
THE SPECTACLE OF DIXIE SOUTH WHITENESS

by

Joshua Isaac Newman

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Advisory Committee:

      Professor David L. Andrews, Chair
      Professor Sheri L. Parks
      Professor Darcy Plymire
      Professor Michael L. Silk
      Professor Deborah R. Young

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that keep you from falling down
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you'll show them all back home
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home
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I was born and raised in the South. I grew up deep inside the foothills on the Tennessee side of the southern Appalachian mountain chain in the small, unincorporated town of Cosby. Cosby is situated between Asheville, North Carolina, and Knoxville Tennessee, abutting the northeastern border of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Cosby, like many other rural Southern areas, is representative of a contemporary cultural economy wrought with economic

underdevelopment and cultural homogeneity. During the American Industrial Revolution (and post-industrialization thereafter), the geographic remoteness of Cosby and surrounding townships isolated the region from the modernizing American industrial economy (Salstrom, 1996). Historically, Cosby's financial system has been defined by modest agricultural growth and augmented by an unstable manufacturing sector (Whisnant, 1995). For most East Tennesseans, Cosby is best known as the town that served as a crossroads for moonshine bootleggers traversing the winding back roads through to North Carolina during the prohibition era. The remoteness of the town, and the topographic bottleneck created by Mount Camerer and English Mountain, made Cosby the ideal place for inconspicuous passage to the west (and back) for North Carolinian moonshiners (Higgs, Manning, & Miller, 1995).[1]

Cosby's inaccessibility has also helped to foster a sense of social sovereignty—one which plagues the contemporary cultural politics of a place infected by ideologies of an importunate racial and gendered hierarchy. While rural East Tennessee of has undergone, and its people have oftentimes sought to undergo, significant economic changes over the course of my lifetime, there has been an inveterate cultural discourse operating of the social experiences within this region. Cocke County's most daunting challenge might not be the disparaging economic conditions brought forth by the residues of industrialism and isolationism. Rather, as is common in many rural areas across the American South, the singular problem which has plagued, and continues to shape, the

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[1] Handling shipments of moonshine is often called "whiskey-running" or simply "running" it. During Prohibition cars were "souped up" to create a more maneuverable and faster car to better traverse the mountainous terrain between East Tennessee and West North Carolina.

social relationships of this region is the pervasiveness of white privilege and the incessant 'Othering' of dark bodies. In the words of fellow Southerner Richard Wright (1945/1998), 'this was the culture from which I sprang.'

My 'Redneck Past'

Before I knew anything about ontologies or epistemologies, Stuart Hall or Michel Foucault, I knew that there was something about 'being' white within a culture of race-based hierarchal ideologies which shaped my own experiences in Cosby. The epigraph above, lyrics to a song by North Carolinian Ben Folds, holds a great deal of resonance with my own experience. I spent a significant portion of my life rejecting my "redneck roots,"[2] trying to learn my way out of my Southernness, or perhaps drive my Southernness out. In V. S. Naipaul's (1989) *A Turn to in the South*, the author introduces us to one of his traveling companions, Howard, who was a black man from the South. The early part of Howard's life was filled with an obsession to escape the South—to escape the racist "continuities" of life in the region. While I did not suffer racial oppression as Howard did, I have long shared with him the same loathing for Southern social inequity, regressive vernacularisms, and rampant anti-critical conjecture. Growing up, the initial problem of race I encountered in the South, one that typifies the suppressive nature of the region, was the reign of white hetero-masculinity within the structures of discursive power relations. Perhaps

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[2] I use the term "redneck" here only to refer to the type of southern whiteness that Ben Folds is conjuring up in his song. If anything, I find the flippant use of the term quite offensive to the people of this region, as it draws on stereotypes of working class, rural, Southerners, and typically suggests a lack of worldliness and ignorant naivety.

surprisingly, logics of the romanticized 'Old South,' whereby the white masculine subject still operates within spaces of privilege, persistently influence the social experiences and practices within East Tennessee as well as many of its neighboring states. Products of a stratified social history, this region's contemporary racial sensibilities are mired in the logics of Jim Crow prejudice and antebellum segregation (Billings, Norman, & Ledford, 1999; Puckett, 2000). In was my experience growing up[3] that the slur "nigger" was all too often evoked in everyday conversation. In fact, I would say that such vernacularism was not an incident of slippage back to "Old South" values, but rather a contrived mobilization of a narrative borne of, and reinforcing, notions of difference and a sense of superiority amongst local whites. For example, my closest friend at Smoky Mountain Elementary School (in Cosby) was of Hawaiian Islands ancestry, and since there were no black students in our school or anywhere else in our daily lives—sans MTV and the NBA[4]—he was, on far too many occasions, typecast as the school's "nigger." Despite the fact that our favorite athletes were Bo Jackson and Michael Jordan, and our favorite musicians were Prince and Run DMC, somehow the transgressions of racist black essentialisms were transposed onto this adolescent brown body. Throughout my elementary school experience, the specters of racism that echoed the prejudices of decades past took on a material form in numerous ways: from the exchange of racial slurs at

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[3] I grew up in a household whereby such language was not tolerated, yet I would be remiss to deny that I did on occasion use the word in social settings such as elementary school. Out of awareness, and ashamedness, I set out from theretoforeward to amend this and other acts of racist ignorance.

[4] In 2000, over 96% of the residents of Cocke County identified themselves as "white," while in Sevier County the number was over 97%.

youth basketball games; to our bigoted reading of the popular black representations of celebrity figures such as Rodney King, Don King (by way of Mike Tyson), and Clarence Thomas; to our malfeasant consideration of peoples of the Middle East during the first Gulf War (who, through phenotypical darkness and ideological resistance also embodied the racialized 'Other').

After one year of high school in Cosby, and a year's worth of torment and ridicule for the things teenagers suffer such torture, I enrolled at Gatlinburg-Pittman High School in neighboring Sevier County. As much as the move was an effort to escape the under-funded, deprived education system of Cocke County, the primary reason for my decision was to relocate to a new place, somewhere better. First and foremost, Gatlinburg-Pittman had a reputation for advancing their high school graduates to college (oftentimes by way of scholarship). Furthermore, the bevy of tax money accumulated from the town's booming tourist economy translated into far better facilities, technology, and other resources than most public schools in the area. Additionally, upon leaving Cosby High School, I anticipated a more progressive, socially informed, and diverse student population. Unfortunately, no such diversity existed. In the place of Cosby's working class white homogeneity, I was subjected to the same all-white student population—but one markedly divided by social class. In Bourdieu's (1998a) terms, in place of the working class 'habitus'[5] I experienced at Cosby, Gatlinburg-

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[5] The habitus is "the durably installed principle of regulated improvisations" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78). In other words, the habitus is something of a reflexive response, ingrained into individuals' activities and constantly shaping their world experiences. Habitus "are spontaneously inclined to recognize all the expressions in which they recognize themselves, because they are spontaneously inclined to produce them" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 144).

Pittman was a space of invariable contestation between the habituses of Sevier County's white proletariat class and its white capitalist bourgeoisie elite.

My discontent with the racial and class-based politics of the local festered, and during my teenage years I took up poetry as a means of expressing that unrest. As an example of my uneasiness with the ethnocentrism of my home place, and, yet my inability to acknowledge how those same forces shaped by own worldview, I offer the following poem which was written when I was sixteen years old:

The ~~Rune~~ Ruin of Two Lives

Black man . . .
struggled through life, trying to survive
no chance to be normal, have a house, a wife
painful to live, it was all that he could do
destruction and bloodshed were all that he knew

White man . . .
family name, labeled the best
admired and loved, some said he was blessed
gracing his peers with all of his knowledge
valedictorian—high school and college

Black man . . .
nothing to live for, world of hell
deaths of friends and stories to tell
alcohol and drugs, world of illusions
no meaning to life, just basic confusion

White man . . .
expectations of greatness, family pride
the world his oyster, feelings aside
he knew his worth, as did others
qualities to uphold, Oh! . . .how they smother

a bullet shot here, a bullet shot there
two lives taken in the midnight air
expectations fulfilled, expectations ceased
both men free at last . . . to rest in peace

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I offer this poem not as an example of any sort of enlightenment toward diversity that I might have experienced during my formative years in high school, but rather as an insight to my politics at the time as constrained by my impressions of 'different' ethnic experiences. Up to this point, I had never attended school with anyone from an ethnic background 'outside' my own. While I was aware of the problematic treatment of blacks through local racist discourse, my portrait of the "black man" in this poem is nothing more than an erudite simulacrum founded on interpretations of popular mediated representations of African-Americans. Upon reflection, I suppose that if the author is written into those verses, then my life was somewhere between the two men, wrestling with the expectations of academic success and the struggles to maintain livelihood in the face of a working class upbringing.[6] Nonetheless, there was still a discernable prejudicial bent to my interpretive voice; one I have been struggling to eliminate ever since.

And while I would like to say that the racist (and patriarchal) treatment of black culture ended there, I would be remiss if I did not offer one further example of my crude poetics as seen in the pages of Gatlinburg-Pittman's annual literary publication, *Voices in the Wind*:

And . . .

Prejudice is a land, produced by fear
      Made of insecurity,
            no remorse, not a tear
      Helpless are those,
            imprisoned by the past
      All that inspired,

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[6] Drawing on the work of Wray and Newitz (1997), bell hooks (2000b) refers to pervasive narratives of working class Southern whites as "white trash," a population who share common social experiences with the Southern black working poor, but who are in some ways located below the black working poor in the hierarchy of local social discourse.

            ignorance amassed.

Prejudice is a man, fighting to survive
      Blackened, scarred
           never to be revived
      Condemned by indifference,
         lost, dark world
      Insecurity prevailing,
         humanity ignored.

Prejudice is a stand, that mustn't be taken
      Time the only alibi,
         unity, forsaken
      Killing compassion,
         all love deceased
      Much to hatred's due,
         a man, a beast.

Prejudice is "and," the word of hope yet to be seen
      "and Ye' shall know the truth,
         and the truth shall set you free"
      "and this,
         the bleeding business they have done"
      AND the struggle continues on,
         . . . and on . . .

Again, this prose demonstrates my limited understanding of the complex nature

of social life outside East Tennessee (not too mention the early limitations of my

writing abilities). However, if I recall correctly, this was an effort to affront the

pervasive racist postulations floating freely throughout the halls of my everyday

life. My aim was to antagonize the most conservative, staunchly racist population

at my school, using the language they could hardly refute—the scriptures of the

Bible. And while the effect was nothing more than minimal, through poetic

expression I found a new medium to provoke the politics of hatred that were

omnipresent throughout my social experiences. I went on to write poems about

the Jewish experience in Nazi Germany and the religious persecution of peoples of the Middle East and Eastern Europe.

After graduation from high school, I enrolled at the University of Memphis in western Tennessee, intending to finally escape the 'continuities' of the Appalachian South. The University of Memphis promoted itself as an institution [internally] celebrated for its racial and ethnic diversity (Wood, 2004). For me, Memphis brought about chimeras of a socially eclectic utopia, illusions that filled my head as I made the long trek across the state in the fall of 1995. What I expected to find in Memphis was a culture in stark demographic contrast to that of East Tennessee, rich with a post-segregation social eclecticism that could only be found on the banks of the post-plantation Mississippi River. From the blues sounds emanating from Beale Street, to the National Civil Rights Museum, to Elvis Presley's Graceland, I found that I was, indeed, in a different place. However, whereas in East Tennessee there was an absence of ethnic diversity, in Memphis there was a divisive ethnic tension that cut through both the city's physical infrastructure and its social interactions. During my time at the University of Memphis, Byron De La Beckwith, murderer of civil rights activist Medgar Evers, was finally sentenced after twenty-seven years and two mistrials ("Conviction of Beckwith in Evers death is upheld," 1997); on-campus racial tensions turned to physical violence following an altercation between white and black students at a fraternity party (Eisenbath, 1996); and black firefighters in the

city of Memphis publicly protested unjust promotion schemes based on practices of racial discrimination (Cashiola, 2004).[7]

My experiences under the absence of a racialized 'Other' in rural Cosby were displaced by the social inner workings of an urban center very much demarcated by racial divisions. Despite racial diversity, I nonetheless found that my own whiteness held a curiously transferable currency. In other words, whereas in Cosby the nonexistence of a racialized 'Other' only served to reinforce whiteness as hegemonic formation, in Memphis the presence of various blacknesses and the suppression therein had an equally stratifying effect. It was under such conditions that I began to reformulate my understanding of race and Southern racist discourse, whereby I was stirred by the ways in which the actions of my youth reproduced a dominant order of "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990b) against all those who live on the margins of contemporary society. During my studies at Memphis, when I was introduced to the various social theories of Stuart Hall, as well as Raymond Williams, EP Thompson, and others social commentators working under the auspices of British cultural studies, I began to problematize race, race relations, and the Southern discursive and narrative structures which situate individuals in binary opposition based on cultural and phenotypical difference. If, as Stuart Hall (1992a) suggests, the two most important interpolations in British cultural studies were a critical feminist interjection and the increased relevance of critical race theory, then perhaps those interpretive interventions have similarly influenced the epistemological

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[7] The latter echoing the racialized schisms of black and white waste service workers in 1964—protests which brought Martin Luther King, Jr. to Memphis on the eve of his assassination.

distance I have traveled since my days in East Tennessee. I am not sure what lead to what—whether my politics led me to critical cultural studies, or cultural studies helped in the formulation of my politics. For that matter, I am not sure which is the better scenario, but in either case, in the tradition of dialectic thinking, I can conclude that my current political and epistemological positions have emerged from the convergence of the two.

Having spent the years since my undergraduate studies working toward a doctorate in sport and cultural studies, I have become familiar with a number of different postulations as how best to understand and engage the complexities of social world. Borrowing from Grossberg (1997b), I now consider myself "someone partly trained in British cultural studies" (p. 246), attempting to develop a radically-contextual, critical cultural studies of the American South. My own biography, which I have offered a brief summary of up to this point, informs, shapes, and motivates this research. Such a research endeavor is politically-driven—as all good cultural studies work should be—and is resonant of my discontent for the pervasive power formations and processes encoded in structures of Southern racialized discourse. As such, this dissertation project is representative of a politically-driven attempt to illuminate the problematic nature of social practice, prevailing discourse, and ideology within the neo-Confederate contemporary American South. Through rigid and rigorous empirical analysis and interpretation, I aim to better understand how issues of race, gender, ethnicity, social class, and geographic location complicate, and indeed oftentimes reproduce the hegemonic order of experience and consumption in the "new New

South" (Cobb, 1999). Much of my own history is written into these pages, and the politics of my own whiteness is wrestled with, and layered upon, all that follows. While I do not consider this a project of catharsis, I have come to recognize two interrelated auto-biographical consequences which influenced the preparation of this manuscript: 1) the access I was granted throughout this research, from access to interviews and documents to the accessibility of socially (racially) exclusive interactions, was a direct reflection of my own Southern whiteness—embodied, spoken (in the form of a 'Southern drawl),' and performed; and 2) if this project were conducted by anyone else, perhaps an individual without my own personal history, my own racist past, and my own struggles with race in the contemporary context, it would be a very different study. Thus, what follows is a a political endeavor in every sense of the word—an analysis of the body politic, of the politics of embodiment, of the political nature of social justice, and of my own politics conjoined with the empirical in a moral dialogue of the South and the self.

Chapter I: Confederacies and Corporealities

Few institutions have been identified so closely with the Old South legacy, good and bad, as Ole Miss – (Lederman, 1993)

If you want to study racial relations in the South, look at the University of Mississippi – (Nossiter, 1997)

More than forty years have passed since James Meredith gained admission to the University of Mississippi (often referred to as 'Ole Miss'), ending racial segregation at that institution of higher learning and thus catalyzing the spread of desegregation throughout Southern colleges and universities.[8] Most historians point to the 'James Meredith crisis'—described by then Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett to be "the moment of [the South's] greatest crisis since the War Between the States"—as one of the significant flashpoints of the American Civil Rights Movement, particularly in its usurpation of perceptions and practices of racism in the traditionalist 'New South.' Nearly eight years after the *Brown versus Board of Education* decision, five years after Little Rock Central High School was forcefully integrated, and situated between the Freedom Rides of 1961 and the 1963 March on Washington, Meredith's infiltration of one of the South's most revered all-white institutions—considered to be the 'deep South's citadel' of racial separatism; the institution where the "height of plantation upper-

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[8] On September 30, 1962, the college town of Oxford, Mississippi, erupted in violence following the U.S. government's interventions to allow James Meredith, an African American, to register at the all-white University of Mississippi (affectionately known to local constituents as "Ole Miss"). The federal government insisted that the state of Mississippi honor the rights of all its citizens, regardless of race, and allow admittance to Meredith. Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett's refusal to admit Meredith led to a confrontation between state and federal authorities, and resulted in a violent siege on the campus led by segregationists, which resulted in the death of two people and injuries to dozens more.

class segregationist Mississippi culture" (Meredith, Marshall, & Doar, 2002, p. 2)

materialized through symbols and practices of the solid [white] South—is marked

by many as the decisive rupture in white Mississippi's codified resistance to the

Civil Rights Movement (Andrews, 2004; Barrett, 1965; Dittmer, 1995; Silver,

1984).[9] The social and political climate from which Meredith's pursuits emerged

was wrought with the new racisms embedded in Reconstruction Era Jim Crow

laws. As such, the convergence of segregationist attitudes and integrationist

intentions effectively located Meredith and the institution as symbols of the

pervasive racial polarity existing in the Deep South, with Meredith occupying the

role of crusader/interloper and the University standing at the symbolic fulcrum of

separatist ideology. Echoing the fundamentalist and traditionalist thrusts which

galvanized many Southern states to secede from the Union in January of 1861,

segregationist whites from a century later rallied around the position that

integration of the University of Mississippi effectively disenfranchised the state

and its rights to operate in sovereignty and separation. As Mississippi Governor

Ross Barnett proclaimed on September 13, 1962:

> The day of expediency is past. We must either submit to the
>
> unlawful dictates of the federal government or stand up like men
>
> and tell them no. The day of reckoning has been delayed as long
>
> as possible. It is now upon us. This is the day, and this is the hour.
>
> Knowing you as I do, there is no doubt in my mind what the
>
> overwhelming majority of loyal Mississippians will do. They will

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[9] For instance, the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis, Tennessee has an extensive exhibit on Meredith's enrollment efforts and the integration of Ole Miss.

never submit to the moral degradation, to the shame and the ruin

which have faced all others who have lacked the courage to defend

their beliefs. (qtd. in Barrett, 1965, p. 64)

Governor Barnett's contention that the outspoken *majority* of Mississippians principally favored to maintain segregation at Ole Miss, and that Federal intervention threatened the 'Mississippi way of life,' garnered a groundswell of support both locally and throughout the South.[10] On campus, the University's student newspaper, *The Mississippian*, published a poll in late January, 1956, reporting that 74 percent of the students on campus favored segregation, and of the 19 percent supporting integration, a sizeable majority were 'non-Southerners' ("Ole Miss students favor segregation," 1956). These separatist attitudes abounded throughout the state, as a similar poll conducted by the conservative, state-sponsored Citizens Council three years later concluded that 98 percent of white residents in Jackson, McComb, and Greenwood (three of Mississippi's most highly populated townships) favored segregation in Mississippi's colleges and universities (Silver, 1966). For these adherents to the traditionalistic logics of a divisive plantation cultural economy, the prospects of Meredith's enrollment at the state's flagship university endangered the iniquitous power structure they had been able to construct prior to, and reconstruct following, the failings of their Confederate cause which formulated in the lead-up to the American Civil War.

First and foremost, for stalwarts of separatism such as Barnett, the social and material consequences of integration jeopardized the function of Ole Miss as

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[10] A more thorough explication of the origins and meanings of the cognominal 'Ole Miss' will be offered in Chapter Five. Here, let us suppose that perhaps the politics of the moniker are linguistically allied to the Old South vernacularisms of racial hierarchy and gendered expressivity.

an institutional cog of a broader repressive state-sponsored apparatus: which was to create separate spaces, and thus separate opportunities for young Mississippians based on phenotypical and cultural difference. For these separatists, integrating the Oxford campus signaled the epochal rupture of an era for the strategically-constructed social and spatial institution designed and mobilized to celebrate and reinforce plantation privilege and white exceptionalism. From its inception, the University of Mississippi had been an armature for the edification, proliferation, and advancement of a state-sponsored parochial white orthodoxy—*the* exclusive enterprise in what James Silver (1966) famously referred to as Mississippi's 'closed society.' The admission of black students was perceived by Mississippi's white power elite as a "mongrelizing" (Silver, 1966, p. 126) campaign against the social Darwinist plinth of Anglo-Saxonism molded at the state's flagship educational institution. As such, the presence of James Meredith's black body threatened to disrupt the crystallized white supremacist capacities of the University. A second, less evident corollary to the mid-Twentieth Century's integrationist intercessions, yet one with broad reaching repercussions, was that Federal intervention in the Meredith case seemingly signaled an end to historically unchallenged nature of ideological and physical power exercised by controlling white male hegemons of the region.

Following a turbulent three-year enrollment, and upon completing his degree, James Meredith (1966) celebrated the ostensibly revolutionist effect of his enrollment by proclaiming, "Today . . . I am a graduate of the University of Mississippi. For this I am proud of my country" (p. 1). For social reformists and

civil rights activists of the early 1960s, this important victory signified a decisive symbolic and material turning point in Southern social and cultural relations—and was celebrated as *the beginning of the end* of the racism[s] of Mississippi's, as well as the Deep South's, past. In a somewhat concessionary retraction following the forced integration of the University of Mississippi, the white supremacist Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett's professed that black and white Mississippians now "enjoy[ed] a wonderful and peaceful relationship" with the state's white citizenry (qtd. in Silver, 1966, p. 23). The Governor's sentiment was echoed by then Senator James O. Eastland in his assertion that by the mid-1960s: "There [was] no longer discrimination in the South" (qtd. in Silver, 1966, p. 23). It would be misguided, however, to assume that the *politics of race* in the Deep South and the *racist politics* of Ole Miss ended in the fall of 1962.

In spite of declarations to the contrary, since the days of Meredith, the University of Mississippi has been witness to a proliferation of pyrrhic and physical contestations around issues of race. A cursory survey of post-Meredith race relations at Ole Miss renders a bevy of tumultuous encounters, each of which illuminates the diachronic interplay between the segregation-era identity politics and the primordial social practices and relics of the post-Civil Rights campus body. In 1988, for example, Ole Miss made national headlines when the new structure which was set to house the first black fraternity on the Ole Miss campus was burned to the ground by arsonists (Dabney, 1988). Only one year later, members of an all-white fraternity imprinted "KKK" and "I hate niggers" on the chest of two students, drove them to nearby Rust College (an historically

black college), and abandoned their epithet-emblazoned white bodies on the

Rust campus (Mason & Yarbrough, 1989, p. 1). In 2001, another racially-charged

incident at the Garland-Hedleston-Mayes dormitory again brought Ole Miss into

national popular when students were found displacing and altering Black History

Month flyers—incorporating antagonistic racial slurs into the modified brochures

(Thomas, 2000). Also in 2001, two members of the Alpha Tau Omega fraternity

were expelled from the organization following their role in creating a racially-

charged, mordant photograph taken on the night of fraternity-sponsored

Halloween party. The photograph depicted a fraternity member, outfitted as a

police officer, holding a gun to the head of another member dressed in blackface.

The member in blackface was wearing a straw hat while kneeling on the ground

as if picking cotton (Finley & Yoste, 2001). In 2002, two unidentified students

were accused by the University of scribbling racist graffiti on the dorm room

doors of two black students in the Kincannon residence hall. Among the hateful

soubriquets: "Fucking Nigger" and "Fucking Ho Nigger." The culprits also left a

tree with a noose and hanging stick figure in the dormitory and vulgar imprints of

genitalia drawn in blue window chalk along walls on three floors of the dorm

(Kanengiser, 2002).[11]

These and other examples are certainly suggestive of the broader

specters of separatist logics spawned by slavery and maintained by Jim Crow

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[11] It was later concluded by the Ole Miss campus police that the inscriptions had been
perpetrated by three black students who lived in the dorms as part of a 'hoax.' As a result, there
was a journalistic assault from the Right against these "accused sickos" who employed "crude
and twisted acts of Tawana Brawleyism" to reignite charges of racism against the University's
white students (Malkin, 2002). In a preposterous recount of the incident, columnist Michelle
Malkin identified the problem as such: "how the young beneficiaries of the civil rights movement
are squandering and desecrating its legacy of equal respect and justice for all" (Malkin, 2002).

laws which have operated throughout the social and academic institutions of the American South. While these forms of overt racism are by no means exclusive to Ole Miss, imbricated by the historical pervasiveness of racist 'Old South' ideologies, these examples are representative of the outward manifestation of social hierarchies that become coded in parochial discourses of racialized objectification (of the black "Other") and subjectification (of the privileged white norm)—each collapsing upon the politics of identity within the Mississippi Delta region. James Silver (1966) poignantly proscribed, "Mississippi invariably represents the South, and the South is always regarded as a solid unit" (p. 29). Likewise, history suggests that this White Southern solidarity has become both meaningful and powerful, as the racialized Southern order of things is bound to both supremacist ideologies of the past and institutional orthodoxies of the present (Hoelscher, 2003; hooks, 1992; McPherson, 2003). The material history of the American South has embraced a climate whereby the young white population has been "educated to believe in [its] superiority" while black Southerners are inculcated with notions of "subservience and inferiority" (Silver, 1966, p. 151). Historically in Mississippi, an institutional constellation of civic and service clubs, educational institutions, churches, business and labor organizations, sport and leisure formations, and political and judicial groupings have comprised an interconnected universe underpinned by white supremacist, social despotic, and cultural pathologic dictums. Thus, in the spirit of Marx's historical materialism, we must surely acknowledge that a complex interweaving

of racially-coded, chronologically-determined political and cultural economies moulds the social fabric in the 'land of Dixie.'

However, within the representational lexicon of Dixieland identity politics, the foremost apparatus for promulgating Mississippi's symbolic technologies of racism among its elite class can be found in the practices in and around Ole Miss—an institution which from its outset was designed to "transmit culture—customs, values, history, and habits—'across the generations'" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 14) of the white, Dixieland[12] genteel class. Numerous social commentators and critical historians have interpreted and documented such explicit racism which diachronically transverses the University of Mississippi's troubled political, cultural, and economic [trans]formations throughout interwoven epochs (Barrett, 1965; Cabaniss, 1971; Cohodas, 1997; Doyle, 2001; Hendrickson, 2003; Meredith, 1966; Sansing, 1990; Silver, 1966). In the tradition of modernist social history and modern conceptualizations of racial difference (Hall, 1985, 1992b), this trajectory of interpretation has typically rewritten or rearticulated the 'social facts,' practices, and processes of explicit racism in and around Ole Miss, Mississippi, and the Dixie South. But there is something more complex, more divisive at work in Oxford: a social configuration which has gone virtually unnoticed by the journalistic and scholarly communities, and which, while operating on the everyday experiences of people from this region, occupies a

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[12] Throughout this manuscript, my use of the terms "Dixieland" and "Dixie South" is rooted in a romanticized version of the cultural economy emanating from the antebellum South, and particularly the Mississippi Delta. Whereas the Delta is more often used to refer to the geographic and economic region from Memphis, TN to Vicksburg, MS, Dixie is a broader 'Southern Ethic' of cultural difference and parochial tradition. "Dixieland" is best known for its evocation in the song "Dixie," which was the battle song of the Confederate troops during the Civil War.

clandestine quality within the literature. At the intersection of 1) discourses of romanticized heritage culture and Old South nostalgia and 2) discords of polarized/racialized subjectivities therein, post-Meredith Ole Miss looks a lot like the university of white plantation gentry from generations past. In other words, the function of the institution, to transmit the culture of the solid South, remains.

My aim within this study to problematize the unspoken, clandestine Ole Miss by exploring the reticent, yet powerful nature of dominant identity politics operating within the discursive spaces of Ole Miss. In other words, my aim here is not to make clear the overt practices of racism at Ole Miss, as that has already been done, but rather to engage the ways in which discursive practices, and practice as discourse, resurrects the iniquitous cultural politics of the Old South in the present. As but a few critics have begun to contemplate, to understand Ole Miss we must contemplate how the visible nature of identity politics has served as "a conceptual space for desperately clinging to the social relations of an imagined past" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 154). As such, this project starts at the *epicenter of the politics of racial representation* within the post-plantation context: Dixie South whiteness. In the post-Meredith, post-Civil Rights malaise, Ole Miss has continued to function as a defining, centralizing institution of Dixie South whiteness—a distinctive, local form of whiteness which engages the specters of the Old South while simultaneously articulating new expressions of knowledge and power in the context of global/local pluralism. Through this project, I want to critically interrogate the extent to which the University of Mississippi operates as an apparatus for re-centering and self-centering the

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masculine white Dixie South subject and marginalizes the non-white, feminine object.

The Postmodern South

By 'Postmodern South,' I am referring to two interrelated aspects of this research project. The first is in reference to the poststructuralist, anti-modernist framework from which this study will emanate. This strand of theory, of course, arose out of the conditions of the age of fragmented market, fractured identities, and mass mediated consciousness. As such, the second inference, which is both a product and producer of such an epistemological orientation, is in reference to the complexities of post-modernity, in which the South, America, and beyond are understood as discursive spaces in a phantasmagoric plurality of existence. Following social theorist Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984), in the context of what some scholars (Best & Kellner, 1997; Denzin, 1991, 1994; Firat & Venkatesh, 1995; Harvey, 1989; McRobbie, 1994) have described as a 'postmodern condition,' whereby local subjectivities are hailed by a multiplicity of competing and complimenting strategically-mediated subject positions, modern ideological power in the Dixie South is encoded and decoded in such a way as to perpetuate longstanding positions of social privilege and economic power therein (Morley & Robins, 1995). This project is situated within an ever-expanding critical sociology of fractured identity and such an American South (cf. hooks, 2000b; McPherson, 2003): a radically contextual investigation of how intersecting discourses of race, gender, ethnicity, social class, and geographic location

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complicate, and indeed oftentimes reproduce, the social experiences and

identities within the contemporary iterations and the cultural and political

economies of the 'new New South' (Cobb, 1999). The re-centering of identity and

cultural politics around a neo-conservative American agenda signals a return to

the epicentral American Right—to the traditions of hyper-normative individualism

and hyper-religious traditionalism (Hall, 1984). In the contemporaneous context

of a cultural and political economy, whereby 'traditional' American 'values' frame

and organize the political and social activities of a collective Americana,[13]

'heritage culture' enclosures such as Ole Miss capture and recapitulate the

broader body politic in an instructive and qualitative way (Hewison, 1987).

Whether we are caught in a moment of a 'Southernized' America (Applebome,

1997), or merely experiencing a return to the ideological chains which the Deep

South has been able to better preserve in spite of the feminist, civil rights, and

soft-liberalist interventions, the Dixie South is an instructive space for

deconstructing the identity politics of colonial 'red state' America. The increased

relevance of turn time Dixie, and of the similarities between a contemporaneously

divisive Southern political climate and the splintering politics of fifty years prior,[14]

have ushered in the reemphasis of conservative, 'value-based' institutions. In the

coming pages, I will locate Ole Miss, both in form and function, as one such

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[13] For example, the 2004 Presidential election was decided by voters who identified 'values' as their primary reason for selecting George W. Bush. Also, the close relationship between church and state in this country was further cemented by recent judicial rulings with regard to the Ten Commandments of Christianity and their place in public spaces such as courthouses and government buildings.
[14] Back to the year 1948, when the Southern Democrats, or 'Dixiecrats,' broke with their National Democratic Party due to differences regarding the issue of desegregation (more in Chapter 4).

institution—an extension of the white Southern Right, a vessel in the re-empowerment of Bush-era American conservativism.

Conceptualizing Contemporary Dixieland

The social relationships of the South, generally, and Ole Miss particularly, have traditionally been framed and conceptualized around logics of what Lincoln and Guba (2000) would refer to as 'modernist' or 'positivist' epistemological positions. In other words, through narratives and conventions borne of a white male dominated social scientism, analyses bound to conventions of modern sociology have typically engaged the Southern agent as standing outside the structure of power, rather than as a subject position operating within the discourses of subjectification and identification (Frow & Morris, 2000). Such theories are made and remade to reinforce modern idioms of power because they remain within the strategic norms of modern, positivistic, scientific hegemony (Denzin, 1994). As Grossberg (1996) asserts, "the modern transforms all relations of identity into relations of difference . . . the modern constitutes not identity out of difference but difference out of identity" (p. 93). However, a promising striation has recently emerged within cultural studies research on the *discourses* of identity—a logical bent which aims to disrupt traditional ways of theorizing race, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity (cf. Woodward, 1997). While in the modern social sciences identity was typically conceptualized around conventions of a binary logic (black/white, masculine/feminine, heterosexual/homosexual, male/female, etc.), this new strand of critical

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engagement, which originated out of recent internal debates in, and external challenges to, critical cultural studies, instead problematizes the broader discursive and ideological regimes which categorize human agents around such outdated schemas (Hall, 1992b, 1992e, 1995, 1996a). As Lawrence Grossberg (1996) postulates, post-modern cultural critics and researchers must abandon the hermeneutic posture of modern social science, and instead reflexively problematize issues of identity around contextually-specific formations of discourse, identification, and subjectivity. Paraphrasing Grossberg (1997b), and following Stuart Hall (1983; 1985; 1996b), any critical engagement of the identity politics of the South would be well-served to elicit a poststructuralist interpretive position grafted out of a synthesis of Derridian (1974; 1977; 1982) post-Sausurrian semiotics, and Foucauldian (1977; 1982a; 1982b; 2001) discursive politics—whereby local identity is constructed within formations and interconnections of *discourse*. In interpreting the ways in which gesticulations of meaningful signification act upon the everyday experiences of the individual (Grossberg, 1986a; Grossberg & Slack, 1985), I aim to illuminate the iniquitous connections between discourse and the lived experience at Ole Miss. In other words, this is not a tradition historical report of race and Ole Miss, but rather an interrogation how white power is exercised through the ephemeral and the concrete.

Michel Foucault rightly recognizes that toward the end of the Eighteenth Century, human beings came "to be interpreted as knowing subjects, and at the same time objects of their own knowledge" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983b, p. xix).

As such, Foucault's historically-grounded theory of identity—and that which will be adopted in this analysis—was formulated as a dualistic response to the atomistic structuralism of Levi-Strauss and the process-bound hermeneutic phenomenology of Husserl. Foucault's method is concerned with studying the construction of discourse, the essence of ideology (truth), and the formation of power. For Foucault, signified formations of discourse, through language, image, narrative structure, mediated message, etc., actively organize human activity (Smart, 1983). The power of discourse is evident in social fixtures such as sexual taboos, technologies of science, the justice system, and education. In each of these discursive fields (as well as many others), power is imbedded in the language and implementation of discipline. Whereas traditional sociology has often embraced the quest for social facts, causal relationships, and universal truths, Foucauldian poststructuralism implicates such a pervasive theoretical posture as a model through which we can better understand modern social science, and also society more generally (Siedman, 1997). As such, institutions such as Ole Miss are important ideological and discursive spaces for *projecting articulations of conservative ideology and meaningful social praxis*. Ultimately, such disciplinary discursive formations (or discourses of disciplinarity) shape human activity in meaningful and material ways.

As such, it is my aim through this study to understand how identity discourse at Ole Miss creates a racially encoded power structure within the Dixie South context. Rather than reify Ole Miss, giving it an autonomous, lifelike quality, I will deconstruct the institutional leviathan, knocking down the walls and

barriers which are allowed to float freely throughout the campus by way of the

symbolic, the performed, and the ingratiated. Such a non-reifying approach to

this type of analysis serves as an interruption and interjection of the authorized,

privileged qualities of Ole Miss bestowed upon the institution by its constituents.

As a lightening rod of signification, the institution does not exist outside the social

relationships in which constitutes and is constituted by, but rather it is an active

formation in the 'signifying system' (Williams, 1981) of imaginary neo-

conservative identity politics.

In their attempts to understand the sociological element of embodied

relationships at conservative institutions such as Ole Miss, cultural analysts have

often overlooked the relevance of the creations of discourse and discursive

formations. To understand and disrupt modern idioms of representation, I will

shift the focus away from the conspicuous confrontations and contradictions of

differing identities, and instead brazen out the 'structural phases' (Baudrillard,

1983) which operate in and reproduce through pronounced portents of

'difference.' Grossberg (1996) proposes that scholars must escape the

conventions of oppression, both the 'colonial model' of "the oppressed and the

oppressor" and the 'transgression model' of "oppression and resistance" (p. 88).

Rather than think in terms of binaries of oppression or forces of oppression

versus forces of resistance, he proposes that we rearticulate the question of

identity into a "question of constructing historical agency" (Grossberg, 1996, p.

88). If scholar/researchers reproduce a popular pedagogy entrenched in a

discourse of binaries, whereby white is privileged over black and masculinity over

femininity, rather than negotiating the pluralities of the postmodern subject

position, then those social researchers fail to disrupt the logics which often

privilege one side of the pole (Frankenberg, 1997; Giroux, 1997a; Grossberg,

1992). Furthermore, if dominant and marginalized subject positions are products

of modern power relations (and modern discourses therein), as well as producers

of the discursive systems and structures which distribute power through

subjectification (and thus objectification), then we must instead problematize the

institutions and institutionalization of such hegemonic systems (McDonald, 2005).

Perhaps, as Ruth Frankenberg (1993; 1997) suggests, we must turn our

attention back to the center: back to the everyday, taciturn regimes of

representational power which effectively [re]produce dominant subject positions

through the construction of prevailing social discourses. For Frankenberg, as well

as a sizeable contingent of social researchers (Bonnett, 2000; Delgado &

Stefancic, 1997; Dyer, 1997; Feagin & Vera, 1995; Ferber, 1998; Frankenberg,

1993, 2001; Giroux, 1997a; hooks, 1997; Lipsitz, 1998; Roediger, 1991; Stowe,

1996), such an enterprise begins at the core of representational power: the

adjudication of monolithic, uninterrupted whiteness.

Into the White

The earliest petition for the critical study of whiteness as social

construction can be located in W. E. B. Du Bois' *Black Reconstruction*. As

Hartman (2004) suggests, Du Bois' (1903/1996) luminary text:

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. . . elevated the concept of 'whiteness' as an analytical problem in

determinations of class and stratification. He theorized that even

white workers enjoyed a 'public and psychological wage',

regardless of their position in the social hierarchy, [one] that was

derived from their whiteness and reinvested in it. White privilege

validated, and was validated by, racism (pp. 23-24).

However, Du Bois' (1903/1996) appeal for critical examination of the structures

and processes of whiteness went largely ignored until the early 1990s.

Unfortunately, rather than a neo-Du Boisian assault on the specters of white

privilege, the initial strand of a public pedagogy on whiteness was, for the most

part, a self-victimized and self-centered trope emerging from the political Right in

response to the changing nature of 'multiculturalism' and post-modern social

relationships brought on by affirmative action, 'political correctness,' and other

recourses of class-based and race-based Civil Rights Movements in late-

Twentieth Century America (Gabriel, 1998; Giroux, 1997a; Ware & Back, 2001;

Wellman, 1997). In Western 'intellectual' dialogue, a broad range of responses to

issues of whiteness materialized—including pseudo-academic works such as

Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray's (1994) *The Bell Curve* and Dinesh

D'Souza's (1995) *The End of Racism*—each of which offered quasi-substantiated

claims of white disenfranchisement through the propagation of racial difference.

This quasi-critical adaptation of 'whiteness' was effectively a conservative

reaction to political and cultural threats to white male hegemony: a clinging to the

vestiges of the previously unchallenged (material and symbolic) spaces of

privilege reserved for white males (Hartigan, 1997; McIntosh, 1990; McIntyre,

1997; Stowe, 1996). This trajectory of white disenfranchisement extended

beyond the academy, into popular cinema such as the feature films *Falling Down*

and *Lone Star* (Kusz, 2001; Somerson, 2004) and radio and television narratives

such as *The Rush Limbaugh Show, The O'Reilly Factor, Sean Hannity,* and *Imus*

in the Morning. Ultimately, 'whiteness,' or 'being white,' became the recalcitrant

posture for white, middle-class "resistance to taxation, to the expansion of state-

furnished rights of all sorts, and to integration" (Winant, 1992, p. 166). Thus, most

early discussions of whiteness centered on the reclamation project of the 'angry

white male,' whereby opposition to 'new racism' or 'reverse racism' was "coded in

the language of 'welfare reform, neighborhood schools, toughness on crime and

illegitimate births'" (Giroux, 1997a, p. 377). Whiteness was articulated within the

popular sphere of the era as an alternative discourse for whites assailed by the

changing dynamics of immigrant labor, leftist multiculturalism, and a professed

'reverse' racism in the job market (Omi & Winant, 1994).

In contrast to this trend of cumbersome reactionary conceptualizations to

the 'problem' of whiteness, a second wave of theorizing the prevailing discourses

of identity emerged in the early 1990s. This trajectory took a more critical

approach to the *problems* and *consequences* of dominant subject

position[alitie]s. The forerunning texts which located whiteness as something

more than white backlash to social liberalism were Toni Morrison's (1992)

Playing in the Dark and bell hooks' (1992) *Black Looks.* 'Whiteness' in this strand

of theory thus came to be conjuncturally defined as "a practice, a social space, a

subjectivity, a spectacle, an erasure, an epistemology, a strategy, a historical

formation, a technology, and a tactic . . . it is unified through privilege and the

power to name, represent, and create opportunity and deny access" (King &

Springwood, 2001, p. 160). Echoing Du Bois (1903/1996), this new tack of

theorizing recognized that whiteness as a social process exists to reinforce

dominant ideologies of race, but is not an essential characteristic of all those who

identify themselves as white. Morrison and hooks, as well as George Lipsitz

(1998) after them, argued that it is erroneous to conflate the oppressive forces of

whiteness with the social activities of all white people. Put more simply, and

borrowing from Marx: whereas certainly some white [masculine] subjects

perpetuate these ideologies, not all necessarily do so under conditions of their

choosing (Giroux, 1994). In fact, the most compelling thread of the whiteness

research frames whiteness as a process best understood as historically

constructed yet *internally differentiated* and *externally contested* (Allen, 1994;

Bonnett, 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 1997; Feagin & Vera, 1995; Wilson, 2002).

To use Frantz Fanon's (1986, p. 110) terminology, whiteness is

suggestive of the degree to which race is "epidermal," not biologically fixed but

rather a product of social relations and diachronic materialism. Whiteness is both

challenged from within and contestable from the outside. As such, *not all*

whitenesses are the same. In fact, there is an infinite cultural lexicon of

complimenting and competing whitenesses operating within any historically or

culturally specific context (Mahoney, 1997). Whiteness can be both a source of

privilege and underprivilege; of both hegemonic and marginalized

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positionalities.[15] However, in American culture, whiteness has often evaded

critical examination in part due to the rampant fetishization of the racialized and

ethnicized 'Other' by modern sociologists (hooks, 1997, 2000a). Consequently,

most theorizing on race tends to reify cultural variance, carving up ethnicity into

measurable, visible ethnological qualities (and quantities)—except in the case of

whiteness. The clandestine nature of whiteness within the academy has led to a

non-reflexive understanding of the structures and discourses which create

ideological power for the 'invisible center' (Sandoval, 1997).

In the South, varying formations of whiteness have shaped social relations

since long before Jim Crow, featuring, but not limited to: discourses of white

supremacy, 'white trash,' and the occupant suburban white middle class. The

critical eye of identity scholarship and whiteness only recently turned its attention

to the Dixie South (Applebome, 1997; Cobb, 1992, 1999; Cohodas, 1997;

Delgado & Stefancic, 1997; McPherson, 2003; Naipaul, 1989; Reed, 1986; Wray

& Newitz, 1997). Ruth Frankenberg (2001) rightly postulates that "whiteness as a

site of privilege is not absolute but rather cross-cut by a range of other axes of

relative advantage or subordination" (p. 76). In the American South, whiteness

often intersects with other forms of authority such as masculinity and

heterosexuality in a conjunctural panoply of social power. As the scrupulous gaze

of the academy has fixed its sights southward, it has been met by a social and

cultural order still echoing social divisions and hierarchies of the Jim Crow era—

yet a society confronted with unfamiliar remonstrations to the homogeneity of

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[15] For example, the privileged subject position brought upon by whiteness might not have the same resonance for Southern working class whites, often referred to in the popular sphere as "white trash" (Wray & Newitz, 1997).

post-plantation white hegemony. Particularly in spaces of white privilege such as Ole Miss, the cultural trends of postmodern identity-fracturing have in recent years resulted in an unsettling of the dominant location of the upper-class, white, male subject position (Frankenberg, 1997; Giroux, 1997a; cf. Hall & Jameson, 1990; Jameson, 2001; Lury, 1996; Mukerji & Schudson, 1991). Borrowing from W. J. Cash (1941/1991), the reign of the white supremacist 'helluvafella,'[16] which has been at the core of Dixieland social praxis since the genocide of the natives peoples of the region during the early part of the 18th Century, has come under attack. The increased inspection of whiteness in civic and vernacular discourses, and the privileges imbedded within experiences therein, has in many ways challenged the fundamental social ordering of 'helluvafella' dominance over those on the margins.

Paralleling broader trends in whiteness research, early theorizing on Southern whiteness assumed that to be white in the South meant entitlement to the fruits of racist hierarchies which abound throughout American society. However, as bell hooks (2000b) rightly points out, in recent years the research has turned toward a more complex reading of whiteness, and its diverse and complex manifestations and experiences therein. Whereas the early research flirted with the conflation of Southern 'whiteness' and 'new racism,' more recent work has begun to problematize the complexities of the "oppressive, invisible center" (Giroux, 1997b, p. 376). In other words, while there is an undeniable history of sexism, racism, and social class exclusion which has operated on, and

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[16] In his famous 1941 manuscript, *The Mind of the South*, W. J. Cash (1941/1991) describes such a southern white masculine subject as "helluvafella": the proverbial 'good ole' boy' grounded in language and practices of southern tradition

continues to operate within, the everyday experience of all Dixieland

Southerners—one which has, and will continue to be, well documented, there is

a noticeable gap in research dedicated to the critical examination of the

contextually-specific responses and reclamations of the 'invisible center.' The

task of illuminating the complexities of Dixie South whiteness, and thus

challenging the normative nature of social relations emanating from the core of

the Old South's power structure, is closely linked to the interrelated outcomes of

postmodern fracturing of Southern identities and the symbolic diffuse of power

brought about by contested paradigms of difference. The old logics of race and

gender in the Dixie South have been met by convergent tensions brought forth by

softer forms of social conservatism (which elucidate the region's social inequities)

and the new realities of a terrestrial post-industrial economic order (which further

isolate the region's revenue streams)—and such a signified instability threatens

to undermine the longstanding hegemonic location of Dixieland whiteness within

the pantheon of representational politics (Giroux, 1994).

As such, articulations of Southern whiteness, and particularly whiteness in

the contemporaneous Dixie South context, operate outside conventions of most

critical studies of whiteness. Whiteness research often starts its analysis from an

unspoken, clandestine center of power. And while the centrality of a Southern

knowledge/power dynamic is pervasively located within a white center, the

conspicuous response of (and from) the empowered white center has been the

promotion of a more noticeably pronounced, *visible* center.[17] Unlike Eric Lott's

(2001) postulations of whiteness and the 'vital center,' in which the author

imagines a subversive, yet all-encompassing center of power, or Giroux's (1997)

'invisible' whiteness, I want to explore the possibilities of whiteness as

conspicuous performance—whereby an overt *theater of white power*[18] is brought

to life in and through the discursive practices of Dixie South identity at Ole Miss.

The complex axes of the identity politics and Southern whiteness are suggestive

of the pluralistic nature of representation and identification in advanced

postmodernity, where ultra-conservative traditionalism is expressed through a

body politic and cultural economy dominated by *New South imagery* with an *Old*

South feel. This is not to suggest that Dixie South whiteness is just another

selection in the cornucopia of identities, but rather that over time the centralizing

mechanisms and processes imbedded into local culture have created a

gravitational pull, always bringing power back to the normative white epicenter of

social power. As such, this study is a journey into the center of identity politics

within the Dixie South, a core drilling project which aims to understand how

whiteness becomes normalized and centralized, and how it is inevitably and

imminently perceptible through active expressions, practices, and discourses

within social institutions such as Ole Miss.

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[17] The notion of a 'visible' quality to whiteness, or more accurately the physical propagation of centralized identity politics around whiteness, is briefly introduced in Derald Wing Sue's (2004) paper on 'ethnocentric monoculturalism.'
[18] Much like the 1936 Olympic Games constituted a theater of power for expressing Aryan supremacy, solidarity, and political ideology, this theater acts to reinforce the normative nature of preferred whiteness in the Dixie South context while simultaneously authorizing the practices of the oppressive center.

This theater has many acts and many actors. In the South, country music, stridently segregated religious congregations (i.e. burning churches and radical cloth-bearers), sporting traditions such as NASCAR and college football, the Ku Klux Klan, Confederate flags, and the hyper-racist Nationalist Movement have all been associated such a longitudinal [re]centering routine. These discursive formations of local identity have contributed to an imaginary 'Southern ethic' within the popular ether, an imaginary space closely linked to dominant Southern whiteness and subordinate Southern blackness[19] (and corollary hierarchies with regard to gender and social class). In the Dixie South context, and particularly through the social practices of its more visible institutions, the performativity of racialized representation offers a return to a cultural politics of the power of the ocular, "normative center" (Roediger, 2002, p. 17). As I have suggested heretofore, perhaps the seminal cultural institution constructed by and for the visible center, in order to make the center and its politics more perceptible, is the University of Mississippi. In my estimation, there is no better place to start such a radically contextual sociology of contemporary Dixie South identity discourse than in Oxford, at the University of Mississippi. As James Silver (1966) suggested, "Mississippi has long been a hyper-orthodox social order in which the individual has no option except to be loyal to the will of the white majority" (p. 154). Perhaps more than any other social space, the campus of Ole Miss (and

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[19] Throughout this manuscript, I will refer to 'blackness,' 'Southern blackness,' and 'blackness at Ole Miss' in a number of different ways. Often I slip in and out of using these terms to describe cultural experiences and discourse of black identity in a homogenous way. This is in no way attempt to suggest that all blacknesses and black experiences are similar, or that black identities are uniform, but rather I use the terms in this way to describe the prevailing attitudes about black 'Otherness' in the context of dominant white ideologies. Further, it is not my intention to overly-victimize blackness, but rather to locate the oppositional discourses of blackness which antithetically locate and relocate whiteness.

practices therein) is the archetypal 'ideological state apparatus' (Althusser, 1971) for perpetuating the material and symbolic power of Dixieland's 'normative center.' From the outset, Ole Miss was created to mask the social inequities of Mississippi's past and present, while simultaneously functioning to reproduce the 'preeminence' of Southern white hegemony. "Its traditional mission," wrote Adam Nossiter (1997), "has less to do with imparting Shakespeare than with passing on the culture of white Mississippi" (p. 1).

At Ole Miss, there are numerous ways in which Dixie South whiteness is theatrically articulated, and a variety of formations of Dixie South whiteness which mask the iniquitous cultural economy of the region. As such, Ole Miss has long served as *the human capital investment bank of white supremacy*—an encampment of the 'closed society' for indoctrinating the political and cultural ideologies of "as near a police state as anything we have yet seen in America" (Silver, 1966, p. 151). From its integration in 1962, to the vigilant adhesion to and reverie for the symbols of the Old South, the University has persistently acted as a source for the transmission of racially-divisive ideologies of the Old South. The discourses operating under the auspices of this re-centering of whiteness through the institution take on many forms, namely: the symbolic (branded and logoed), the spatial (aesthetic and infrastructural), and the spectacular (practiced). Historically at Ole Miss there has been a composite, yet non-necessary, correspondence between social experience (repression) and cultural identity (mapping of Dixie South whiteness) (cf. Grossberg, 1997a; Hall, 1986b). Through the process of deconstructing Dixie South identity, and particularly the

return of conspicuous South whiteness at Ole Miss—sarcastically referred to as

the South's "distinctive laboratory for examining social change" (Nossiter, 1997,

p. 1)—we can begin to understand how various expressions of whiteness

continually act in repressive, yet simultaneously productive (producing the

disciplined subject) ways throughout the cultural economy of the Mississippi

Delta.

The [Corpo]Realities of Dixie South Whiteness at Ole Miss

In this dissertation, I will examine the veiled meaning within signifiers of

whiteness which operate on the [normative and alternative] Ole Miss subject, and

the ways in which processes of unveiling whiteness re-enchant and reinforce

social hierarchies within the Dixie South. Such an unveiling entails getting at core

expression of whiteness, the pheno-typically encoded body (King, 2005). As

such, I ally my research approach with Frankenberg's (1997) call to understand

postmodern whiteness by focusing on the corporeal[20] to better conceptualize and

problematize the intricate structures and process which shape contemporary

racialized discourses. In the first instance, racial discourse and the politics of

whiteness intersect at the body. While whiteness as a cultural formation extends

beyond embodiment, both license to, and construction of, identity politics are in

the most banal sense measured by the ocular—individual skin color, gait,

posture, and physicality (Marcoulatos, 2001). As such, Frankenberg's (1997)

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[20] In using the terms "corporeal" and "corporeality," I am aiming to elicit double meaning. In the first instance, my use of the term is to refer to things related to the body. Concurrently, the term suggests a relational quality between the body and a broader social and cultural body politic. An interesting third reading could be the notion of a physicality governed by the logics of late capitalism, whereby 'corpor'ation infiltrates all aspects of human life.

proposed trajectory of whiteness research parallels, and indeed reflects, a

broader trend in cultural studies scholarship: a turn toward identity as mobilized

in and through contemporary physical culture (Andrews, 1993a, 1993b, 2002;

Andrews & Loy, 1993; Butler, 1993; Cole, 2000; Hargreaves & McDonald, 2000;

Loy, Andrews, & Rinehart, 1993; Miller, 2001a). In recent years, there has been

an upsurge in research devoted specifically to expressions of the political

discourses of the body in relation to both the popular and the local (Cole, 2000;

Harvey, 1986; Harvey & Sparkes, 1991; Maguire, 1993; Vasterling, 2003). The

body, perhaps more than any other site of signification, has served as the

"condensation of subjectivities in the individual" (Hall, 1996a, p. 11), a space for

interplay between discursive assimilation and autonomous resistance.

       In the Dixie South, the body often represents a vessel and instrument for,

as well as an expression of, separatist ideologies of white supremacy. For Stuart

Hall, building upon the work of Michel Foucault (1977; 2000) and Jacques

Derrida (1974), the body is the most germane of postmodern canvases, whereby

identity politics both promote and act upon the discourses of signification,

representation, and identification. Foucault (1977) refers to the promotion of the

self through the politics of bodily discourses as an 'aesthetics of existence'—a

strategic layering and performance of identity politics over the body. Corporeal

discourse not only objectifies the carrier of bodily signifiers, but also subjectifies

the informant through the process of signification, which "itself is a regulative and

regulated formation" (Hall, 1996a, p. 11) which acts upon the political body. In

other words, the formation of bodily discourse, and the discursive formations of

the political body, moulds the body as text through normative regulation—which often reinforces social power relations and creates what Foucault (1977; 1988) often refers to as 'docile bodies.' And thus, the body as signifier becomes both a site for governance as well as a site for reproduction (or contestation) of the prevailing social order.

Research on whiteness and what Protevi (2001) refers to as the body's 'political physics' is relatively embryonic in its development. The earliest theorizing to emphasize the political nature of the body in relation to whiteness, primarily informed by the post-positivist social sciences, was produced by Alexander (2004), Delgado and Stefancic (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997), Bonnett (1998; 2000), Dyer (1997), Feagin and Vera (1995), Gabriel (1998), Long (2000; Long & Hylton, 2002), Mahoney (1997), Solomos and Back (1996), and Wellman (1997). And while this list is not comprehensive, it is no doubt suggestive in terms of the recent influx of this trajectory of research. However, essentially every previous contribution to the growing corpus of work on whiteness and physical culture (or body culture) offers broad sweeping analysis of the discourses of whiteness. As I have argued up to this point, corporeal whiteness in the South is both unique and contextually specific—one part access to orthodox power, one part visible materialization of what Alejandra Marchevsky and Jeanne Theoharis refer to as the 'racialization of entitlement.' Consequently, there has been a negligible amount of work dedicated to more nuanced and localized expressions of whiteness and the politicized body. Furthermore, there is an even more trifling current of research which emphasizes Southern, localized whiteness and the

body. Consequently, while "critical studies of whiteness" (Roediger, 2002, p. 15) are becoming increasingly relevant within the academic community, and Southern whiteness has been a growing part of that sociology, there is a liminal amount of research which critically considers how the body, as a discursive terrain, reproduces power structures of localized Southern white hegemony. Therefore, I offer the following interpretations on Dixieland with intentions of augmenting the existing literature by developing a radically contextual analysis of Dixie South whiteness and expressions of the *visible center*. This analysis is part historical account, part cultural analysis, of the ways in which social power is espoused and expressed in and through discourses of bodily praxis, the mediated body, and the body in space at institutional locus of visible Dixie South whiteness—the University of Mississippi.

In this dissertation, I hope to develop a complex reading of the embeddedness of ideological and symbolic power relations as encoded in the embodied discourses of representation and subjectification operating within the context of one of the Dixie South's most oppressive institutions. Following Michael Eric Dyson (2004), this project is intended to "unveil the myths of universality and invisibility that have formed the ideological strata of white supremacy" (p. 116). And whilst such an endeavor in modern sociology would likely start with the reification of 'difference,' and work toward better understanding of experiences of the racialized subject, I plan to flip such a conventional modern sociological approach 'on its head.' Rather than rewriting the James Meredith case, or similar materializations of racism which have

occurred since, I aim to better understand how 'whiteness' as a socially-determined discursive formation acts upon the corporeal experiences and bodily expressions of Delta South identity within the contemporary Ole Miss setting. This purpose of *Dixie's Last Stand* is to excavate the articulated linkages between pervasive white supremacist ideologies of the Dixie South and the discursive anatomy of the body within the University of Mississippi space. In identifying these linkages, momentarily 'prying loose' discourse from practice, and deconstructing or dismantling the oppressive utility in which such discursive formations operate (and the relationship between the body, the institution, and the state), it is my aim to implode the prevailing logics of race in the South and identify those discursive practices which shape the human experience within this context.

Rather than suggest that all who attend Ole Miss are racist whites or complicit blacks, I want to elucidate the ways in which a persistent whiteness shapes human action within the Ole Miss space, and then undermine the *taken-for-grantedness* of oppressive discursive structures. In more explicit terms, this project is an attempt to mark whiteness as particular, and *peculiarize* the power dynamics of identity in the Dixie South as expressed through the social praxis and physical discourses of the University of Mississippi. Through rigorous historical and empirical analysis, I examine corporeality within the discursive landscape of the University of Mississippi, and how the silent, yet salient nature of Dixie South whiteness "allows whiteness to stand as the norm" (Hoelscher, 2003)—surveying and disciplining those subject positions operating outside the

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norm, and governing those subjectivities which exist to reproduce and reinforce the norm. Paradoxically, it is this disciplining capacity of whiteness which has yet to be defined, and yet serves as the central engine in the everyday complication of racialized social interactivity within the region.

Critically Rethinking Rebel Culture[21]

The interpretive project which follows is very much informed by, and constructed around, the traditions and theoretical and methodological underpinnings of cultural studies. Researchers in cultural studies synthesize complex and diverse theory with rigorous research strategies to help better understand the empirical world (Frow & Morris, 2000). As Gee (1999) noted, in cultural studies:

> method always goes with a theory. Method and theory cannot be separated, despite the fact that methods are often taught as if they could stand alone. Any method of research is a way to investigate some particular domain. . . .There can be no sensible method to study a domain, unless one also has a theory of what the domain is. (p. 3)

Both in the formation of theoretical positions created under the auspices of cultural studies, and the foundational dependence of the theoretical influences of social critics of the late modern and postmodern West, cultural studies is deeply theoretical. As Lawrence Grossberg (2001) suggests, "cultural studies uses theory as a resource, something that will help [the researcher] gain better

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[21] Parts of this section are taken from "Appendix: The Epistemo-logics of Studying the South." For a more thorough description of the issues related to theory, method, epistemology, ontology, and personal politics, please refer to that accompanying document.

knowledge about a particular (politically defined) question" (p. 134). From the outset, cultural studies' engagement with theory has primarily been one of furthering the political project of the critical Left; using theory as a resource to better understand or further problematize the complexities of social phenomena and cultural formations (Andrews, 2002). As Denzin and Lincoln (2000) posit, "The central task of a theory is to make sense out of a local situation" (p. 15). This project is one such endeavor: a *detour through theory* on the way to making empirical observations and thus better understand the problematic nature of Dixie South whiteness. Theory-driven social inquiry, according to Lawrence Grossberg (2001), "is not about applying theory, and it is not about the purity of theoretical positions. It is about struggling to make whatever theoretical resources one has say something useful about it is one is investigating" (p. 134). As such, this project relies on an extensive theoretical universe, always oscillating between vectors of the illuminant, the plausible, the congruent, the philosophical, and the sociological.

In historical context, cultural studies' theoretical eclecticism and methodological diversity extend beyond the scientific conventions of the structural functionalisms of Talcott Parsons or Robert Merton and the methodological positivism of Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (Ritzer, 2000). To such an end, cultural studies is in many ways a departure from the positivism and essentialism of modern sociological theory, whereby its pundits are often tasked with testing and proving social theories by way of scientific mechanisms and treatments (Kuhn, 1962/1996). Stuart Hall (1992a) uses the metaphor of

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'wrestling with angels' to describe his engagement with social theory. Theorizing, for Hall, is about struggling with a theoretical position to make it useful for that which one is studying. Hall (1992a) famously suggested, "the only theory worth having is that which you have to fight off, not that which you speak with profound fluency" (p. 280). Cultural studies' articulations of social theory can consequently be described as 'reading for the best of the theory,' appropriating the kernels of interpretation which elucidate[22] the social problem under investigation. Historically, those doing work in cultural studies often rely on an eclectic, and sometimes inconsistent, body of theoretical work to inform their research project.

In the first instance, cultural studies, according to Richard Johnson (1987), is inherently a revival of Marxist sensibilities in relation to labor, ideology, and social relationships. To such an end, the foundation theoretical legacies which shaped early British cultural studies were Marx's political economy and the works of neo-Marxist structuralist and poststructuralist thinkers such as Louis Althusser, Antonio Gramsci, Ernest Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, Ferdinand de Saussure, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida (Andrews, 2000; Best & Kellner, 1997, 2001). Later theoretical influences were found in the theorizing of social critics in the Frankfurt School (Herbert Marcuse, Herbert Schiller, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Jurgen Hamermas); more contemporary European social theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Jean Baudrillard, Guy Debord , Norbert Elias, and Henri Lefebvre; feminist theorist such as Judith Butler, Donna Haraway, and

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[22] While cultural studies use of theory could fall into what Derrida (1982) would critique as a 'heliocentric' vernacular, in that "elucidation" or "illumination" beckons Enlightenment Era grand narrative structuration, there is the assumption that theory helps to shed light on the empirical, rather than enlighten the researcher.

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Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak; critical race theorists such as Paul Gilroy, bell hooks, Kobena Mercer, and (to some extent) Toni Morrison; media theorists such as Todd Gitlin, Douglas Kellner, and David Morley and Kevin Robins; post-colonial theorists such as Edward Said and Frantz Fanon; and globalization theorists such as Anthony Giddens, Roland Robertson, David Harvey, and Arjun Appadurai. These theorists and innumerous others have long influenced the broader cultural studies project, but have done so in different, sometimes contradictory ways. Even in defining the corpus of theoreticians who shape the cultural studies project, I have named some thinkers who have had marginal sway over most research in cultural studies, some who might be fundamentally rejected by many in cultural studies, and failed to mention an even greater number whose theory significantly moulds contemporary cultural studies. My point, quite simply, is that for cultural studies, there are no boundaries when it comes to theoretical influence. Rather, cultural studies scholars use any and all theory available to them to best understand the empirical problem under investigation (Grossberg, 1997b; Hall, 1992a, 1996c; Wright & Grossberg, 2001).

Consequently, while there are many theoretical assumptions which any researcher might bring to an empirical research project, those practicing under the auspices of cultural studies are likely to utilize their theoretical toolboxes in a somewhat unfamiliar order of those in the modern social sciences. Rather than 'apply' or test a theory to a particular set of social circumstances, cultural studies uses theory in both the first (upon entering the field) and the last (in the analysis of the empirical world) instances (Grossberg, 1997b). For cultural studies, theory

holds a luminous function—theory serves to help us better illuminate and complicate that which we a studying. Again paraphrasing Grossberg, theory has to be engaged, but always in response to an empirical question (Wright & Grossberg, 2001). Grossberg goes on to suggest, "I theorize first and foremost because I have an empirical, political issue that I'm trying to understand, and my understanding requires both empirical and theoretical (and the dialogue between them)" (qtd. in Wright & Grossberg, 2001, p. 136). To properly examine the ways in which ideas "organize human masses and create the terrain on which men (Janesick) move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc." (Hall, 1986b, p. 40) researchers in cultural studies strive to address political struggle, and how discourse operates on the lived experience.

Over the past few decades, many researchers in the field[23] have gone to great lengths to theorize notions of representation, subjectivity, and signification as they relate to the subjective human experience. However, it is important that those proponents of cultural studies do not "let theory let research off the hook" (Grossberg, 1997b, p. 262). In other words, theory is most useful when synthesized with empirical research built on rigorous methods (Grossberg, 1997b). The empirical is the entrée into mapping the context, to mapping the ideologies and practices which bring that context into focus. Through our understanding of those structures and forces which work against us, and the ways subjectivity is mobilized in those efforts, we can reestablish the interventionist and political purposes of cultural studies. Rather than being

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[23] Bourdieu's (1993) 'field,' not necessarily the anthological 'field' which was popularized through 'going native' research stylings of modern cultural anthropologists.

bogged down in "endless theorizing" (Wright & Grossberg, 2001, p. 150), theory

and theorizing must be that "detour on our way to something more important"

(Hall, 1992b, p. 42). As such, another important dimension of cultural studies is

the commitment to a better understanding of the *lived experience* in the empirical

world. In cultural studies, we theorize, but in response to the "profoundly and

deeply antihumane" nature of contemporary social relationships (Hall, 1992d, p.

18).

Consequently, cultural studies researchers utilize a vast array of

methodological tools for 'situating' the objects of analysis within discursive

constellations of iniquitous contemporary social relations (Hebdige, 1988). From

the outset, academics and social critics doing work in cultural studies have relied

heavily on qualitative approaches to gathering information about the empirical

world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Frow & Morris, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In

contrast to modernist scientific approaches, which often reduce social patterns

and nuanced relationships to suggestive tendencies within numeric data by

which generalizable outputs are rendered, qualitative research designs, as

Clifford Geertz (1973) suggests, afford the ability to render a 'thick description' of

the cultural phenomenon under investigation. And while in recent years there has

been an increased presence of quantitative analytical methods within cultural

studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), these strategies are principally used in an

ancillary, descriptive function to augment cultural studies' principally qualitative

forms of inquiry. As a means to a critical approach to understanding cultural

phenomena, qualitative research designs allow for more flexibility,

interdisciplinarity, and sensitivity to fluctuating political, economic, and social conditions under investigation (King, 2005). To properly do empirically-driven cultural studies is a matter of reconstructing and reconceptualizing the genealogical articulations which construct, and are constructed by, synchronic and diachronic contextual relationships. In other words, the empirical context-building of cultural studies in both the first and last moment is concerned with the project of doing contextual analysis—understanding and critically engaging the intersections of contextual, historical, and experiential discourses.

Through framing identity within the poststructuralist notion of discourse, and *discursive economies of cultural and social inter-relationalities*, contextual analysts can undergo the interpretive project of articulating human agency in relation to such structural forces. As Derrida (1974) famously suggests, "there is nothing outside the text" (p. 158), and thus interpretive engagements with the social and cultural empirical are ultimately discursively-driven endeavors. As Stuart Hall (1980b) posits: "we must recognize that the discursive form of the message has a privileged position in the communication exchange" (p. 129). Consequently, understanding the invariable contestation of mediated discourses emanating from institutional structures and the localized discursive process[ing] of culture is the central thrust of the *thick empirical method* of analysis used in cultural studies (cf. Geertz, 1973; Searle, 2001). As such, a number of distinctive qualitative research strategies have been mobilized by cultural analysts to locate and illuminate the articulated manifestations of the political, cultural, and economic forces which act upon the human experience (Frow & Morris, 2000).

To understand the politics of Dixie South identity as expressed in and

through the cultural economy of Ole Miss, I use a multi-method approach to

reconstruct a holistic "bricolage"[24] (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 4) of the

circumstances and discourses acting upon, and reinforced by, the empirical

phenomenon under investigation. Whilst any effort to categorize or delineate

differing qualitative 'methods' can often lead to oversimplification and

generalization, as well as undermine some of the rudiments of progressive

debates concerning representation,[25] purpose,[26] and approach (Miller, 2001b), I

find it useful to locate the research strategies of this project within Samantha

King's (2005) framework of 'central and recognizable' elements of contextual

cultural studies research, namely: ethnography, media studies, contextual

historiography, and interviewing. By utilizing an array of qualitative empirical

tools, the cultural studies researcher is afforded an open-ended means to better

understand the nuanced rather than the general, discover the cultural

possibilities as well as social trends, and identify observable specificities in the

construction of social praxis (Denzin, 2000; Kincheloe, 2001). Therefore,

following Douglas Kellner (1995), I contend that such a 'multiperspectival cultural

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[24] Denzin and Lincoln (2000) refer to the "bricolage" as "a pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation" (p. 4). In other words, it is my aim to use a diverse pool of analytical tools to interrogate Ole Miss, and situate it in the context of the postmodern, post-plantation, post-Civil Rights moment.

[25] For instance, the feminist critique of the modern anthological origins of many of the research 'methods' listed below (cf. Probyn, 1996) would be that such categorical inclinations often privilege the dominant system of scientific method and authority–a decided masculine, white, elicit positivism.

[26] In other words, whose interpretive voice is writing the history under investigation? For a reflexive personal narrative of my own experiences as a young white man growing up in the South, and how those experiences shape this research project, please see 'Appendix 1: My Redneck Past'

studies,' drawing from numerous textual and critical interpretive strategies is perhaps the best way to 'do' empirically-driven cultural studies of the Dixie South.

Ethnographic Participant Observation

Although the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, qualitative research and ethnography are slightly different in both form and level of engagement. Put simply, while ethnography is one form of qualitative inquiry (and thus all ethnography is qualitative), not all qualitative research is considered ethnography (cf. Berg, 2001). Ethnographies, according to Goetz and LeCompte (1984), "are analytic descriptions or reconstructions of intact cultural scenes and groups . . . [that] recreate for the reader the shared beliefs, artifacts, folk knowledge, and behaviors of some groups of people" (p. 2). While this basic, if not banal, description of ethnography is instructive with regards to the nature of ethnographic inquiry, it echoes the positivism of early modern sociology and anthropology. Perhaps a more useful, and critical, understanding of ethnography is located in Silk's (2002) contention that ethnographic research is a "practical activity that involves the ethnographer participating in people's lives, watching what happens, listening to what is said and asking questions" (p. 780; cf. Silk & Amis, 2000). This approach is known as 'writing culture' (Clifford & Marcus, 1986), whereby the researcher is immersed in the empirical dynamics of local social action, and develops an interpretive cartography of mediated discourses therein (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). Borrowing from a variety of interpretive perspectives (Atkinson, Coffey, & Delamont, 1999), the ethnographic

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interpretations I yielded from my experiences at Ole Miss were articulated with broader formations of power (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Within this research project, I was constantly returning to the radically-contextual cultural studies diktat, which was to connect ethnographic interpretations of the Ole Miss empirical to wider social, economic, and political processes and structures (Angrosino & Perez, 2000; Frow & Morris, 2000).

In more pragmatic terms, throughout this project my primary means of accumulating the empirical discourses of spectacular practices and spaces at Ole Miss was by way of participant observation during various Ole Miss social events (Spradley, 1980). In conducting this ethnographic form of participant observation, I maintained a 'fly on the wall' approach: while not hiding the fact that I was present and taking notes or recording social activity, I endeavored to remain in the background of empirical occurrences (Adler & Adler, 1994; Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Denzin, 1989). Furthermore, as participant observation does not entail singling out any particular individual at the event or asking individuals at the events to behave in any matter different than they would if the observer was not present (Angrosino & Perez, 2000; Denzin, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Tedlock, 2000), I attempted to limit the effects of my researching practices and record my observations in a non-obtrusive manner.

The strength of participant observation comes from observing individuals in a natural setting (Jorgensen, 1989); consequently, this type of participant observation endeavors not to interfere with how individuals act in that setting

(Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Jorgensen, 1989; Spradley, 1980). During the collection of empirical 'data,' I strategically positioned myself in spaces such as the campus Grove (prior to home football and basketball games), public meetings, and other public displays where observable practices of spectacular whiteness could be documented. I then recorded my observations in one of three ways: through written fieldnotes, voice recorded observations, and post-event retrospective notes. Throughout this project, I tried to remain vigilant in reflecting upon how my actions, physical presence, and researcher biography might influence the social activities I was observing. Adler and Adler (1987) define three membership roles for the researcher: the complete-member-researcher; the active-member-researcher; and the peripheral-member-researcher. My involvement with much of the empirical ethnography during the Ole Miss project entailed a level of engagement which oscillated between the latter two typologies.

To identify and interpret the 'vectors' (Atkinson et al., 1999) of social discourse active within the carnivalesque spectacle of the Grove, for example, I used a type of ethnographic participant observation which the Situationist International might refer to as ocular "derive" (Debord, 1981f)—while taking note of that which I observed, I abandoned a geographic or spatial agenda in favor of 'drifting' in and toward the attractions of the social terrain found within the Grove. In other aspects of ethnographic engagement with Ole Miss, such as attending public meetings or acting as a 'flaneur' (Benjamin, 1999), strolling across campus, I assumed a more "active" membership, 'playing' the ambiguous role of

student researcher[27] while recording university-related processions. In either instance, I experienced uninhibited access to the forays of cultural exchange I aimed to study, and often used various observation opportunities to gain entrée into other aspects of the study or identify key "gatekeepers"[28] (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992; Lindlof, 1995b) whose role in mediated, constructing, and narrating Ole Miss discourse is equally relevant to the study.

Critical Media Studies

If ethnographic participant observation is the strategy which best illuminates the social dynamics of the local, then perhaps critical discourse analysis of the mass media best elucidates the impetuses and impediments created by cultural intermediaries within the public sphere. Media imagery and rhetoric substantiate an important role in shaping ideological discourse, and thus any study of identity would profit from a critical examination of the mediated, discursive texts which shape localized representation and signification (Gee, 1999; Hall, 1981). As Gruneau, Whitson, and Cantelon (1988) postulate, media practices "are important sites in the production and reproduction of social order; and in our view it is precisely this 'naturalization'—of a cluster of meanings and practices which are integral to a class society and to masculine hegemony" (p.

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[27] In this instance, my outward appearance as a 27/28 year-old white male might afford both access to dominant social relationships and provide for more 'natural' conduct therein, as my presence likely does not threaten nor disrupt the normative behaviors of the dominant faction of Ole Miss agents.

[28] A 'gatekeeper' can be an individual who grants access to information or processes of mediation, or someone who can offer a 'lead' to guide the research project (Adler & Adler, 1994). In this ethnographic study, I used observations of the empirical as a means of identifying these cultural informants, an then pursued other forms of qualitative inquiry (typically interviews) to 'round-out' that aspects of the study.

265). As such, the mass media functions as an integral force in the processes of representation, identification, production, consumption, and regulation of identity discourse—creating a sense of naturalness, and confusing the nature of human experience "at every turn" (Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 11) through the [en]trappings of the hyperreal (Baudrillard, 1983). Within these proliferated "circuits of culture" (du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, & Negus, 1997, p. 3), the subject becomes inextricably linked to the mass media, wherein identities are shaped in and through the discourses of consumer culture, the interpretation of the media text is central to an understanding of local identity politics.

In reading mass-mediated discourse, the researcher is in essence [re]articulating the aural and audile forms of the media product with the structural processes that shape, and are shape by, such discursive formations. However, the media text is not the end product of the semiotic process within broader formations of mediated discourse (Frow & Morris, 2000). Rather, the media text is a product and producer of the practical, political, and social relations surrounding its creation (Hartley, 1998). To study the mediated discourse means acknowledging the context in which the text was produced and the interpretive posture from which the researcher is operating. This type of research stratagem often entails the project of poststructuralist 'deconstruction' of contextually-specific mass mediated discourse. The term "deconstruction" is informed by a post-structuralist edict for critical engagement with discourses of popular culture (Best & Kellner, 1997; Denzin, 1994; Derrida, 1974). In particular, the work of French social theorist Jacques Derrida (1974) is instructive in this regard, as he

insists that the political action of interpretation is best served in the act of 'prying loose' the marginal text from its signifiers. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1974), in the introduction to Derrida's (1974) *Of Grammatology*, defines 'deconstruction' as the effort to locate "the promising marginal text, to disclose the undecidable moment, to pry it loose with the positive lever of the signifier; to reverse the resident hierarchy, only to displace it; to dismantle in order to reconstitute what is already inscribed" (p. lxxvii). Derrida himself calls for the *dismantling of discourse* in order to locate the pervasive hierarchies transposed on and through the text by cultural intermediaries (cf. Spivak, 1974). Deconstruction lends itself to reconstruction, whereby the contextually-driven media analyst can begin to reformulate a historically contextual public pedagogy based around the acknowledgement of such 'antihumane' aspects of the 'public sphere'[29] (Andrews, 1996a; Denzin, 1994; Hall, 1980a, 1985, 1992d).

As Stuart Hall (1981) notes, the task of undermining the mounting hegemonic norms within popular discourse, both in terms of representation and signification, is central to an interventionist cultural studies. By complicating the taken-for-granted signifiers of the Ole Miss mediated text, I aimed to reorient the interchangeability of the signifier (i.e. the hegemonic Delta South bodily aesthetic) with the signified (i.e. those individuals functioning under the normalizing gaze therein). Throughout the course of this study, I examined a number of different media platforms—such as local and regional newspaper

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[29] Borrowing from Habermas (1991), I loosely use the term 'public sphere' to refer to the possibilities of a contested mass cultural space where critical interventionism not only exists, but is central to the public debates around the structure and mobility of communicative action. Such a space, by my estimation, has yet to develop in part due to the constraints of corporate capitalist hegemony and the imbalanced nature of discursive acts.

coverage, national televised sporting events and news reports, and historical media documents—to gain an 'intertextual'[30] reading of the active discursive formations operating on the Ole Miss subject. For example, in the third and fourth chapters of this manuscript, I deconstruct the discursive media representations of Archie and Eli Manning—and the celebration of the Delta South [white] sporting body—to illustrate two contextually-specific, archetypal versions of preferred Dixie South [masculine] whiteness within the Ole Miss popular. My methodological analysis of these two sporting icons included an exhaustive scan an array of local and national media forms and an examination of the representational discourses which constitute momentary visions of Ole Miss sporting stardom. This type of interpretation, augmented by interviews of relevant cultural intermediaries who shape the monosemic[31] popular representations of Ole Miss's creation of Dixie South identity, is recurrent throughout the following analysis.

Contextual Historiography

Critical analysis of contextual histories focuses on the subjective and objectivizing discursive experiences (and the documentation processes therein) as expressed in marginalized and dominant cultures. As Raymond Williams

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[30] Bennett and Woollacott (1988) define "intertextuality" as "the social organization of the relations between texts within specific conditions of reading" (p. 45). In other words, the mediated text can only be understood in the context of competing discourses of local expressions and other media sources.

[31] No representational discourse can be 'monosemic,' but I use the term here sarcastically to suggest that the polysemic nature of dominant representational discourse at Ole Miss is very much constrained and uniformed in tow with the ideological norms.

(1977) suggests, contextual historiography is more concerned with contextually-specific products of culture, dynamics of change, and politics of representation over time than the traditional reporting of dates, events, and people. Discursive contextual historiography, then, is akin to, but not synonymous with, Foucault's notion of genealogy—a rejection of the linearity which plagues most historical interpretation; as well as a turn toward the power relations encoded in the process of historical documentation (Foucault, 1984a). Foucault refers to his project as a 'genealogy of the modern subject' as "an attempt to locate historically and analyze the strands of discourse and practices dealing with the subject, knowledge, and power" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 7). In the spirit of Marxist historical materialism, Foucault critically examines the historical power relations which shape the contemporary conditions of subjectification and objectification:

> By 'genealogy' Foucault refers to an attitude based on a rejection of an immanent direction to history and society. Following Nietzsche it places much emphasis on the struggle for power by different forces and on the lack of a necessary order inherent in this. The methodological consequence of this attitude is that the historian should try to uncover the contingent and violent course that society has historically taken. Genealogists do not look for grand evolutionary laws or deep meanings that can provide a key to the direction of history because they do not think that such an overarching direction exists. Instead, they trace developments from the surfaces of the events. . . [by] uncovering and

tracing the power shifts and plays of domination inscribed in societal

regimes. (Barth, 1998, p. 253)

Therefore, Foucault's genealogy is intended to disrupt the 'continuities' of

historical power by disrupting dominant discourses—for at one point Foucault

(1984c) snipped: "for whom does discourse serve?" (p. 57). Foucauldian

genealogy is not a project bent on 'reporting' history, but rather a complex

reading and critique of historical events, and the discourses which reported and

shaped those events, as well as thorough consideration for the context from

which those events emerged (Visker, 1995). Foucault's Nietzschean-inspired

genealogy is about discovering the moments, as well as the circumstances and

continuities, of discursive power, and undermining those structures which make

iniquitous social relationships possible (Mahon, 1992). And as historian David

Sansing (1999) suggests, if the symmetry of Old South identity politics found in

the discursive formations of Ole Miss can be described in one word, that word is

"continuity" (p. 313).

While the Western disciplines of sociology and anthropology have long

privileged the spoken word over the written or oral (Derrida, 1977), a recent

striation of literature in critical cultural studies has reconceptualized the

interpretation of historical documents, material culture, and artifacts (Hodder,

1994). This new strand of research operates within the framework of Derridian

deconstructionism to interpret and 'read' the historically-grounded discourses of

political identity (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983b; Mahon, 1992). Somewhat

metaphorically, Foucault (1984a) describes such a genealogy as "gray,

meticulous, and patiently documentary. . . it operates on a field of entangled and

confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and

recopied many times" (p. 76). Following Foucault's allegory, the practical

implementation of genealogical research strategies entails the critical

examination of historical discourses—typically in the form of popular and local

representations. The challenge for the contextual historiographer is to distinguish

among spectacular events and the spectacular societies[32] which encompass

them (Visker, 1995). Such a process involves the layering of discourses and the

creation of articulated linkages based on "relations of force, strategic

developments, and tactics" (Foucault, 1984c, p. 56). While my ethnographic

research agenda entails the analysis of 'performed' discourse, and the media

research I marshaled is effectively the examination mass-mediated discourse,

the contextual historiography aspect of this broader research project concerns

the investigation of mediated discourse over time. Such a genealogy of power

relations encoded within the discourses of Ole Miss culture are abundant, as the

University has in many ways been the model of racialized politics of identity

throughout its existence. To ascertain more specific nuances of Ole Miss's

material culture in historical perspective, I deconstructed the discursive regimes

of power operating within various, distinctive historical contexts. Through a

thorough investigation of numerous forms of historical documentation, relics of

material culture, and artifacts of contextually-transient importance, I offer a

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[32] Here I am evoking Debord's (1994) theory of the 'society of the spectacle,' whereby the singular spectacle is merely a manifestation and reproductive mechanism for contemporary structures of domination and ideological control (cf. Linder, 2001). For Debord, the spectacle is but a link between the spectator and his/her alienation (or the active reproduction of one's own alienation).

Derridian deconstruction of 'plays of domination' encoded in the discourses of the past.

Qualitative Interviews

Interviews, particularly when used in conjunction with other forms of qualitative inquiry such as ethnographic participant observation, offer a rich conduit for understanding the discursive phenomenon under investigation (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Over time, qualitative interviewing has changed from a landscape dominated by the positivistic conventions of social science to a more dynamic, yet lucid, investigatory practice (Fontana & Frey, 2000). This transformation is in large part due to the developments of the late 1960s toward a more interpretive approach to qualitative inquiry, namely in the work of Berger and Luckman (1967) titled *The Social Construction of Reality*. More recent developments in the field of interviewing, particularly those brought on my feminist critical social researchers (cf. Rubin & Rubin, 1995) and postmodernists (cf. Rosenau, 1992) have resulted in an exploratory strategy which no longer abides by inhibiting scientific conventions of sample size, axial or open coding, and thematics.[33] As such, qualitative interviewing styles and implementations used by cultural studies researchers in contemporary social analysis are more conversational or dialogic in tone,[34] more liquid in design, and more pointed in

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[33] As such arbitrary mechanisms were created in the tradition of an oftentimes elitist, Amerocentric, patriarchal institution of modern social science (hooks, 1989).

[34] See Lincoln and Denzin's (2003) *Turning Points in Qualitative Research* or Rubin and Rubin's (1995) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* for more developed treatises on the rhetoric of transcription and modes of interpreting interview dialogue.

intent (Janesick, 2000; Moerman, 1988). In my own research relating to the development of this dissertation, I used a type of interviewing technique known as 'ethnographic interviewing.'

Ethnographic interviews, also known as "informal conversational interviews" (Patton, 1990, pp. 281-282), are organized to be very casual, spontaneous, and conversational (Lindlof, 1995b). These types of 'conversational' interviews are often conducted under a semi-structured protocol, whereby the questions are prepared in advance, but the direction of the interview is often dictated by the interviewee as much as the interviewer (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Lindlof, 1995b). These interviews do not strictly follow a predetermined format of questions and answers. Rather, sets of main questions are used to act as guides, and to ease the recording of tactics, strategies, and relevant information. This is a widely used and accepted qualitative research strategy in which only a number of main questions are formulated ahead of time, which allows the interviews to be conversational and reflexive in nature, open-ended (Patton, 1990; Potter, 1996).

In researching Ole Miss, I identified a number of key gatekeepers to information which might inform this project, and in turn contacted each of them and attempt to schedule an interview at their convenience. However, unlike much of the interviewing done in communications research involving large samples to gain generalizable 'data' which is purported and reported to be representative of consumer or audience opinions, responses, or emotions, these semi-structured and unstructured interviews offered a great deal of empirical breadth, and

positioned the interviewee as a source for points of entrée into new and unexplored aspects of the circuits of representation (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Further, in the complex relationship between the past and the present at Ole Miss, this type of interviewing connected the ephemeral, the interpretive, and the genealogical. As Marc Auge (Auge, 1995) suggests, "the informant's account says as much about the present as it does about the past" (p. 9). In other words, history, interpretation, and the politics of identification converged upon the empirical through these nodes of interpretive dialogue, and the interviewee's perspective often gave new life and new meaning to the complexities of subjectivity on the Ole Miss campus and beyond. Thus, in the case of this research, interviewing was exploratory, complimentary, and effectively formless– guiding me to the Ole Miss empirical, reinforcing interpretations therein, and creating new tangents of inquiry.

Rigor and Representation

The task of the multimethod, interdisciplinary cultural studies 'bricoleur,'[35] to borrow from Lincoln and Denzin (2000), is to produce a complex interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation, using a variety of strategies for engagement and levels of inquiry. The merits of such a qualitative research project are evaluated by "the extent to which [the study] recapitulates the cultural scene as was witnessed by the researcher" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 2). In

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[35] A 'bricoleur,' in the most basic sense, is a handyman or handywoman "who makes use of the tools available to complete a task" (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 680) in order to create a multi-layered description of the empirical phenomenon under investigation.

these type of analyses, 'validity' is not gauged by some computation or statistical

significance, but rather in terms of credibility, trustworthiness, and rigor, as the

researcher recognizes her or his role in the research project, and strives to obtain

the richest data available without unjustly or inaccurately representing the

population under investigation (Kvale, 1995). While some might envisage

qualitative approaches such as interviewing or participant observation as 'loose'

means of data collection, if done properly each can be painstaking and at the

same time produce a wealth of empirical data for the researcher (Van Manaan,

1988).

Rubin and Rubin (1995) argue that the credibility of qualitative work

should be judged on its "transparency, consistency/coherence, and

communicability" (p. 85). By "transparency," the authors are suggesting that the

researcher should strive to produce a report in which the reader is easily able to

identify the basic processes of data collection. In terms of consistency and

coherence, Rubin and Rubin (1995) posit that the research project should have a

central theme by which the reader can identify, and by which the fieldwork is

organized. And with regard to communicability, Rubin and Rubin (1995) argue

that the finished research project should communicate the process and

standards of inquiry, as well as the research climate in which the research was

conducted. In sum, at the genesis of the interpretive qualitative bricolage—the

very essence of a complex analytical research product—is the need to foster a

"synergy" that rigorously and credibly infuses the different empirical strategies

and theoretical paradigms (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 686). Through "judicious self-

disclosure" (Harrison, MacGibbon, & Morton, 2001, p. 323), and the review of

fieldnotes, interview transcripts, and other forms of qualitative data by informants,

researchers can "work to empower the researched" (Harrison et al., 2001, p. 323)

and establish dialogical trustworthiness within the research project.

'Trustworthiness,' according to Harrison, MacGibbon, and Morton (2001), refers

to the extent to which the researcher strives to meet the criteria of "credibility and

believability . . . as assessed by the academy, our communities, and our

participants" (p. 324). A synergistic model of analysis, grounded in the

introspective logics of transparency, rigor, and trustworthiness, can guide the

researcher and the research project toward a more reasonable qualitative study

of the empirical world.

Closely linked to methodological rigor in critical cultural studies is the

fairness of representation through written discourse. As Jean-Francois Lyotard

(1984) accurately surmised, the death of the grand narrative and the fracturing of

personal politics brought about by postmodernity created a context whereby

meaning—both the inscription and decoding of—was thrown into a state of

fluidity (rather than fixity). Due to the much needed interjections of feminist theory

and critical race theory, authors of analytic texts now recognize that the universal

truths and rhetorical assumptions of modern social science have been (and must

be) displaced in favor of more pensive, self-critical representative discourse

(hooks, 1989). In the first instance, social researchers have begun to recognize

the role of the researcher in interpretation—whereby the encoded text of the

empirical world is thus interpreted and re-encoded by the arbiters of academe.

As Laurel Richardson (2000) argues, "writing is a way of 'knowing'—a method of discovery and analysis . . . [to such an extent that] . . . form and content are inseparable" (p. 923). Up to this point I have suggested that cultural studies researchers are in the business of deconstructing the power relations embedded in contextually-specific discursive formations. However, I would be remiss if I fail to acknowledge that the construction of knowledge, and our understanding of knowledge, is inseparable from such formations. If we are in the business of interpreting discourse (and specifically the discourse of human action), then we must acknowledge and interpret the discourse we produce through that process. In other words, "all knowledge is socially constructed. Writing is not simply a 'true' representation of an objective 'reality'; instead, language creates a particular view of reality" (Richardson, 1995, p. 199).

Writing as a method of inquiry is thus an exercise in objectification, of representing and redistributing human experience through interpretive prose. As such, just as the researcher must be vigilant in conducting research, the practice and care invested in the 'writing of culture' is equally, if not more, critical. In qualitative research, the researcher is the instrument: the authorial voice inscriber of meaning on the empirical *tabula rasa* (Clough, 2001). Hence, the critical cultural studies scholar/researcher, in order to adequately do justice to social phenomena, must be mindful that the final text is fairly and accurately representative of the object(s) under investigation (Richardson, 1997). We must, as Zygmunt Bauman (2002) suggests, "piece together the walls of the obvious and the self-evident" (p. 359) to formulate a theoretically cohesive, yet

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methodologically rigorous representation of the empirical world. The concurrent

challenge, thus, is to engage not only the object of analysis in a self critical and

reflexive way, but to produce a text which will accurately reflect the phenomenon

and interpellate the reader into the cyclical process of: lived experience, social

analysis, social justice within the lived experience through pedagogical dialogue.

On the Performative Politics of Interrogating Dixie

In the spirit of the Stuart Hall's New Left and their efforts to combat

Thatcherism, cultural studies evolved into a politically-driven field of inquiry

directed at interventionist public pedagogy (Greenwood & Levin, 2000). The

philosophy which undergirds work in cultural studies is this: by way of critical

theorizing and thorough empiricism, scholar/researchers can discover the

marginal texts of society, and reformulate a politics of existence which subvert

those marginalizing forces. As Grossberg (2001) posits, "I think cultural studies is

about the integration of rigorous theory, empirical research and political

commitment" (p. 144). Framed around the notion of 'social justice,' such a

politically-driven cultural studies acumen is borne of the urge, if not the impetus,

to implode the iniquitous social relations which are allowed to remain pervasive

throughout society. This type of interventionist polity is reflected in Henry

Giroux's (2001) notion of a 'performative pedagogy.' Giroux (2001) argues:

> As a performative act, cultural studies involves using theory as a resource
>
> to think and act, learning how to situate texts within historical and
>
> institutional contexts, and creating conditions for collective struggles over

resources and power . . . such a gesture not only affirms the social

function of oppositional cultural work (especially within the university) but

offers opportunities to mobilize instances of collective outrage, if not

collective action. (p. 11)

As such, cultural studies is "fundamentally concerned with understanding, with a

view to transforming, people's lived realities" (Howell, Andrews, & Jackson, 2002,

p. 154)—"always at some level marked . . . by a discourse of social involvement"

(Frow & Morris, 2000, p. 327). Fundamentally, cultural studies activist/critics

break from the prevailing notion that social research is, and always has to be,

value laden. Acknowledging that cultural phenomena "can be interpreted in any

number of equally valid ways because there is no one correct interpretation"

(Flaherty, 2002, p. 481), researchers in the cultural studies vein disregard static,

formulaic, and objective positivism of modern social science. As such, Hall,

Grossberg, and their contemporaries reject Max Weber's 'value free sociology'

(Lewis, 1975), instead fashioning a philosophical bent that those who have the

chance to devote themselves to the study of the social world "cannot stay

neutral, indifferent, and away from the struggles whose stakes are the future of

the world" (Mesny, 2002, p. 63). As Norman Denzin (2002) submits, "there is no

possibility of theory- or value-free knowledge" (p. 484), rather, in doing social

research we immerse ourselves in the social world, and as social beings, cannot

divorce ourselves as researchers from the activities we are analyzing. Contrary

to the Durkheimian/Weberian traditions of modern sociology, the interventions of

postmodernism and poststructuralism have reintroduced the authorial politics into

the intellectual text. Whereas social scientists of the modernist tradition are in the business of reifying, categorizing, and (to some extent) commodifying ideologies, discourse, and practices, following Bourdieu, cultural studies scholars tend to distance themselves from a traditionalist sociology throttled by "*escapism of Wertfreiheit*" (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 16)—which is essentially the notion of being free from value. As Frow and Morris (2000) suggest, "cultural studies has generally been less concerned with debating the pros and cons of essentialism as a philosophical stance than with examining the political conflicts at stake, in concrete contexts and for particular groups of people" (p. 318). Cultural studies, first and foremost, emanates from the political Left, and as such our project is to "demonstrate how particular commodities or cultural objects negatively affect the lives of specific people" (Denzin, 2002, p. 486).

A prevailing critique of the vanishing activist Left in the academy is the "crisis in representation" (Marcus & Fischer, 1986, p. 7) imbedded in the nature of critical analysis of discourse. As a product of poststructuralism, a great deal of cultural studies research interprets and formulates responses to discourse and discursive formations. As Denzin queries: "How is it possible to effect change in the world, if society is only and always a text?" (Denzin, 2002, p. 483). The debates around public intervention, reciprocity, and activist research create a bit of a conundrum: when interpreting discourse, and particularly in the practice of Derridian deconstructionism, scholar/researchers are saddled by the challenge of separating language, text, rhetoric, physicality, and other forms of signification from the human action which they dialectally engage. As such, often structuralist

cultural studies researchers identify, 'pry loose,' and critically assault the

prevailing oppressive discourses within a specific context. However, while these

circuits of representation offer insight into the ideological regimes acting upon

human experience, researchers often fail to articulate the connections between

discourse, ideology, and the lived experience. As such, the space for social

change becomes liminal, and the reciprocal benefits of the

researcher/researched relationship are nullified. These various postulations

emanating from the cultural studies camp have increasingly failed to engage a

progressive, political-activist charge in the tradition of the New Left. Henry Giroux

(2004) has argued that in recent years, the public sphere is increasingly marked

by "a poverty of critical public discourse, thus making it more difficult for young

people and adults to appropriate a critical language outside of the market that

would allow them to translate private problems into public concerns or to relate

public issues to private considerations" (p. 207).

At this point there are two competing courses of thought: the first is that no

substantive social change can take place from poststructuralist

deconstructionism, as discourse is abstract and amorphous and thus

disconnected from human experience and the potentialities of social justice.

However, a second trajectory[36] suggests that not only is discourse relevant, but

an understanding of the complex and oppressive formations of discourse which

shape, and are shaped by, human activity is imperative for any type of

contemporary sociological analysis. Interpretive analysis of qualitative power

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[36] This trajectory is more fully described in Appendix I, whereby I delve further into the political nature of discourse and the attempts to breach the discursive/practical divide (see discussions on articulation, context-building, and discourse).

relations seeks to understand and critically undermine "how power and ideology operate through and across systems of discourse, cultural commodities, and cultural texts" (Denzin, 2002, p. 484). The study of discourse is the first and last step in a poststructuralist analysis of the social world. By deconstructing the taken-for-granted nature of power relations encoded in practices of signification, representation, and mediation, researchers can show "members of the underclass how to find their own cultural homes within the shifting oppressive structures of global and local capitalism" (Denzin, 2002, p. 487). Rather than the *fin de siecle* of the sociological research moment, or the death of social science, interpretive investigation of social discourse through rigorous qualitative analysis presents an opportunity to reclaim the impact of our craft—recover that lost space of public intellectualism within mass discourse of Western society in the French traditions of Pierre Bourdieu and Jacques Lacan (Garnham, 1993).

Released from the bindings of foundational and positivistic social science, many contemporary cultural studies researchers of the academy and beyond are now exploring the limits and social effects of performance-based ethnographic research and interventionist texts (Denzin, 2000). The challenge for these researchers is to create a reflective dialogue between researcher as political informant and the prevailing modalities of public discourse. In other words, progressive scholar/researchers "need a language of critique and possibility, one that connects diverse struggles, uses theory as a resource, and defines politics as not merely critical but also as an intervention into public life" (Giroux, 2004, p. 208). To 'discover the marginal text,' and perhaps more importantly, to identify

the normative discursive formations which create marginality, is surely the first step toward disrupting existing regimes of power in society. To get somewhere 'better,' we must understand the social construction of discourse, and the politics written into that discourse.

In this research project, sanctioned by a personal politics very much rooted in Southern whiteness, I take aim at the incessant discursive formations which are allowed to produce power relationships, and which affect the lives of those operating outside the norms of Dixie South society. I am from the South, from a social climate very similar to that of Ole Miss. Writing as a part of this society, rather than some 'enlightened' outsider, I understand and celebrate the beauty of Southern culture. And yet, it is the definition of beauty, of heritage, and of the 'Southern ethic' which I aim to scrutinize, disrupt, and implode throughout these pages. So who is this research for, and why do it? Paraphrasing James Silver, author of 1966's controversial *Mississippi: The Closed Society*, a scathing doctrine of white supremacy in the deep South, it is my intention that the reader—and I am mainly concerned with the reader from the American South— will look upon this manuscript with an open mind and will be disposed to consider the implications proposed within not as an attack on their way of life, but as a cultural history of the iniquitous present, and as a proposal toward something better. The strident traditionalists of Mississippi's old guard identity politics will likely read the accompanying manuscript and dismiss it as another contribution to the emerging 'vast left-wing conspiracy' (York, 2005). Left-leaning liberals of the Dixie South will probably point to the empirical discourse of *Dixie's Last Stand* as

obvious, and that which they have been fighting against for decades. If this manuscript is to influence the lives of Dixie Southerners, then it will start with the resonance it has for those individuals operating within the borderland between the two poles. Those students, faculty members, supporters, and broader constituents of Ole Miss who *see themselves* in the discourses of race-based inequities, and who have, for far too long, let the practices of racism permeate their social lives without challenge or change. Also, those individuals whose experiences outside the University of Mississippi or the Dixie South are uncomfortably similar to the 'antihumane' problems of the subject of this study, and fail to confront these oppressive power regimes, might see the injustice of their own institutionalized lives which emanate from the visible center. This interjection is for those who have chuckled off with flippancy another's evocation of wicked epithets such as "nigger." This is for those who do not wave Confederate flags at Ole Miss football games, but yell 'Hotty Toddy' with the same vigor as those segregationists who fought to keep James Meredith out of Ole Miss. This is for those who are aware of the clandestine practices of racism in the Deep South documented in this manuscript, and fully sentient to the wealth of racist practices which evade these pages, and choose to let them be. This is for 'NASCAR dads,' Southern Belles, and 'Rebel Rousers' everywhere who stand by and allow for the persistence of the powerful center. Finally, this is for the Indiana University student, the North Dakota sports fan, and the Eli Mannings of the world, who, in reading this, see their own, local, oppressive whiteness in their daily lives and recognize how the divisive politics of race continue to plague

progress in this country and beyond. In sum, my aim is to 'make visible,' in a very defamatory way, the material and discursive manifestations of white supremacy at Ole Miss.

Dixie's Last Stand

As I have posited up to this point, perhaps nowhere is the candor of white privilege more pronounced than in the social discourses of the Mississippi Delta region in the American South. Historically, the inequities and incongruence of cultural interactivity in the plantation South can be traced back to the Mississippi Delta, which was arguably "the most racially restrictive and oppressive [region] during the entire segregation period" (Hoelscher, 2003, p. 659). With regard to the discourses of race, no other region holds such a turbulent and incendiary place within the American historical imagination. The memorialized, yet segregated Dixie South perpetuates "a dialectic that unites 'race' and 'place' through their mutual construction" (Hoelscher, 2003, p. 659), whereby binaries of white/black and privilege/poverty are inextricably linked to one another. To such an end, the region has long been castigated as America's 'crucible of race' (Williamson, 1984), a portrait of inequality and the ill-fated logics of the antebellum and Reconstruction American South. Not only has the history of these complex interactions affected race relations of the region, but also held broader implications for American society. As Hoelscher (2003) suggests, "a primary root of modern American race relations can be found in the southern past" (p. 657). The complex and oftentimes perplexing interactions of the Delta

region are even more problematic when considering the pervasiveness with which some of these conventions remain in a region often referred to as "the South exaggerated" (Silver, 1966, p. 154).

Historically, the bourgeoisie of the Mississippi Delta region have been white, "wealthy, pleasure-seeking, status oriented" (Cobb, 1992, p. 28) individuals who are often willing to take financial and physical risks for the sake of maintaining social status. James Cobb (1992) considers the economic and social disparities in the Mississippi Delta region so stark that they make it "the most southern place on earth" (p. vii). The region's complicated labor, gender, and race relations are, in Cobb's (1992) view, the most 'backwards' of all in the context of a modernizing American mainstream. In this project, I will attempt to update the corporeal manifestations of these 'backwards' relations. Drawing from theoretical works on the social and cultural complexities of late modernity (or postmodernity), namely those of: alienation, reification, and ideology (as theorized by Situationist thinkers such as Guy Debord and Henri Lefebvre); social class (namely Pierre Bourdieu and Georg Lukács); whiteness (Henry Giroux, Ruth Frankenberg, and bell hooks); representation and semiotics (Jacque Derrida and Jean Baudrillard); and the discursively mobilized political body (Michel Foucault), this project is one part historical analysis, one part critical interpretation of the present.

Dixie's Last Stand is essentially an analysis of the disciplined and spectacularized body within various historical contexts, and how physical culture at today's Ole Miss further promulgates the racialized and gendered hierarchies

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in the tradition of the Old South. The first part (Chapters Two, Three, and Four) of this manuscript offers a more longitudinal explication of definitive moments in the social construction of Dixie South whiteness within the imagined and material spaces of Ole Miss. The second part—specifically Chapters Five, Six, and Seven—encompass more contemporaneous systems and practices of representation and signification within the institution. Following Foucault, this study as a whole is an amalgamation of both a 'genealogy' of power (a social history of discourse) and an 'archeology' of knowledge (an excavation of formations of discourse), interpreting both the diachronic and synchronic formations of power which act upon the bodies of Ole Miss. These chapters constitute an exploration in the dynamics of power and the manifestations of Dixie South whiteness *made visible* through articulations and gesticulations of the body. As such, they will focus on both the origins and development of power/knowledge regimes and the language (spoken, written, and most importantly, embodied), or the unity of discourse, which perpetuates the objectification and subjectification of campus agents. Thus, the first part of what follows is a chronological analysis of cultural physicalities and the indoctrination of whiteness at the University of Mississippi. Following Nietzschian and Foucauldian modalities of genealogical analysis, these chapters represent my efforts to contextualize and historicize the transitory politics of the body within various moments of the Ole Miss and Dixieland body politic.

The second chapter primarily focuses on the disciplining of white bodies during the antebellum period at the University of Mississippi—and specifically

how the body was both instrument and object of white supremacist performative politics in a slave-based cultural economy. Within the context of rapid westward expansionism, the body became a discursive space for propagating self-aggrandizing and self-perpetuating ideologies through disciplinarity and governance. At the intersection of a preferred Southern identity politics, one wrought with the conquest of fertile land and black bodies, the project of molding the young bodies of Mississippi's white elite fell to the University of Mississippi. The faculty of the University, along with its Board of Trustees and the state government, formulated an environment of disciplinarity and surveillance to transform Mississippi's young white men into idealized parishioners of the Dixie South's elite scholastic cathedral. Through 'correct training' at the University, these white bodies were conditioned to capitalize upon and expand the cultural and economic empire of Mississippi's white elite. Such training entailed strict governance of the student body (*double entendre* intended), primarily through the implementation of a "Deportment Grades." This chapter will trace the public and private discourses of institutional regimentation of Mississippi's young white elite prior to the Civil War—an episode which formulated the basis for the functionality of the University for years to follow.

The third chapter is a critical examination of the [re]construction of Dixieland whiteness during the Reconstruction era at the University. Following the Civil War and the passing of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, the looming threat of desegregation introduced new problems for white Mississippi, who then created new policies

and procedures for indoctrinating the white student subject of the University. In spite of the Emancipation Proclamation, from the end of the Civil War until 1962, the University of Mississippi remained an all-white establishment. The celebration of the Confederacy, and the memorialization of the 'Lost Cause,' became central rallying points on the Ole Miss campus following the War Between the States. And if the formative (antebellum) years of the University were spent operationalizing and defining the function of Mississippi's white elite within the region's interwoven political and cultural economies, the Reconstruction Era Oxford campus played the role of reappraising and reconciling the hegemonic position of whiteness in the New South and beyond. Ironically, while black Mississippians were not allowed to attend Ole Miss, the absence of black bodies in and around campus defined the era of uncontested postbellum Dixieland whiteness at Ole Miss. As Grace Elizabeth Hale (1998) posits, "If whites no longer owned African American bodies, they had new, more flexible means of maintaining differential power" (p. 23)—and access to the University of Mississippi was one such establishment. Practices of inclusion and exclusion, as well as the symbiotic relationship between the University and the supremacist state, became the guiding principles of the increasingly exclusive institution. Institutional citizenship translated into a discourse of power at the Ole Miss during the Reconstruction and beyond, and the spectacular nature of Dixie South whiteness emerged out of the cultural and corporeal practices of Ole Miss parishioners through sporting excellence, religious sanctimony, and scholastic dogmatism. As such, I conclude this chapter with a brief discussion of the

celebrity discourses of the archetypal Ole Miss celebrity figures during the age of Reconstruction: in particular looking at the postbellum, posthumous discursive reincarnation of the campuses fallen Civil War heroes, the University Greys and the Southern stoicism of civil rights era icon of Dixie South whiteness, head football coach John Vaught. These discursive figures, both symbolically and ideologically, transcended celebrity at Ole Miss, coming to embody the preferred logics of race, gender, and class during these specific epochs in the institution's history.

The fourth chapter outlines integration and its effects on Dixie South whiteness, as well as the leveraging of race and corporeality at Ole Miss from the start of the Civil Rights Era onward. Over the past four decades, the presence of black bodies on the Ole Miss campus has created new [re]configurations and overt expressions of whiteness (i.e. the removal of the Confederate battle flag from the on-campus football stadium led to an influx of flags out side the stadium), yet concurrently failed to challenge the iniquitous nature of social relations within the University's imagined and physical spaces. The strident defenders of white supremacy held fast to the heroic figures of the solid South such as Archie Manning and antiquated symbols such as Colonel Reb in the civil rights moment, and thus popular understandings of Dixie South whiteness at Ole Miss came to be understood in the narratives and imagery of sporting prowess, local ingenuity, and freckled white skin. Archie Manning's celebrity in the Civil Rights Era, his transcendental legacy (both imaginary and blood—in the form of Eli Manning), and the rearticulations of supremacist visions of the white sporting

South eclipsed the moment of integration, and thus recentered the Ole Miss sporting popular around a hyper-white orientation.

Subsequently, rather than buttress intolerance and exclusivity, black bodies operating in a space which had theretofore been preserved for Mississippi's white elites have come to signify a new power dynamic in the Dixie South. The strident oppositional voice of the Civil Rights Era has been replaced by popular profiles of a downtrodden, docile 'Other'—a subjectivity conditioned by bigoted constraining forces of the orthodoxy. In the sporting popular, discourses of 'Gentle' Ben Williams, the first black football player at Ole Miss, and Chuckie Mullins, a player who died following an injury suffered on the field, became popular figures in the symbolic system of black reticence. Gentle Ben emerged as the archetypical post-Civil Rights 'docile' black interloper-turned-insider, while Mullins' celebrity a return to the deservingly iconized black servant/laborer. In many ways, this has led to a homogenization of difference for the purpose of a more perfect binary—vociferous blackness as oppositional text to the Ole Miss normalized, sterile black body. And in place of that oppositional blackness, post-Meredith blackness has become more corroborator of, rather than acrimonious to, the preferred whitenesses of Ole Miss's past. In conjunction, these three chapters offer an interpretive sketch of the historical forces which act upon ideology, practice, and discourse at contemporary Ole Miss. Rather than a comprehensive history of the body, whiteness, and racist ideology at Ole Miss, the contents of these chapters should be read a signposts which guide popular

understandings of what the institution is about, and its functionality as a conduit for promoting racialized ideologies through embodied and practiced discourse.

The second half of this manuscript is a collection of interrelated studies which investigate the discursive practices that create cultural objects, the relationship between objects and human subjects, and sites of modern power at the University of Mississippi. Collectively, the chapters which comprise the second part of *Dixie's Last Stand* make up an archeological project of "mining the epistemic domain of discourse amounts to a critique of thought; i.e., what amounts to analysis of the conditions of the existence of our thought" (Mahon, 1992, p. 6). Within the contemporary Dixie South context, the perceived democratization (post-Meredith) of the signifiers, spectacles, and social activity threaten the discursive centering white Ole Miss within the [mediated] discourses of local culture. As such, following Foucault, I aim to excavate discursive formations from human activity, in order to better understand the 'unities' of discourse and the power relations therein. This form of archeological dig is "concerned with objects . . . articles left from the past, silent moments" (Ritzer, 1997, p. 38). As Foucault rightly surmises, archeology in this sense is a matter of tracing the "relations between statements, between groups of statements and events of a quite different kind (technical, economic, social, political)" (Foucault, 1976, p. 29).

In the fifth chapter, I deconstruct the signifiers and signification of the Ole Miss symbolic popular, in order to reconstruct the possibilities of obfuscation encoded therein. The semiotic traditions of Ole Miss formulate a 'taxinomia'

(Foucault, 1994, p. 71), or a lexicon of representation, for promoting an emphasized bodily deportment within university spaces. In recent years, the discourses relating to the practices and expressions of Ole Miss identity have come under intense public scrutiny, primarily because of the habitual fetishization of Old South imagery, such as the waving of the Confederate flag during home games, and the continued use of ethnically-coded signifiers such as school's sporting mascot, Colonel Reb[37] (Sindelar, 2003). To such end, a virulent debate has emerged between traditionalists and progressives as to the 'appropriateness' of imagery such as Colonel Reb and symbols such as the Confederate flag.

These and other debates around the symbols and images of the Confederacy have further entrenched Ole Miss in the popular American conscience as a hotbed of racist polity. Consequently, the signification of the prevailing Deltaland identity politics in the form of Ole Miss intellectual properties—a caricature of a plantation owner or a flag which, by almost any historian's estimation, represents to the cause of slavery (Hale, 2000, p. 162)— presents an interesting site for critical examination. Perhaps if we are to adopt Baudrillard's (1983) position of postmodern sign as simulacrum, whereby the decoded signifier is two degrees separated from the referent authentic version, then we can optimistically reduce these symbols to introspective caricatures, divorced from the inequalities pervasive throughout the 'real' world. However, if we concurrently examine the social practices historically performed under the guise of Ole Miss symbols, we find a more troubling correspondence between

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[37] Colonel Reb's image is akin to a white plantation owner in antebellum American South. I will discuss the origins of the signifier in greater depth in Chapter Five.

sign and praxis. Through critical discourse analysis of Ole Miss signs and texts, and interviews of relevant intermediaries as to the meanings and interpretations of these signifiers, this chapter offers an investigation of signifier and signified, of encoding and decoding, and of the relationship between polysemic Dixieland and corporeal discourse.

The sixth chapter of this manuscript focuses on the built environment of the Ole Miss campus—a polysemic spatiality founded upon the classic Greek architectural influence seen in many plantation-style Delta South homes and buildings. From the administration buildings and fraternity houses to the strategic campus-wide use of shrubbery and florally infused color schemes, the ocular experience of the Ole Miss campus is unique in its commitment to a socially and historically distinctive post-plantation aesthetic. In their design and manufacture, each building strategically incorporates various elements of style, texture, and color to correspond with and compliment an existing structural aesthetic. As such, it can be argued that this economy of the built environment constitutes a 'signifying system' (Williams, 1981) coded in the prevailing logics of social relations within the region. Such a signifying system, since the days of slavery, has long granted affirmation and licensure to a code of racist praxis and social inequality. And while the University has made great strides in allowing equal opportunity for admittance of black students, one could argue that the spatialities of the Ole Miss built environment to this day serve as symbolic and material edifices for restricted access and reconstituted indoctrination. One critic has gone so far as to suggest that "for many whites in the state, the University of

Mississippi isn't so much a school as a kind of secular temple" (Nossiter, 1997). If the implicit nature of a racialized aesthetic is not evident, the control of space and organization therein has historically functioned to maintain exclusivity. The thoughts, bodies, and conduct of agents operating in the Ole Miss space are organized in a calculated theater of disciplinarity, power, and hyper-normativity. For white students, the ideological and physical spaces of Ole Miss reinforce the normative structures of power imbedded in their whiteness: "Ole Miss is an intangible experience rather than just a place. It is the beauty of the Grove, the sound of 'Dixie,' and the charm of Oxford itself" (Evans, 2004, p. 2). Quite contrarily, those operating in the margins of Mississippi Delta society have historically been less comfortable in the almost phantasmagoric manifestation of the pervasively racist "liberal conscious" (Cohodas, 1997) of the region.

Space alone is not the sole determinant of the pervasive discursivity of Dixie South whiteness. The practices therein, and the governance of those practice, become a discursive space upon which bodies are regulated, regaled, regurgitated in fashion of a preferred state of whiteness. In particular, the spectacular dynamics of the body in territorialized spaces such as the "Grove," an on-campus courtyard which is famous for pre- and post-game fetes, reinforce the power/knowledge dynamic of the body, space, practice as discourse, and thus ideology. As such, the spectacle of the Grove or the ritualistic carnivalesque of the Confederacy (more later) offer entrée into the empirical phenomenon of post-plantation Delta South sporting identity. Has the Ole Miss spectator experience moved beyond the signifiers of the plantation South, or do the

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supporters cling to the vestiges of an era of southern white privilege? Or, is it that

activities in the Grove and other spaces of sporting consumption at Ole Miss

comprise a new spectacle of southern white privilege, whereby the social

interactions of the white upper class are performed in such a way as to reinforce

the status orientation of contemporary social relations within the Mississippi Delta

region? To better understand the social practices in and around the Grove, I

conducted an ethnography of the activities before, during, and following each Ole

Miss home football game and other Ole Miss sporting events. Furthermore, I

interviewed the relevant university representatives whose duties consist of

fostering and promoting the signified meanings associated with Ole Miss

spatialities. In Chapter Seven I also offer interpretations from a 'micro-

ethnography' of the memorial services for the Confederate dead held on the Ole

Miss campus in spring of 2005. In the end, this chapter is meant to offer a better

understanding of the complex social relationships between the body and the built

environment, and how such relationality might reinforce or subvert the social

hierarchization which is pervasive throughout other forms of Delta South culture.

The eighth and final chapter brings together the interrelated studies within

this dissertation to provide new insights into the problematic nature of whiteness

and the political nature of the body in the contemporary Dixie South context and

beyond. Through analysis of the different ways in which whiteness is encoded

and decoded through discourses of the political body, particularly through the

political and cultural, I hope to disrupt the traditional ways of thinking about race

and physical culture which typically engage the modernist binary discourses of

black and white. The increased *relevance of the South* and the interpellating forces of conservative institutions such as Ole Miss are further suggestive of a possible *rise of the visible white center*, where penetration of an embodied politic now canvases the cultural, the economic, and the social formations of broader Western society.

However, I would be remiss if I failed to acknowledge here the limited scope of this study. This analysis of whiteness and corporeality at Ole Miss is over-determined by issues of racialized identity and the discursive fabric of oppression and empowerment. As such, I develop only part of the full equation of the visible center, failing to fully confront the problematic configurations of gendered, sexualized, and classed inequities of one of the Dixie South's last bastions of privilege. It is not my intention to dismiss or trivialize the importance and severity of these formations, but to begin illuminating the visible center here through the racial problematic in hopes of expanding the sociology of embodied Southern inequality of in future projects. There is no doubt a need to critically engage at least the following aspects of power at Ole Miss: the lived experience of the racialized 'Other;' the creation and reproduction of Southern gentility through the social interworkings of the institution; the articulations of a hypermasculine governance over the feminine subject; and the heteronormative constrictions on sexuality and sexual relations for campus bodies. In this project, I hope to begin the broader venture of rearticulating the ways of representation and identification which reinforce the social power encoded therein. If we are indeed in a moment of American "Southernization," whereby the values and

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politics of the South are infiltrating all aspects of American life, then perhaps

there is no better place to start such an analysis than at the 'most Southern place

on Earth,' in the heart of Dixie, at the institution where those ideals are most

prevalent and those values are actively manufactured.

Chapter II: The Making of Dixie South Whiteness

The University of Mississippi was founded during an era of both American socio-spatial and intellectual expansionism: the former in relation to the westward migration of European settlers brought forth by economic opportunity through land ownership and labor exploitation, and the latter referring to the influx of academic institutions ushered in by 'liberal scientism' of the early industrial era. In the South, and Mississippi in particular, newly organized governments mobilized resources for the development and continuation of a 'Southern ethic,' one bound to the principles of a slave-based economy, Protestant Christianity, and agricultural interdependence. From the first meetings of the organized state government of Mississippi, its leadership sought to create an academic institution for education Mississippi's youth, and more importantly, for the promulgation of race-based hierarchal ideologies and the cultural installation of the logics of a plantation political economy. The state legislature envisaged a singular state-funded university which would serve as a vessel for "transmitting culture . . . across the generations'" of Mississippi's white genteel class (Cohodas, 1997, p. 14). As increased pressure from the North to abolish slavery mounted in the 1820s and 1830s—a shift that threatened to compromise the economic and social aristocracy which brought many white settlers into the region—state leaders campaigned to expand the ideological state apparatuses which could influence both sentiment and praxis within Mississippi's boundaries (Sansing, 1990). Nadine Cohodas' (1997) contention that the antebellum era decree for the University of Mississippi was to create "a training ground for white supremacy" (p. 2) is illustrative of the logics of plantation oppression from which the institution sprang, yet it only addresses half of the racialized dynamic at work

in Oxford. While it is true that in the antebellum South, educational institutions similar to the University of Mississippi were created or transformed into such 'training grounds,' due to the interdependency with which the political economy of the state relied on the dehumanized black body as an instrument for profit and servitude, perhaps no school rivaled Mississippi in its programmatic propagation of race-based ideologies and oppressive, slave-based ontologies (Knottnerus, Monk, & Jones, 1999). For these local leaders, the university, perhaps more than any other social organism, would both *reaffirm* and *crystallize* the repressive social relations in the Cotton South.

Fearing that young white men from Mississippi might seek higher education in neighboring states, the impetus for the creation of the University of Mississippi came in the form of a 1839 edict by then Governor Alexander G. McNutt, who proclaimed: "Those opposed to us in principle can not safely be entrusted with the education of our sons and daughters" (qtd. in Sansing, 1999, p. 13). As the 'Crisis between the States' deepened and the agitation over the issue of slavery intensified, Mississippians developed "a siege mentality [and] formed a closed society. . . . [and] they would make the University of Mississippi a bastion in the defense of the Southern Way of Life" (Sansing, 1999, p. 19). Consequently, intersecting discourses of isolationism and unionism[38] abounded in the 1830s and 1840s, and despite a shortfall in subsidies, the state legislature and Governor agreed to fund the new university—both out of necessity for a state-funded academy and out of devotion to the 'Southern way of life.' In his most eminent plea to the state legislature, Governor McNutt declared: "Send your sons to other states and you estrange them from their native land [and thus] our institutions are

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[38] Southern 'unionism' refers to the notion of a regional collectivity, or intrastate union, not the interstate union of an imagined American community.

endangered" (qtd. in Sansing, 1990, p. 36). The protection and preservation of that

double space—the 'institutionally' discursive space of the plantation and the

fermentation of its gentry's ideological spaces—were both catalyst and *raison d'etre* for

the University of Mississippi, as well the guiding principle for all exercises conducted

therein during the antebellum era. In sum, the University of Mississippi was created "not

to challenge the status quo but to preserve it" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 5). Put simply, it was

an institution created to advance and protract a cultural and political economy which

favored the Southern white plantation aristocracy.

The Political Economy of the Cotton South

The political economy of the Cotton South was effectively the symmetric

conjuncture of three contextually-specific regimes of interdependence (economic

dependence on black bodies) and independence (the autonomy to exploit black humans

without intervention): the black body as economic instrument; a hedonistic sense of self-

entitlement to the fruits of white rugged individualism; and the rationalizing logics of

state's rights. This triumvirate of oppression constituted somewhat of a *manifest destiny*

of the autocratic white South, and eventually represented the organizing principles of

the Confederate cause (or what came to be known as the 'Lost Cause'). Slavery was

the centrifuge of the Cotton South economy, borne of the twin ingredients of

supremacist ideology and economic instrumentation (Yates, 1999). According to Gavin

Wright (1978), the principles of the pre-industrial cotton-slave economy of the American

South were:

If land is available to all comers, and if cultivation may be practiced at any scale without major loss of efficiency, then there will be no way for an entrepreneur to achieve a large absolute profit except with unfree labor. Under a free labor system, wages would rise and exhaust all land rents. (p. 11)

The plantation economy of 18th and 19th Century American South, and the subsequent over-reliance on indentured servitude, created a social and economic hierarchy which recycled the gesticulations of corporal surveillance, policing through violence, and racialized self-importance for the greater good of many of Mississippi's white elite–all of which deprived black laborers of human qualities, personality, or spirit (O'Rourke, 2004). Despite the fact that white settlers only began their takeover of the Mississippi Delta from the indigenous Chickasaw and Choctaw peoples in the early 1820s (Billington & Ridge, 2001), the adjudicated population redistributions of the Mississippi Delta region suggested these white immigrants brought with them an over-reliance on slave labor. For example, by 1850 the average family in Washington County (which borders the Mississippi River, to the southeast of Oxford and Lafayette County) held nearly 82 slaves in servitude. Across the Delta more generally, black slaves outnumbered whites by a ratio of five to one (Cobb, 1992). On the whole, the [agri]cultural landscape of the 19th Century Mississippi plantation could thus be described as an economic and social convergence of the *disciplined black body* and the *disciplining white mind*.

Such an unequal and disproportionate power structure created a *subjective* dualism whereby the body was a discursive site mobilized for the regeneration of race-based inequalities and the mind was that mechanism around which power was organized. As Michel Foucault suggests, there are two meanings of the word 'subject':

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"subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his [sic] own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to" (Foucault, 1982a, p. 212). Most conceptualization of this antebellum Cotton South power relationship are framed to suggest that the dominant white 'subject' exercised physical power over the black laborer, and thereby the cerebral white bourgeoisie retained a positionality of authority over the black body. However, this form of power was brought about by more than just repression of the black body, as such a notion of repression "is quite inadequate for capturing what is precisely the productive aspect of power" (Foucault, 1984c, p. 60). Rather, the power by white slave owners in antebellum Mississippi was borne of their ability to shape discursive knowledge and leverage of representational politics. In other words, the freedoms of whiteness inculcated the flows of human capital, and the bondages of blackness ossified the oppressive nature of race relations. Thus, in both the material and the ideological, the reign of an ultra-white plantation hegemony was perpetuated by articulations and dialectic formations of cyclical subjectification of the pejorative black "muscle machine" (Mercer, 1994, p. 138). As such, it was through the construction and leveraging of contextually-grounded 'technologies of the self'—discourses of power through which the individual project of identification and knowledge is formulated (Foucault, 1988)—and through the disciplining of productive black bodies, where white supremacist ideology took a material life through the exercise of power (Black, 1997). In the first instance, repressed black bodies of the Cotton South were beaten, maimed, raped, abused, and tortured under the oppressive regimes of whiteness in the antebellum Southern slave economy (Bontemps, 2001). Perhaps a more perfunctory

equation can describe the Cotton South political economy: dehumanization equaled

profitability and power. Such a relationship was 'productive' both in terms of agricultural

yields and constructing a proper code of behavior for both black workers and white

profiteers. In the second instance, the codes of social bondage were formulated through

the subjective power of whiteness as a dominant, yet normalized subject position.

By the 1840s, Mississippi was home to the most expansive plantations on the

continent, and subsequently produced higher cotton and tobacco yields than any other

state in America (Hawk, 1943). This, of course, resulted in a disproportionate

abundance of economic wealth for white plantation owners across Mississippi, and

especially in the Delta region. The ironic incongruence of plantation wealth was

ultimately bound to the hazards and hierarchies of the body. The rewards of whiteness

were so great that early white settlers were willing to endure great financial and physical

risks to procure profit from the rich sediments and racial hierarchies abounding

throughout the Yazoo-Mississippi alluvial flood plains (Cobb, 1992). Subsequently, to

ensure profitability, white 'gentlemen-planters' implemented a number of physically-

oppressive 'disciplinary technologies' onto the black body. In an effort to forge a "docile

body that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault, 1977, p. 198),

slave masters of the Mississippi Delta often relied on common practices of corporal

punishment such as whipping, beating, detaining, and hanging (Silver, 1966). In the

practice of constructing and refining productive bodies "through drills and training to the

body [and] through standardization of actions over time" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 17) which

were so common throughout antebellum Mississippi, such disciplinary technologies had

to be both imagined (through the threat of violence against the black body) and

operationalized within a spatiality of confinement. Thus, the control of space was an

equally important ingredient in the regulation and discipline of the black body.

As Paul Rabinow (1984) suggests, "discipline proceeds from an organization of

individuals in space, and it requires a specific enclosure of space" (p. 17), and the

preservation of that space, and the conduct therein, was essential to reproducing

cerebral/carceral dichotomy of the plantation economy. A system of inspections and

detainments secured such an incarcerating spatiality, one which shaped social life in the

plantation South for decades thereafter (O'Rourke, 2004). In this and other oppressive

cultural economies, such active praxis of disciplinarity creates:

> subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of
>
> the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in
>
> political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body; on the
>
> one hand, it turns it into an 'aptitude', a 'capacity', which it seeks to increase; on
>
> the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result
>
> from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection. If economic exploitation
>
> separates the force and the product of labor, let us say that disciplinary coercion
>
> establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and
>
> an increased domination. (Foucault, 1977, p. 138)

Consequently, the black 'subject,' by way of cotton yields and corporeal yielding in the

context of the antebellum Mississippi plantation, was productive both in terms of the

production of commodities and the [re]production of a race-based power dynamic.

Control over the black body in punitive space became operationalized through the

labors of a number of institutions: the gospel of racial hierarchies espoused by members

of the church; the rhetoric of inferiority postulated by members of the 'scientific'

community; the oppressive administration of power emanating from racist police state;

and the indoctrinating oppressive normativity learned in the academy. In what follows, I

aim to illuminate the tactics of oppression fostered within, and rearticulated by, the

constituents of the Cotton South's most oppressive educational institution: the

University of Mississippi.

An Institutional Cornerstone

Perhaps the most suitable starting point for the detailing and bestirring of the

specters of Ole Miss's past is a decade prior to the first exercises of the University, just

as white European interlopers were annihilating or displacing the last of the native

peoples of the region, and the state's pecuniary and political institutions were taking

shape in the new capital city of Jackson. In the context of early 1830s, Mississippi's

leadership set out to identify a site for the flagship public institution of higher education

in the state (Sansing, 1990). For nearly a decade, forty-eight disparate locales

throughout the state—from Mississippi City in the southernmost part of the state to

Pontotoc County in the northeast—vied for the economic and political power invested in

the local government's newest and most coveted institution. On January 21, 1841, the

selection was finally awarded to the northern community of Oxford, based on, among

other things, the "general character of the people" (Sansing, 1999, p. 21)—but this

decision was not simply a scholastic or linguistic paradox. The township's founders

promoted the area as the perfect place for such an educational body—featuring rolling

hills, vast greenery, and a moderate climate (by Mississippi standards)—and in an

attempt to turn the eye of state parliamentarians northeasterly, purposively named the town after the celebrated British think-tank (Cabaniss, 1971). The central business and social area of Oxford was subsequently developed with designs of bringing the state's preeminent university to that specific elevated space.[39] However, the state legislature eventually settled on a site just to the west of College Hill, in a wooded area near a proposed throughway for the north-south Mississippi Central Rail line (Sansing, 1999). And so on January 24, 1844, Governor Albert Gallatin Brown signed the University's charter, and shortly thereafter the cornerstone was laid at the site of the University of Mississippi's first building, the Lyceum ("Points of interest at the University of Mississippi," 1984).

Mississippi's flagship university was subsidized and organized in the context of a bourgeoning Cotton economy, and on November 6, 1848, the inaugural class of eighty young men, all but one from the state of Mississippi, took their places at the desks of the Lyceum for the first time—bound by a conviction of preparation for the future, but perhaps more so to unwavering ideologies affixed to the past's present (Cabaniss, 1971). In many ways, the University of Mississippi was no different than other state-sponsored institutions of higher learning in America during the middle part of the 19th Century. The University's initial curriculum was aligned with the prevailing academic disciplines of the era, organized around thematics such as: logic (Whatley's Logic); rhetoric (Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric); moral philosophy (Stewart's); and political economy (Mill's) (Waddell, 1848). Also, similar to other schools, the university in Oxford offered room and board to its constituents, and with a traditionally modest faculty

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[39] This area would later come to be known as the 'Square,' which is now the business and cultural center of Oxford, featuring retail spaces and the town's central government and judicial buildings.

membership of five, still made available a rigidly structured, yet comprehensive

academic environment.

On the surface, the University of Mississippi professed an institutional façade

which promoted principles of egalitarianism, Christianity, and classless meritocracy—

committed not to training the next generation of gentlemen planters, but to a broader

spectrum of Southern white solidarity (Waddell, 1848). While those students with lower

economic capital were granted admission into the University, and were not responsible

for remuneration of tuition, books, or fees, they were not allowed to live in the on-

campus dormitories (Waddell, 1848). In the recorded minutes from the first faculty

meeting in the school's history, the University's stewards proclaimed: At the University

of Mississippi, "there will be not difference in the treatment of different classes of

students" (Waddell, 1848). However, as University of Mississippi historian David

Sansing (1999) suggested:

> Mississippi's practical-minded planters wanted more information about soil
>
> chemistry and the science of agriculture. As they looked to the state university for
>
> this information, they encountered a faculty that was opposed to 'grafting'
>
> experimental science onto the classical curriculum. Such courses, the
>
> traditionalists argued, were incompatible with the role of the university, which was
>
> to provide a liberal education, build character, and produce Christian gentlemen.
>
> (p. 67)

The regimes of 'character building' extolled through the practices of the institution were

mobilized to bring whiteness, and particularly a contextually-specific manifestation of

Dixie South whiteness, to the *center* of representational politics in the Mississippi Delta.

Although white Mississippians from varied social class backgrounds were admitted to

the University, they were equally trained in the operations of racialized white privilege.

In the first instance, the University became a leviathan of institutional whiteness,

through which the observable administration of a singular power structure enable white

students to reign supreme over subjected black bodies. Dialectically and symbiotically

adjudicated around a Cotton South cultural economy, the all-white status of the

University, and the malicious treatment of black campus slaves, demarcated the

hierarchical identity politics operating on both black and white bodies of the institution.

Demarcation and Docility

> *"whiteness has been and is still often experienced as terror by people of color, they can easily reach back to the autobiographies of slaves for examples"* – (Roediger, 2002, p. 23)

In spite of its all-white status, the University of Mississippi, like most other

schools in the antebellum South, was not without a formidable presence of black

individuals. In the earliest years the number of black individuals on the campus in

Oxford was equal to, if not greater than, the number of whites. All the campus laborers

were black, as were the faculty's slaves, and each student was allowed to bring his own

black servant onto campus with him[40] (Cohodas, 1997). As in any other slave-based

economy, these individuals were treated as commodities, properties of either the school

or the masters of its halls. In the antebellum years of the University of Mississippi, the

presence of black bodies was non-threatening, servile, and reaffirming to the

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[40] I use the masculine pronoun when referring to the antebellum student body at the University of Mississippi because the institution did not allow women enrollees until 1882.

predominant social order. The faculty minutes of September 16, 1856 offer an unambiguous outline of the duties of the college servants:

> . . . it was Resolved, That it shall be duty of the servants employed in the dormitories to sweep the rooms and entries daily, adjust the bedding, carry fuel, make fires, bring water daily, from the 1st October till the first April, and twice a day the rest of the college year. (Richardson, 1856)[41]

Despite no reported incidents of provocation, students were consistently, yet unconscientiously, reprimanded by University President Frederick Barnard (whose title was later renamed 'Chancellor') and the faculty for the maltreatment of campus servants. The faculty minutes from May 7, 1860, offer insight as to the tolerance with which such indignation was given:

> The Proctor reported Mr Gage of the Senior class as having severely beaten one of the college negroes, and as having acknowledged the act: Whereupon the Chancellor was instructed, unanimously, to converse with Mr Gage upon the subject and to refer the case to the Executive committee unless he (Gage) showed a proper spirit in relation to the occurrence in the interview with the Chancellor. (Harrison, 1860a)

This judgment, and the punishment rendered thereafter, was far less harsh than that given for other indiscretions. For example, 'suspension' was the penalty given to two students who had damaged the walls of their sleeping quarters in the Lyceum only a few months earlier (Harrison, 1860a).

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[41] When referencing minutes from the faculty meetings at the University of Mississippi, I will not make use of page numbers. When recording the minutes, faculty members kept a series of journals and logs, each of which has since been replaced in the University Archives by typewritten transcriptions of those records. As such, the page numbers of the manuscripts in the Archives do not correspond with the actual pages of written text from the recorded minutes.

In the antebellum years, student aggression against black laborers on campus was a recurring problem, one brought about not to inflict pain to another human, but rather as an inhumane practice whereby the servants were objects of a bucolic power play between the institution and its striplings. In most instances, cruelty toward campus servants was inflicted as a means of resistance against the faculty—to conduct malice against the property of the institution rather than to physically remonstrate with another individual. In the summer of 1860, the students organized a "Vigilance Committee" for patrolling and punishing inklings of perceived 'Negro insurrection' (Harrison, 1860c). Such punishments included branding black servants on the face (Harrison, 1860d), whipping campus slaves (Harrison, 1860e), and other violent acts. Brutality against "College Negroes" became so rampant in late 1860 and early 1861 that the faculty institutionalized a demerit scheme specifically designed to curb the malevolence. The first case against a student was held during the faculty meeting on January 14, 1861:

> Mr Melton was called before the Faculty and examined relative to a charge which had been preferred against him and be which he was accused of having beaten one of the college negroes, in violation of a regulation recently passed by the Faculty and announced by the Chancellor at the Chapel. He plead guilty, but so far succeeded in justifying the act, that, under the circumstances, he was no farther punished than by the imposition of 25 demerit marks and be required to sign a paper promising never again to attempt to chastise one of the College Negroes (Harrison, 1861a)

In the years leading up to the Civil War, and as a form of rebellion against what some in the community and on campus considered a 'questionable position' on the slave issue

by some of the faculty,[42] the inhumane treatment of campus slaves intensified—serving as a site for contesting not only campus policy, but of expressing the prevailing anti-abolitionist cultural politics of the region (Genovese, 2003).

Perhaps initially, as some conservative commentators have suggested (cf. Smith, 1998), the power/knowledge Civil War tensions arose between oppositional white positionalities, namely in the form of states rights versus Federal law. In Mississippi, the issue of slavery was viewed not as a contest between white profiteers and black indentured proletariats, but rather the exercise of statist white power over local white individualism and bigotry. In the wake of an impending 'War between the States,' abuse to campus black bodies was a tangible measure of both power and solidarity for white Mississippi students. The dehumanizing project of corporal castigation within the campus boundaries was reflective of broader Southern ideological and cultural formations, as the looming threat of a gradual recession of the dichotomous power dynamic of black/white, slave/master resulted in an increased backlash against black bodied servants in the years leading up to secession (Stampp, 1989).

In the context of an era of persistent episodes of brutality against black laborers on campus, perhaps no instance of slave abuse illuminates the dehumanizing convictions and supremacist ideologies of the institution and its bearers better than the incidents of mid-May, 1859, and the relative debates which encapsulated the year afterward. On May 23, 1959, a student, S. B. Humphreys was brought before the faculty on the following charges:

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[42] These challenges were primarily directly the Chancellor, who was repeatedly confronted about his position on the slavery issue. At the end of his appointment, which was brought about in part because of 'questionable character' with regard to this issue, Chancellor Barnard moved north and became an outspoken proponent of racial equality.

1. "Visiting the dwelling of the President in his absence and while it was occupied by defenceless (sic) female servants, with shameful designs upon one of the said servants."

2. "Committing a violent assault and battery upon the servant aforesaid, and inflicting severe personal injury, whereby the said servant was for days incapacitated for labor, and of which the marks are still after the lapse of many days, plainly visible." (Harrison, 1859a)

The proposed punishment, if found guilty, would have been suspended from the University—which at the time was not the most severe of punishments afforded the faculty. Despite no corroborating evidence to support his case, and testimony from a number of sources, Humphreys was found not guilty by a vote of five to three. Even more disturbing was the resolution which passed immediately followed the decision: "the Faculty are morally convinced of Mr Humphrey's guilt, yet they do not consider the evidence adducted to substantiate the charge, as sufficient, legally, to convict him" (Harrison, 1859a). A recorded statement by the minority voters from the faculty minutes of February 2, 1860 further illuminates the partialities of the case: namely that the defendant failed to produce an alibi, and one fellow student in particular, who was trespassing on the Chancellor's premises during the same time on the attack, failed to respond to whether Humphreys was in his company (Harrison, 1860a).

The majority responded with a callous tone and staggering rationale, developed in two themes. With regard to the first, Professor Carter of the majority wrote:

. . . when Prof. Richard[son] impeached & discredited Jane's (the victim) statements, Dr. Barnard contended for their credibility & admissibility,— putting,

in the course of the discussion, this question to Prof. Richardson – 'Prof.

Richardson, if your servant Harry were to tell you he had seen a certain student

take your horse or saddle from your stable, would you not believe him?' The Prof.

replied, 'No! I would not, if it came in good conflict with that student's denial' . . .

In view of our social & political economics, I consider Jane's statement, as

testimony, altogether in admissible. (Harrison, 1860a)

Perhaps this statement could be interpreted as the situating of the black slave below the

white University students on the Ole Miss racial hierarchy. Such was common practice

and pathology throughout the Old South (Black, 1997; O'Rourke, 2004), and certainly

reinforces that which has already been fleshed out with regard to issues to servitude

and humanity under these conditions. However, a second set of grounds by which the

majority had found reason to dismiss the charges against Humphreys as articulated in

Professor Carter's long edict offer a second tangent of dominant awareness:

Prof. Boynton stated before the Faculty, that he knew the accused was guilty –

When asked if he made this affirmation from personal observation he said he <u>did</u>

<u>not</u>. When requested by Prof. Whitehorne & myself, to give his authority, he

refused to do so. When farther asked by Prof. Richardson whether his informant

was a white person or a negro, he declined to tell. From the positive character of

his first assertion, I supposed, he was personally aware of the <u>guilt</u> of the

accused; but when he refused to answer the question propounded by Prof.

Richardson, I was constrained to be believe his informant was a negro & I

consequently rejected the testimony. (Harrison, 1860a, author's emphasis)

Thus, the power imbedded in Professor Boynton's bodily discourse (his whiteness) was not only defused, but usurped by the *assumption* that his linguistic discourse *might* bear the inflection of a dark-bodied servant. The 'Humphreys incident' elucidates the sway of the dehumanizing racist logic which dialectically influenced conduct and ideology at the University of Mississippi—whereby ideologues freely propagated a polarity of opposites: whiteness as the embodiment of cerebral sagacity, human subjectivity, and congenital superiority; and blackness as the embodiment of commodity physicality, subhuman objectivity, and misbegotten inferiority. Humphrey's was eventually dismissed from the University of Mississippi by Chancellor Barnard, which fueled a protracted "whispering campaign" (Sansing, 1999, p. 97) against the Chancellor by those faculty members voting in the majority for years to come.

Student Bodies and the Oxford Orthodoxy

The tolerance and hypocrisies of the 'Humphreys case' are further illustrative of the two-part function of the University of Mississippi during the pre-Civil War Era: which was both to produce and discipline objectified black bodies operating within that space (as in the plantation space)—linking the plantation economy to the edicts of the institution—and also to discipline the minds and bodies of young white males and manufacture the next generation of plantation gentry and racist despotism. Through proper instruction in conduct and logic, and the aegis of what Foucault (1984c) refers to as a 'new economy of power,' the University operated as a channel for advancing the tenor of segregation and the synchronization of physical and economic control over Mississippi slaves. As such, the University as institutional space allowed for

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disseminating the "procedures which allowed the effects of power to circulate in a manner at once continuous, uninterrupted, adapted, and 'individualized' throughout the entire social body" (Foucault, 1984c, p. 61). And it was the body, both a malleable, corporeal discursive canvas, and an objectified instrument of economic and social hierarchy, which was central to the project of developing this 'new economy of power.' Such was the purpose of the University of Mississippi—a school building; a social institution; in Derridian terms a 'logocentric' apparatus (Derrida, 1977)—which, through proper training, created an embodied racial dichotomy which *made flesh the logics of a slave-based political economy*. For Foucault, Western educational institutions such as the University of Mississippi have historically operated as an extension of the disciplinary function of the prevailing political economy, meant to:

> Train vigorous bodies, the imperative of health; obtain competent officers, the imperative of qualification; create obedient soldiers, the imperative for politics; prevent debauchery and homosexuality, the imperative for morality. A fourfold reason for establishing sealed compartments between individuals, but also apertures for continuous surveillance. (Foucault, 1977, p. 172)

During the antebellum years of the University of Mississippi, the primary disciplinary technology used by the faculty in organizing and institutionalizing the 'conduct of conduct' (cf. Bratich, Packer, & McCarthy, 2003) was the institutional practice of governing students based on bodily "Deportment." On April 1, 1851, the faculty members (pictured in Figure 1) adopted a code of conduct, whereby white students received a "Deportment Grade" based on the following measures: presence/absence/tardiness at recitation; presence/absence/tardiness at study room;

presence/absence/tardiness at prayer; boisterous conduct—whereby students were to "obstain (sic) from indulgence in ardent spirits"; and disorderly conduct – fighting (Waddell, 1851). As a measure of internal governance, students were asked to 'pledge their honor' not to violate any of the rules of the University. The accumulation of deportment "marks"—later termed "demerits"—against the student resulted in probation, suspension, or expulsion. Each student was given a "Green Card" (Harrison, 1860b), which effectively outlined the parameters for such conduct and tracked the accumulation of 'marks' throughout the academic year. The process of 'Deportmental' governance developed into three striations of corporeal discipline over the course of the antebellum era: the disciplining of the body in relation to space and time; the correct training of the [student] body; and the exercise of Michel Foucault has often referred to as discursive formations of 'bio-power.'

The Dominion of Time and Space

In the first semester of the 1850 academic year, faculty members at the University of Mississippi were confronted with importunate incidents of students leaving the campus grounds at night to go carousing in the town of Oxford. To escape the vigilant gaze of the faculty, students regularly disguised themselves in blackface and set forth on an emancipatory one-mile voyage into Oxford (Waddell, 1850). The blackface escapism of the white Ole Miss students offers an interesting juxtaposition of burden and privilege, whereby evading their whiteness meant escaping the disciplinary arm of the University. Much like prisoners attempting flight from prison, these students were subverting both the regulatory implements of the institution, and the discourses of

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apposite white behavior. Foucault, borrowing, from Jeremy Bentham (cf. 1995), refers to

such an organization of surveillance as a panopticon, whereby the surveyor is physically

positioned in a manner in which the vigilance of surveillance, rather than surveillance

itself, governs human activity. In Bentham's prison panopticon, the guard is situated in

the center of a circular structure, and the prisoners are located in individual cells which

are completely exposed on the side facing the center. The prisoners are unable to see

into the guard tower, but after the consistent rendering of corporal punishment to

offending (and non-offending) inmates, begin to assume that the eye of the watchman is

fixed in their direction. Thus the surveyed is governed not by the gaze of the watchman,

but by the possibility of such a gaze. This, of course, leads to the self-governance of

behavior amongst the prisoners, whereby the assumption of surveillance holds its own

power, and disciplines and regulates physical conduct within the setting. The notion of a

panopticon, according to Foucault (1977), offers "a generalizable model of technologies

of functioning; a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men [sic]

. . . it is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from any

specific use" (p. 205). Such a model, both metaphorically and literally, mirrors the

philosophical orientation of the faculty at the University of Mississippi during the

antebellum era. While the circular orientation of the six buildings on the Mississippi

campus failed to have the central, watchtower-like edifice,[43] the specters of control were

even more pervasive and subversive, more clandestine than Bentham's panopticon.

The expansive sterilizing ether of the University panopticon created a particularly vivid

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[43] Ironically, the contemporary layout of the campus bares the same orientation, with six buildings organized in a circular fashion. However, today's campus does feature a central edifice: a three-story tall flagpole upon which the American and state flags fly—the latter emblazoned with the Southern Cross of the Confederacy—perhaps suggestive of a panopticism of the Confederate imaginary.

instance of how "political technologies of the body function" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 18), and how corporeality was to be regulated within that context. As the following examples illustrate, the exercise of power onto the [student] body was at the core of the labors of the University faculty during the antebellum years, to such an end that they relentlessly evoked new standards of behavior and incarcerations in the training of their subjects within the University space.

The first measure taken by the faculty under the new system of Deportment Grading was to regulate the spaces in which the student body operated, and to mobilize a more enveloping relational panopticism between student corporeality and build environment. In the faculty minutes from the September 27, 1852 meeting, it was noted:

> That it will be the duty of a member of the faculty once every week to visit every
>
> room in each Dormitory building as well as the public building of the University
>
> and note all damages done to the rooms and entries and report such damages to
>
> the Faculty at their weekly meeting on Monday evening. (Waddell, 1852)

This disciplining of the body in and through space utilized the power availed through the philosophical impetus of care for the university property—the same [fleeting] philosophy which had indicted numerous students on counts of servant battery. Such investigative expeditions were unannounced, and thus had a more significant effect on the conduct of students in their quarters than the preservation of campus property. The potential of these visits served as a means of governance, whereby student behavior was burdened and regulated by *the inevitability of possibility*. This and other new measures to control the conduct of the student population were not well-received, and by May of 1853 the University faced the problem of abandonment, as students were relocating their

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residences to the town of Oxford—away from the watchful eye of the faculty (Waddell, 1853a). An excerpt from the faculty minutes from May 23, 1853 illustrates the faculty's solution to the problem of campus desertion:

> Resolved <u>unanimously</u> that all students now lodging in town be ordered back to the Dormitories, as it is in direct violation of the laws, that students should sleep out of the University buildings, unless under circumstances specified, until the Dormitories are filled. (Waddell, 1853a, author's emphasis)

Both in the management of where the students lived, and the conduct of the body therein, the faculty controlled most aspects of student activity. Students were arranged in the classrooms in alphabetical order, and on days when class was not in session (e.g. Saturdays), as the March 7, 1854 faculty minutes suggested, were subjected to other forms of corrective training: "every student in the University shall be compelled to attend the one (Phi Sigma Society) or the other (Hermean) Society or remain in his room until 12, m. on Saturdays" (Waddell, 1854a).

In many ways, the regulation of the body within the University space was akin to what Foucault (1977) refers to as the construction of a regulated "political anatomy" (p. 138), a body disciplined for political purposes, but subjected to prevailing power/knowledge norms by way of correct[ive] training. Such a political anatomy at the University of Mississippi was a product of the intersection of regulated space and time discipline. In the early years of the University, the conduct of students was metered by rigidly constructed activities within the day. The hours of recitation and study began immediately following morning prayers and breakfast, at nine o'clock, and continued on through the day until five o'clock (with an adjournment from lunch). At early candlelight

the college bell rang and each student was "required to repair to his room and occupy himself diligently in his studies until 9 o'clock" (Sansing, 1999, p. 62). During the hours of study, it was compulsory that every student remain in his room and "attend to his business without noise, or performance of any musical instrument; no excuse for absence from his room, except on absolute necessity, during those hours [would] be accepted" (Waddell, 1854b). The political anatomy of the University of Mississippi, was thus in the first instance, build upon the surveillance of the body in relation to space, and subjected to approved training for a preferred white-bodied institutional corporeality.

Dixieland [Deport]mentalities

Earlier I offered the analysis of the South's plantation slaves as docile black bodies, both in terms of the eugenics of productivity and the submission into obedience. However, black bodies were not the only bodies whose submission contributed to the reproduction of the social and economic logics of the plantation South. If the University of Mississippi were to properly train its constituents for the perpetuation of a hierarchical race- and gender-based iniquitous society, then the white-bodied student population would have to endure disciplinary technologies of a different kind. Echoing the prescribed 'Protestant ethic' (Weber, 2002) of the region's cultural and economic context, campus leaders sought to curb any use of the body for pleasure. The correct training of the Mississippi student involved the rigid three-part equation of enlightened mind, sanctified spirit, and disciplined body—and there was neither need nor want of deviance outside the norm. Those white bodies operating outside the norms, or showing signs of departure from idealized Southern manliness, were disciplined into a desirable

docility. On February 1, 1853, it was resolved unanimously at the faculty meeting "that hereafter this Law be so interpreted as to forbid all association of any student with an expelled or suspended student or other person of notoriously bad character <u>at</u> <u>any</u> <u>time</u>, in Oxford, or its vicinity" (Waddell, 1853a, author's emphasis). This process of normalization, what Foucault refers to as the "means of correct training" (Foucault, 1977, p. 170), entailed three interrelated instruments: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgments, and the examination. The faculty gaze and the implementation of regulations meant to contain and control student bodies allowed for the prison-like hierarchical observation of student conduct. The authority over white masculine conduct proffered by the antebellum faculty of the University focused on the regulation of activities such as dancing, gambling, dress, and playing vernacular sports such as fencing and boxing. For example, on September 26, 1853, it was resolved unanimously by the faculty that:

> . . . no student shall be allowed to attend dancing-school, during the Session without written permission from his Parent or Guardian first deposited with the Recording Secretary and not even then, during study-hours, under the penalty of suspension. And it was further <u>unanimously</u> Resolved, That no student shall be allowed to attend any public Ball or public dancing Party, or Party given be a dancing Master, during the Session, (always excepting the Annual Commencement Ball) under penalty of <u>thirty</u> <u>demerits</u> <u>first</u> <u>offence</u>, <u>suspension</u> <u>2d</u>. (Waddell, 1853c, author's emphasis)

While disciplining the white bodies at the University of Mississippi first meant implementing a system of punishment (Deportment Grades) as a means of reinforcing

norms and the concurrent power structure, the faculty of the University later developed

what is considered to be "a forerunner of the modern grading system" (Sansing, 1999,

p. 83): a thorough and complex scheme of marking conduct, academic performance,

and attendance. Within this later system, parents were notified at 'convenient intervals'

as to the standing of their sons. Such academic regulations "extended far beyond

student discipline and admissions . . .They went to the core of college governance"

(Sansing, 1999, p. 83). In many instances, the faculty 'advised' students to uphold a

preferred posture and deportment, only to 'require such action' upon the 'advice' not

being heeded. Proper dress was a focal point for the such sheathed discourse; for

example on May 16, 1854, "It was resolved that Mr. Hall be reprimanded for general low

standing, & for his eccentricities in dress" (Waddell, 1853b) and on October 10, 1859,

"At Prof. Whitehorne's suggestion students are from this time forbidden to appear at the

college exercises in <u>dressing</u> <u>gowns</u>" (Harrison, 1859b, author's emphasis).

These measures were not only forms of institutional disciplinarity, but labors to

promote a broader culture of control over, and discipline of, the student subject.

Perhaps Foucault's notion of 'governmentality' best illustrates the penetrating nature of

power, discourse, and surveillance in this instance. Like disciplinarity, governmentality

refers to the "arts and rationalities of governing, where the conduct of conduct is the key

activity" (Bratich et al., 2003, p. 4). However, governmentality is further descriptive in

how the conduct of conduct takes place at innumerable sites and thus how the strength

of powerful institutions is dependent upon "the proper disposition of humans and things"

(Bratich et al., 2003, p. 4). In other words, governmentality refers to the parlance of

power over individuals, but also how such power schemas are adopted by, mobilized,

and reinforced through the ideologies and practices of those individuals. For example, On December 5, 1853, the faculty reported of an incident where:

> Messrs. Ashe E. Thompson, & Calhoun, who were found guilty of being in town after 9 P.M. at a Confectionary, were each sentenced to have 15 demerit marks imposed upon them, to be reprimanded, and warned that if they should be found guilty of any similar offence hereafter, they should be sent off. (Waddell, 1853d)

The language-ing of the proclamation is suggestive of the examination/punishment dynamic that was essential to the governance of the University subject—whereby suspicions of further examination, and of the potentialities of punishment, weighed on the everyday conduct of the students. Punishments such as the 30 demerits given to "Messrs G. Thompson and Christian Sile . . . for playing cards" (Eakin, 1856) were commonplace, as were any and all efforts to stray beyond the University's code of conduct. It was Chancellor's Barnard's philosophy that student conduct should be regulated by student conscience rather than litany-ridden preambles—ruled by "a hand of iron in a glove of velvet" (Sansing, 1999, p. 80). On January 23, 1860 the faculty assembled to discuss an unauthorized visitor to the campus:

> Dr Barnard reported the presence of a 'boxing and fencing Master' upon the College grounds contrary to the 'law' and to its special request, and asked the Faculty how to proceed in the premises. He was instructed to notify the students of the existence of the law prohibitory of such exercises in any room belonging to the College authorities, and requested to 'speak' with the Fencing master personally. (Harrison, 1860a)

The presence of the 'boxing and fencing Master' more than subverted the gentility of the campus cause; it presented a threat to the power/knowledge dynamic of the student/faculty relationship. If the students were acting autonomously and without fear of recourse, the entire system of correct training at the University of Mississippi might fall.

Therapeutic Whiteness

From 1853 to 1859, the interwoven discourses of health and sickness framed much of the disciplinary tropes between faculty and students at the University of Mississippi. Student health became an advanced site of power relations between the two groups, as the faculty regimented the care for the self as an auxiliary installment of control and surveillance. Foucault refers to such power accrued by the defining of principles and conditions of corporeality as 'bio-power,' which has historically "brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of the transformation of human life" (Foucault, 1978, p. 143). For Foucault, bio-power is manifest through three interrelated discourses of the body: the role of sexuality; 'nosography,' or the "unquestionable foundation for the description of diseases" (Foucault, 1975, p. 129); and definitions of the proper care for the self. During the antebellum years of the University, in the context of heightened fears throughout the country concerning the spread of terminal disease (Grob, 2002), the faculty relied on the matriculated scientism of clinical nosography and medical 'gaze' to constrain and police the student body. Although an inexact science (as misdiagnosis parlayed into at least two student deaths in the late 1850s), and often misguided in rationale, the 'free gaze'

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of medicine, averting the esotericism of social scruples, thus acted as the organizing power/knowledge standard of human activity at the University. The 'disciplinary power,' as Foucault suggests, of bio-power is in the internalization of clinical governance. Like the subjugation of black bodied slaves, the exercise of disciplinary bio-power was intended to foster a chimera of governmentality, whereby distributional paranoia policed each student internally, producing a subjected body for the correct training offered by the institution (the state) (cf. Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983b).

An example of the contestation of disciplinarity is evinced in an 1853 exchange, when a committee of students signed a petition which "Resolved that under the present circumstances" (a rumor of small-pox near Oxford), "it is expedient immediately to withdraw [from the University]" (Waddell, 1853b). The faculty responded by resolving that no such leave would be granted, and further, "that there would be greater probability of safety in remaining here, than in leaving" (Waddell, 1853c). Thus, the student subjects were detained by the intersection of 'bio-power' and spatial governance in a sterile heteroptia[44]—defined by the logics of policing the body in space, and through the regulation of physical spatialities. Much later, in 1872, the threat of small pox in the town of Oxford compelled the faculty to order students to avoid the town, and remain on the campus whereby the Chancellor would endeavor to provide for the vaccination of all students upon the grounds of the University. In the continuing spirit of panopticism, and as a means of diffuse governmentality, the faculty established a policy in 1857 whereby students claiming absence based on sickness were required to 'declare upon their honor' that they were indeed sick, and report their whereabouts

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[44] A notion often used in Foucault's work to refer to a space in which contradictory elements are juxtaposed. In other words, here I am referring to the corruptive nature of racialized bio-power and the governance of the body in the antebellum spaces of Ole Miss.

during the illness and how said illness was being treated. To ward off further disease, and "for the encouragement of healthful bodily exercise" (Sansing, 1999, p. 81), Chancellor Barnard persuaded the Board of Trustees in November of 1857 to finance the construction of a gymnasium—one of very few institutions in antebellum America to afford such a facility. Influenced by the broader shift of muscular Christianity in American society, the gymnasium allowed for the advancement of a pedagogy of physicality—and a valorization of sterility and muscularity within the discourses of masculinity. However, the material outcomes of these ideologies fell short, for soon after the opening of the gymnasium—during the fall semester of 1858—the University suspended all exercises as a result of the 'temporary' evacuation of "nearly the entire student body" (Harrison, 1858) due to concerns over a number of illnesses on the campus. Earlier in the semester, typhoid pneumonia had afflicted 'some' university students. One student died from 'acute hepatitis' in mid-semester, and numerous other cases of typhoid fever had been reported throughout the course of the semester. By semester's end, only twenty students remained on campus, prompting the faculty to discontinue activities until the start of the new year (Harrison, 1858). Citing their firm belief that no "local influence pernicious to health" existed on campus, and that "no causes predisposing to disease exist[ed at the University] . . . and that none such ha[d] at any time existed . . . which ha[d] not been equally prevalent at the same time, over the whole adjacent country," the faculty required the return of the students to campus no later than January 3, 1859 (Harrison, 1858). The faculty's 'clinical gaze,' that is, the mythical qualities of expertise mobilized by the faculty to retain and detain students, much like those of in the field of medicine, was illustrative of the powerful nature of

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scientifically-defined discourses of expertise. In this instance, this ability to exercise

power by gazing and antiseptic disciplinarity was a result of the vast internalization of

observations by the University's constituents.

<p style="text-align:center">In the Gloaming of Antebellum Whiteness</p>

The effectiveness of disciplinary technologies and bio-power governance waned

as the Civil War approached. While the power/knowledge dynamic imbedded in

discursive leveraging via narrative of care for student body granted further authority to

the University faculty, the looming Civil War and the Confederate cause hegemony

obfuscated the supra/subordinate dyad. The first mention of militarism on campus was

in the faculty minutes from October 24, 1859, when Professor Boynton "communicated

a request from the Students requesting permission to organize a military company"

(Harrison, 1859c). From that meeting forward, student ownership and use of firearms

parlayed into chronic anxiety of campus administrators. First the faculty attempted to

regulate the use of firearms, through a December 4, 1859 doctrine that consented to the

use of 'fowling pieces,' but only for "sport purposes . . .[and] only on Saturday, providing

said <u>fowling</u> <u>pieces</u> are deposited, at all other times" (Harrison, 1859d). The continued

use of guns and other weapons on campus eventually led the faculty to adopt an

unbending compact. On March 11, 1861, the faculty resolved to ban the use and

ownership of firearms, and every student in the University was required to sign the

following pledge:

I, the undersigned, do hereby declare and pledge my word of honor, that I have

not now, nor will I have, so long as I am connected with the University of

<p style="text-align:center">117</p>

Mississippi, in my possession or under my control any firearms or other deadly

weapon of any description, under any circumstances whatever, without the

express permission of the Chancellor or Faculty. (Harrison, 1861b)

However, as the North/South conflict neared the campus was saturated firearms, along

with the recalcitrant sentiments which had brought many of the guns into their owners'

possessions. A University infantry had been forming for many months, and with the

encouragement and direction of the state government, had seized much of the authority

of the faculty (Cabaniss, 1971). By meeting in secret, electing officers, and

surreptitiously traveling to Jackson to meet on matters of the upcoming secession, the

new militia of the Oxford campus had formed their own society; their own power

structure; their own social hierarchy.

Popular sentiment in Mississippi favored secession in the months leading up to

the disunion of the states (Stampp, 1992). Both in the popular discourse such as the

state's newspapers and in local sentiment, Mississippi was "the storm center of

secession" (Sansing, 1999, p. 101). On January 9, 1861, Mississippi became the

second state to secede from the Union (following South Carolina). The articles of

secession adopted by the Mississippi state government were drafted by L. Q. C. Lamar,

a prominent Mississippian and mathematics professor at the University—"the first of

many bonds that would be forged between the Oxford campus and the Confederate

cause" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 8). The students, who were once critical of the board of

Trustees for censoring anti-slavery texts, were burning the University's only two

abolitionist manuscripts on the campus green in the winter of 1861. By May 2, 1861, it

reported the faculty minutes that since the departure of the campus Confederate

infantry, the "University Greys," only five students remained on the Oxford campus (Harrison, 1861d). Two weeks later, the faculty members held an informal meeting at which time it was determined to suspend University activities due to the ensuing Civil War. Burton N. Harrison, the Faculty Secretary at the time, concluded his notes from the meeting with three ominous lines:

WAR!

WAR!

WAR!

The coming war would bring change to the University: both in the function the institution would play in postbellum Dixie South society and the impetuses of Southern gentility which the University served. However, the early years of the University of Mississippi— especially those before the outcomes of the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation reformulated the clearly demarcated racial hierarchy of the Dixie South— the foundation was laid for ideological and physical boundaries within which white subjects were disciplined in the order of racial hierarchy, class-based privilege, and plantation exclusivity. On the University of Mississippi campus, the politics of identity, and the power/knowledge interplay which allowed privilege for those operating under the regimes of Dixie South whiteness, crystallized the two-part equation of subjectification: the black body as dehumanized instrument, the white body (and mind) as empowered disciplinarian and espouser of privilege. In this 'new economy of power,' the learned whiteness of the institutional orthodoxy organized discourses of race and power around the prevailing visible center of whiteness, the centralized power structure and Dixie South representational politics.

Chapter III: Reconstructing the Closed University

> *"Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery—the greatest material interest of the world. . . . (The Union) advocates Negro equality, socially and politically, and promotes insurrection and incendiarism in our midst."* – Declaration of the Delegates to the Mississippi Secession Convention (1861)

In more ways than one, the American Civil War (1861-1865) brought aggression to the doorsteps of the uninhabited[45] school property in Oxford, Mississippi. Only a few months after the University's student militia departed for battle, Governor John J. Pettus directed state political and military leaders to establish a war-time sanatorium on the abandoned university grounds (Sansing, 1999). The campus's central location in northern Mississippi, near major battle sites in Shiloh, Fort Pillow, Corinth, and Vicksburg, and its relative proximity to a munitions storage depot in Holly Springs, Mississippi, made Oxford an ideal place for such a hospice. During the war, the Lyceum[46] was converted into a military hospital, equipped with surgical tools and dressed with operating and infirmary rooms. Local slave owners provided eighty-five slaves to serve as orderlies, and dozens of Oxford women served as nurses for the makeshift hospital (Sansing, 1999). Although the campus space was reserved for harboring wounded Confederate soldiers, by the fall of 1862 the Northern armies had aggressively taken control of the region and established a military camp upon the college grounds. By December of that year, Union Generals Ulysses S. Grant and

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[45] Only four students returned to the University of Mississippi in the fall of 1861, and thus the Board of Trustees decided to suspend the exercises of the University until the war concluded. The campus grounds and buildings were maintained by two faculty members who remained on campus throughout the war.

[46] At that time the Lyceum was the largest building on campus. Today the Lyceum is the central administration building, and the architectural hallmark of the University of Mississippi. It's central location, along with its cultural and symbolic relevance have resulted in the profile of the Lyceum becoming the academic mark of the University.

William Tecumseh Sherman[47] had made their way into Oxford, and began making preparations for the legendary 'Vicksburg campaign'—arguably one of the seminal moments of the war during which the Union gained control of the Mississippi River, and the naval and transport capacities therein (cf. Ballard, 2004). Despite reports to the contrary, during General Grant's occupation of Oxford, no damage was done to the campus buildings,[48] and the institution was turned back over to the campus faculty in the condition it had been seized.[49]

When the war concluded in 1865, that fall's enrollment at the University of Mississippi exceeded both the Board of Trustees' and the faculty's expectations. By November, 86 young men made their way onto the Oxford campus, almost double what had been projected by state and University policymakers. Most historians agree that nearly every member of the company that included the University Greys was killed in battle (most in the Battle of Shiloh)—and if any Greys did make it out of the war alive, none ever returned to the Oxford campus (Ginn, 2003). In light of the fact that thousands of college-age males in the state were killed during the war, the University relaxed admissions requirements to allow for a broader constituency of student subjects. During the chancellorship of John N. Waddell immediately following the war years, the Board of Trustees established a new policy that allowed the enrollment of students as young as the age of 13 in the 'Preparatory Program' (*University Catalogue*, 1866). This awkward arrangement created a learning atmosphere whereby these

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[47] These men were arguably two of the more celebrated Generals in the Union army. Each is considered my most Civil War historians to be an important leader in the Union's military advances into the South.
[48] Sans an episode in which a few intoxicated Kansas Jayhawkers broke some shelving units and furniture in the observatory (Sansing, 1999).
[49] Some historians have suggested that this was in large part due to the long-time friendship between General Sherman and Chancellor Barnard, to whom the General regularly corresponded with during his time in Oxford (Sansing, 1999).

adolescents were often in the same classrooms as much older Civil War veterans. The

decision to allow a younger constituency was based on two intersectional impetuses:

the economic necessities of the institution and the cultural exclusivity of an expanding

indoctrination project. To reestablish the sanctuary of white Southern orthodoxy, the

tuitions remunerated from a larger student population would facilitate the University's

[whiteness] Reconstruction[50] efforts through an enlarged faculty body and a more

resource-based curriculum. By allowing for a more diverse enrollment, the Faculty and

Board of the University could re-establish many of the programs in 'elocution,'

'Deportment,' and 'Religion' which had been established during the antebellum years of

the institution. Further, the instructions of Reconstruction-era whiteness offered to

Mississippi's young men would be better served by an expanded, more comprehensive,

and the more involved program of training, especially in the governance of younger

white bodies. However, the resultant student profile was less versed in the practices of

the academy, and so in addition to the circumstances of initiating a callow student

population to the codes and curriculum of the institution, the recurring problematic of the

University of Mississippi became the continuing dilemma of student discipline. To such

an end, "Student hazing, kangaroo courts, gambling, cheating, and disrespectful

behavior toward the faculty were serious problems and were given wide currency in

Mississippi newspapers" (Sansing, 1999, p. 146). Thus the less refined, younger

pedigree of Mississippi elite descended upon a university grounds not ravaged by war,

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[50] When capitalized, the term "Reconstruction" refers to the period immediately following the Civil War, and particularly the political, economic, and cultural rebuilding era of the American South (Foner, 2002). In this instance, my use of the term is meant to elicit the double meaning of the broader era of political reconstruction and the reformation of a political identity.

but tethered by the symmetric conjuncture of adulation (for the 'Lost Cause') and designation (for reclaiming the South's lost splendor).

And thus the project of *reconstruction* began at the University of Mississippi. However, with a comprehensive faculty in place, and no repairs needed to the campus's physical structures, the task of Reconstruction at the University had more to do with [re]institutionalizing [white] Southern identity—restoring Mississippi's inequitable social configuration and valorizing the 'Lost Cause'—than any type of material restoration[51]. The war had weakened the foundations of the antebellum whiteness which had been woven into the fabric of Dixie South identity politics (Faust, 1988). In the controversial manuscript *The Closed Society*,[52] James Silver (1966) defined the characteristics of such a hyper-disciplinary Dixie South in this way:

> the community sets up the orthodox view. Its people are constantly
>
> indoctrinated—not a difficult task, since they are inclined to accepted creed by
>
> circumstance. When there is no effective challenge to the code, a mild toleration
>
> of dissent is evident, provided the non-conformist is tactful and does not go far.
>
> But with a substantial challenge from the outside—to slavery in the 1850s and to
>
> segregation in the 1950's—the society tightly closes its ranks, becomes inflexible
>
> and stubborn, and lets no scruple, legal or ethical, stand in the way of the
>
> enforcement of orthodoxy. . . . Those in control during such times of crisis are

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[51] The notion of the 'Lost Cause' refers to the popular sentiment in the South following the Civil War. This notion was popularized in Southern literature and newspapers during the early to middle part of the Twentieth Century (Gallagher & Nolan, 2000).

[52] The state's powerful elite held much distain for the book, suggesting that it was a threat to their 'way of life' and ordered that private detective spy on Silver in order to build up a case for his dismissal. After an arduous search which rendered no wrongdoings, the state senate and the board of trustees asked for Silver's resignation. Having already taken a year's leave to serve as visiting professor at Notre Dame University, Silver took the advice of University officials and did no return to Ole Miss, instead opting for a full-time position at Notre Dame (Sansing, 1999).

certain to be extremists whose decisions are determined by their conformity to the orthodoxy" (p. 6).

Restoring Dixie South whiteness meant reestablishing both a *collective emotion* and *iniquitous social order* in the South, what Benedict Anderson (1991) might proffer the return of an oppressive Anglo-centric "imagined community." Like all Americans seeking social order in the post-Civil War era, white Dixie Southerners receded back to culturally established 'geographic anchors,' both in the imagined spaces of nostalgic narrative and the physical spaces of "spectacular whiteness" such as Oxford (Hale, 1998, p. 9). The demiurgic creators of the University had fashioned the institution as a citadel of their antebellum whiteness; of the power invested in the discursive solidarities of qualitative bodily deportment (white versus non-white) and perceptible social status (plantation royalty versus subhuman servility). As such, during the postbellum remainder of the Nineteenth Century and beyond, Mississippi's political stalwarts devoted substantial resources and attention toward reclaiming the specters of a satiated power/knowledge imbedded within their 'anchor' of higher education and the center of their Old Southern imaginations (Cabaniss, 1971).

The state government created various framework from which to orchestrate human conduct within one of its primary apparatuses—the university in Oxford. As a vessel of the preferred statist body politic throughout the period during and immediately following Reconstruction, the educational activities at the University were formatively structured and actively organized around the traditionalist edicts of populist leaders such as Governors James K. Vardaman and Theodore G. Bilbo. One of the first measures James K. Vardaman initiated upon taking the office Governor was the

appointment of his own selections to the University of Mississippi's Board of Trustees. The newly installed Board immediately took drastic measures to police and censor the academic freedoms of University faculty. The tight controls of Vardaman's Board prompted former Chancellor Robert Fulton to resign from the governing body, citing: "I could not serve with self respect even my own alma mater whom I love more than all others [under a board] swayed by the will of the master, Vardaman" (qtd. in Sansing, 1999, p. 180).

While not Vardaman's immediate successor, Governor Theodore G. Bilbo maintained, if not reinvented, this constrictive relationship between the state and the University. At his inaugural address, Governor Bilbo announced the intention to "build a bigger and better University" (Sansing, 1999, p. 220) by taking a more active role in overseeing the activities of the institution. That active role included the hiring, firing, and rehiring of a series of Chancellors, along with the infernal removal of pro-integration texts from the library (Cabaniss, 1971). Furthermore, in the years leading up to the Civil Rights Movement, Bilbo's favorite armature, the state-sponsored Citizen's Council, unrelentingly pressured faculty to enforced the Jim Crow-esque configurations which and encourage isolationist ideals on the Ole Miss campus (McMillen, 1971)—further thwarting 'desegregationist liberal thinking' at the University. In concert with the Southern Nationalist Party (later renamed the Nationalist Movement)—which held a great deal of sway over Mississippi politics throughout the Twentieth Century—the Citizen's Council became a significant force in shaping the protracted racialization of Mississippi's political and cultural economies as experienced and instructed at the University during the years leading up to and following desegregation (McMillen, 1971).

By the middle of the Twentieth Century, the political institutions of the state such as the

Citizens Council of Mississippi (the body politic) and cultural institutions such as the

church held considerable sway over the exercise of ideological and embodied

discourses of identity at the University.

Closing Ranks around 'New South' Whiteness

In the first instance, the interposition of the state's social and political governance

was situated as a symbolic response to a 'War of Northern aggression;' an interjection

which changed the face of whiteness in the Dixie South and reconstituted the precepts

and pretexts from which 'being white' was affixed to discourses of entitlement (Dailey,

Gilmore, & Simon, 2000). And while not all Southern whites of the Reconstruction Era

ascribed to the logics of a recalcitrant, contextually-specific New South whiteness, as a

meaningful discourse its effectiveness was more a product of existence than the work of

its minions. Through the upsurge in sensationalized newspaper vernacularism, solidarity

in white civic and community-based organizations, and vehement church- and state-

sponsored campaigns geared toward separatism, white and black Dixie Southerners

found themselves immersed in the deluge of a postbellum cultural exhilaration meant to

relocate whiteness at the visible center of cultural politics of the South (Winders, 2003).

Through a generational parade of white robes, political stumps, hellfires, brimstones,

and corruptive public spectacles, the discourses of whiteness were ceremoniously and

pervasively articulated within the language of white supremacy during the era of

Reconstruction. More importantly, the pheno-*typicality* of whiteness became the

abstracted norm of social power, and thus spectacular displays of white bodies

exercising white power enacted an embodied link between traditionalist ideologies of slavery and the memorialized spectral embodiments of the 'Lost Cause.'

Rephrasing Michel Foucault (1976), understanding the power formations imbedded in this common vision of Dixie South whiteness involves deconstructing the discourses of identification, divorcing the racialized signifiers from the localized social practices therein. In the years following the Civil War, at the University of Mississippi, much like in the rest of the Dixie South, signified whiteness as a discursive formation was constructed out of two interlocking planes: 1) the competing spatialities "within the national formation of the South, delineated as white, versus the nation" and; 2) the contested pheno-typicalities (the normative cultures of the body in the South) "within the regional dynamic of ex-Confederates versus ex-slaves" (Hale, 1998, p. 9). As such, the conjunctures and contestations of a New Dixie South power formation fell upon both the visceral, volatile discourses of American whiteness—whereby elements of collective Southern whiteness had retrenched to a physically dominant Northern version—and the ideological paranoia brought forth by an invented independence and power structure reliant on white liberties exercised upon the limiting freedoms of former black slaves (Faust, 1988).

Reconstruction, Starting from the Center

The first 'plane,' a momentary deliberation of (Northern white) superiority over (Southern white) authority in which the future seemingly held nothing but economic and social curtailment for Dixie South elite, shaped a culture of collectivity around dictums of Southern heritage and the 'Lost Cause' during the Reconstruction Era. Southern white

churches preached the gospels of a bigoted Christianity. Southern political bodies legislated segregation and first- and second-class citizenship. Southern universities became main arteries in propagandizing the traditions and ideologies associated with the Southern cause and forging the linkages between ante- and postbellum whitenesses (Doyle, 2002; Goldfield, 2003). At the University of Mississippi, like other Southern cultural institutions, the necessity to define the 'history' of the Civil War and its causes became the "first battle in the creation of modern southern whiteness" (Hale, 1998, p. 49). For the University of Mississippi, this meant re-articulating the racist past through reverent tropes of the Lost Cause and the language of victimization through forced (intrastate) unification. For example, in 1867 the Board of Trustees, at the request of the state legislature, invited Reverend T. D. Witherspoon to speak at that spring's commencement ceremony.[53] In concluding the address, the orator implored the stewards of the University to "embalm in literature, and thus preserve in . . . memory [that] civilization which has been an ornament to the South" (qtd. in Sansing, 1999, p. 121). As another illustration of the Old South valorization project at the University, on June 19, 1867, Confederate protagonist Jefferson Davis was awarded an honorary degree of LL. D. by the University for his leadership of the armies of the Southern states during the Civil War, and his embodiment of a seminally Southern masculinity so adulated by stalwarts of the University (Shoup, 1867c). These and numerous other activities in the early postbellum years of the University constituted a recurring outline of adoration and reverence for the Confederacy, and further bound the institution to the symbolic and ideological edicts of the 'Lost Cause.'

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[53]This was the first graduation ceremony for matriculating students who initially populated the University in the fall of 1865, the semester in which the school reopened following the war.

The active role of community-based organizations such as the United

Confederate Veterans further advanced the revisionist history-writing project undertaken

by adherents to the Confederacy who held sway over the University of Mississippi—

travailing to combat what Southern conservatives perceived to be the "back-stabbing" of

an "unthinking Northern populace" (Johnson, 1951, p. 2) in recording the history of the

Old South. For instance, in the years during and following the Reconstruction Era, the

United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC)[54] annually sponsored numerous social

activities on the university grounds. On March 22, 1912, the UDC invited the sole

survivor of "Stonewall" Jackson's staff to address the students of the University, an

individual who was hailed as "an excellent type of that class of Southern gentlemen who

supplemented a liberal education with the stirring school of a great war" ("Dr. J. P. Smith

makes address," 1912a, p. 1). As a marker of the close ties between the Confederacy

and Ole Miss, members of the UDC commissioned and erected a monument valorizing

their fallen Confederate ancestors on the University of Mississippi campus in the early

1900s—and a replica was constructed a year later near the government buildings on

the 'Square' in Oxford (Cox, 2003). Like their sibling counterparts, the Sons of

Confederate Veterans (SVC), a direct heir of the United Confederate Veterans, was

also a fixture on the Ole Miss campus during the era of Reconstruction. And similarly,

the SCV played an active role in shaping public culture at the University of Mississippi in

the postbellum years. Organized at Richmond, Virginia in 1896, the SCV sponsored

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[54] Perhaps the most involved of post-Confederate organizations on the Oxford campus, the United
Daughters of the Confederacy was created as the outgrowth of many local memorial, monument, and
Confederate home associations and auxiliaries to camps of United Confederate Veterans that were
organized after the 'War Between the States' (Cox, 2003). The National Association of the Daughters of
the Confederacy was organized in Nashville, Tennessee, mainly to preserve the heritage culture of the
Confederacy and memorialize the 'Lost Cause' through the construction of monuments scattered
throughout most Southern towns and cities.

historical and 'patriotic' events at numerous Southern universities during the era of

Reconstruction (Foster, 1987; Goldfield, 2002). At the University of Mississippi, the SVC

became a featured participant and organizer of the campus's Dixie Week and other

ceremonious inculcations of the Confederate cause throughout the remainder of the

century.

In the momentary space between the post-Civil War rebirth and reunification of

the ideological South (Reconstruction Era and the momentary iterations of the New

South) and the re-mergence of pre-civil rights racial traditionalism and conservatism, the

connection between universal praxis and idealized Old South chivalry became the

galvanizing thread by which many Dixie South whites affixed their identities. In the first

quarter of the Twentieth Century, the Old South statist vanguard was confronted by a

'New American' political conscious, one echoing the social and religious conservativism

of the Confederacy but somewhat supplanted by 'radical' notions of American

egalitarianism and collectivity (Goldfield, 2002). For example, after the United States

entered the colossal massacre that was World War I on April 6, 1917, many Mississippi

students withdrew from the University during that spring semester and enlisted into

military service—thus answering the call of their country to go to war ("Ole Miss men

prepare for country's call," 1917). Mississippi's white elite began to fear that local

identity politics and the weight of Dixie South whiteness was beginning to fade in the

early and middle Twentieth Century, particularly in favor of an American hyper-

nationalism bound to the momentary interventions of wartime solidarity, McCarthyism,

and rhetoric of an imagined 'Great Society.' This was perhaps best illustrated in the

context of turn-of-the-century Rooseveltian masculine America captured in the

Whitman-esque tropes of rugged individualism and symbolic representations of 'common people.'

During that period, the fragments of Dixie South whiteness were mended, or sutured together, through local expressions and institutional narratives of entrenched parochialism and racist ostracism (Goldfield, 2002). In Mississippi, and at the University, the insular, post-war cohesion of the 'New South' imagined community became cemented as the oppositional text to an intensifying hyper-nationalism and the increased relevance of the diffuse ideological power of the American nation-state (Woodward, 1971), and the South's front line institutions such as Ole Miss[55] functioned as those spaces for resisting materializations an American collective. For Mississippi's political leaders of the era, rearticulating the local—along with a buzz in the public discourse that the University faculty and students were shifting toward the political Left—was promulgated through a state-wide backlash discourse against the University as a space for free expression (Howard, 1917). To brazen out the interloping ideologies of post-war solidarity and nationalistic unification, the stewards of the University of Mississippi closed ranks around a common, yet implicit circuit of Southern power: the chronological authority invested in a shared whiteness. As such, the cultural and political intermediaries of the Mississippi Delta began the longitudinal propagation of a discursive North (communist)/South (democratic) divide (cf. Williams, 1963) which by century's end would be etched into the conscience of Mississippi's citizenry and political franchises. The evident ironies of a pre-Civil Rights Movement 'democratic' Dixie South

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[55] See Chapter Six for a more comprehensive history of the origins and meanings of the hypocorism "Ole Miss." I will only use the nickname when referring to the university after 1901, when the nickname was adopted. Furthermore, my usage is likely intended to mean more than just the physical and political structure of the university, evoking the broader culture of inequity pervasive throughout the University.

became suggestive of the dyad within a local, polemical political economy and the 'backwards' ideology of the early Twentieth Century. Nonetheless, the centralizing of Dixie South identity around a 'democratic,' individualistic, local whiteness became the central thrust of activities within the University. As one University lecturer proscribed in 1913, 'progress' for Mississippians meant a "man against the mass" attitude, or a "siege mentality against the forces of unified American nationalism" (Dixon, 1913, p. 1). The Southern 'man,' and especially the Ole Miss 'man,' was thus in part moulded out of, and into, regimes of power defined by a loyalty to the Southern cause in the face of homogenizing forces of the American 'masses.'

The concentrated relationship between the introverted neo-Confederacy and representational discourses within the University of Mississippi reached an early (bested only by the pre-civil rights return to a segregationist ethic) *denouement* in the fall of 1927. Following a series of local newspaper animadversions on the University—most of which cited the spatial and (growing) ideological distance between the state's capital and its seminal institution of higher learning—mounting sentiment which favored the relocation of Ole Miss to Jackson festered within the public sphere ("Bilbo endorses removal of Ole Miss to capital," 1928a). To counterbalance and refute the movement championed by legislators and Governor Theodore G. Bilbo, Chancellor Alfred Hume invoked the nostalgic circuits of Mississippi's popular conscience by rearticulating the University's purposes within commemorative discourses of the 'Lost Cause.' He wrote:

> The University of Mississippi is rich in memories and memorials and a noble
>
> history. If its children did not come to its defense, the very stones of the memorial
>
> arches and the Confederate monument would cry out. The memorial window in

the old library erected in loving memory of the University Greys, the Confederate

monument nearby,[56] and the Confederate soldiers' cemetery a little farther

removed are as sacred as any ancient shrine, altar, or temple. Instead of moving

the University away that it might be a little easier to reach, ought not the people

of Mississippi look upon a visit here as a holy pilgrimage. (Hume, 1928, p. 1)

Hume's petition was a success, as political leaders reversed their tack, endearing

themselves to the romantic tropes of Ole Miss (Sansing, 1990).

Through valorized Old South nomenclature and appeals to the collective

imaginary of a 'new' Dixie South imagined community, the efficacy of Hume's plea was

exhibitive of both the cohesive symmetry between the Confederacy (its ideologies and

symbols) and the institution and the broader mission of the University to reinvent those

articulations within discourses of 'postbellum Dixie South whiteness' (Winders, 2003).

Framed by the demarcation of [white] Southern distinctiveness from the imagery and

narratives of American nationalistic homogeneity, postbellum Ole Miss—like other

ideological state apparatuses of white empowerment—emerged as the preeminent

conservatory of a Confederate parochialism within the Delta South region. In this

historical moment, at the intersection of intensified politics of nationalism and

resurrection of antebellum discourses of representation, and under the leadership of

Hume and his immediate successors, the University of Mississippi forged an

impermeable bond with the collective consciousness of the imaginary 'new Old South'

(Barrett, 1965). By re-centering the discourses of a distinctly local, commemoratively

Confederate whiteness at the core of Mississippi's power structure, the antebellum

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[56] The University faculty approved a measure for faculty members to pursue "the erection of a monument to the honored Alumni of this Institution who have fallen in the service of the state" in the late 1890s.

Confederate aristocracy was thus reborn—reinvented under the auspices of the 'New South' identity politics performed within the institutional space (McPherson, 2003).

To the approval of the punitive institutional (state and University) gaze, this state-sponsored heritage culture-building crusade was internalized by many within the student body. Both in the mediated and practiced discourses of the University, students became their own intermediaries of a performative politics of race, antediluvian chivalry, Old South gentility, and normalized[ing] schemas of the visible center. By transforming members of the student body into active agents of the knowledge/power dynamic of postbellum Dixie South whiteness, the collective configuration and holistic integration of conservative patriarchy, racist ideology, parochial discourses of representation, and the language of performative embodiment were diffused, if not concretized, on the Ole Miss campus. In the public sphere, the vernacular of Dixie South whiteness was expressed and operationalized through the narrativization of the hyper-white power structure as described in campus publications and public spectacles. For example, in the years following the Civil War, students organized the publication of the University of Mississippi's first student newspaper, *The University Record*, which was distributed weekly. The publication openly stated its purpose was to keep students informed of coming events and to facilitate their 'remembrance of the past' (Cohodas, 1997). As an exemplar of the romanticized idioms of the postbellum campus [senti]mentality, a columnist from the *Record* reminded readers in the May 5, 1899, issue that several hundred Confederate soldiers who lost their lives at the Battle of Shiloh were buried on the University of Mississippi campus, and that "these heroes [of] Shiloh, belong to us of the University, and . . . [and] it is our duty to cherish their memory" ("Confederate

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heroes," 1899, p. 1). The incendiary politics of this publication, and the subsequent versions of the student newspaper—the *Mississippian* and the *Daily Mississippian*—offered an [inter]textual phantasmagoria of editorials, commentaries, scientific postulations, and 'stories' which framed (and continue to frame) the centralized white subject as arbiter and preserver of Southern gentility and victim of 'reverse discrimination,' as well as other narrativized conduits which link the homogenous past to the complicated future.

Much like the written discourse of the early and middle parts of the Twentieth Century, the embodied and performed politics of Dixie South whiteness at the University of Mississippi during the era further spectacularized, and thus crystallized (by allowing visible center to stand unfettered), the ever-permeating racist discourses which connected the Old [South] with the New [South]. In particular, as the possibilities of a second Reconstruction—one which would reorganize the racial hierarchy of the South around the logics of desegregation—approached,[57] University of Mississippi students began series of Confederacy-inspired rituals, such as 'Dixie Week,' on the Ole Miss campus. On November 27, 1950, the inaugural Dixie Week was held on the Ole Miss campus, featuring: the erection of a fifty-foot-high statue of Colonel Reb in the heart of the campus space, a reading of the Ordinance of Secession, ritualistic consumption of mint juleps, orations praising the life's labors of Robert E. Lee, and beard-growing contests ("First Dixie Week celebration gets into full swing," 1950). The highlight of the first Dixie Week was the conveying of ninety-eight year old 'General' James A. Moore, one of six surviving members of the Confederate Civil War veterans. He was escorted

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[57] I will offer a more in-depth discussion of the Civil Rights Movement and the dialectic of the institution and the Movement in Chapter 4.

to the Ole Miss-Mississippi State football game[58] in a parade featuring a horse-drawn

carriage, and was saluted at halftime by an aircraft flyover in the shape of the

Confederate flag. After the game, General Moore was the featured guest of the

Confederate Ball, which featured twenty 'Ole Miss belles' escorted by Rebel students in

Confederate uniforms (Pulitzer, 1950). The annual Dixie Week celebration thus became

a campus staple: a tribute to the Confederacy and a discursive space where "the spirit

of the Old South [could] live again" (Brigance, 1951, p. 7) through the crowning of 'Miss

Dixieland' and the other rituals of the white, genteel Cotton South.

In 1954, six months after the *Brown versus Board of Education* decision, the

students at Ole Miss organized the fifth annual 'Dixie Week,' this time approximated

more by the racial imperatives of the Confederate cause than by reverie for 'the spirit of

the Old South.' That year's Dixie Week featured reenactments of secession from the

Union, a slave auction, and on-campus speeches from members of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Mississippian recorded the chairman of 'Dixie Week' promising "enough activities to

please the whims of every Southern Belle and Confederate Gentleman" on campus

(Flautt, 1954a, p. 1). The first day of Dixie Week 1954 began with the ceremonial raising

of the Southern Cross, accompanied by drum and bugle corps. This was followed by a

reenactment of the "assassination of Lincoln in the grill [a popular gathering place near

campus], secession from the Union, a parade at noon, endoctrination (sic) of Yankee

students, a salute at twilight to the Confederate Dead, flag lowering, and an evening

pep rally" ("Dixie Week events may be reported by Chicago Tribune," 1954, p. 1). The

second day of 'Dixie Week' featured appearances by members of the Ku Klux Klan,

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[58] The rivalry between the two schools came to be known as the 'Egg Bowl' in 1927, in honor of the victor's trophy: a golden egg.

followed by the purchase of Confederate war bonds and a reenactment of induction into

the Confederate army. The third day was highlighted by the week's featured activity—

the slave auction—whereby campus leaders and cheerleaders (all of whom were white)

were cheerfully sold into servitude to the highest bidder. The remainder of the week was

filled with activities themed around antebellum plantation life, from a mule race to a

formal dance and campus-wide dinner (Flautt, 1954b). This hyper-racist moment of the

"unreconstructed Rebel" (Burgin, 1954, p. 1) suggests the reverence of the Confederacy

and its racist ideologies and the relevance of physicality in pursuing and

institutionalizing a racist hegemonic Dixie South whiteness. White bodies occupied the

spaces of privilege and power within the University spaces and the state's hierarchical

political and social structure, and white supremacy was acted-out in the textual

narratives and corporeal discourses of post-Reconstruction Era Ole Miss. Thus, Dixie

South racist ideological orthodoxy was channeled through, and dialectically reinforced

by, the physicalities of the preferred white student subject. The imperatives of an

epochal racial hierarchy, borne of the post-war Reconstruction and its culture of

segregation, defined throughout by the menial gesticulations of the white center, and

promulgated by the hegemonic transparency of identity politics imbedded therein,

constituted a symbiosis of university as sanctuary of whiteness and complex forms of

universal whiteness woven into the discursive fabric of the memorialized Confederacy.

The Binary Mosaic

　　The second, interrelated 'plane' within the [re]construction of Dixie South

whiteness was borne of discursive negotiations and spatial contestations with the

perceptibly empowered 'Other.' Most historians refer to the emancipation of freed black

bodies, which were allowed to operate in previously reserved white spaces, as the most

palpable challenge to postbellum Southern white supremacy (Bailey, 1969; Brown,

2000; Cimbala, 2005; Cimbala & Miller, 1999; Winders, 2003). However, in the Dixie

South, and particularly at the University of Mississippi, the erasure of black bodies on

the campus space meant that the foremost, interloping 'Other' was a three part

discursive amalgamation of: imaginary empowerment of an alienate blackness, the

physical interjections of femininity onto the campus space, and the purveyance of

rhetorically egalitarian, materially impossible American classless meritocracy. Through

racialized, classed, and gendered discourses of identity, emergent post-war Dixie South

whiteness was thus fused from, and cemented to, the remains of antebellum

Confederate hegemonic whiteness and the recalcitrance of a retaliatory center. From

the start of the Civil War through the end of the century, alternative politics of Dixie

South identity "shattered the old hierarchical structures of power, imagined as organic

and divinely inspired," and thus the arbiters of dominant political identity "used the

fragments to erect more binary orderings, imagined as natural and physically grounded"

(Hale, 1998, p. 5). In Mississippi, such a binary mosaic was coded in the intersecting

discourses of social class (proletariat/bourgeoisie), race (black/white), and gender

(feminine/masculine). Many white Mississippians thus undertook the project of

relearning their whiteness, which was a slight reprise from antebellum whiteness, but

still oriented around the knowledge/power configurations of plantation privilege, white

supremacy, and a distinctive Southern masculinity. This preferred type of 'Southern

Man,' a local masculinity constructed and contrived out of discourses of antiquity,

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gentility, and counter narrative to the forces of nationalism, feminism, civil rights, and modernity within the context of late modern America, became the centrifuge of identity politics at Ole Miss between the Civil War and the Civil Rights Movement. As I hope to demonstrate in the coming pages, Ole Miss became an instrument for creating "a common whiteness to solve the problems of the post-Civil War era and built their collectivity on not just a convention or a policy but on segregation as a culture" (Hale, 1998, p. xi). The symbolic, political inclusivity of the New South thus gave way to the realities of cultural exclusivity harnessed around Dixie South whiteness (Ayers, 1993)— and the University was fundamental in re-centering postbellum, normative, masculine white elitism.

Emancipation and Rearticulation

The most obvious challenge to hegemonic whiteness was the passing into law of the *Emancipation Proclamation* and the artificial liberation of black Southerners—as black Mississippians now [symbolically] shared some of the same civil liberties as their white counterparts (Guelzo, 2004). In the antebellum South, the circuits and circulating of slavery had "founded and fixed the meaning of blackness more than any transparent and transhistorical meaning of black skin founded the category of slavery" (Hale, 1998, p. 4). Before the war, blackness was learned by black slaves and understood by white plantationeers through the cultural hierarchy of organized slavery, and the knowledge/power dynamics imbedded therein. As such, slavery constituted a dyad of superiority/inferiority ensconced in both black and white Mississippi's racial imaginary in the lead-up to, and period after, the Civil War (Brown, 2000). However, after the war,

that paradigm was undermined, if only on the surface, by new conceptual formations of race and inter-relational politics (Blight & Simpson, 1997). With the changes brought forth by liberation from servitude, which destabilized the prevailing slave-based antebellum power/knowledge configuration, disconcertion loomed as to the extent to which an emancipatory New South cultural economy might shape social relations therein. "For the first time," wrote Ralph Ellison (1952), Southern whites could not "walk, talk, sing, conceive of laws or justice, think of sex, love, the family or freedom without responding to the presence of Negroes." In other words, postbellum Dixie South whiteness was for the first time shaped by the discourses and discords of racial *difference*, as whiteness was now structured in relation to the acknowledged cultural and physical variations between the narcissistically monolithic 'white race' and the eclectically abecedarian 'Negro race' (Winders, 2003).

Following a series of early Reconstruction Era ratifications to the state constitution, it was evident that Mississippi's power elite had no intention of allowing for political or social equality to the state's newly freed slaves (Hale, 2000). Rather than a break from antebellum superiority/inferiority logic to a postbellum egalitarian humanism, the post-war epoch of Mississippi race relations was reformulated through cultural segregation, and a "culture of segregation" (Hale, 1998, p. 45). This culture of segregation appeared at the doorsteps of the University of Mississippi immediately following the Civil War. The undercurrent of apprehension toward the possible admission of a black student into the University of Mississippi was captured in an open letter to then Chancellor John Waddell written by Judge Robert S. Hudson of Yazoo City, who inquired: "will the faculty as now composed, receive or reject an applicant for

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admission as a student on account of color?" (qtd. in Sansing, 1999, p. 123). Waddell

and the faculty unanimously responded with the following points:

1. The Uny. Was (sic) organized for whites alone-

2. A change of policy can be effected only be an ordnance of the Board of
   Trustees

3. The Trustees have not effected a change—& as far as our information
   extends they have no such purpose.

4. If such a change of policy should be enacted, all the members of the
   Faculty present would resign. (Garland, 1870)

Chancellor Waddell followed the response to Robert Hudson with a declaration in 1870

carried by most Mississippi newspapers, signaling the unanimous and unequivocal

segregationism of postbellum Ole Miss: "should a black apply for admission, we shall

without hesitation reject him . . . [this university] was founded originally and has been

conducted exclusively, in all its past history, for the education of the white race"

(Waddell, 1891, pp. 465-466). Chancellor Waddell's response signaled the continuation

of the University's all-white status, where the scant presence of black bodies in the

domain of Ole Miss was in the form of paid servants, groundskeepers, and, much later,

Federal troops stationed in Oxford.[59] Perhaps more importantly, the Chancellor's

sentiments, and the activities of students—such as the black-faced white students

performing annual "Negro minstrels" ("Negro minstrel given by 'M' Club," 1921c, p. 1) to

the delight of the all-white student body—sketched a parochial outline of the

supremacist racial intolerance of the institution's power elite.

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[59] The presence of black troops is in reference to the integration of Ole Miss in 1962, which "provoked only occasional and usually minor altercations" between white students and black soldiers (Sansing, 1999, p. 119).

The heights of the ultra-supremacist atmosphere of the University of Mississippi emerged in the 1920s and 1930s, and coincided with elevation of the local chapters of the Ku Klux Klan. In a striking article disseminated on the campus which was produced fifty years after Waddell's declaration, *The Mississippian* writers praised the work of the Ku Klux Klan in its efforts to preach the "gospel of pure Americanism and love of home and country" ("Klu Klux Klan reorganized," 1921a, p. 1). The article went on to laud the white supremacist organization, suggesting that it was the opinion of *The Mississippian* that, "if the work of this organization is carried on in a conscientious and systematic way, some wonderful and gratifying results can be obtained" ("Klu Klux Klan reorganized," 1921a, p. 1). Later in the year, the newspaper again used its pages to promote the cause of the KKK (this time using the correct spelling), citing the "vindictive Northern Congress" as the source of America's social ills, and the Klan as an oppositional, and "absolutely necessary" organization to combat the autocratic takeover by "scalawags, carpetbaggers, and . . . the wild Negro savages of Africa" ("Mostly politics," 1921b, p. 1). The suturing of 'outside' politics of race and internal collectivity of whiteness—which became the focus and modality of ideological indoctrination at Ole Miss following Reconstruction—continued through the following decades. The presence of the Klan and other racist organizations became commonplace during regular on-campus celebrations which linked the directives of the University to the solidarity of Confederate whiteness. Throughout the period leading up to, and through, the Civil Rights Movement, the Ku Klux Klan held a number of rallies and membership drives on the Oxford campus—and in instances such as the rally in the fall of 1922, the "University students were very well impressed" ("The Ku Klux ably defended," 1922, p.

1). The growth of the Klan in the Dixie South benefited from sizeable enrollment throughout the state of Mississippi, and especially in northern Mississippi (Chalmers, 1981). Considered by the FBI to be "the most violent Klan in history" (Sims, 1996, p. 207), the White Knights of Mississippi actively pursued the students at Ole Miss, hosting on- and off-campus meetings and recruitment fairs throughout the Twentieth Century (Wade, 1998).

During this era, student and campus leaders adopted a number of symbols from which a system of signification could be constructed—one which would represent the visible center, and interpellate the 'traditionalist' bent of the reinvented, 'New South' genteel class. Markers of whiteness such as Colonel Reb and 'Hotty Toddy' (more in Chapter Five) became ensconced in the (ocular and oral) language of identity politics at Ole Miss. By mobilizing a white supremacist discourse, arbiters of the political stature of the University were able to both keep out black students, and hail the separatist sensibilities of the white Dixie South collective. As a result, the all-white campus enrollment nearly tripled from 1900 to 1950, drawing a more spatially diverse, yet racially homogenous student population to Oxford (Cabaniss, 1971). To keep 'undesirables' out, campus intermediaries created a public sphere of hate and isolation, marking the imagined and physical Ole Miss spaces off as exclusive property of Mississippi's white elite. Throughout the Second Reconstruction (1950s-1960s), the popular mediations within the University space echoed the hyper-racist carriage of the broader Dixie South racial division. For example, during the late 1950s an underground white supremacist publication, the *Nigble Papers*, was produced by students and circulated throughout the campus. The satirical, yet sardonic, tone of the publication

unabashedly transposed the 'threat' of integrating the 'Scotch-Irish' menace with 'true-blooded' Americans. Perhaps a premonition of late-twentieth century angry white retributionists, the *Nigble Papers* couched a gravity of insolence against racial difference in a distinctively caricaturized levity and calloused intertextuality borne of the three part recipe of: white superiority, black mockery, and racial intolerance. The *Papers*, purportedly organized by the "United Sons and Daughters for Segregation" (obviously referring to the groups of similar name devoted to preserving the Confederate cause), called for "complete segregation" (Viau, 1956, p. 1) of the 'white races.' The publication's primary aim, as was described in the May 18, 1956 issue, was "to ponder, promulgate, and propagate the true southern principles, vulture, traditions, and as many of the dear old southern customs as the law would allow. . . . [and] that we are interested in segregation but only in-so-far as it is a trusted and revered side of our southern way of life" (Morrison, 1956, p. 3). However, the sardonic tone of the *Nigble Papers* was perhaps more exemplary of the ignorance and intolerance of the admonished 'Other,' and the psychosis of protecting the privileges of white discourse and white space.

The influence of the Klan and the public discourses distributed via the *Mississippian* and the *Nigble Papers*, and later the Citizens Council (during the 1950s and 1960s) and the Southern Nationalist Party maintained the episodic culture of segregation throughout the higher education system of Mississippi. Organized around visions of reinventing a supremacist South, the postbellum University of Mississippi, as well as the rest of the state's higher education institutions, remained hierarchically, as

well as pheno-typically, segregated[60]—with increased opportunities for black students, but limited to all-black schools such as Alcorn College, and later Shaw, Rust, and Tougaloo. At the black schools the quality of education was purposively inferior; a curricular product of systematic ideological repression cultivated around edicts such as the 1940 attempt by legislators to strip the state's black schools of any and all textbooks with reference to democratic polity, in fear black students might revolt against the white supremacist power structure (Sansing, 1990). Alcorn and Toogaloo, the only two state-sponsored colleges in existence in the early 1900s, were specifically designed to produce graduates whose newly acquired skills were limited to agriculture. In creating separate institutional spaces, state politicians hoped the alleviate pressure from the federal government to create equal opportunities for all its citizens, while at the same time preserving the racial hierarchy within Mississippi's culture of segregation. As then Mississippi Governor James K. Vardaman proclaimed: "God Almighty intended for [the black man] to till the soil under the direction of he white man, and that is what we are going to teach him down there at Alcorn College" (qtd. in Baker, 1964, p. 248). Governor Vardaman's vision of New South race relations was further postulated in his declaration that "the black man [was] a lazy, lying, lustful animal which no conceivable amount of training can transform into a tolerable citizen" (qtd. in Silver, 1966, p. 19). As a consequence of Vardaman's ideologies and like-minded political leadership throughout the reconstructed New South, funding and resources allocated to black schools were well below the national average, resulting in much lower graduation rates

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[60] In fact, Mississippi was the last state in the country to surrender to the Federal laws of complete desegregation.

at Mississippi's black schools, with Tougaloo averaging only two graduates per year from 1901-1931 (Sansing, 1990).

White leaders in Mississippi feared that too much education for newly freed slaves might be the catalyst to an implosion of the Dixie South caste system. The more overtly racist among Mississippi's white elite disparaged the state's black men and women as "not having the ability to learn" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 14). But the more privately expressed concern was that "blacks would learn too much in school, not too little—and what they learned might make them dissatisfied and more likely to challenge the status quo" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 14). One of the University's well-regarded professors, Thomas Pierce Bailey,[61] later described the epistemological atmosphere of the early Twentieth Century this way: "White people want[ed] to keep the negro in his place . . . educated people have a way of making their own places and their own terms" (Bailey, 1969, p. 278). Whereas in the social strata of the antebellum Dixie South, the presence of black bodies typically reinforced the racialized power dynamic of the plantation economy, following the war, constructing the foundations of Dixie South whiteness at the University of Mississippi meant acknowledging the black bodied 'Other,' negotiating the portents of a coming 'race problem,'[62] and redefining the practices and discourses of prevailing whiteness as both physically exclusive and metaphysically superior.

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[61] Bailey also later went on to become the Speaker of the House of Representatives for the State of Mississippi.
[62] Prior to the Emancipation Proclamation, there was not a 'race problem' in the most parts of the South because there was no struggle for power based on discourses of race. It was only when black men, and later black women, gained access to some of the same markers of social distinction, did the racialized 'Other' present a threat to hegemonic whiteness.

Old Habitus . . . Die Hard

It would be wrong to assume that the politics of exclusion, and the culture of segregation, were confined solely to ostracism and separation based on racial difference. During the era of Reconstruction, the regionally proffered critique (from the prevailing white media) of the University was not one of a 'race problem,' but rather one concerning social class. After the war, the University of Mississippi was infamous for being "a party school for rich kids" (Sansing, 1999, p. 175), and thereafter was regularly chided for being "a rich boys' school" (Sansing, 1999, p. 133)—reviving the sentiments of the antebellum principles upon which the institution was constructed. The Civil War had altered the state economy, and thus the University's student body. Before the war, the per capita wealth in Mississippi was higher than in any state in the Union. As such, before the fighting, University of Mississippi students were almost "exclusively the sons of wealthy white parents" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 12). However, after the war Mississippi's wealthiest students, according to the University's official catalog, were "the sons of parents who had been wealthy but whose wealth had been entirely swept away" (*University Catalogue*, 1884, p. 38). What Mississippi's white aristocracy lost in economic capital during the war was soon replaced by other forms of distinction: namely social (value of social interconnectivity), cultural (the merits of experience), and symbolic (representational and signified) capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1986). Within the remedial economy of the New South, the University's mission was to ascertain and extend codified forms of capital, and to promote a postbellum elite Confederate "habitus" with which to recognize and mobilize these discourses of economic, social,

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and political power. French social critic Pierre Bourdieu (1977; cf. Bourdieu, 1985)

theorized the complexities of social class 'habitus' in this way:

> *capital* (economic, social, cultural—each of which is transferable to the other) is
>
> the source from which social status is gained, and the *field* is the complex
>
> discursive network where the exchange of capital through social relationships
>
> takes place (the transfer of capital). The habitus is the connector within the
>
> equation—the "durably installed principle of regulated improvisations.' (p. 78)

Bourdieu (1986), writing about his experiences in Twentieth Century France, implicates

the educational institution as a central engine the creation and reproductive nature of

class-based habitus. In the context of the New South, the project of the University of

Mississippi was to create an elitist habitus whereby the student subject was instilled with

seemingly natural or instinctive responsiveness to discourses of culturally,

economically, and socially unique webs of power/knowledge interconnectivity.

In the Reconstruction Era Dixie South and beyond, a degree from the University

of Mississippi served as a marker of New South gentility, and close controls were kept

over what type of whiteness was harnessed within the university space. To elide

potential students of an inferior habitus, the University required "Certificates of good

moral character . . . for all candidates [seeking] admission not personally known to

members of the faculty, and if the candidate comes from another college this certificate

must show that he was honorably discharged" (*The University of Mississippi*, 1912b, p.

6). Considered "the last bastion of the old aristocracy" (Sansing, 1999, p. 152), the

significant voice on the Ole Miss campus during the period of Reconstruction was that

of Chancellor Alfred Hume. Hume's commitment to class-based and race-based

separatism was perhaps surpassed by no other campus leader in the history of

Southern universities. During his tenure (c. 1924-1930, 1932-1935), Hume had

neglected the upkeep of current buildings, rejected proposals for new structures (in

spite of a qualitative need), and purposefully failed to pursue academic or athletic

excellence. Rather, it was his view that the University of Mississippi should devote all its

resources to creating "a citadel for the state's white elite, a place to build their moral

character, the better to preserve their heritage" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 23). As such, it was

during the post-depression era of Hume's regime that the University came to be known

by both students and local media members as the "University of the Old South"

(Dodson, 1997, p. 1).

Hume's efforts were primarily oriented toward maintaining exclusionary

admission standards and training the Delta's young white elite, rather than creating a

quality academic foundation. During Hume's tenure, enrollment dwindled, which the

administration cited was a result of the University's inability to board the entire student

population. However, a writer for the *Port Gibson Reveille* had a different hypothesis:

that the University's selectivity kept the enrollment low, in an effort to maintain the

school's indoctrination of Mississippi's "elitists" (Sansing, 1999, p. 155). The process of

ingratiation was thus to exclude the 'vernacular' traditions of the impoverished white

South, and promote the physical, spiritual, and logical 'system of acquired schemes' to

reproduce Dixieland exclusivity. Such schemes functioned as "categories of perception

and appreciation, so that they act in a practical sense by organizing action as well as

classification" (Mahar, 1990, p. 35). Within the University, a closely monitored Greek

system, exclusive literary and social societies, and tight controls over admission were

the fixtures of such an idealized habitus. The University infused a class-based Dixie

South habitus onto the privileged white bodies of the Delta—a course of human activity

"spontaneously inclined to recognize all the expressions in which [individuals] recognize

themselves, because they are spontaneously inclined to produce them" (Bourdieu,

1996, p. 144). The well-trained, white bodied University product thus understood the

language of hierarchical Mississippi, and the reflexive responses for mapping a

constellation of discursive empowerment.

The Ring of Southern Belles: Colonizing Femininities at Ole Miss

While architects of the social infrastructure of the University of Mississippi were

able to maintain its elitist exclusivity and racial homogeneity through the postbellum era,

the interjection of a new interloper seemingly disrupted the hyper-white, hypermasculine

spatial and ideological preserve of the University of Mississippi in 1882. After nearly

twenty-five years of debating the issue, the Board of Trustees finally relented their

position that a woman's "reasoning powers . . . can not sustain long and intricate trains

of thought" (Sansing, 1999, p. 137) and allowed women into the school. However, much

like the foundational principles of Alcorn College in relation to black Mississippians, the

liminal autonomy of the feminine student's curricular structure perhaps served to

reinforce, rather than subvert, Dixie South gender-based social hierarchies. In lobbying

for the inclusion of women at the University, activist Sallie Eola Reneau

accommodatingly proposed:

We are not teaching women to demand the 'rights' of men nor to invade the

place of men. The conditions are supplied here for the higher training of the

mind, of the sensibilities of her aesthetic faculties, of the moral and religious parts

of her being, which fits her for the ways of modest usefulness, for works of true

benevolence, and which invests her with that true womanly character and those

beautiful Christian graces that constitute her the charm of social life and the

queen of the home. (qtd. in Berry, 1987, p. 33)

Thus, while women gained admitted into the University, they did so under pretenses of

inferiority and subservience. Women students were not permitted to live in the

dormitories on campus (*University Catalogue*, 1884). And although many women

occupied the seats next to their male counterparts in academy classrooms, University of

Mississippi coeds were generally channeled into isolated disciplines of home

economics, needlework, and spinning (Cabaniss, 1971). Rather than equal treatment,

University of Mississippi women "were to be protected, sheltered, and revered,"—

translated into campus life this meant, among other things, "a curfew for female

students and a dress code. Young women on their way from the dormitory or sorority

house to their tennis classes, for example, were not permitted to cross the campus in

shorts" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 95).

Part social concession, part economic necessity,[63] the admission of women into

Mississippi's chambers of higher education was a matter of incursion through

inclusion—transposing a masculine regime of power onto the feminine subject by

bringing women into the campus space. In other words, the exclusively white feminine

university subject became an object of further masculine control by way of enclosure in

the university space. This masculine panopticism, whereby the campus space operated

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[63] As Mable Newcomer (1959) observed, the "decline of enrollment combined the severity of the Civil War weakened the resistance and led to the opening of instruction to women in a number of universities during or immediately following the war" (pp. 12-13).

as a carceral boundary for the governance of the feminine subject, allowed for no more than thirty women to be admitted to the University of Mississippi during the latter part of the 19th Century. Likely influenced by the grafting of the state's political philosophy of gendered student subjects in higher education, Ole Miss's women's programs were modeled after neighboring Mississippi Industrial Institute and College for White Girls (founded in 1885), whose founding statement of purpose read:

> The purpose and aim of the college is the moral and intellectual advancement of the white girls of the state by the maintenance of a first-class institution for their education in the arts and sciences . . . and also in fancy, general and practical needlework, and such other industrial branches as experience from time to time, shall suggest as necessary or proper to fit for the practical affairs of life.
>
> (*University Catalogue*, 1901, p. 35)

In sending their daughters to college, Conrid Berry (1987) later wrote, Mississippi parents felt the students would be taught "the proper moral, ethical, and intellectual subjects necessary to develop a cultured young woman" (p. 51). The four objectives of education for women in the state during the early part of the Twentieth Century were: 1) "teach every school girl how to cook and sew;" 2) to "universally . . . determine the school girl's place in society;" 3) develop "vocational efficiency;" and 4) training young women to "beautify the interior and exterior of the home" (O'Shea, 1925, pp. 238-241). This institutional version of Dixie South "emphasized femininity" further disparaged the cultural expectations of women—incessantly relocating them within the domestic sphere—while repositioning masculinity at the fore of the 'public sphere.' Part domestic subject, part beguiling object, the discursive governance of Dixie South femininity

located women in a prison of subservience and second-rate citizenship within the momentary deliberations of the New South. The inclusion of women into the University of Mississippi also began the promotion of a long-standing culture of voyeurism within the campus space. Rather than contemplative equality, the bodies of Mississippi 'coeds' created a dynamic whereby the feminine body as social discourse translated into the object of an infantilized masculine gaze.[64]

Production of the preferred feminine subject was catapulted into the conventional awareness of the women of Ole Miss through a number of student- and university-led measures. *The Mississippian* featured a 'Coed Page' starting in the late 1930s which reported on all of the social events from the previous and advertised the upcoming activities on campus for women. In 1943, the page was renamed "Social Miss," a title more befitting the purpose of its existence. Women seen as too outspoken, or operating outside the 'campus cutie' mold, were often treated as 'suspect or unwanted' (Cohodas, 1997). The programmatic disciplinarity of the white feminine subject at Ole Miss thus became more a project of constructing emphasized femininity and submissive countenance than any sort of gender-based contestation of power within the university spaces. The University hired a Dean of Women in the early part of Reconstruction to ensure the 'proper training' of newly admitted women students. In describing the role of women at the University of Mississippi, the Dean of Women in the 1960s described the domestic urges of campus women: "women often go to college expecting to find someone to marry. Very few girls will admit this public, but in talking with girls I find it is

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[64] "Pretty women" became an "Ole Miss tradition" (Sansing, 1999, p. 160). The Ole Miss students began a contest in 1909 to select the most beautiful woman on campus. Beginning in 1918, the campus yearbook, the *Ole Miss*, annually celebrated the university's most attractive women in a section titled: 'Parade of Beauties.' William Faulkner even contributed a poem to the lovely ladies of the Oxford campus in the 1920 yearbook (see Sansing, 1999, p. 160).

at least in their realm of thinking" (Simmons, 1963, p. 5). As women became more

centrally integrated into campus, the public concern was that co-educational

environments such as the University produced 'educated women [who were] more

sexual' and that they were more likely to feel "desperate and empty," because they were

unfulfilled by their domestic roles upon receiving an education. Educators felt that as

women learned more about the world, they would "also get false approval, which could

cause problems in the marriage" (Shearer, 1963, p. 5). The prevailing ideologies about

the domestic urges of women at Ole Miss, and their role in society upon graduation,

became a discourse upon which hegemonic masculinity could be reclaimed. By defining

the gender roles at Ole Miss, and how women were to perform their gender, men were

able to conquer any resistance from the objectified, feminine intruder. For example, as

part of the strategies for Ole Miss women set to implement their "Man trap," *The*

Mississippian offered a "girl's guide to football," which detailed the strategic, yet feigned

curiosity a woman must express during Rebel football games. In the article, Author

Gwendolyn O'Shea directed young campus women to keep "one eye on the ball, one

eye on the man, and both on the main chance" and suggests that having some

knowledge about the sport would ward off any hint that "the girl is too interested in the

boy" (O'Shea, 1964, p. 3). Finally, a 'Charm School' was instituted at the University to

concretize the code of deportment and gestures of preferred femininity. Charm School

(later renamed 'Personality Development School') opened on campus in 1964, with

classes in "modeling, charm, graceful walking, standing, sitting, and all the other social

graces." The head of the School, Jan Nelson, posited that "femininity is a woman's

greatest charm," and that the school would "analyze your assets and liabilities, eliminate

the negative and accentuate the positive. Beauty is a woman's birthright. Learn the rules for perfect posture, figure poise and bodily grace, and the priceless ingredient of self-confidence" ("Charm school opens today," 1964, p. 6). Through the discourses of emphasized beauty (in the discursive manifestations of 'campus cuties,' Miss Ole Miss,' and Miss Americas), crystallizing the separate spheres of domestic women and public men, and concretizing preferred feminine gait (Charm School), the hegemons of Ole Miss integrated the genders of the Dixie South, but most certainly on their terms.

The nucleus of the objectifying processes acting upon the Ole Miss feminine subject/object was the concentrated effort to submerse the young men of the campus with a bounty of sexualized imagery of the objectified white feminine 'Other.' In the decades following the passing of the Nineteenth Amendment, which effectively granted American women the rights of its citizenry, the symbolic systems at work within University of Mississippi spatial discourses maintained, if not reinforced, the objectifying processes of the ornamental women of Ole Miss through institutions such as mediated submissiveness. This was manifest in the form of *The Mississippian's* featured weekly 'campus cuties' and the campus yearbook's parade of beauties, as well as social clubs and Greek sororities which functioned for the promulgation of a contextually specific preferred femininity, and an increased emphasis on eliciting national renown for the Ole Miss 'belles' through beauty pageants and national circulars. In 1933, the University began featuring in its annual *Ole Miss* publication twenty-five "young ladies who received the most votes from the student body on the grounds of charm, beauty, personality, and popularity" ("Personnel of annual style show is released by 1934 'Ole Miss'," 1933, p. 1). A 'Style Revue' was held each fall, whereby the 'lovely ladies' of the

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campus were paraded about for the voyeuristic masculine gaze. While the beauties were selected by a campus vote, such was a method of limited democracy as only male students were allowed to partake in the selection process (Russell, 1935, pp. 1, 4). The promotion of a culture of segregation through a devoutness to emphasized femininity was further illustrated in the magnitude and reverie reserved for Ole Miss women who won national recognition for the beauty for their ability to adhere to "the Ole Miss look" (Smith, 1963b, p. 7). The specters of disciplined femininity materialized in a *Magnus opus* of subjected objectivity: the "Miss Ole Miss award"—the highest honor of Ole Miss womanhood as defined by the masculine gaze. The images of Miss Ole Misses were profligately distributed throughout local advertisements, and the women became the objectified heroines of a parochially gendered and objectified celebrityhood. The communication of preferred femininity was but part and participle of a broader discipline of gendered subjectivity (money discipline versus bodily discipline). The University produced of three woman graduates who during their time in Oxford won the title of Miss America.[65] A number of women's magazines visited the campus to report on the famed beauty of Ole Miss coeds. For example, *Mademoiselle* came to the campus in the early 1960s to recruit "talented" young women to be featured in the magazine and possibly work for the publication (Latham, 1962, p. 3). In sum, the docile, attractive, preferred femininity fostered within the confines of hierarchically gendered Dixie South ideology and strategically curved Ole Miss physicality evolved into a celebrated space of exclusivity, performativity, and [hetero]normativity.

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[65] Mary Ann Mobley won the first Miss America for Ole Miss in 1958. Lynda Mead followed by winning the award in 1959, and Susan Akin won it a few decades later in 1985.

War and Football

The activation and authorization of race-, class-, and gendered- politics of

student subjectivity at Ole Miss during the Reconstruction and through to the Civil

Rights movement served to re-centered the white, masculine, elite subject at the core of

representational power and politics. If the 'Other' at Ole Miss during the Jim

Crow/Reconstruction Era was constituted by the imagined intrusion of black bodies,

feminine objects, and scholastic working class vagabonds, the visible center was

reconstructed and reinstalled in the University's white masculine student subject

through two different technologies of the self. The first was the acute proliferation of an

idyllic, discursive infusion of a sacrificial deportment and an industrious 'Southern logic'

brought forth by a pervasive Old South iconography. A distinctive masculinity emerged

from the context of a reconstructed Dixie South, one which was a product of triplicate

reincarnations of the 'Lost Cause,' the 'Southern eth(n)ic'[66] which Confederates fought

to defend, and the gentility of the Old South plantation political economy. In other words,

both the internalized and inseparably celebrated (ideal) articulations of intersectional

masculinity and whiteness in postbellum Dixieland repositioned Ole Miss as the domain

of uncontested white male hegemony—a representative polity reflective of the

antebellum order of things. The residues of the Old South reconstituted the narrative

structures and the social practices of this new Dixie South whiteness, one which

privileged the 'traditional,' parochially masculine qualities of: physical strength,

safeguard from interloping aggression (in the paternal defense of the maternalized

South; the South against unionization, the defense of white people against integration,

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[66] I will often use the double meaning of 'eth(n)ic' to refer to the conflated logics of Southern morality and racialized politics of individuality which have come to take on an indiscernible discursive quality in the Southern popular.

and white Southern women against the newly empower black savage), and the clean-line ultimatums of economic wealth and access to distinctive forms of social capital. More empirically, the two definitive sites for expressing and performing the politics of this singular masculinity became the romanticization of the 'Lost Cause' which prompted the Civil War and the return of Mississippi's post-plantation prominence through a new forum: college football (Guttmann, 1978). More than parallel spaces of boorish catharsis, in each defenders of the Solid South came to define the solidarities and continuities of white masculine power in the logical flows of a centralized imaginary (Oriard, 1993). As the principle sites for the expression and promulgation of this imagined (and lived) white, masculine return conquest of the Dixie South, these soldiers of the Civil War and the gridiron both repudiated, and simultaneously resurrected, the hyper-masculine elocutions of an Old South whiteness and 'hegemonic masculinity' (cf. Messner, 1990). In the defense of an antiquated 'way of live,' of the politics which privileged white masculinity and the adoration of the imaged 'Southern ethic,' the University of Mississippi's posthumous and sporting combative heroes became fixtures within the symbolic economy of a re-imagined Dixie South.

The Beauty of Grey?

More than the 'insipid' volunteerism of the World Wars and responses to other national blood-spillings, on the Ole Miss campus, the archetypal site for promoting the *Southern man as courageous defender* trope was captured in the celebration of the University-sponsored regiment which fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War—the 'University Greys.' The celebration of a distinctive Dixie South masculinity at Ole

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Miss during the era of Reconstruction was galvanized in the first instance following the

Civil War; in the adoration reserved for the exploits of the University's regiment that

fought for the 'Southern cause.' These 'soldiers of impulse' (Brown, 1940) heeded the

call of the Confederate States in the earliest stages of the conflict, rushing in unanimity

to the secessionist call-to-arms in defense of the 'Southern way of life.' The first mention

of the student group known as the University Greys on the University of Mississippi

campus came in early April of 1861, as the faculty minutes reported "various members

of the 'University Greys' [were] in the habit of using their muskets for hunting and other

purposes, in violation of the terms of agreement by which they were allowed to remove

their muskets from the 'arsenal' to their rooms for better keeping" (Harrison, 1861c).

These soldiers of the South joined the Confederate cause near the end of that spring

semester, just as the early stages of the war were taking shape. That eagerness to

come to the defense of the South became a popular fixture in the discursive celebration

of the University Greys. The motto of the Greys was *Ducit amore patria* (the love of my

country leads me). As one University historian proclaimed, "The regiment was animated

by impulse—the impulse of valor" (Brown, 1940, p. xi). The spirited response of the

Greys from the first outburst of the military spectacle is captured in the film *Gone with

the Wind*, in a celebrated scene known as the 'Twelve Oaks scene' (Brown, 1940).

Despite the mass slaughter of the Greys at Gettysburg, the homage-inations (or, the

homogenous nature of celebrated Confederate whiteness) of their efforts to defend the

Confederate South are inscribed into the campus spatial fabric via a memorial to

soldiers on the Ole Miss campus—in imagery and inscriptions such as a large stained

glass window in a classroom building which "reflects the reverence for tradition" and

honors those "who with ardent valor and patriotic devotion to the Civil War sacrificed

their lives in defense of principles inherited from their fathers and strengthened by the

teachings of the Alma Mater" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 11).[67]

A second constant in the posthumous memorialization of the University Greys

was the attention given to the band of combatants' fashion sensibilities. The legend of

the Greys is propounded by reports that upon their arrival to the battle lines in Harpers

Ferry, Virginia, the Inspector General of the Confederate Army noted that the University

Greys took "much pride in their appearance" (Sansing, 1999, p. 107), and that the

Greys were known as the most 'handsomely dressed' unit in their battalion. One

commander of the Confederate Army further admired the fashion sensibilities of the

student regiment: "The University Greys were an unruly lot, but they were well dressed

and good shots" (Sansing, 1999, p. 107). These and other accounts of the 'nobility' of

the outfit's outfits further contributed to the mythologization of the Greys. As time

passed, the import and reverence of the 'respectful' adornments of the Greys

materialized in Faulkner's post-Reconstruction South, which saw an ironic, if not

awkward political body/politicized decorum juxtaposition, whereby the military recourses

inflicted upon a ravaged South were turned asunder by the aesthetic lifeline of an

'unvanquishable' bodily adornment of Dixie South whiteness (Meyer Jr., 1995).

The habitual *fashionistas* of the mid-century Solid South thus embalmed the valor

of the Confederacy through the ornamentation of a venerated, imagined code of dress.

During the University's centennial celebration in 1948, the senior ROTC group, which

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[67] In Chapter Six I present a more thorough examination of the relationship between space, ideology, and racialized discursive expressions of the body, in particular how the memorialization of the Confederacy acts to redistribute representational power—recentering whiteness through romantic visions of a Confederate collective.

was renamed the "University Greys" 1942 as a tribute to "one of the most gallant fighting groups of the Confederate Army" (Furr, 1942, p. 1), procured Confederate uniforms and other accoutrements, including a replica of the colors (unit battle flag), and reenacted the enlistment of the University Greys (see Figure 2). For many campus events during the year-long celebration, the ROTC unit donned its Confederate regalia, and, in "the mind's eye, the storied Greys who won imperishable glory at First Manassas and suffered 100 percent casualties at Gettysburg, reappeared on the campus they had abandoned for war in 1861" ("ROTC celebrates the Old South," 1948b, p. 1). The existentialism of the ephemeral bodily aesthetic culminated in the middle part of the Twentieth Century in the practice of students honoring the University Greys by dressing 'in their Sunday best' for home football games. The ritual of spectacular garmentization[68] to celebrate the Confederate courage and Old South masculinity of the University Greys continues today, in the ethereal preponderance of a stylish eulogization. The institutionalized code of dress, much like the informal code of conduct, is intently located in the preferred logics of masculine desire and class-based fashion taste (Lipovetsky, 1994). In this instance, the governance of fashion transcended, and continues to transcend, physical and imaged space, whereby fashion is the convergence of ideological forces, discursive formations, corporeal collectivity, and reflective of the Nietzschean notion of 'eternal return.'

Walter Benjamin (1969), following Nietzsche, suggests that fashion articulates itself as an act of the imperialism over the body by always masking itself as something new, in spite of the return to diachronic forces of symbolic materialism. In other words,

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[68] This practice of 'dressing up' for home football games during each fall at Ole Miss as an act of homage to the Greys will be examined in greater depth in Chapter Seven of this manuscript.

fashion operates in the dominion of modern, masculine power, whereby women and men are unable to escape from the aesthetic discourses of the past—and instead are subjected to a constant reinvigoration of ocular disciplinarity through the conventions and reinventions of the antithetical and synthetic tastes of fashion. By mobilizing the fashions of Confederate passions, the modern Ole Miss subject of the Reconstruction Era was reinvented, and thus subjected, to the regimes of antebellum power and the logics of hierarchical society. In this instance, the neo-Confederate stylization presented itself as "the unique self-construction of the newest in the medium of what has been" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 64). And thus the rearticulated fusion of Confederate fabric and the 'eternal return' of Old South public masculinity extended, and contuse to extend, beyond fashion as *recherché*—what Benjamin (1999) described as the "always vain, often ridiculous, sometimes dangerous quest for a superior ideal beauty" (p. 66)—into the realms of aesthetic governance and adornment as disciplinarity. The unreal bodies of the University Greys thus operated on, and continue to discipline, the active subjects on the Ole Miss campus through the specters of an adulated imaginary of the ghosts of the University Greys.

At Ole Miss, the less pronounced tribute to the warrior-like servitude of the Greys and the preponderance of Old South, demarcated masculinity emerged over time in the discursive reveries of performative footballing bodies. Like many sporting cultural forms in the American South, Ole Miss football came to epitomize the hierarchical structure of gendered and racialized social relations in the post-Civil War Era (McKay, Messner, & Sabo, 2000). As a discursive formation, Dixie South whiteness and Old South masculinity arose from the intersection of emergent themes and commonalities of the

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militaristic bodies of the University Greys and the bellicose corporeality of footballing

warriors. In each, idealized masculinity in the New South became grounded in the

common tropes of calculated recklessness, stoic instrumentation, corporeal sacrifice,

and familial allegiance. A consistent narrative in the mediated celebration of football

heroes of Ole Miss' located the combative white body as an *instrument of the Dixie*

South, a site of praiseworthy Southern stock and imaginary racialized genetic

superiority. Ole Miss football players came to be known as 'Mississippi mules' during

the heights of the University's achievement, from the 1950s and through to the late

1960s (Vaught, 1971)—a reference to both the environmental prowess and physical

superiority of the state's white gentry pedigree. The media descriptions of Ole Miss

players during the team's heyday typically engaged a narrative orientation similar to

portrayal of All-American George Kinard, one of Ole Miss' most heralded performers,

who was portrayed as "a six foot, one inch, brown haired, brown eyed, 190 pounds of

human dynamite" (Brownstein, 1940, p. 8). George Kinard, as well as many other

players from the era, were situated within a linguistic universe which conjoined the

cosmoses of 'fair haired' whiteness and bullish athletic stature (Guyton, 1969). Willing to

surrender their bodies for the embodied rearticulation of Dixie' past glory and future

perfect, the racialized chaste-missiles of the University of Mississippi came to symbolize

the Dixie South's return to glory and the proliferation of a 'Southern mystique'—one that

continues to bind Ole Miss to the Confederate imaginary and the imagined community

of conservative whiteness (Vaught, 1971, p. 8).

The Southern Sporting Logician

Leading the conglomeration of corporeal neo-Confederates, the commander of

Ole Miss's most successful football army was Johnny Vaught: the cerebral, calculating,

stoic patriarch of the seminal institution in Mississippi's version of the new sporting

South. During his tenure (1947-1970, 1973), the University's football squad compiled a

record of 190 victories, 61 defeats, and 12 ties, including three national championships,

six conference championships, and eighteen bowl game appearances (Baker, 1989).

His enduring legacy is cemented in the imaginations of sporting adherent throughout the

South. As rival coach Bill Battle of the University of Tennessee professed:

> Few men have had as much an impact on modern collegiate football as John
>
> Howard Vaught of Mississippi. His Ole Miss teams always set the trends toward
>
> new, progressive offensive formations and techniques. His great won-lost record
>
> and his phenomenal bowl record only begin to reflect the influence he had on
>
> Southeastern Conference football. He will be remembered as one of the giants of
>
> his profession. (qtd. in Vaught, 1971, jacket flap)

Vaught was the quintessential celebrity figure for the visible center of Dixie South

whiteness in the post-Emancipation generation and the lead-up to the turbulent civil

rights years: instiller of Southern values, extractor of white physical excellence, and

commander of the perfect sporting apparatus. As Porter Fortune, Chancellor of the

University of Mississippi during Vaught's tenure exclaimed: "The years take away the

snap from a passing arm and the spring from the legs; but courage, endurance, self-

reliance, alertness, steadfastness, teamwork, loyalty—these things which Johnny

Vaught has taught his boys last for a lifetime" (qtd. in Sorrels & Cavagnaro, 1976, p.

140). Vaught's new science of footballing excellence was not only constructed out of and defined by the logics of white supremacy; his team became the last bastion of an exclusively white monolithicism. The team came to be known not just as the last hope of the Southern white Right, but as a symbolic configuration of resistance to integration (Doyle, 2002). Vaught himself implored that "after 1954 white Mississippians tried to preserve the caste system they inherited" (Vaught, 1971, p. 7), and his team became the emblematic army of that racist caste system. Just like General Robert E. Lee before him, and Dixiecrat leader Strom Thurmond during his time, Vaught's celebrity was erected as the discursive figurehead of Ole Miss' visible center—the iconized embodiment of supremacist values and whiteness as *par excellence*.

First, the narrative structure of John Vaught mediated celebrity at Ole Miss was constructed out a recurring thematic of his ability to exhibit the rationalized calculability of late modern industrial America (Miller, 2002; Watterson, 2000). As the performative and strategic dynamics of intercollegiate football changed during the middle part of the Twentieth Century, and the game 'opened up' and tactics and preparation took on newfound import, Vaught became the archetypical figure of Old South [white] ingenuity (Borucki, 2003). This shift in the style of play coincided with the greatest period of industrial expansion in the Mississippi Delta region, as most of the modest investments in manufacturing which were primarily located in Memphis and Jackson materialized from the early 1940s through the early 1950s (Todd, 1951). The academy and business sectors of the region became entrenched in the fetishized logics of [*post facto*] industrialism, and the core principles of rationalization and specialization. Dialectically, John Vaught's celebrity discourse came to be moulded out of the intersections of these

prevailing attitudes, and thus the Ole Miss football coach became the iconic figure of

late industrial Southern rationality and footballing cerebralism: "Vaught was nothing if

not innovative" (Cleveland, 2000, p. 9), later wrote one local journalist. Another

commentator identified the specific aspects of Vaught's style, claiming that the Ole Miss

head coach "was an innovator who in many ways was ahead of his time. He was the

first coach in the Southeastern Conference to hire a full-time recruiting coordinator. . . .

He was also a genius at tinkering with offensive formations to capitalize on weaknesses

in the opposition's defense" (Baker, 1989, p. 43). In the first instance, the celebration of

Vaught's intellect was emblematic of the 'managerial coalescence' of media-sport

intermediaries of the mid-century, as the burgeoning sport content of print and radio

new media echoed the preponderance of an American celebrity culture (Riesman &

Denney, 1970). New cultural technologies not only contributed to the expansion of the

Vaught iconage across the Dixie South, but his ability to mobilize these technologies

became part of his legend: "In his coaching days at Ole Miss Vaught studied football

game film and scouting reports with the dedication of a 12th century monk putting

together a religious tract. For Vaught it was a sin to field a Rebel team uncertain about

its toughness and the tendencies of the enemy" (Sorrels & Cavagnaro, 1976, p. 136).

The modern technologies of the late industrial era, infused with the turn time

technologies of the self which valued whiteness and reinvigorated the mind/body,

white/black dualism further cemented the celebritization of coach Vaught at Ole Miss. At

the end of his career, Vaught's analytical prowess was reflected upon in this way:

"Vaught's Rebels won big because he considered football a science. . . . Vaught had a

head full of common sense" (Sorrels & Cavagnaro, 1976, p. 137).

As the economic rationalities of modern industrialization soon became unsettled by the cultural commotion of the Civil Rights Era South, and efforts to integrate the Dixie South's exclusively white institutions intensified in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the fixtures of celebrity became important sites for reconstituting the politics of white supremacy. The categorical pantheon of celebrated masculinity took many forms, as Southern men such as the emotional persona of Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett, the strident supremacy of Dixiecrat Presidential nominee Strom Thurmond, and the quiet confidence of University of Alabama head football coach Paul Bryant. However, in the face of the race tempest that inundated the Mississippi Delta, more than any other, the symbolic fortitudes of John Vaught's celebrity helped to assuage the anxieties of the visible center: "Vaught was far from the fiery, emotional leader. Indeed, he rarely changed expressions on the sidelines" (Cleveland, 2000, p. 9). In the context of disconcerted whiteness, Vaught stood as the physical embodiment of a broader formation of poised white resistance to integration. "Ole Miss football is a tradition which has weathered the wind and rain. Rebel coaches, players, and fans are a special breed, whose image was created in the post war years" (Collins, 1970, p. 255). That 'special breed' of Ole Miss whiteness was secured by the fact that Vaught's interactions were limited exclusively to white Mississippians. All his players were white,[69] as well as the fans, students, and affiliates of the institution which his team represented. Ole Miss boycotted play against teams with black players in Vaught's early years, and later banned parents of black players from entering the campus Circle prior to Ole Miss home games. While coach Vaught's techniques proved successful during his tenure, they

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[69] Actually, Vaught returned to coach an integrated Ole Miss football team for part of the 1973 season. That team had black players, but those players were recruited by Vaught's successor—as the team integrated almost immediately following his retirement in 1970.

were performed by "a relatively narrow band of the state's population. Ole Miss recruited almost exclusively for the young, white, Mississippi-born male. The situation was very much a family affair that worked to the University's advantage for years. . . . Vaught ruled recruiting in Mississippi like no other coach before him or after him" (Baker, 1989, pp. 34-35). As such, on the field, Vaught's disciplinary stoicism served to temper the emotional impulses of footballer and segregationist alike, solidifying the resistance of integration and disciplining this 'special breed' of whiteness. As an intermediary of local whiteness and masculinity, Vaught, more than any other figure, was both symbol and arbiter of white identity politics in the mid-Twentieth Century. His stoicism meant calm in the face of a Civil Rights storm, as Vaught "did not lose his temper and rarely showed emotions on the sideline during a game. He was stern with his players, but could show compassion with their personal shortcomings" (Baker, 1989, p. 42). His reassuring presence further symbolized the efficacy of Dixie South whiteness in the context of desegregation and modernization, and his successes became a central space of identity for white Dixie Southerners. Further, the isolationist carriage of Coach Vaught's teams symbolized the separatist posture of the institution and its followers in the pre-Meredith days: John Vaught was recognized and lauded as "the leader of a closely-knit, quality organization" (Collins, 1970, p. 254) built on the foundations of familial ancestry and white exceptionalism.

Embodiments of 'New South' Ole Miss

While the contrived discursive climate, iconic figures of whiteness, and exclusionary race, class, and gender politics starting at the Reconstruction Era and

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going forward at the University of Mississippi are instructive of the isolationism, segregationism, and parochialism of the broader Dixieland body politic, a second, equally important trajectory for moulding the white, masculine Ole Miss student subject emerged during the postbellum years. The endeavors by University and state intermediaries to *galvanize Dixie South whiteness* through those methods of *marking* the institution as white and its student subjects as figures of resistance to integration quickened, the institution sought to strategically-manipulate a racist, elitist, and sexist discourse of political physicality as performed by the student subject. While up to this point I have discussed those subjectivities which operated on the margins during this time period, and the idealized embodiments of a preferred Dixie South whiteness, I now want to turn to the centralizing practices in which the bodies of the masculine, white student subject were disciplined in the order of Hume, Vaught, Bilbo, and other white supremacists of the Deep South. As I have suggested, from the outset the malleable body as a representational discourse was the core resource for redefining and reconstructing the politics of whiteness within Dixieland Mississippi. The governance of the student body at Ole Miss became so intensive and concentrated during Reconstruction that by the turn-of-the-century, the Ole Miss campus was considered a "self-contained community with its own customs, mores, and value system" (Sansing, 1999, p. 165). The hegemonic surveillance and governance over atomized, yet complex modalities of whiteness was so intense that the University issued a handbook to all entering freshmen which came to be known as the *M-Book*—a catalog of the abundant 'opportunities' in physical culture, religious activity, and social organization.[70] As the following illustrations will indicate, the objective of the post-war University of Mississippi

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[70] The M-Book is still distributed to campus freshman each fall.

was to churn out productive white bodies, bodies which would summon and duplicate the bygone racial discourses of Mississippi society and reclaim the vestiges of the 'Lost Cause.' The task of the University throughout the latter part of the Nineteenth Century and first half of the Twentieth Century was to juxtapose the Dixie South knowledge/power lexicon onto the white-bodied student populace, creating a uniformed Dixie South corporeal 'hexis'—a fusion of supremacist ideology and separatist deportmental discourse coded in the language of the local. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice* and *The Logic of Practice*, Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1990b) defines such a bodily "hexis" as "political mythology realized, *em-bodied*, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby feeling or thinking" (p. 93; p. 69). For Bourdieu (1977; 1990b), the notion of "hexis" was both the reification of an idealized deportment and the concurrent reconstitution of dominant ideologies through the exhibition of bodily capital. Bourdieu (1993) stressed that hexis was primarily exhibited through visible means, particularly in performances of a normalized corporeal stylishness: exclusivity through expressivity. At Ole Miss, the preferred institutional hexis disciplined onto the student subject was a three part amalgamation of the visible center: post-*Emancipation* segregation, post-plantation 'egalitarianism,' and post-gender integration objectification.

At the University of Mississippi, the discernible, spectacular nature of whiteness was fostered through such a systematic indoctrination as expressed through the multi-layered 'making' of signified corporeal conduct and observable performativity. Unlike the uncontested whiteness of the antebellum South, or the "invisible," "reticent," or "silent" whiteness of a more contemporaneous post-Civil Rights moment, in the years during

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and following the Reconstruction era, whiteness was overtly flaunted like a badge of Southern privilege. In this *spectacle of Dixie South whiteness*, the diffusion of representational power radiated outward from the visible center—shaping human activity though an imaged langue of thesis (white center) and antithesis ('Othered' pole). While the narratives of Old South white privilege remained omnipresent, more visible, polysemic articulations of New South white entitlement began to emerge. Whereas prior to the Civil War, blackness served as a discursive polarity to the uncontested white economic and cultural center of power, following the Emancipation Proclamation, Southern black bodies came to represent the newly contested corporeal power dynamic. Unlike rhetoric or narrative, race representation in the New South "could convey contradictions and evoke oppositions like white racial supremacy, white racial innocence, and white racial dependency more easily and persuasively than a carefully plotted story" (Hale, 1998, p. 8). As such, the spectacle of Dixie South whiteness not only became the discursive conduit by which power was exercised, but also the paradigm by which racialized subjects 'learned' their identities within the 'tensions and cooperations' (Elias, 1982) of the reordered Dixie South. The social hierarchy of Mississippi's race relations had to be relearned in the New South, and the apparatuses of Old South were mobilized by the state's power elite to resuscitate the remains of an old social asymmetry. Through strategic controls, the University's function was reformulated to arbitrate and indoctrinate "preferred meanings" (Hall, 1980b) of a 'civilized,' ocular New South whiteness. The indoctrination project was thus to encode into campus white bodies the deportmental signifiers of a signifying system constituted by an antiquated class-based, race-based, and gender-based social hierarchy. To do

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this, the Chancellors, faculty members, the Board of Trustees, and other cultural

intermediaries embarked on a nearly century long campaign to reorient and indelibly

imprint the student body with the meaningful discourses, languages, and semiotics of

Old South traditionalism and gentility.

Learning Whiteness

By interjecting a hyper-normative, state-sponsored curricular programmatic of

instruction at the University of Mississippi—concretized immediately following the Civil

War—Dixieland politicians seized the cultural physicalities and ideological possibilities

of the institution's student body. A tight relationship, or regime of control, was

established between the state and the university—one which reinforced the University's

function as an extension and armature of the state and its ability to construct social and

identity politics. The rigid management over the University was exemplary of the degree

to which the institution was acting a vessel of the state's political agenda. By the order

of the Governor, in the early 1930s Chancellor Joseph Neely Powers replaced

Chancellor Hume for a short interval, only to be removed after two years for what the

Board of Trustees and the state legislature felt were initiatives attempting to

revolutionize or 'annihilate' the principles and 'foundations' of the University. In his

efforts to transform the University into an establishment for advancing the state's

economic and social progress, the Board's perception was that Chancellor Powers had

abandoned the elitist strata[fication] upon which the University had been serving.

Shortly after resuming office, however, Governor Bilbo removed Hume and appointed

Alfred Butts to the Chancellorship in 1935—his appointment, and the dismissal of

Hume, was part of the 'whirligig game of politics' operating on the institution, where Ole Miss was an extension of the state's political maneuvering. For instance, at the request of the state legislature and the Board of Trustees, the formulaic program of "Anglo-Saxon" was developed as a central part of the Ole Miss curriculum during the early Reconstruction Era (Cabaniss, 1971; Garland, 1874). Anglo-Saxon was an essential ingredient of a new curricular recipe which abandoned the antebellum classical holistic programmatic in favor of a more nuanced and multifaceted indoctrination of genteel Dixie South whiteness. Courses in Anglo-Saxon promoted and crystallized the Eurocentric behavioral norms and epistemological values of regional whiteness, effectively teaching Mississippi's young elite how to *be white*. Furthermore, the process of Anglo-Saxonization immersed in, and located Oxford students within, the parole of a 'signifying system' (Williams, 1981) tailored to Dixieland's bourgeoisie: the hypermasculine and hyper-racist domain of privilege and power within a conservative, plantation political economy. The study of Anglo-Saxon included coursework in Indo-European language arts (English literature, English composition, etc.), performative politics (theatre, calisthenics, etiquette, etc.), and—despite repeated appeals from the students—Greek philosophy and Western European orthodoxy. These performative processes of signification were fossilized in the "*natural* methods of 'Elocution,'" or the correct training of gait, posture, and linguistics (Garland, 1872b).

Elocution became such an imperative ingredient of the University's indoctrination project that by the late 1880s the faculty had added a comprehensive "elocution" program to the catalog. Through "Physical Training, Respiration, Vocal Culture, Articulation, Orthcepy, Gesture, and the Laws of Inflection and Emphasis" (*University*

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Catalogue, 1887, p. 44), the body as discursive space was transformed into a palpable

text; regulated by the institution, and encoded with a meaningful language of privilege

and supremacy. Further, these students learned how to read, or 'decode' (Hall, 1980b),

the corporeal text and ascribe meaning to the signifiers of spectacle whiteness. At the

intersection of Bourdieu's notion of habitus and Foucault's conceptualizations of

knowledge/power, the children of Mississippi's once economically prosperous

aristocracy were thus imparted with the knowledge by which to mobilize social (or

linguistic) capital, cultural capital, and bodily capital in place of their fleeting familial

economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). White empowerment, in this instance, was

accomplished by learning the customs and value system entrenched in the discursive

formations of a pervasively Eurocentric Dixie South.

Such an Ole Miss indoctrination project was both intensive and dogmatic,

allowing virtually no leverage for expressions counter to the prevailing logics of

Mississippi's antiquities and traditions. During the period of Reconstruction, deviations

from a normative Anglo-Saxonism were not tolerated on the University of Mississippi

campus. On May 23, 1867, the faculty addressed the problem of political and religious

insolence by adopting the following law into the University's code of conduct: "Resolved:

that no student shall be allowed to introduce any contemporaneous political of

controversial religious matter in any speech or essay for public exhibition in this

University – Adopted" (Shoup, 1867b). Rather than allowing students to explore

alternative politics, the University required that students join one of the two literary

societies: the Hermaean Society and Phi Sigma Society. The Hermaean Society was

formed only five months after the campus opened, and was perhaps the intimately allied

social organization to the campus's indoctrination project during the early years. By 1934, the group had produced all but two of the University's Rhode's scholars, and was the longest standing student organization on campus. Further, the organization had played a significant role in pre- and post-war collegiality of the University: celebrating their anniversary with a number of orations, functions, and social events each year in the early spring ("Hermaean Society has long and proud history on university campus," 1934). While the rival organization of the Hermaeans, Phi Sigma's purpose was identical to its older predecessor—to shape the attitudes,[71] politics, and oral conduct of the University student body. Under the close supervision of faculty 'sponsors,' both the Phi Sigma and the Hermaean Societies demonstrated their linguistic and deportmental politics through chosen recitations at each year's commencement ceremony.

Despite waning relevance of these societies during the 1940s, the active diligence of University socialization was still instrumental in layering the tapestries of contested Old South identity politics, one which revolved around competing discursive striations of: reverence for and hypermasculine celebration of the Confederacy, the caricaturization and disarmament of the new strength of blackness (i.e. blackface minstrelsy), and rebuilding a harmonious plantation phantasmagoria which supposedly existed prior to 'Northern aggressions.' At the cost of a practical, philosophical, or critical educational environment, the University of Mississippi served as an extension of the fallen Confederate state rather than a beacon of intellectual prosperity. The closed university within a 'closed society,' the faltering quality of education throughout the

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[71] As an example of the types of 'attitudes' constructed under the guise of these organizations, during the 81st Anniversary Celebration of the Phi Sigma Society, guest speaker J. F. Hawkins proffered: "The thing that has last brought the negro problem into prominence is the rise of the so-called new negro . . . this new negro seems to be a sort of demigod with large stature, manly features, a wide knowledge, and a powerful intellect" ("Large crowd in attendance Friday morning," 1928b, p. 1).

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Reconstruction Era can be traced back to the elitist mentality and isolationist trajectory of institutional affairs. As an example of the fundamental failings of the University because of the canons of an obtuse state and Board of Trustees, a study commissioned Governor Henry A. Whitfield, and conducted by the University of Wisconsin in the late 1920s to examine Mississippi's educational system, concluded that the institution had neglected the economic and social needs of the state in favor of maintaining an imposing exclusivity. Directed by Michael O'Shea and often referred to as the *O'Shea Report*, the findings suggested that in general Mississippi's institutions of higher learning were adhering to the "genteel tradition [that] was in vogue throughout our country fifty years prior," and that those institutions failed to "train the youth of the State to become efficient in the performance of tasks that most need to be accomplished in Mississippi at present" (O'Shea, 1925, p. 200). O'Shea cited that a common theme in the faculty and administration interviews conducted at the University of Mississippi was that courses were organized "to develop character in [Mississippi's] young people," rather than designing a curriculum which would "train young people to develop the agricultural, industrial, economic, and human resources of the state" (O'Shea, 1925, pp. 201-202). O'Shea (1925) pointed to the vague objectives of Mississippi's higher educational institutions—"'building of character,' 'inculcation of good habits,' 'training for citizenship,' development of a religious life,' 'making of men and women,' and 'the cultivation of moral conduct'" (p. 200)—and the deviation from a more practical, industrial educational foray as the shortcoming of the higher education system. Unlike most other American colleges of the era, in O'Shea's estimation, Ole Miss failed to prepare its students to contribute to the unique challenges of the state's economic,

cultural, and agricultural demands in favor of the programmatic orientation of social and cultural elitism.

The shackles of indoctrination—or the "educational and psychological dogmas" (O'Shea, 1925, p. 201)—at Ole Miss became so overwhelming that at the same time the *O'Shea Report* was being published, University faculty members were taking measures to exorcize any books referring to communism or desegregation from the campus library. The campus' praetorian of whiteness, Chancellor Alfred Hume, was adamant in his hostility toward an oppositional voice on campus and his service to the controlling interests of Mississippi's white elite—"keeping Ole Miss tethered to Oxford and secure in the 'worthy traditions' he lauded" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 32). The University—which operated under the auspices of what an Ole Miss undergraduate referred to as an "absolute monarchy"—rather than working for the betterment of its students and the community, remained "a group of buildings, lorded over and absolutely controlled by men careless or else heedless of student welfare, intent only on pouring into a docile student body their ideas concerning education" (Lomax, 1927, p. 4). The oppositional voice brought forth by the small segment of student detractors was met with the claim by Hume that "academic freedom" can sometimes be "academic nonsense" (qtd. in Sansing, 1999, p. 226). One of the detractors of Hume's leadership was *Mississippian* Editor W. A. Lomax, who was critical of the weighted texts residing in the campus library. He argued, "Outstanding among the deficiencies in the Library is the spirit of conformity, which rules and prevails. . . . If a book even hints at disturbing the established political, social or religious questions of the day, it is not on the University

Library shelves" (Lomax, 1928, p. 4). The strength of the academy, Lomax scathed, was undermined inasmuch as:

> the spirit of endeavoring to find out for one's self the essential truth of
> things should be given free range, not stifled [as is the case at] the
> University of Mississippi. . . . Original thinking on the part of the student
> simply can't be done. Kant, Haeckel, Hegel . . . In their stead we find some
> priceless gems such as 'How to get Pep' or such other soothing syrup
> philosophical treatises (Lomax, 1928, p. 4)

The issue of academic freedom at Ole Miss abounded in the public sphere throughout the Twentieth Century. During the first semester of James Meredith's enrollment at Ole Miss, the Academic Council imposed censorship measures against the most radical and outspoken faculty members who favored desegregation ("Works both ways," 1962b, p. 1). The first step of the indoctrination project of Ole Miss following the Civil War was to contain, and constrict, the mentality of its young constituency. As James Silver (1966) would later suggest, "To perpetuate itself the closed society must keep a firm control over what goes into the minds of its young people" (p. 60).

The Sanctified Student Body

By the 1940s, the University "would have more than met its goal, infusing generations of young white Mississippians with an immutable pride in their heritage and a belief in a social order accepted as divinely ordained" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 5). The University of Mississippi's anticipated end product was thus an amalgamation of discourses of 'preferred' whiteness and consecrated "symbolic violence" against outliers

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of the Closed Society. The former was learned through rigorous study of 'Anglo-Saxon'

and other forms of instructional whiteness, while the latter was created through the

symbiotic inseparability of church and state channeled through the institution. The

administration of campus activities took on a decidedly sanctimonious posture during

the Reconstruction Era. For example, echoing the early disciplinary logics of antebellum

student governance, and illustrating the desire for dutiful morality embodied by the

idealized student subject, the faculty suspended an undergraduate from the University

in 1867 with the following explanation:

> The Faculty of the University regret to find you so frequently absent from
>
> recitation, and to perceive other indications of a general indifference to
>
> your college duties. They also learn with astonishment and regret that you
>
> are exceedingly profane in your language. Such indifference to college
>
> duties, & such disregard of the common decencies of society and of the
>
> laws of Morality, the Faculty <u>cannot</u> tolerate. (Shoup, 1867a, author's
>
> emphasis)

The indoctrination of New South whiteness saved little room for those operating outside

the conventions of moral Christianity. The hyper-Christian orthodoxy shaped student

conduct and discipline in this other numerous other instances throughout the postbellum

chronological epoch. Such discourses of the 'Southern Ethic' were underwritten by a

firm asceticism, and what Max Weber (2002) referred to as the 'rationalization,' or

methodicalness, of the body operating in space over time. The regimented body, doing

God's work, was operationalized at the University of Mississippi around a *status naturae*

(Weber, 2002)—a sublimation of the body politic onto the political body as social text.

The preferred *status naturae* in Mississippi was ingrained in the representational

systems and cultural encounters of the state's flagship educational "instrument"

(*University Catalogue*, 1866, p. 39) with a academic militancy of an ideological police

state. To arrest deviations from a consumptively pious institutionalized student body, the

faculty instituted a number of "Liquor Laws" in1872 to curb the purchase and ingestion

of spirits by University students (Garland, 1872b). As the wave of Prohibition swept

across the United States, the new "Liquor Law" was forcibly imposed upon the faculty

by city and county government leaders (Garland, 1872a).[72] Such an edict was intended

to control what went into the preferred, temporal bodies of the students at the

University. As another example of the asceticization of the Ole Miss student body, the

antebellum practice of dormitory inspections—which, in the tradition of West Point, were

conducted at any time during the day or night—was reinstated after an incident in 1881.

During the course of that academic year, members of the faculty were "mortified" to find

that a postmistress was found in a student's dormitory room, and that several students

had "visited" her during her stay (Sansing, 1999, p. 147). The reinstitution of inspection

reestablished a disciplinary gaze and the chains of governmentality which had shackled

students of the University prior to the war. Furthermore, the return to a regimented

panopticism, similar to that which operated on the student subject in the antebellum

period (see Chapter Two), signaled a reprise to the conduct of student conduct and the

sanctimonious examination of the body in relation to space.

The hyper-religiosity of the University of Mississippi was fostered, if not

sermonized, by the campus leaders in the decades following the Civil War. For

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[72] Lafayette County is still considered a 'dry county,' where the purchase and consumption of alcohol remains illegal, with but a few exceptions.

example, Chancellor Hume's opinion on the matter of religion at the University was this:

"fundamentally and historically the University of Mississippi is essentially a Christian

institution. . . . It goes without saying that anything tending toward atheistic teaching will

never be tolerated by me" (qtd. in Cohodas, 1997, p. 25). The spiritual austerity with

which Hume directed the University prompted one journalist to brand Ole Miss "Hume's

Presbyterian University" (qtd. in Cohodas, 1997, p. 25). In an endeavor to solidify public

opinion concerning the godliness of the University, the early part of the Twentieth

Century saw the faculty produce and disseminate 5000 copies of a brochure promoting

the sanctimonious nature of campus life, citing the rituals of weekly prayer meetings and

a generally "strong religious element in the student body" and announcing the

extinguishment of the intrusive propensities of gambling, drinking, "extravagance and

dissipation of every kind" (Sansing, 1999, p. 133). Despite receiving state and Federal

operating funds, Ole Miss was transformed into a publicly-petitioned Protestant

university, an armature of the religious state which it served. In 1923, the student editor

of *The Mississippian* proclaimed that while other state universities had become

"strongholds of atheism, deism, rationalism, infidelity, and various other sectarian ideas

out accord with the tenets of Christianity, . . . the University of Mississippi is and always

has been essentially Christian" (Lyon, 1923, p. 2). The internalization of a conjunctural

convergence of the influence of the moral majority, the power arrangements emanating

out of and descending upon Dixie South whiteness, and a pseudo-philanthropic genteel

traditionalism preserved the fabric of an imagined 'Southern ethic.' However, the

contradictions residing within such an ill-fated ideology simultaneously reinforced

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existing social hierarchies, and stood in opposition to human equality and 'righteousness.'

One such contradiction was the rationale for racial segregation at Ole Miss, which was grounded in Christian dogma, specifically in three passages from the Bible (Silver, 1966):

Genesis 9:25 "*And he [Noah] said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall be unto his brethren.*"

Genesis 28:1 "*And Isaac called to Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, Thou shalt not take the wife of the daughters of Canaan.*"

Leviticus 19:19 "*Ye shall keep my statutes. Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind: thou shalt not sow thy field with mingling seed: neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woolen come upon thee.*"

The liberal interpretation and immoral materializations of these doctrines are suggestive of the overarching cultural economy of segregation and supremacy operating on the white bodied power elite in the Dixie South. Rather than deductively finding themselves in their religion, Mississippi traditionalists interlaced racist social politics into their spirituality, accumulating a self-constructed licensure to hate the ethnicized 'Other' on the grounds of fundamentalism (Barkun, 1994). At the University of Mississippi, every year starting in 1932 the campus hosted a Religious Emphasis Week, attempting to infuse the close relationship between the student conduct and the religious doctrines of the South ("Program for Religious Emphasis Week," 1938). In the fall of 1955, the director of religious life, Will Campbell, invited Reverend Alvin Kershaw to Oxford to

participate in the ceremonies and events of that year's Religious Emphasis celebration. Reverend Kershaw had recently won a large sum of prize money on a popular television program and committed a sizeable portion of his winnings to the NAACP. Reverend Kershaw's generosity was met with resistance from Mississippi's traditionalist faction, who pressured the Chancellor to cancel the engagement. Citing the possibility that Reverend Kershaw's presence might disrupt the educational process, Chancellor John D. Williams revoked the invitation—a decision which prompted the resignation of Sociology professor Morton King and the protests of several local and regional ministers who had planned to attend the festivities. However, Dr. Morton's protest was one of a negligible number of internal detractions from the hyper-racist religious indoctrination project at the University. The prevailing conservative faction the defined Reconstruction Era whiteness in the frame of Christian principles and righteous moral conduct, and as another layer of Dixie South whiteness, religious exclusivity was harnessed and its principles mobilized to further the indoctrination project.

Southern Physicalities

Through a carefully crafted academic program which required study in classical whiteness (Anglo-Saxon and Greek) and a calculated baptism to conservative hyper-religiosity, University of Mississippi intermediaries created a rigid program for initiating students into the identity politics of the New South. However, perhaps more than any other social construct during the Reconstruction Era and beyond, the complex discursive formation of physical culture at the University of Mississippi produced the material and symbolic culmination of Dixie South whiteness and the political function of

the University. As early as 1867, the faculty of the University had considered institutionalizing a course in 'physical culture' and appointing an instructor in calisthenics (Shoup, 1867b). From 1893 to 1906, the year of Chancellor Robert Fulton's resignation, the University developed a complete program of physical culture, in which students could receive credit for courses in physical education: including gymnastics, cycling, swimming, boxing, and wrestling. The cultural import of corporeality in the Ole Miss space became so concentrated that by the 1920s students in the physical culture program performed exhibitive demonstrations for the community, alumni, and fellow students. These demonstrations included: "pyramid building, medicine ball games, and several special drills" from classes in the boys department," and the girl's classes performed general calisthenics with the accompaniment of music ("Physical Ed classes plan demonstration," 1927, pp. 1, 4). In the context of the matured American muscular Christianity[73] movement, these activities resonated, and indeed embodied, the logics of the mind/spirit/body asceticism pervasive throughout the University and the community. As Foucault (1988) suggests, the origin of *gymnasia* is "training in a real situation, even if its been artificially induced. There is a long tradition behind this: sexual abstinence, physical privation, and other ritual of purification" (p. 37). As a social discourse, the body became a site for the exercise of power through correct training and preferred posture, and for further indoctrination into the ideologies of the New South. The preferred Ole Miss hexis emerged out of the intersecting discourses of a "clean muscular Christian" physicality ("The Y.M.C.A stands for clean muscular Christian manhood," 1912c, p. 4)

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[73] Muscular Christianity can be defined as a Christian commitment to health and manliness. Its origins can be traced to the New Testament, which sanctions manly exertion (Mark 11:15) and physical health (1 Cor. 6:19-20) (Ladd & Mathisen, 1999).

and a regimented disciplinarity of an aesthetic, productive bodily deportment (Ladd &

Mathisen, 1999).

After the Civil War, adaptations of masculine gait at the University were

expressed through social organizations such as the Y.M.C.A. and intra-campus and

intercollegiate sport. Sport and wellness evolved into important sites of disciplinarity,

and expressions of spectacular Dixie South whiteness. For undergraduate men at the

University of Mississippi, the Young Men's Christian Association was promoted as an

outlet for those who desired "to make the college a better place in which to live; to make

it a stronghold for righteousness; to train themselves and others for efficient services; to

increase the religious faith of the students, and to direct that faith into the channels of

higher living and noble thinking." ("The Y.M.C.A stands for clean muscular Christian

manhood," 1912c, p. 4). The Y.M.C.A. became the largest and most popular student

organization on campus during the early part of the Twentieth Century. And while a

Young Women's Christian Association was eventually established on campus, its role

and impact on campus activities was negligible in comparison to its masculine

counterpart. This inconsistency was in part due to the hypermasculine nature of the Ole

Miss power structure, but also to the masculine hegemony of sport and physical culture

in America. While men occupied positions in the public spheres of political,

governmental, business, and sporting environs, women were confined to roles within

the 'domestic sphere'[74]—and the role of moral guardians rather than causative sporting

participants.

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[74] The notion of separate spheres "embodied the vision of a social order based on a polarity of roles and personalities rooted in presumed biological and sexual differences between the sexes. Men were rational, instrumental, independent, competitive, and aggressive; women were emotional, maternal, domestic, and dependent. England's nineteenth-century emerging bourgeoisie, idealized and popularized by the

No social institution was more instrumental and significant in developing the preferred deportment of the genteel, masculine student body than intercollegiate sport. The first semblance of an intercollegiate university team arrived when students organized a baseball club in 1876 and called themselves "The Red and Blue"—eventually touring the region and played most of its games against private and semi-professional teams (Khayat, 2003). Some two decades later, the University of Mississippi played its first intercollegiate football game on November 11, 1893, at the University Park on campus against Southwestern Baptist University of Jackson, Tennessee (Sorrels, 1976). The end-of-century expansion of intercollegiate sports also included the creation of new teams in tennis, women's basketball, track and field, and cross country. The sporting boom of the Reconstruction Era was part of a concerted effort by the University administration to embrace the development of a desirable and proper student physicality and foster a more cohesive social capital amongst the student population. In his annual report on June 12, 1893, Chancellor Fulton declared to the Board of Trustees that the university faculty was endorsing intercollegiate athletics, and specifically football for the regulatory benefits the sport would bring to the campus (Sansing, 1990). Many institutions, the Chancellor argued, had found that sport acted "as a safety valve to the exuberance of youthful spirits that would frequently find vent in some harmful way" (qtd. in Sansing, 1999, p. 169). And thus sporting performativity and as an expression of disciplinarity became a central element of campus life, dominating the social actions and popular discourses on campus from the latter part of the Nineteenth Century onward. A survey of the editions of *The Mississippian* between

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sentimental novel, advice books, and medical and religious writings, emphasized the concept of a society structured around supposedly "natural," God-ordained distinct male and female spheres" (Smith-Rosenberg, 2005).

1911 (the newspaper's first year) and 1950 renders a gross over-saturation of sport coverage[75]—which is telling as to the importance of intra-campus and intercollegiate sport at Ole Miss during that epoch. Between the intramural dormitory, majors, religious, and literary squads (each had their own featured competitions in the various sports), and intercollegiate teams in men's varsity, junior varsity, and campus high school basketball, baseball, track, and football teams, and women's basketball, track, and volleyball teams, team sport pursuits dominated the social lives and social texts of the University.[76]

But such a prevailing cultural import was not as organic in its development as it might at first appear. Those who failed to be interpellated into the culture of sporting physicality at Ole Miss, either by way of irreverence or indifference, were met with hostility by campus administrators. In a speech given to the students in the spring of 1918, Judge Kimbrough, a popular political leader in the Oxford area, implored every student to buy season tickets for all the University's intercollegiate athletic teams. He argued that students who failed to support the team financially "were either stingy or else they were against athletics at the University of Mississippi, for if a person [wasn't] for a thing, then he (sic) [was] against it" ("Judge Kimbrough speaks on athletics," 1918, p. 1). The indoctrination into a preferred physicality was effectively manifested through the physical (participant) and the ocular (spectator), and under the guise of the conservative political and religious appendages of the figurations of campus governance. As school spirit swelled under the disciplinary gaze of the University,

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[75] During that span, sport content typically filled half of the six to eight pages of each edition of the school newspaper.
[76] Sport dominated the front pages of *The Mississippian* during the early Twentieth Century, in part due to the dictum that half of the editorial staff of the newspaper be occupied by members of the Athletic Association.

administrators tempered the enthusiasm of the student body (for the student body) by reigning in the fervent collectivity of the Ole Miss imagined sporting community. In a speech to the students in 1915, Dr. Hendleston warned: "college spirit is truly a clan spirit and with whatever it is, it is largely a spirit of pride. But, because pride is both very useful and is very dangerous and is possible for it to go in the wrong as well as the right direction, it should be well guided" ("Dr. Hendleston talks on college spirit," 1915). Such an edict was illustrative of the administration's broader project of sterilizing of student conduct, while simultaneously adjudicating positive emotional and psychological relationships between physical culture and the University.

A number of intercollegiate participant and spectator sports were popular at the University of Mississippi during the postbellum era. In the earliest years of the Twentieth Century, baseball captured the attention of students and campus intermediaries. As an example of the high profile the sport had attained at the University during the Reconstruction Era, administrators approved an undisclosed, yet reportedly significant monetary contract for former Brooklyn Dodger Casey "Dutch" Stengel to coach the University's baseball team for a stint in the mid-1910s. Using a method of strict physical training and laborious lectures on "inside baseball"—the mental approach to winning in the sport—to prepare the team ("'Dutch' Stengel coaching baseball," 1914, p. 1), Stengel's teams rendered considerable success during his tenure. Perhaps surprisingly, the reign of baseball as the preferred intercollegiate sport on the Ole Miss campus retracted to the popularity of another springtime sport: basketball. By the middle part of the Roaring '20s, spectacles of intercollegiate basketball held sway over the sporting imaginations of the Ole Miss student public. As a writer for *The Mississippian*

proclaimed in 1924, "Ole Miss stands as the premier basketball university of the South. Students are great devotees of the game" ("Ole Miss leads the South with interest in mid-winter sports," 1924, p. 1). In *The Mississippian*, substantial coverage was allocated for the exploits of the University's basketball team (which during that era were commonly referred to by the nickname 'The Flood'[77]). For a brief time in the decade the University added lacrosse to the pantheon of intercollegiate sports, in part for the associational prestige which administrators deemed the sport would bring by playing institutions ("Ole Miss to play La Crosse," 1925). By the end of the era, however, the institution which promoted itself as 'a great Southern university' would have one singular sporting passion—intercollegiate football.

By the middle part of the Twentieth Century, the sport which progressed into the predominant site for expressing Ole Miss adroitness and white Dixie South's prosperity was undoubtedly intercollegiate football. The sport's mass cultural appeal at the University was part of a larger contextual convergence of idealized rugged individualism and embodied, postbellum ritualisms of the new masculine white South. At Ole Miss, the "complimentary nature of white expressions of Southern pride and football is undeniable" (Borucki, 2003, p. 490), as the sport and its spectacular, masculine, dogged configurations became the lucid sporting expression of Dixie South whiteness. For Dixie Southerners, college football emerged during the Twentieth Century as the cultural form by which politics of race, locality, and tradition could be rekindled and the sense of pride for the South could be juxtaposed onto the sporting bodies representing their local

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[77] Mississippi Flood was chosen as the team nickname, beating out 'Rebels' (2nd choice), 'Democrats' (3rd Choice), and 'Ole Marsters' (4th choice) ("'The Mississippi Flood' picked as name for athletes," 1929, p. 1). This play of the rhetorical-symbolic was but one example of the re-narrativized New South, whereby the conquest of the black subordinate and the resistances of the lost cause could be re-articulated through the linguistic dominion of the Dixie South's power elite.

universities. As Andrew Doyle (1996) argued, football was the amalgamation of regional

esteem, bourgeois persnickety, and symbolic modernization:

> Progressive Southerners adopted the fashionable sport of the Northeastern elite
>
> in the early 1890s as a cultural component of their program of modernization.
>
> The Machine Age sport of 'scientific football' provided a perfect vehicle for
>
> bringing bourgeois values to a region striving for inclusion into the American
>
> cultural and economic mainstream. Yet postbellum Southerners steeped in the
>
> mythology of the Lost Cause also imbued this Yankee game with the romantic
>
> trappings of the Cavalier myth and exalted their football heroes as modern
>
> incarnations of Confederate warriors. (p. 74)

The spectacle of college football interlaced with the spectacular nature of

Reconstruction Dixie South whiteness created a palatable fusion of sporting and

institutional prowess, one which has thrived throughout the succeeding generations.

From the first Reconstruction (following the Civil War) to the Second Reconstruction

(during the Civil Rights Movement), intercollegiate football evolved into the centerpiece

of muscular Christianity at the University of Mississippi—a cultural formation

constructed upon the triangulation of Dixieland rugged masculinity, spectacular Dixie

South gentility, and revisionist histories of the Confederacy. Borne of the ideologies of

Rooseveltian rugged masculinity, from its inception football at Ole Miss was first and

foremost a meaningful and symbolic discourse which located the institution within the

broader cultural economy of the postbellum Southern manhood. Resonating the

hypermasculine ideologies of the day, the student editor of a special commencement

issue of the *University Magazine* proclaimed: "today's colleges and universities" in large

part due to on-campus and intercollegiate athletics, produce "strong and vigorous men" rather than "the weak and sickly bookworms of twenty years ago" (qtd. in Sansing, 1999, p. 174). Secondly, the marriage of college football and corporeal logics of Ole Miss created a discursive venue to transmit the cultural and elitist values of the University's genteel elite. Several years after the inaugural football game, the head football coach, Professor Alexander Lee Bondurant, recalled the colloquial merger of the Dixie South genteel social ellipses and the carnival-like exposition of Ole Miss football:

> The square presented a festal appearance, hung everywhere with crimson and blue bunting. . . . The afternoon was bright with just enough crispness in the air to inspire vigorous play, and the crowd of vehicles and pedestrians that surged up University street . . . showed that the community was prepared to enter with zest the excitement attendant upon a football game. (qtd. in Sorrels & Cavagnaro, 1976, p. 16)

The footballing festival of 1893 and beyond illustrates the seemingly natural affinity the University community had for football, but perhaps more importantly is illustrative of the amiable [visce]realities of spectacle whiteness and the sporting spectacle. Finally, like most Southern schools, Ole Miss football grew into a site for celebrating Southern redemption following the 'Lost Cause' (Watterson, 2000). The football field, in some respects, became a space for reclaiming the lost glories of the Confederacy—a battlefield upon which the 'Lost Cause' could be won, if only symbolically (Borucki,

2003). [78] In sum, sport culture, spearheaded by a pseudo-populist brand of football, became the organizing feature of social relations and bodily expression at Ole Miss during the postbellum era. College football in the South generally, and at Ole Miss particularly, became a metaphor for persisting animosities between the North and the South, with brimstoned head coaches instructing their troops to 'do or die for old Dixie' and sportswriters endeavoring to relocate the gridiron battles in the imaginary battlefields of Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg.

Dixieland, Reconstructed

To summarize, during the Reconstruction which followed the Civil War, the epoch of the New South, and well into the Twentieth Century, the vigilant occupation of the Mississippi's government was to redistribute the economic and cultural wealth of its white citizenry by way of re-institutionalizing the norms of social hierarchization. To do this, lines of demarcation were drawn, in the form of ocular, corporeal, and cultural practices. Under the guise of religious entitlement, the state's political leadership mobilized a number of apparatuses to lead the reconstruction project. A principle institution in recreating this culture of segregation was the University of Mississippi, which purposively embarked on an indoctrination project which spanned the era and which circulated the ideologies of separatism and supremacy to the state's young white gentry. However, more than ideology, the demarcation of Dixie South whiteness was as a measure of symbolic fixtures—a brushstroke of physicality and pheno-typicality on a discursive canvas. The preferred text in the language of Dixie South identity politics thus

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[78] Chapters Five, Six, and Eight will develop the meaningful and qualitative relationship between sport practices and social discourse at the University of Mississippi in much greater depth than space allows for here.

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became constructed out of difference—the bifurcation of a preferred white, genteel masculinity discourse situated against an oppositional (racialized, classed, and gendered) 'Other.'

In developing a preferred meaning set behind the semiotics of identity politics, the administrators and cultural intermediaries of the University transformed into administrators and arbiters of signification—embedding a preferred bodily hexis on the malleable student body. Through a rigid indoctrination project of mind (coursework, literary societies, etc.), spirit (hyper-religious tenets of university conduct), and body (muscular Christianity and the orthodoxy of a sport culture), the University became an armature of the broader body politic of the Dixie South, and the cultural practices therein became a petrified extension of the intolerance of the non-normative human subjects operating that space. One student critic from Iowa would later refer to the "ostrich-like attitude" on the Ole Miss campus, whereby the emphasis on "beauty pageants" and football games were tantamount as organizing activities and critical thought over local, regional, national, and international was negligible (Perkins, 1963). Thus, the function of Ole Miss during the era of Reconstruction was not to debate the teleological philosophies of the academy, but rather to expand the power of the visible center through self-reproducing discourses of Dixie South whiteness.

Chapter IV: Technologies of the South

"Mississippi is the decisive battleground for America. Nowhere in the world is the idea of white supremacy more firmly entrenched, or more cancerous, than in Mississippi" – Civil Rights activist Andrew Schwerner, 1964, only weeks before he was murdered in Northern Mississippi

During the post-war era, the University of Mississippi emerged as a dynamic, yet recalcitrant cultural and discursive space, exemplifying the changing political and social climate of the American South and the backlash politics of a recoiling, hostile white center. As Civil Rights developments began to surface in Mississippi in the 1950s, the residues of antebellum and Reconstruction era authoritative control and corporeal apartheid of the institution—emblazoned with a fixed and stable power structure oriented around a prevailing hegemonic Dixie South whiteness—gave way to a post-New South identity politics tilting away from a fleeting hegemonic whiteness and toward surfacing demands for racial equality (Brattain, 2001). Early iterations of Civil Rights Era identity politics at Ole Miss were expressed in the narratives of a more economically-diverse Dixie South whiteness. While state and institutional strategies of the Reconstruction Era focused on reestablishing the University as a cathedral of elite whiteness for the state's genteel class, such efforts were usurped by the swell of working-class veteran enrollees following WWII and the Korean War. Like most local, state, and national colleges and universities at the time, the University of Mississippi experienced unprecedented mid-century expansion due to a more accessible public higher education system. In 1900, the state of Mississippi's collegiate enrollment was estimated at two percent of the college-age population; by 1950, it was nearly 15 percent. The total number of students enrolled in Mississippi higher education went from

ten thousand in 1940 to seventy thousand in 1970 (Sansing, 1990). The congested

symbolic and material defenses of Jim Crow Era genteel whiteness at the University of

Mississippi were in the first instance confronted by an expansion of the visible center (a

more inclusive white student populace), as the post-WWII enrollment boom brought on

by the creation of the G.I. Bill[79] fashioned a more economically diverse white student

populace at Ole Miss.

These early intruders on the sanctimonious Oxford soil were initially received as:

one part imposters of spectacular Dixie South gentility, one part upward-seeking

working-class war veterans—and as such these enrollees helped usher in a new

formation of exclusivity at the University of Mississippi. Whereas the University was

initially framed as the exclusive space for hypermasculine white aristocracy, post-war

Ole Miss spatial and social discourse was reconstituted as a more accessibly, *gratis*

institution for the articulating Dixie South whiteness. The opening of the University to a

broader class-based constituency, and the banal empowerment of the institution's

newest women members, translated into an artificial condition whereby institutional

affiliation signified only one final band of exclusion: that of racial homogeneity. In spite

of the *faux* progressiveness realized by an expanded class-politics brought forth by the

G.I. Bill, class-based exclusivity still slithered through the campus fabric, namely in the

form of the Old South gentility recapitulated in the Ole Miss Greek system, the

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[79] An important development for colleges during the post-war era was the provisions of the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944, or what is more commonly known as the G.I. Bill. The measure set aside billions of dollars in federal aid for returning servicemen and servicewomen who wished to pursue college educations (Lucas 1994). Soldiers returning from both World War II and the Korean War took advantage of the G.I. Bill, as large numbers of veterans and military personnel enrolled in colleges and universities nationwide. The influx of student population at some major universities resulted in a need for increased campus housing, classrooms, and other facilities. One result of the G.I. Bill was that by the end of mid-1960s, more than 40 percent of all young men in America were enrolled in an institution of higher education (Jencks & Riesman 1968).

preferred-popular visions of the Dixie South corporeal as embodied by the institution's gridiron heroes, and the formulaic folly and liberated libations of exclusionary social atmosphere.

Whereas New South privilege of the early Twentieth Century was encoded in the signified language of *access* (to the University space), the idealist project of formulating textual ascendancy in the post-war era fell upon intraspatial praxis (Brattain, 2001), whereby the newly expanded liberties of whiteness were 'learned' in a divisive social climate derived from fraternity and sorority exclusions, sporting spectacles, and a pantheon of campus-rag pictorials. As such, a formalized 'good ole boy' network surfaced at Ole Miss during the middle part of the century (Weeks, 1999), one which was both exclusive to white men, and which fostered the antiquated subjective politics of the Old South. From this 'brotherhood'—a "statewide network of money and influence that began at the University of Mississippi in the late 1950s and early 1960s" (Weeks, 1999, p. C1)—aspirant political leaders, sporting icons, and post-plantation aristocrats accumulated, and learned how to mobilize, the social and cultural capital developed in the linguistic and deportmental codes of the University of Mississippi. For Mississippi's power elite of the late Twentieth Century, the knowledges and networks, or in Pierre Bourdieu's (1983) terms the cultural and social capital which guaranteed their power, wealth, and status, were both defined by their association with Ole Miss and the relationships developed in the halls of Kappa Alpha, Omicron Delta Kappa, and the other high profile fraternities on campus. Ole Miss indeed became 'the training ground' for Mississippi's elite, with most governors, state senators, and national political figures emanating from Oxford's 'Mississippi Mafia'—a clan one commentator described as "a

loosely formed yet tight knit brotherhood. This is the Good Ole Boy network you've always heard about—mostly white, mostly middle-aged men" (Weeks, 1999, p. C1).[80] Within the network, the superficial discourses of racial difference disappeared, as talk of race 'went underground after the 1960s, and the white power elite turned toward a "more subtle and invidious rhetoric about 'qualification'" (Brattain, 2001, p. 243) in order to deny black individuals access to public power and employment opportunities—and thus entry into the network.

In the post-war moment, the articulations of wealth, whiteness, and Southern masculinity were defined by a symbiotic interplay of 'good ole boy' aspirations and idealized physicality of preferred Southern whiteness located in the mass discourse (as embodied by the hero figures of the new sporting Confederacy). The striplings of the South's spectacular generation were now discursively subjected, in the first instance, not only by plantation wealth (or lack thereof), but also by a narrativized and imaged representational politics constructed out of the *visible center of absolute whiteness.* As such, according to Nadine Cohodas (1997), the University's final chapter of exclusion would be one of belligerent "white supremacist orthodoxy" (p. 48)—of controlling the conditions and the discursive formations of Dixie South identity politics around an imaginary whiteness which was supremely antithetical to emergent blackness. While the Civil Rights Movement was gaining momentum in many regions throughout the North as

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[80] The exclusivity and divisiveness of the Greek system at Ole Miss, and specifically the men's fraternities, has been the subject of scrutiny and debate for more than a century at Ole Miss. Non-fraternity students began to protest the exclusivities granted Greek organizations as early as 1905, when the repeated clemency given to wrongdoing fraternity members brought about the publication of two virulent student diatribes: *The Facts About the Troubles of the University of Mississippi: The Jim Crow Laws Against Whites at the University* and *The Mud Beneath the Whitewash.* The former publication was intended to bring attention to the perceived class-based preferences given to the University's wealthy students, and the latter was particularly aimed at motivating legislative action against the University, its Chancellor, and its Board.

well as the South, the University became dialectically immersed in the polemics and social conjectures of the separatist cause. As a producer of supremacist discourse, the institutional power elite's forthright mantra—demonstrated through both policy and rhetoric—was that "if the blood of our white race should become corrupted with the blood of Africa, then the present greatness of the United States of America would be destroyed and all hope for the future would be forever gone" (Silver, 1966, p. 25). Segregationist ideologies permeated all vectors of what bell hooks (2003) might refer to as the Ole Miss *white supremacist capitalist patriarchy*, as students "felt they too had a duty to protect their school and, by extension, the culture that supported it" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 34).

The initial reaction of controlling Ole Miss intermediaries to the 'threat of intermixing' was exemplified by campus leadership's refusal in January 1948 to join the National Student Association because they believed it to be a "suspiciously leftist organization, with an announced aim they found unacceptable: 'the eventual elimination of all forms of discriminatory educational systems anywhere in the United States. There can be no compromise with segregation'" (qtd. In Cohodas, 1997, p. 34). This, and many of the instances which I will offer in the pages that follow also illustrate the degree to which the prevailing attitude at Ole Miss in the years leading up to desegregation was a product of the social and economic power structure of the plantation South—one of *resistance* and *persecution*—resistance to Federal intervention on local social inequities based on race, and a mentality of persecution organized around the self-victimization of retaliatory equalizing measures. Importantly, within this context a distinctive, localized

formation of "new technologies of the self" (Foucault, 1988, p. 45)[81] for Mississippi's

white power elite was thus organized around, identified as, and authorized through a

symbolic and hyperbolic 'autonomous state' of monolithic whiteness. At Ole Miss,

whiteness came to be defined not by the intricacies of social praxis within the

economically-disparate white Dixie South, but rather as a 'new' collective cognition of

'obedience' and 'sacrifice' (Foucault, 1988) for the sake of maintaining and reproducing

the prevailing race-based social hierarchy. Ironically, the discursive formation of white

resistance, or what might be referred to as the new discursive technologies of the

[resistive Civil Rights Era, white] South, became the rudimentary and fundamentally

inalterable inspiration upon which segregationist avocations and iniquitous identity

politics were organized during, and unfortunately long after, the heights of the Civil

Rights Movement. As such, these new technologies of the self—those discursive

mechanisms by which identity politics were constituted out of during the Reconstruction

Era and beyond—came to look very much like those which preceded. A slight reprise

from the Old South technologies of the representative self, the new Southern politics of

representation located power in the discursive and physical boundaries of the visible

center and located the individual within the collective imaginary of an oppressive cultural

economy.

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[81] Near the end of his intellectual career, Michel Foucault re-conceptualized his notion of 'technologies of the self' toward a more structurally-determined interpretation of the ways in which institutional forces capture the discursive imaginations of the individual. My use of the term here is a slight reprise from my use of the term in Chapter Two, oriented more toward Foucault's later formulation, whereby the collectiveness of a resistive whiteness interpellated the agents acting within this context. In other words, the normative nature of segregationist ideologies transposed onto Southern white bodies acted in this a context as a means for expressing and promoting racist politics with the collective and individualized politics of the individual.

The Second Reconstruction

It is hard to argue that the materializations of the Civil Rights Movement brought about a sea change in the paradigmatic and lived experiences of both white and black Dixie Southerners. For Dixie South's white elite, a new stridency of Southern blackness meant the dissipation of a long residual equation of productive black bodies rendering white social, cultural, and economic capital (hooks, 2000b). An intensified Civil Rights Movement brought about an emergent, contested 'political anatomy' of a Dixie South cultural economy—one which disrupted the continuities of the existing white body politic as hegemonic political discourse. As black bodies began infiltrating the 'clean edifice of white supremacy' (Gilroy, 2005) during the Civil Rights Movement,[82] the corporeal canvas of Dixie South identity politics, and the power/knowledge hierarchy imbedded therein, was for the first time contested and contestable, and the representational lexicon was constructed out of, and in reference to, an antithetical binary—a discursive polarity from which alternative Dixie South identity politics could be formulated (Stowe, 1996). Though the discursive formation of whiteness had stood unopposed prior to the Civil War, and as a visible, monolithic center of identification and representational power during the first half of the Twentieth Century, Dixie South whiteness was now a contested space—a synthesis of historical white aristocracy and contemporary black ascendancy (Skerrett, 2002). Desegregation threatened to undermine that categorical power dynamism which had operated on the social discourses of a racialized social hierarchy since the early Nineteenth Century.

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[82] The transition to a more racially egalitarian South was, and continues to be, relatively so following the passing of the Civil Rights Law.

However, for Mississippi traditionalists, rather than acknowledging the iniquitous realities of Mississippi's longitudinal racial hierarchy and negotiating the identity politics of the emergent 'Other,' there could be "no real debate on issues [of race] for the *there was no issue beyond the supremacy of the white man*" (Silver, 1966, p. 20, his italics). As such, rather than framing the Movement as the accumulated inevitability in the shift toward equal human rights, the arbiters of Mississippi's 'closed society' disengaged the discourses of broader Civil Rights Era cultural and political economies by: 1) reformulating racist binaries in a logic of scientific discourse; 2) rearticulating the separatist *modus operandi* within a vernacular of 'Federal intrusion on states' rights'; 3) juxtaposing the suffering endured by many Southern blacks onto a newly self-victimizing whiteness through the rhetoric of advantageous integration; and 4) cordoning off and preserving distinctively white spaces and practices of privilege through the racist signifiers (and signification) of a collective Southern traditionalism. Through these dual practices of *authorization* and *spectacularization*, the political kinetic of preferred Dixie South whiteness was thus further made visible to white and black Mississippians, as well as spectators outside the realm of Dixie.

A Retaliatory Science

The first *pièce de résistance* in the cornucopia of defensive dealings to preserve the hierarchical centrality of whiteness in the Dixie South came by way of an emergent scientific discourse on 'race' and 'natural' physiological and biological difference (Shuey, 1958). To such an end, the exercise of this hyper-racist scientific discourse founded on a retaliatory science within the Dixie South was both a product and producer of

objectified differential physicality, as well as the subjectified dichotomous logics of race-based cognitive superiority/inferiority (Garrett, 1964; Kilpatrick, 1962; Osborne, 1960). Echoing the ill-fated logics of Carolis Linnaeus from more than two centuries earlier, the 'scientific' articulations developed out of a prevailing white supremacist ideology and the anti-pluralist technologies of Dixie South identity politics resulted in a delineated racial classification system based on examinable phenotypical dissimilarities (Gregor, 1961). In other words, white arbiters of 'knowledge' mobilized a *science of racial intellect* to reinforce the social hierarchies and power dynamics of a divisive Dixie South. During the Civil Rights Era, leaders of Southern states authorized a lengthy 'racial study' which explained that structural differences in the brain caused "Negro inferiority" and concluded that "the Negro had smaller frontal lobes than the whites" ("Racial Study Completed," 1962d, p. 1). The report stated that differences in brain structure existed because the Negro was "200,000 years behind the white man. The developed mental retardation suggested by the structural differences is confirmed by recent discoveries of fossil man indicating that the Negro is about 200,000 years behind the white race" ("Racial Study Completed," 1962d, p. 1). The 'scientific data' rendered for this analysis was actually based on the records of racially-coded individuals inducted into the armed services in the first and second World Wars and from elementary and high school aptitude tests—each of which reflected the educational and cultural experiences of black and white individuals rather than biologically or genetically determined difference, as the study had concluded. The flawed logic of the study evaded the skeptical gaze of the Southern scientific community, and instead became the 'evidence' by which the specters of Jim Crow segregation were perpetuated.

As an ideological apparatus for the imagined post-Confederate state, the public education system of Mississippi surfaced (along with the church) as a *principal* medium by which militant racism was indoctrinated into young white bodies and symbolic violence was transposed onto young black bodies of the Deltaland region (Irons, 2004). The educational system of Mississippi promoted a culture of segregation and white supremacy through a 'scientific pedagogy' of intolerance—a state-sponsored rhetorical campaign which started with Mississippi's elementary programs and continued through the University and into the public sphere. As an example of the political divisiveness of the academy, while students in the fifth and sixth grades, Mississippi children were required to read a state-produced manual on race relations, by which a pseudo-scientific discourse of racist ideology was perpetuated in excerpts such as:

> No other part of the United States is more American than the South. America was built by white men. King George wanted his merchants to make money. So the Americans were made to buy Negro slaves. Americans did not want slaves. Americans never did like slavery. They would like to have helped the Negro build his own country. The Negro is happy among his own race, but two races feel strange around each other. Russia has white slaves today. . . . The Negro is not just a sun-burned white man. Famous scientists say races are very different. The white man is very civilized, while the pure Negro in Africa is still living as a savage. (qtd. in Silver, 1966, p. 68)

By the early 1960s, students entering the state's institutions of higher education such as Ole Miss had been subjected to the scientific theory that postulated: "When races are

mixed in school, the white children do not get as much education as they usually get. The whites have to wait for the Negroes to catch up" (qtd. in Silver, 1966, p. 69).

The injudicious science of racial inferiority penetrated the University of Mississippi through a number of treatises on inherent white supremacy. On the Ole Miss campus, a publication distributed across campus, *Instauration,* featured a 'scientific analysis' of theories of race and intelligence by 'expert commentator' Henry E. Garrett, whereby the professor argued that intellect was determined by genetics, and "Black and white children do *not* have the same potential. They do *not* learn at the same rate. Environment is *not* the sole—or even the major—cause of underachievement" (Garrett, 1973, p. 5). As a vessel for the state, University of Mississippi Professor James Silver contended, Ole Miss became an instrument of totalitarianism which "imposed on all its people acceptance of an obedience to an official orthodoxy" (qtd. in Smith, 1963a, p. 4). In a supplementary section to *The Mississippian*, "The Rebel," Ole Miss Anthropology Professor Robert Rands expounded on the theories of race and reason by positing that the "backwardness of African culture [was] proof that the Negro was inferior to the white" (Rands, 1963, p. 4). Rands (1963) further expounded upon his thesis by promoting the notion of "plasticity," or the inability of Negro Africa to change in response to a cultural environment.[83] The racist 'bio-power' of the academy stretched beyond the public sphere and into the classrooms of the Oxford campus, as Rands and a number of his colleagues in the 'natural sciences' tailored their instruction around the pseudo-scientific edicts of natural racial superiority (Cabaniss, 1971)

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[83] Rands and his colleagues within the scientific community at Ole Miss often referred to Herbert Spencer's notion of social Darwinism to distort the realities of racialized experiences within the Delta South (Cabaniss, 1971).

The Dixiecrat Prologue

Much like the forays into the hyper-racist scientific discourse of the Civil Rights Era, the ideological leveraging of Ole Miss students and faculty through the political sphere also played a significant role in shaping the racialized discourses of identity politics on the Oxford campus and throughout the Dixie South. As prologue to integration, perhaps the occurrence which best illuminates the didacticism of the Dixie South separatist cause, and the close proximity of the prevailing Ole Miss attitude to that cause, occurred during the lead-up to the 1948 Presidential election. After the Democratic Party adopted an unyielding civil rights platform and nominated Harry Truman at its Philadelphia convention in July of 1948, Southern delegates abandoned the party and reconvened in Birmingham, Alabama. In Birmingham, the separatist bloc formed the States' Rights Democratic Party (the Dixiecrats) and nominated South Carolina Senator J. Strom Thurmond for President and Mississippi Governor Fielding L. Wright for Vice-President (Frederickson, 2000). The catalyst and dividing principle between Dixiecrats and northern Democrats was the conservative South's motivation to restore a public polity and popular discourse "in the interest of white supremacy" (Sansing, 1999, p. 132). While in most Southern states secession from the Democratic Party was a gesture of only the most radical of separatists, in Mississippi the "color line was drawn . . . and membership in the [Southern] Democratic Party was expected of all white Mississippians" (Sansing, 1999, p. 132). The announcement of the actions of the splintering faction immediately prompted numerous Ole Miss students to travel in an eleven-car caravan from Oxford to the Birmingham convention on July 16 (Frederickson, 2001).

Their exuberance for the Dixiecrats cause at the convention became the stuff of both infamy and legend—leaving an indelible mark on the discourses of Southern mid-century politics and the University. Media accounts of the event reported that upon arriving to the convention site, Ole Miss students exultantly marched into the convention hall waving a large Confederate flag and wearing Confederate-style hats (Dubois, 1948).[84] Upon their return, Ole Miss students organized the 'Ole Miss State's Rights Democratic Association,' electing Rebel quarterback John "Buddy" Bowen as the chairman of the organization. Bowen publicly praised the efforts of Ole Miss students a week prior in Birmingham, stating:

> Never have I been prouder of Ole Miss than last Saturday at Birmingham when I saw a splendid group representing our great University. Your presence at this meeting was inspiring to me and every other Mississippian, and, I am sure, others participating in that all important and historic convention. When I witnessed the enthusiasm displayed by you Ole Miss students and the display and orderly manner in which you conducted yourselves, way (sic) I repeat, it was most inspiring and encouraging to know that our young men of today, our leaders of tomorrow, are so awake, patriotic and determined to stand by our cause and fight for fundamental principles of American government. ("Campus States' Righters elect Bowen as leader," 1948, p. 4)

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[84] Details of the Ole Miss student role in the events at the States' Rights Party Convention have been disputed, but the possession of Confederate garb and flags is evidenced in archival photos at the University of Mississippi. The students did take the flags into the convention, and were photographed with the Governor of Mississippi in Confederate hats with a large Confederate flag as the backdrop.

Members of a *closed university within a closed society*, these Ole Miss students contributed to a growing profile of separatism and segregation at the University of Mississippi.

Modeled after the Dixiecrat edicts created a few weeks earlier, the Ole Miss States' Rights organization adopted eight 'guiding principles.' While the first three resolutions dealt with their intentions to preserve and uphold the constitutionality of states' rights, the fourth, fifth, and sixth resolutions offer illustration of the hyper-racist climate at Ole Miss—and the importance of maintaining the status quo in order to uphold the prevailing 'social, economic, and political life of Southern people':

4. We stand for the segregation of the races and racial integrity of each race; the constitutional right to choose one's associations; to accept private employment, without governmental interference, and to earn one's living in any lawful way. We oppose the elimination of segregation, employment by federal bureaucrats called for by the misnamed civil rights program. We favor home rule, local self-government and a minimum interference with individual rights.

5. We oppose and condemn the action of the Democratic convention in sponsoring a civil rights program calling for the elimination of segregation, social equality and federal fiat, regulation of private employment practices, voting and local law enforcement.

6. We affirm that the effective enforcement of such a program would be utterly destructive of the social, economic, and political life of Southern people, and

of other localities in which there may be differences in race, creed or national

origin in appreciable numbers. (Sweat, 1948, p. 2)

The final two resolutions returned to the issue of local governance. Interestingly, though

in reality dealing in the linguistic currency of an 'artificial construct' (Lopez, 1998),

campus leaders repeatedly returned to the hard science of racial difference, and the

rhetoric of "scientific evidence" to support the segregation and prevent the

'miscegenation' of Mississippi's various races. And while it would be imprudent to

generalize that the white supremacist position of the Ole Miss States' Rights

organization was representative of the entire campus populace, a campus poll

suggested that *twelve out of every thirteen* students on the Oxford campus favored the

Dixiecrat cause, and the "defense of white supremacy" throughout the South (Turnage,

1948, p. 4).

While many Ole Miss students held fast to the appendages of Old South polity

embroiled by the Dixiecrats, political leaders of the state in turn invested significant

resources in maintaining the University's centralizing function during the early part of the

Civil Rights Era. The long transformation of integrating black individuals into the power

structure of [white] American industrial society was perceived by white Mississippi's

power elite not as an outcome of historical shifts but rather a criminal conspiracy against

the South's "sanctified institutions" (Silver, 1966, p. 3). Constructed to educate

Mississippi's young white elite, the University had become the central artery for the flow

of hegemonic whiteness and hyper-racist ideologies in the state—both the inward flow

of authoritarian control from the capital in Jackson and the outward flow of graduates

into the white controlled territories of industry, commerce, religion, and education. In the

case of the former, the state and its centralized ideological vision actively meddled in the affairs of the University. By the late 1950s, state leaders began reconstructing and re-centering the symbolic and material institutionalism of the University program around new formulations of Civil Rights Era white orthodoxy.

With the residues of the Dixiecrat Party still shaping the political activities in Jackson, and in an attempt to preserve the all-white status of their sanctified institution from the threat from forces of integration, the Mississippi Senate and House of Representatives concurrently passed a resolution on February 29, 1956, stating "The State of Mississippi declares emphatically that the sovereign states of the Nation have never surrender their rights and powers to control their public schools, colleges and other public institutions." Therefore, the legislators continued, "when an attempt is made to usurp these powers, the people of Mississippi object and refuse to be so deprived, reminding the Congress that the preservation of the Union of States, as the compact intended it should be, depends upon the preservation of the sovereignty of states" ("State of Mississippi; House and Senate Concurrent Resolution," 1956, p. 3). State Representative Edwin White of the States Rights Democratic party, speaking to his constituents during the heights of the Civil Rights moment, redefined the 'bedrock principles' of the state's flagship of whiteness (Ole Miss) this way:

1. A belief in God, the accuracy of the Bible, and the immortality of souls.
2. The sovereignty of states and their right, among other powers, to operate public schools and regulate marriage, and the primacy of the Constitution over the Supreme Court.

3. A belief in the ethnological truth that where races of different color mix with each other socially that inter-marriage inevitably results and that we have the obligation, and the inalienable right to preserve the identity of the white race."

4. The right of private ownership of property and "the right to profitably engage in private enterprise" (Silver, 1984, pp. 66-67)

To conserve and promote the 'ethnological truths' etched in the fabric of Ole Miss culture, Mississippi's state legislative bodies, on a number of occasions, proposed to privatize Ole Miss—and thus proactively subvert forthcoming federal integration laws.[85] By the early part of the 1960s, the statist cause of segregation and the activities of the University were so indivisible, many commentators began to refer to Ole Miss as the 'University of the Old South.'

Whiteness, Interrupted

All this changed in 1962. The active creation of disciplined, white student subjects and the quest for embodiments of a preferred, hyper-masculine Southern ethos during the Civil Rights moment brought forth numerous changes and challenge to the unyielding political project of the University. At Ole Miss, the fluidity of a draconian 'Southern ethic' became unsettled, if not fundamentally altered, by challenges to white normativity and the interjection of black bodies in the exclusively white space. Nearly one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the uncontested corporeal exclusivity on the University of Mississippi campus instantaneously evaporated. In the

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[85] Interestingly, the state of Mississippi still has more registered Democratic voters than Republican voters (although the trend is a slow migration to the new Right), although the Presidential election and most local elections fall to Republicans. This in part due to the changing nature of the Democratic Party in mid-century toward a Civil Rights platform. When "the Democratic Party was becoming the party of blacks," says veteran Mississippi journalist Bill Minor, "the whites switched" (qtd. in Weeks, 1999, p. C1).

fall of 1962, white Dixie Southerners at the University—and particularly the

traditionalists on campus—were forced to acknowledge, and contend with the physical

existence of a black-bodied 'Other' within the all-white campus preserve. If, as James

Silver (1966) argued, the all-pervading doctrine of the University up to that point had

been "white supremacy . . . achieved through slavery or segregation [and] rationalized

by a professed belief in state rights and bolstered by religious fundamentalism" (p. 6),

then the social recourses of the equal rights pursuits of James Meredith served to

dissolve such a prevailing dogma. Meredith's black body in white spaces meant that Ole

Miss traditionalists would be forced to confront the fissuring possibilities of a new Dixie

South power structure. Perhaps more importantly, paraphrasing Paul Gilroy (2004), the

infra-human body of the would-be black interloper, rather than the body of the sovereign

white Southerner, more acutely [re]presented the discomforting ambiguities of the Dixie

South empire's painful and shameful history. Since much of the status and wealth which

impelled the institutional propagation of hegemonic whiteness evolved from the

circulation of 'old money'—or familial social economic—and cultural capital accumulated

during the heights of plantation prosperity, the prospect that ancestors of former black

slaves and sharecroppers would now be operating in the same social spaces as affluent

white students (whose wealth was directly related to the former's historical oppression)

became disconcerting for Ole Miss's controlling power elite.

Prior to James Meredith's enrollment in the University in Mississippi in 1962, only

one other attempt had been made by a black individual seeking admission into the

University. The first effort to integrate the University of Mississippi came in 1958.

Clennon King, a one-time professor at Alcorn College, notified the Executive Secretary

of the Board of Trustees that he planned to apply for admission into the Law School on June 5 of that year (Lord, 1965). When King arrived at the Lyceum, he was taken to a room where he was left alone in a holding room for a considerable amount of time. Fearing that he was in physical danger, King began shouting for help and pleading for someone to save him. When he was informed King was pleading, "Help! Help! They are going to kill me!" (qtd. in Sansing, 1999, p. 277), the Governor, who had stationed himself in nearby Batesville, instructed the highway patrol to take King to Jackson for psychological examination, at which point he was declared insane and committed to the state's mental institution (Lord, 1965). After King's enrollment attempt, University officials installed a comprehensive plan of action to curtail 'Negro enrollment.' It became common practice at Ole Miss in the late-1950s and early-1960s to arrange for eight guards to be stationed outside the Lyceum at the beginning of each semester with orders to escort any dark-skinned individual attempting to register off the campus. In spite of these exertions and many others on the Oxford campus, as well as the legislative attempts in Jackson to thwart the enrollment of a black student into the state's flagship university, the blinkers would soon be taken off and the obtuse vision of Mississippi's segregated future would soon be opened up.

The definitive flashpoint in the history of the University of Mississippi's race relations was ignited on January 21, 1961, twenty-four hours after the inauguration of President John F. Kennedy—as a black Mississippian, James Howard Meredith, submitted the preliminary application materials to the University. Meredith, who was fully aware of the magnitude and revolutionary consequences of his endeavor, chose the University of Mississippi specifically in an attempt to disrupt the educational hierarchies

in the heart of the Dixie South. In a letter to Thurgood Marshall at the Legal Defense Fund describing his plan to enroll at, and transfer credits earned at the University of Maryland and Jackson State College to, the University of Mississippi, Meredith posited that he had always been a "conscientious objector" to his "oppressed status," and concluded by exulting that he was making this move in the "interest of and the benefit of: (1) my country, (2) my race, (3) my family, and (4) myself" (Meredith, 1966, p. 56). Upon receiving his application materials, Ole Miss administrators created a series of obstacles to subvert and proscribe Meredith's admission. First, the Board of Trustees increased the requisite of two letters from responsible citizens to five—all of whom had to be white. Second, the University's Registrar, Robert B. Ellis, dismissed Meredith's application on the grounds that he inaccurately declared his county of residence—a selective interpretation which suggested that Meredith demonstrated malfeasance on his state voter registration information because he declared himself a resident of the county he lived rather than a country in which he owned property (Barrett, 1965).

These initial responses to Meredith's application, according to Nadine Cohodas (1997), were indicative of the 'racial caste system' abounding throughout Mississippi politics and education through the middle of the 20th Century. To further obstruct Meredith's pursuit of equal rights in higher education, the state legislature put into law a provision whereby any person 'who has a crime of moral turpitude against him' was not permitted to enrollment in any state institution (Meredith, 1966). The terms of this law allowed those convicted of manslaughter by way of drunk driving to enroll, but 'crimes' such as registering to vote in one's home county, not where one owns land, were seen as warranting proscription (Barrett, 1965). A local judge immediately put the plan into

action, sentencing Meredith to one year in the county jail and $100 in fines for false

voter registration in Hinds County—an extraordinarily long sentence for the alleged

violation (Barrett, 1965).

With help from legal council appointed by the NAACP,[86] Meredith was able to

circumvent the sentence for falsification on his voter registration and resume his

pursuits for an education at Ole Miss. However, during the summer of 1962, Registrar

Ellis, working as a minion of the Board of Trustees, launched a sharp and divisive

muckraking campaign which depicted Meredith in the popular press as a 'troublemaker,'

arguing his character was the sole determinant for denial of admission, and that his

"race or color had no influence on the decisions" (Lord, 1965, p. 111) made by the

University to block the black man's entrance. Circuit Judge Sydney C. Mize buttressed

the University's position on Meredith's enrollment when, in delivering his opinion on the

matter of Meredith's admission, he countenanced that the "proof shows, and I find as a

fact, that the University is not a racially segregated institution. . . . Plaintiff [Meredith]

was not denied admission because of his race" (Meredith, 1966, p. 133-134). Mize's

ruling was twice overturned in appellate courts, with each ruling accompanied by

scathing opinions referring to Judge Mize as 'obtuse' and citing the University's

unwillingness to abide by the *Brown versus Board of Education* decision as

unacceptable.

While the court cases were jostling back and forth between Oxford and Jackson,

Governor Ross Barnett was beginning his crusade of public opinion through mediums

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[86] Meredith's cause was greatly aided by the efforts of Constance Baker Motley. As a prominent civil rights attorney, Motley won nine of the ten cases she argued before the U.S. Supreme Court, including the 1962 case in which James Meredith won admission to the University of Mississippi. In 1966 she became the first black woman to become a federal judge.

such as popular Jackson newspapers and local television. In a television appearance on September 13, Governor Barnett vehemently proclaimed "We will not surrender to the evil and illegal forces of tyranny . . . No school will be integrated in Mississippi while I am your governor" and called upon the doctrine of interposition to blockade any Federal intervention in what he viewed to be 'Mississippi's problem' ("We will not surrender," 1962h, p. 1). As the fall semester approached, the meditation of state-sponsored resistance to the enrollment of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi quickened. The power of Mississippi's body politic, and the white hegemons which the power dynamic served, was perceived to be under siege from Federal imperatives to interject in what traditionalists and separatists perceived to be the state of Mississippi's issue. The overriding voice in the effort to assail the black interloper was that of Governor Barnett, who maintained that "It [was] against the public policy of the State of Mississippi as well as its laws for any colored person to be admitted as a student to said institution and his [Meredith's] enrollment and entry therein would be in direct violation of the laws of the State of Mississippi" (qtd. in Barrett, 1965, p. 106). Many political leaders of the state viewed Meredith's attempts to desegregate Ole Miss as the catalyst to a broader compliance of Federal mandate for equal rights in government, business, religion, and other social spheres. Furthermore, a growing faction positioned the attempts by Civil Rights activists to gain equal access to the state's education institutions as a signal of the forthcoming plight of Mississippi's white race, framing the injustices they were about to experience in the same vein as those that had historically imposed (Brown, 2000; hooks, 1997).

The earliest attempts to physically integrate Ole Miss came during the first enrollment session of the fall semester of 1962. James Meredith arrived on the Oxford campus just before 5 P.M. on September 20 to a chorus of jeers and epithet from students and white Oxford residents—chanting such as anthems as "We want Ross" and such scurrilous appellations as "Go home nigger" (see Figure 3). Interestingly, the most oft-recurring chant during the demonstration was the Ole Miss sporting fight song:

Hotty toddy, God A'mighty

Who in the hell are we,

Flim flam, bim bam,

Ole Miss, by damn!

Both a symbol of pride and resistance, the Ole Miss fight song, most often evoked during home football contests, served as a spoken marker of detritus obfuscation and cohesive congregation within the all-white imagined and physical space. The song was mobilized to create a climate of vigilantism for the imagined white South, and of intimidation for the unwanted black 'intruder,' while at the same time serving as a technology of collective identity—a symbol of prideful scorn, and of scornful pride.[87] Upon his arrival, Meredith was instantly turned away from the University Continuation Center; with Governor Barnett emerging from the building shortly thereafter and triumphantly declaring "The only comment I have to make is that the application of James H. Meredith has been denied," which incited a celebratory roar from the fervent throng (Barrett, 1965, p. 108).

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[87] Chapter Five will offer a more in-depth analysis of the symbols of the Confederacy acting upon the Ole Miss body politic.

The Editor of the *Mississippian*, Sidna Brower, watched the racial tensions on the Ole Miss campus fester day-by-day in late September, 1962; chronicling the events in the student newspaper, and offering a detracting voice along the way. In the September 21 issue, Brower extolled a group of Ole Miss students for their efforts in thwarting the attempts of an "angry thong" gathered near the Circle to replace the American flag with the Confederate flag (Brower, 1962a, p. 2). However, the peaceful, albeit scornful, exhibition of racist resistance on September 20th was supplanted by a more vicious and forceful version upon James Meredith's return to Ole Miss a few days later. On September 26, Meredith was escorted onto the Ole Miss campus by Federal marshals, only to be physically turned away Lieutenant Governor Paul Johnson and a band of local officials (Brower, 1962b). One of the more important[88] occasions in the series of events in the fall of 1962 came three days later during a football game in Jackson between Ole Miss and the University of Kentucky on September 29. For white Mississippians, in this moment of hegemonic uneasiness, football became the conduit which linked ideology and spirit to practices of the bigoted folderol. As Derek Catsam (2003) later postulated, "during the Ole Miss crisis, football served as a sort of white supremacist anchor, mooring white supremacy with the values that too many white southerners held dear. Ole Miss, it was famously said, used to be known for three things: A rambunctious style of campus politics dominated by equally boisterous fraternities and sororities; Beauty Queens—Ole Miss used to redshirt Miss Americas; and football" (p. 1). The sporting spectacle of defiant whiteness thus took form on that fall afternoon, as the stadium in Jackson was "a sea of Confederate flags that were

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[88] Coach Jon Vaught would later title a chapter in his memoirs "Football Saves a School" in retelling the impact the game had on the 'crisis' at Ole Miss in the fall of 1962. The 1962 team did outperform any before and any since, going undefeated and untied in winning the National Championship.

waved with special defiance during the playing of the national anthem" (Cohodas, 1997,

p. 83). At halftime, to a chorus of "we want Ross" (Brower, 1962c, p. 1), Governor

Barnett appeared to a mid-field stump post, and roared through the loudspeaker "I love

Mississippi. I love her people—her customs! And I love and respect her heritage"

(Barrett, 1965, p. 121). The response, which Russell Barrett likened to Nazi rallies from

three decade prior, was both boisterous and energetic ("Defiant Barnett hailed at

game," 1962a). The crowd then joined in a (retrospectively prophetic) disobedient ditty,

one which stood in direct violation of court orders:

> Never, Never, Never, No-o-o Never, Never Never
>
> We will not yield an inch of any field,
>
> Fix us another toddy, ain't yieldin' to nobody
>
> Ross's standin' like Gibraltar, he shall never falter
>
> Ask us what we say, it's to hell with Bobby K,
>
> Never shall our emblem go from Colonel Reb to Old Black Joe

The racist, symbolic, yet triumphantly unyielding dialogue between Barnett and the

game's attendees during that intercollegiate football contest matriculated into a material,

physically violent confrontation on the Ole Miss campus the following day.

In one of the more hellish convulsions of the American Civil Rights Era, the

University of Mississippi campus was turned into a battlefield on the night of September

30th. James Meredith was scheduled to arrive on the Oxford campus that evening, and

register for classes the following day (see Figure 4). Following a series of non-

concessionary exchanges between Governor Barnett and then Attorney General Robert

Kennedy, in which Barnett failed to assure the Attorney General that Meredith would be

safely escorted into the University by state officials, Federal troops were ordered to secure the university space for Meredith's arrival (Doyle, 2001). At the urging of General Edwin Walker—who ironically spearheaded the desegregation efforts at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas five years earlier—hundreds of angry white traditionalists descended upon Oxford to figuratively, and eventually physically, confront the efforts by Federal marshals to integrate Ole Miss. From his command post near the monument to the Confederate war dead, Walker implored the riotous mob to remain rancorous in their protest. The initial "boisterousness" of the protesters included chants such as: "Why don't you go to Cuba, nigger lovers?" and signage that read "Yankee Go Home" (Humber, 1962, p. 1). However, as Governor Barnett was appearing on local television early that night to preach what amounted to defiant acquiescence (per the results of a threatening dialogue between he and President Kennedy), the campus mood turned more violent, as the Ole Miss grounds became "awash in gunshots and flames and then shrouded in tear gas, fired as a protective measure by the outnumbered [federal] marshals" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 85). The report of the incident by *Time* magazine read as follows:

> The crowd in front of the Lyceum had grown bigger and uglier. First it turned on newsmen in a face-punching, camera-smashing frenzy . . . Eggs came flying toward the marshals, then rocks. Out of a gathering darkness hurled the length of a metal pipe . . . When a group of students drove the campus fire truck up close and loosed a stream of water at the Lyceum, a band of marshals charged the truck. . . . Around 11 p.m., the attackers brought up a bulldozer, attempted to batter their way into the Lyceum. ("Though the heavens fall," 1962g, p. 20)

As the campus was soaked with hostility and bloodshed, student and non-student

vigilantes—who later likened themselves to Hungarian freedom fighters—charged

through the tear gas fired by federal marshals and hurled Molotov Cocktails, brickbats,

and lead pipes at the officers (Silver, 1966). In what one observer exclaimed to be an

"echo of the Civil War's last battle" (qtd. in Sansing, 1999, p. 303), a number of

automobiles were set ablaze, and by the time the violence had subsided, two individuals

had been fatally wounded (Doyle, 2001).

Whereas *Mississippian* Editor Sidna Brower was satisfied with the behavior of

most students on September 20, she was embarrassed, if not mortified, by the

insurgents "who started out yesterday by shouting slogans of pride in Mississippi and

ended up with nothing to be proud of" (Brower, 1962d, p. 2). A number of reports out of

Mississippi in the weeks following September 30, 1962 suggested that the Federal

marshals had incited violence in what would have otherwise been a peaceful protest.

This claim was debunked by members of the University of Mississippi chapter of the

American Association for University Professors, who unanimously signed into resolution

a declaration stating that while "some news media in Mississippi [had] entertained

irresponsible and second-hand stories in distortion of the facts . . . [and attempts] to

place all the blame for the riot on the United States marshals, [such reports were] not

only unfair and reprehensible, but also completely false" ("Profs sign statement on

recent happenings," 1962c, p. 1).

Despite the violent efforts by segregationists on that late September night, James

Meredith began his studies at the University of Mississippi early that October. The

existence of his black body within the homogenous campus space which had been

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preserved for Mississippi's white elite signaled a turning point in Mississippi's racially-encoded educational hierarchy. Interrupting the "unity of discourse" (Foucault, 1976, p. 32) within the racist educational power dynamic of Mississippi, Meredith's black body as corporeal signifier disrupted the universality of whiteness within the spaces of privilege in Mississippi's flagship university. And while James Meredith's undergraduate education was a significant moment in the Civil Rights Movement, it was but a part of the contentious conjuncture of racist white social conservative ideologies and an emerging black empowerment in the South. Numerous instances during the time span of Meredith's enrollment contributed to a bellicose atmosphere in the Dixie South. In 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama, Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor violently employed the use of water hoses and dogs against civil rights protesters, many of whom were children, to thwart a 'civil uprising' in that state (Eskew, 1997). On June 11, 1963, Medgar Evers, Civil Rights advocate and close friend to James Meredith, was shot and killed in Mississippi (Sessions, 1963). In spite of these setbacks, the Civil Rights Movement gained momentum, and reached its climax in August 1963 with a massive march on Washington, D.C.—as Martin Luther King, Jr. led activists in a protest of racial discrimination and demonstration supporting major civil rights legislation that was pending in Congress (Klarman, 2004).

Back in Mississippi the following year, a student movement against racial discrimination was gaining momentum. In early June 1964, a busload of black Mississippians went to Washington, D.C., to testify publicly about the daily violence and the dangers facing the volunteers coming into Mississippi. Nearly two weeks later, three civil rights workers—James Earl Chaney, a young black Mississippian, and two white

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volunteers, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner—were murdered near

Philadelphia, Mississippi at the order of the Grand Wizard of Mississippi's chapters of

the Ku Klux Klan (Cagin & Dray, 1988), demonstrating the ominous nature of the

student entreaties, as well as the ruptured relations between black and white

Mississippians. The sway of brutal segregationists unrelentingly persisted, as in

September of 1966, black schoolchildren trying to attend class in Grenada, Mississippi

were severely beaten by local officials following attempts to integrate a local grade

school ("Intruders in the dust," 1966). Such violence and intolerance toward equal rights

became the signature of mediated Mississippi, as these instances and numerous others

littered local, national, and international media sources for the remainder of the decade.

On the day of his final examinations, having been eyewitness to the many of the

seminal moments of white supremacist backlash against integration, Meredith wore a

lapel pin that was popular amongst white students during the weeks leading up to his

arrival on campus. The pin was inscribed with the word "NEVER" in white ink against a

black background. During the ceremony Meredith wore the pin upside down to signify

conquest over the resistance he encountered, as well as to celebrate the austerity and

conviction demanded during his interruption of the fluid white hegemony of the Ole Miss

campus (Cohodas, 1997). In spite of Meredith's intervention at Ole Miss, the sanctioned

and sanctimonious nature of the power/knowledge dynamic at work in the university

space was far from unlocked by the corporeal presence of James Meredith.

If the segregationist policies of the University leading up to Meredith's enrollment

were a reflection of, if not dialectically enmeshed in, the broader ideological formations

of a conservative postbellum Southern cultural economy, and abjections to integration

during the Civil Rights Era were indicative of a recoiling Dixie South body politic, the

most wretched articulations and altercations related to the racialized dyadic body at Ole

Miss occurred in the years succeeding desegregation. Following Meredith's graduation,

having enrolled in the Law School in the summer of 1963, Cleve McDowell became the

only black student on the Ole Miss campus. However, McDowell's stay in Oxford was

brief, as he was eventually expelled from the University for bringing a firearm onto the

campus (Corlew, 1963).[89] During the investigation, Oxford Sheriff Joe Ford, President

of the Oxford-Fayette County Citizens Council, held McDowell in police custody, all the

while vowing to keep the student away from campus "as long as we can" (qtd. in "Sheriff

Ford remains calm and restrained," 1963b, p. 3). The news of McDowell's dismissal was

greeted in the *Jackson Daily News* by the celebratory declaration: "McDowell Expulsion

Erases Only Mixing Blot in State" (qtd. in Barrett, 1965, p. 224). And so by the fall of

1963 Ole Miss had returned to all-white status, back to the comforts of an unchallenged

white hegemony from which social relations were constructed, power formations were

formulated, and [corpo]realities remained unfettered.

Campaign of Hate

James Meredith's incursion on the chaste white spaces of the University of

Mississippi did not create a multi-racial merger of oppressor/oppressed, nor a synthesis

of antithetical cultural discourses on the Oxford campus. Rather, the black bodied

interloper on white supremacist turf stimulated the steadfast faculties of a prevailing

Dixie South 'binary system' (Foucault, 1978, p. 83). Unlike the colonization projects of

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[89] Which, McDowell contended, was necessary for his protection—namely in response to numerous
threats he received during his time at Ole Miss.

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the gendered and classed student bodies during the period between the first and second Reconstructions, the ideological and physical responses to the presence of a black student were not those of adaptation, but of demarcation and repudiation. The 'intermixing' of races on the Ole Miss campus did nothing to subvert or disengage the existing segregationist binary system. Rather, through an intensive campaign of hate against James Meredith, the lone campus black body, and those black students who followed, became the object of ridicule, alienation, and exclusion. In anticipation of Meredith's enrollment, on September 18, 1962, antagonists to the integration of Ole Miss distributed a *Liberty Bulletin* throughout the campus, urging students to refrain from violence until called upon by the Governor, and to resist the intimidations of "leftist administrators and officials." Reestablishing the linkages between the schools spirit symbols and the Lost Cause[s] of segregation and slavery, the notice was concluded with the salutation: "MAY GOD BE WITH US ALL! – 'The Colonel'" (*Liberty Bulletin*, 1962b, p. 3). During the first week of October, numerous malicious leaflets were circulated throughout campus, each advising a directive for the maltreatment of the University's newest student. One handbill instructed students to "Ignore the nigger with vigor" and other depicted an angry bulldog set to attack a black-faced minstrel, with the caption "Sic 'em WHITE FOLKS" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 88).

Once the prospects of Meredith's enrollment were realized, the student-led campaign of hate against Meredith deepened. First, a number of Ole Miss students organized the Rebel Underground, a non-affiliated conservative advocate group united in the resentment "for the Negro, James Meredith being forced into our University by Federal might" and who viewed his admission as "only the beginning of organized

aggression to bring about Negro political domination and racial amalgamation

throughout the South" (*Rebel Underground*, 1962e, p. 1).[90] To assuage the racial

complications brought about by Meredith's (often referred to as "the Darkie") presence,

in the second issue of their signature publication, the *Rebel Underground*, writers

posited that their primary objective was to "encourage James Meredith to transfer to

some college where he would be welcome . . . There [were] many Yankee colleges

which would eulogize him and make him 'Tar Baby' of the campus" (*Rebel*

Underground, 1962f, p. 1). Such an attitude toward racial diversity within the university

space prompted the *New York Times* to decree that University of Mississippi students

lived in "profound isolation" and that the range of political and social attitudes among the

students was "from Y to Z" ("Ole Miss," 1962a, p. 20). In a *Look Magazine* interview,

James Meredith referred to the 'ostracizing campaign' which had effectively quelled any

social relationships that he might have been able to forge on campus (Meredith, 1966).

In defense against accusations that the majority of the student body had activated and

organized an ostracizing campaign against Meredith, the newly elected Vice President

of the student body declared in *The Mississippian*: "There is no organized ostracism

campaign against Meredith . . . He has been ostracized because almost every individual

at Ole Miss has been repulsed by his presence," he continued, "Meredith has naturally

been avoided by thinking people . . . because of the element he represents" (Lawrence,

1962, p. 4). The Vice President's comments are suggestive of the contested

juxtaposition of corporeal blackness operating in discursively homogenous spaces of

Dixie South white empire. Furthermore, the backlash against Meredith is suggestive of

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[90] The activities and opinions of the Rebel Underground student group were reported in the publication of
the same name, and distributed to the campus students free of charge.

the re-creation of technologies of Dixie South identity politics around the discourses of assimilation and difference—particularly the ways in which depriving the lone black Ole Miss student of social capital, while fostering a preferred intercourse amongst white students, became a meaningful practice within Ole Miss social spaces.

The unfettered irrationality of the Ole Miss racist contingent sweltered, as yet another circular was distributed throughout campus in the fall of 1962, titled the *Rebel Resistance*. The pages of the *Rebel Resistance* encouraged students to banish Meredith to social *incommunicado*: "Let no student speak to him, and let his attempts to 'make friends' fall upon cold, unfriendly faces. In addition the students should banish him from their midst ANY white student" who opposed of failed to render this directive (qtd. in Barrett, 1965, p. 197). Eventually, the softer forms of symbolic violence against Meredith were displaced by more physical measures. A group of white students chose to have supper with Meredith one fall evening, and for two of them the price of the kind gesture was high. The students returned to their dormitory room to find it "in shambles— books, records, and clothing scattered all over and next to the door the standard epithet printed crudely with black shoe polish: 'Nigger Lovers'" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 94). On October 29, a group of insurgents attacked Baxter Dormitory, hurling 'cherry bombs' toward the window of Meredith's dorm room and shouting racial epithets (Williams, 1962, p. 1). A few months later, on January 10, 1963, while trying to eat dinner in the campus cafeteria, Meredith found himself under siege by more than four hundred white students, chanting: "Go home, you nigger" ("Chancellor blames disturbances on news conference," 1963a, p. 1).

As public discourse, the longitudinal dealings of several hundred Ole Miss

'antagonists' helped sketch the most conservative side of the spectrum of Ole Miss race

politics. According to Sidna Brower (1962e), the repeated efforts to perpetuate a climate

of hatred further contributed to Ole Miss students as being depicted as "ignorant

savages," and "rural, isolated, and uneducated" (p. 2). In other words, the practices of

the body constituted discursive formations unto themselves which affectively centralized

whiteness and alienated Meredith's lone bodily signifier of blackness. This culture of

segregated desegregation, or the physical and psychographic segregation in the era of

integration at the University of Mississippi, prolonged well into the 21st Century and

continues to inform such a popular opinion concerning the University. The racialized

social practices within the university space became the stuff of insolence for Civil Rights

activists, and the peg upon which Southern traditionalists could hang their racist caps.

In the following years, Ole Miss became the preferred destination for stalwarts of the

Confederacy to send their degree-seeking children, and the place where the repulsive

side of white supremacist ideology could penetrate the liberal fortress of academia. By

using the white power of the student body, these separatist subjects *marked* Ole Miss

as a white space, creating an institutional identity and an institutional space which

advertised the parochialized spectacle of race, space, and the body.

PM

Despite being somewhat of a forerunner in Southern higher education by

admitting Meredith in 1962, Ole Miss soon lagged behind its state-sponsored neighbors

in the enrollment of black students. After Meredith finished his education, and after

Cleve McDowell was expelled, the University returned to all-white status for nearly one full year. In what came to be known at Ole Miss as the "post-Meredith" (or, more commonly referred to as 'PM') era, enrollment of black students was negligible during the remainder of the decade—with only a dozen or so black students enrolled at any given time through the end of the 1960s ("New misery at Ole Miss," 1968), and no more than two hundred by the early part of the 1970s (Fair, 1970a). The campus's return to all-white status allowed for the resurrection of a hyper-racist public vernacular wrought with corporeal expressions of unabashed Dixie South bigotries. As an example, Stunt Night '64 featured comedic performances by fraternities and sororities reenacting significant moments in the history of the Dixie South (see Figure 5). Kappa Delta sorority performed a play entitled "The South Shall Rise Again," in which the actresses dressed in Confederate military garb and swashbuckled their way to victory in a latter day Civil War. Kappa Alpha fraternity used the event to reenact brief stint of James Meredith at Ole Miss, with one student dressed in blackface and mockingly caricaturizing the speech and gestures of the University's first black student. Phi Delta Theta fraternity's entry into the competition featured two members covered from head-to-toe in black paint reenacting a famous Sonny Liston versus Cassius Clay boxing match ("Stunt Night '64," 1964b). Campus leader John Klein unintentionally indicted the white traditions of Ole Miss and the distance between the institution and racial equality by declaring: "Ole Miss students have made sincere if not desperate attempts to avoid further national scrutiny and return to the good ole days of party, football and beauty pageants" (qtd. in Perkins, 1963, p. 3).

Later in 1964, the first black student to enroll following the dismissal of Cleve

McDowell, Irvin Walker, arrived on the Ole Miss campus. During his first semester in

Oxford, a white student reportedly attacked Walker, spitting in his face and calling him a

"black bastard" ("Fight erupts between Negro and classmate," 1964a, p. 1). In the

summer of 1965, the University of Mississippi admitted its first black woman, Verna

Bailey. Upon her arrival, Bailey was greeted in the cafeteria with a barrage of foodstuff

projectiles and the singing of "Here comes the nigger, here comes the nigger"

(Cohodas, 1997, p. 124). She also received harassing phone calls to her dorm room,

mostly from white men[91] who told her, "Nigger bitches don't belong here. Nigger bitches

belong in the cotton fields" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 125). The enrollment of Walker and

Bailey signaled the end of a dying hope amongst traditionalists that Ole Miss could

sustain a long-term return to white exclusivity. As such, symbolically, the 'clean edifice

of white supremacy' would forever be 'darkened by the presence of black bodies.'

However, the presence of black bodies did not quash the unyielding articulations of

white supremacist ideology and corporeal expressivity on the Ole Miss campus.

While black bodies had pierced the seemingly impenetrable fortification of

university admission, the University of Mississippi remained an "enclave of white

privilege" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 133) throughout the remainder of the Twentieth Century.

In spite of attempts by campus liberals to offer equal opportunities to black and white

students—or what the *Clarion Ledger* condemned as an effort to "negroize Ole Miss"

(Cohodas, 1997, p. 118)—the social and spatial accessibility for black students was

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[91] The assumption that these callers were white men was made by Verna Bailey during a personal interview with Nadine Cohodas. If nothing else, this speaks to the panoptic nature of terrorist whiteness for many assailed black woman students on the Ole Miss campus in the latter part of the Twentieth Century.

limited, if not restrictive. The Board of Trustees passed a new set of rules in the fall of

1964 confining the use of college facilities to students, faculty, staff, and alumni. The

measure effectively eliminated the presence of a black body in the privileged spaces of

campus, sans but a few ostracized black students. Not coincidentally, the rule was first

implemented during the home football weekend against rival Memphis State University.

To prevent the black players of 'Tiger High' from darkening the spaces and spectacle of

Ole Miss sporting whiteness, players of the Memphis team were restricted from eating

in the campus cafeteria, and black family members were prohibited from entering the

university commons altogether on that Saturday (Sansing, 1990).

At Ole Miss, the catatonic effort to 'negroize' the University, or more accurately,

to create a semblance of social equality for black students at Ole Miss following the

Meredith years was intently slow in its development. In the late 1960s, the *New York*

Times chided that the University was "little more than a party school attended by the

empty-headed offspring of planters and bankers" (qtd. in Cohodas, 1997, p. 129). The

Times pointed to the prevailing social formations and organizations such as the

established discourses of Confederate traditionalism and the preeminent role of white

Greek fraternities and sororities in shaping social activities in the university space. As

Nadine Cohodas (1997) later suggested, it was well known that the "key to a successful

social life at Ole Miss was to be in a sorority or fraternity" (p. 130). The Greek fraternity

and sorority system at Ole Miss had become that normalizing and organizing

mechanism upon which social and cultural capital was distributed, and a spatial

derivative which located oppositional, or even alternative, counterculture outside

normalizing faculties of power. As alluded to in the opening part of this chapter, during

the late-1960s through the early 1980s, virtually all student government leaders and

print media intermediaries were sponsored and elected as correlative to their standing

in the Greek system.[92] In an article featured in *The Mississippian* during the fall of 1964,

student writer Nancy Mason referred to the Beatnik culture of nonconformity as

adversative to the Ole Miss tradition of student life—proffering that such an alternative

sociality was unwelcome and unappreciated in Oxford. The author suggested that Ole

Miss was "not Bohemian enough to support a beatnik society," and that in Oxford a

'quiet rebellion' would consist of overstepping the expected behaviors on the campus by

dressing even more professionally, adding creativity to athletic cheers, and asking

profound questions in class (Mason, 1964, p. 5). The 'good ole boy' performative

habitus in Oxford was thus established as a means of social distinction and as a product

of the social and cultural capital of Mississippi's white, ruling elite.

This type of formulaic, popularized masculinity is perhaps best understood in the

framework of late modern conceptualizations of popularized and localized subjectivity,

which situates the representational lexicon of modern masculinity and in one, if not both,

of two recurring thematics. The first is the notion of 'hegemonic masculinity,' which can

be traced back to Antonio Gramsci (1999) and his theorizing on 'hegemony,' or the

contested nature of meaning and representation and the ability of the ruling class to

gain consent to an iniquitous social order: one in which power is unequally distributed—

and in which the oppressed members of that society contribute to, and are complicit in,

the reproduction of these hierarchies. Using the precepts of Gramsci's theory of

distributional power, Robert W. Connell (1990) layered the complexities of a

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[92] A Greek Hall of Fame was established at the University of Mississippi in the early 1960s to celebrate the more "outstanding" Greek students on campus ("Outstanding students selected to '69-70 Greek Hall of Fame," 1970c, p. 1)

empowering gender binary upon the Italian Marxist's understanding of social authority, and in doing so formulated a heuristic for interpreting the hypermasculine nature of modern social relationships in Western society (and beyond). Connell (1990) defined 'hegemonic masculinity' as "the culturally idealized form of masculine character" (p. 83), whereby 'traditional' markers of masculinity such as aggression, volatility, and rationality hold sway over a marginalized femininity and an ostracized alternative sexuality (outside the hetero-norm).

In the latter part of the Twentieth Century at Ole Miss, hegemonic masculinity was in the first instance performed through the auspices of fraternal posturing and hypermasculine habitus borne of a racist political and cultural capital and the legacies of familial distinction. The archetypical fraternal 'Southern Man' during this era, and eventual leader of the 'good ole boys,' was perhaps Trent Lott. Lott's racial politics not only located him at the center of a polemical segregationist backlash, but furthered his appeal and accomplish at Ole Miss during his undergraduate days:

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott helped lead a successful battle to prevent his college fraternity from admitting blacks to any of its chapters, in a little-known incident now four decades old. At a time when racial issues were roiling campuses across the South, some chapters of Sigma Nu fraternity in the Northeast were considering admitting African-American members, a move that would have sent a powerful statement through the tradition-bound world of sororities and fraternities. At the time, Lott was president of the intra-fraternity council at the University of Mississippi. When the issue came to a head at Sigma Nu's national convention — known as a "Grand Chapter" — in the early 1960s,

'Trent was one of the strongest leaders in resisting the integration of the national

fraternity in any of the chapters,' recalls former CNN President Tom Johnson,

then a Sigma Nu member at the University of Georgia. (Tumulty, 2002, p. 16)

The hegemonic masculinity performed by Lott and other white supremacist students in

Ole Miss spaces was thus interpolated through a distinctive regime of normative

masculine power which defined not only 'what it means to be a man,' but also

proscribed the conduct and roles of gender and sexuality within Dixie South society (cf.

Hanke, 1990).

While most American colleges had formed, or were in the process of organizing

campus Republican and Democratic societies, the Ole Miss students created their most

popular non-Greek student organization around political bent rather than affiliation. The

Conservative Students Association hosted an number of political rallies and sponsored

on-campus presentations and orations, including the hallmark political event of the mid-

1960s when the students brought Ross Barnett back to speak at Ole Miss in 1965

("Barnett urges stand," 1965). Such a rigid climate of segregationism on campus

motivated a number of faculty members to resign from the University, many of whom

specifically cited the racial apartheid on campus as the reason for their departure ("A

new dean at Ole Miss," 1969b). The racialized, hypermasculine performative politics

imbedded in Ole Miss campus fabric by way of fraternal sway and political bent during

the post-integration era created two interrelated outcomes: a culture of binarisms, and

the marking of cultural binaries through a integrated, yet clearly demarcated institutional

power structure; and the creation of new articulations of symbolic value for white

supremacy, primarily in the form of backlash whiteness through pestilent narratives of

white disenfranchisement. The former was articulated through the public discourses of white rage and the latter through the politics of local celebrity whiteness in the form of highly visible, intensely celebrated footballing hero figures.

Southern Territories

As the black student population grew in the 1970s—a trend which paralleled the increased exercise of 'good ole boy' power on the Ole Miss campus—the disparity between the black campus experience and white campus experience became more evident, as college life in Oxford presented limited social opportunities for black students in the years following integration. *The Daily Mississippian* ran an introspective piece on black students at the University on February 13, 1970 in which the student newspaper's Editor interviewed two prominent black leaders on campus. The purpose of the article was to quell the fears of many white students on campus who expressed trepidation over the confrontational nature that the Equal Rights Movement had taken in the public sphere. With the increased relevance of the Black Panthers nationally, and a more militant blackness locally, campus whites feared that physical altercations might supplant the symbolic protests which had been waged since Meredith's enrollment. The interviewer framed the black students' demands for social justice by spinning the plight of black students into a self-victimized cacophonic trope framed around the underprivilege of campus whites: "This week is Black History Week: What would be the black student's reaction toward a white history week?" A prominent black campus leader, Brian Nichols, responded to the inquiry in this way: "We have White History Week 52 weeks out of the year. And some history courses you are constantly taught

what the white man has done, never the black man" (Fair, 1970a, p. 5). *The Daily Mississippian* was blunt in addressing these prevailing sentiments, inquiring "What stand do you take on militancy?' A figure head of the BSU, Jesse Dent, responded by stating that:

> People misuse the term, and anything that deviates from the parental type of action is considered militant. I do believe that the majority of the blacks on this campus are militant, but that doesn't mean that they go out and burn, break windows, and shoot people. I think that militancy is good, and that any political organization must be militant before it can be successful. (qtd. in Fair, 1970a, p. 4)

Throughout the dialogue, the two interviewees went on to expound upon their ideals of militancy, and how the campus should respond to requests by black students for a more fair and equal learning environment. Citing inequitable treatment by instructors, the fact that there were no black members of the Ole Miss faculty, and the notion that the Board of Trustees were "a bunch of ignorant people" who failed to structure the University in the interest of all its students, Dent and Nichols, along with other members of the Black Student Union, formulated a set of demands for equality on campus (Fair, 1970a).

On the night of February 24, 1970, on the same day the list of demands devised by the BSU was presented to Chancellor Porter Fortune, a number of black students organized to protest their educational conditions in the cafeteria, listening to the music of B. B. King and burning a Confederate flag (Kriehn, 1970a). A small group of white students gathered outside the Student Union in counter-protest, only to have all the congregations broken up by campus police before violence erupted (Kriehn, 1970a).

The next day, eighty-nine black individuals, not all of whom were students of the University, were arrested following a protest outside of Fulton Chapel during a concert. The protestors were charged with "inciting a disturbance" and "trespassing" and were held on bonds ranging from $50 to $500 (Kriehn, 1970b, p. 1). The student editor of *The Daily Mississippian* scornfully attacked the protestors actions, citing "People have been bending over backwards trying to give students a fair shake with their 'rights,' but when these 'rights' start infringing upon others' 'rights' and causing disorder, its time to call a halt" (Fair, 1970b, p. 1). Interestingly, the hypercritical text offered by the Editor situated white students as the generic pronoun "people" and then hyperbolically conflated black students' *unfair demands* against white students' 'rights'—privileges which were being unfairly taken away. The charges were eventually dropped against the student protestors (Brumfield, 1970), and despite public statements to the contrary, Chancellor Fortune ultimately supported and instituted most of the demands filed by the BSU ("Cheerer reform, race bill passed," 1970a).

Subsequently, black students organized their own Greek organization in the early 1970s, as Omega Psi Phi became the first black fraternity on campus in 1973, and the first black sorority followed two years later. Within the following decade, the University would institute an 'Afro-American Studies' program and increase the number of black faculty to reflect the racial make-up of the student body (which was still predominantly white). However, while the conquest of resources and carving out of the campus power structure by the BSU resulted in a banal re-territorialization of the campus as a predominantly white, but alternatively black cultural space, the measures taken by the BSU which were met by the visible center with a multifarious, hyper-mediated

counterattack simultaneously repositioned masculine, white identity politics at the fore of

Ole Miss subjectivity and further disempowered the marginalized 'Other' by way of

reinvigorated externalization and representational relegation.

Southern Man[ning]

The tenuous, changing social climate at Ole Miss following the last major battles

of the Civil Rights Movement and the events of 1970 resulted in two interrelated

outcomes: the formulation of new, more recalcitrant articulations of whiteness and

added symbolic value for embodiments of white excellence (each of which contributed

to the further marginalization of the black student subject). If the close physical proximity

of black and white students on the Ole Miss campus meant confronting the realities of

integration, for many white student subjects, the symbolic discourses of mediated Ole

Miss were the final sanctuary within which the celebration of uncontested whiteness

could persevere. In the lived experiences of the campus space, the interplay of white

empowerment and black disenfranchisement played out in the meetings, policies, and

interpersonal physical politics. In the popular discourse, the post-Civil Rights

postulations of idealized whiteness and sterilized blackness further intensified the

hyper-disciplinarity of white and black student subjects—one in the form of racist

conformity, the other in defense of equal opportunities. Unlike the early celebrity

discourses of the University Greys, or the archetypal, unchallenged segregation-era Ole

Miss masculinity of coach John Vaught, the popular lexicon of preferred identity politics

in the era of integration emerged as a central device for reconstituting the auspices of

retributionist Dixie South whiteness—a new identity politics created from one part Old South white, masculinity and one part 'angry white male.'

The project of reclaiming the lost authority of whiteness meant resistance to the campus-borne iterations of alternative [black] culture. In the context of a newly integrated institutional power structure, whereby white power was created and mobilized *in response* to emergent blackness, mediated *sporting embodiments* became the visceral link to the appurtenances from which new gesticulations of preferred whiteness could be formulated, marshaled, and mediated. The sporting iconography at Ole Miss during the post-Civil Rights moment was thus located in the differential discourses of two interrelated iconic figures: the centralized discourses of University's most celebrated footballing hero, Archie Manning; and the territorialized discourses of the institution's first black football player, Ben Williams. As I will illustrate in the coming pages, these complex patterns of sporting celebrity constituted not only a distinctive universe of sporting excellence at Ole Miss, but more importantly, a symbolic configuration of race and region from which, and through which, post-Meredith articulations of Dixie South whiteness could be performed, expressed, and identified. Thus, each celebrity figure captured, and indeed reinforced, the cultural politics of representation and the distributional power of whiteness at Ole Miss in the period of integration.

Conceptualizing Rebel Celebrity

In the first instance, the decidedly virile nature of sporting practice and popular sport discourse created a popular sporting realm at Ole Miss which was 'isomorphic' with racialized, masculine power (Miller, 2001a). In other words, the dialectic of post-

integration sporting stardom activated the spectator sensibilities of a distinctive, contextually-specific Southern masculinity. Recent postulations concerning the masculine nature of sport, and the fluidity of male sports stars, have turned toward contextually-contingent understandings of celebrity discourse as active product and producer of regimes of representational power. This trajectory of theory emanates from the notion that within the 'commodity sign culture of celebrity' (McDonald & Andrews, 2001), discursive [sport] iconographies are encoded in the language and imagery of traditional masculine regimes of power, and yet because of the superfluous nature of modern (and postmodern) identity and commodification thereof, the social knowledges constructed out of those discourses are, following Foucault (1977), up for grabs, or 'free-floating' (Andrews, 1996b; Jameson, 1983). At Ole Miss during the Civil Rights Era on through to more contemporary times, preferred hyper-masculine whiteness as a sweeping discursive formation (the popularized 'good ole boy' trope) acted upon the lived experiences of individuals, and hypermasculine responsiveness continually reshape[d] social experiences by way of the auspices of mediated celebrity-dom. As such, and borne of modern formations of power (cf. Carrington, 2001) which were inherently masculine, heterosexual, and white, identity politics within the post-Meredith Dixie South echoed the specters of dominant/dominated subjectivity and the systematic discourse of representational incarceration sutured it the traditions of the Old South traditions of the visible center.

To better understand the hierarchized subjectivities of late modern representational politics at Ole Miss, I want to frame the *discourses of Southern Man[ning]* in the theoretical deliberations of Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze.

Generally speaking, Foucault's (1982a; 1988) notions of subjectivity and panopticism illuminate the disciplinary function of mediated celebrity at Ole Miss, while Deleuze's (1988) reflections on the normalizing function of masculinity (and whiteness) further interrogate the pathological complexities of mediated discourse and the lived experience. While Foucault failed to specifically confront specific regimes of a 'masculine gaze' and formations of gendered social power, Deleuze (1988), working from a Foucauldian foundation, suggested that gendered power in society is a matter of the relationship 'the double.' 'The double' is for Deleuze a negotiation of 'the inside' and 'the outside.' In other words, subjectivity is constructed out of normative and differential processes, and the active structures of identity which divide subjects and reinvigorate subject positions. Identification is thus the "interiorization of the outside" (Deleuze, 1988, p. 98), the connection between the external discourses of identity and the internal definitions of the self. Through consumption practices, social experiences, corporeal gestures, and 'taken-for-granted' preferences,[93] the individual is linked to the representational universe through a non-guaranteed connection of authorized, mediated gender and racial identity politics (Bourdieu, 1993, 1994, 1998b).

As such, the celebrity figure specifically, and the mass mediated iconography more generally contribute to the individual formation of identity. Celebrities come to embody, by way of strategically manipulated personalities and corporealities, the preferred cultural politics and new technologies of the self specific to social regimes of power. And while there is "no guarantee that celebrities will be consumed in the manner

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[93] Marcoulatos (2001) points out numerous ways in which Bourdieu attributed habitus traits to practical expressions, namely *practical evaluation*, *practical faith* (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 68), *practical anticipation* (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 77), *practical calculation* (Bourdieu, 1998a, p. 472), and *practical acceptance* (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 112).

intended by those orchestrating the manufacturing process" (Andrews & Jackson, 2001, p. 5), celebrity discourse actively informs our understandings of self. At Ole Miss, this connection between the idealized, idolized, and strategically commodified masculine sporting celebrity and the traditional, conservative politics of race and gender fuse together a collective, normative 'technique of government' (Foucault, 1982b, p. 19). The dynamic, consuming, identity-seeking representational imaginations of the Ole Miss subjected collective are constituted by a panoply of celebrity skin. In the case of sporting iconage, as the centrifuge of Ole Miss celebrity, the signification of idealized whiteness in its mass mediated form makes whiteness transparent, while simultaneously reinforcing the normative nature of preferred white Southern masculinity. As an important space for social relations and cultural representations, sport, and specifically college football, has become the definitive space for constituting, and reconstituting, dominant identity politics in the Dixie South (Friend & Glover, 2004). At Ole Miss, sporting celebrity transformed the fulcrum of a radically-contextual, embodied, representational identity politics from the legends of the 'Lost Cause' and the embattled segregationist of mid-century to the *reborn 'Southern Ethic' embodiments of the Manning order*. More than 'signs of the times,' the discursive formations of footballing hero-figures have constituted, and have been constituted by, a series and contextually-defined moments of appellative Dixie South whiteness.

For Foucault (1983), the representational power of celebrity both "subjugates and makes subject to [as it] applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches himself to his identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him.

It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects" (p. 212). As such, and this is

what I aim to explore over the coming pages, the categorical dominance of Dixie South

whiteness congealed over time in the form of 'exclusive masculinity' as embodied in the

legacy of Oxford's favorite son and grandson (Archie and Eli Manning)—whereby the

uninterrupted commonalities of celebrated whiteness "drew upon traditional orthodox

understandings of heterosexual masculinity" (Wellard, 2002, p. 237) and adhered to the

logics of the visible center in a recoiled reflux to unsettled racial contextuality, not

heterogeneity. The singularity of Dixie South whiteness as inscribed in the prevailing

celebrity discourses of Manning further situated, and continue to situate, the visible

center at the core of this parochial hierarchy and insulated the homogeneity of racial

and gendered knowledge/power relations. And so following the project undertaken in

Revealing Male Bodies (Tuana, Cowling, Hamington, Johnson, & MacMullan, 2002), I

now aim to 'flesh out' the hetero-, masculine-centricity of popular discourses of the body

at Ole Miss. Further, I intend to articulate the gestic-ular, testicular, celluloid sporting

body of preferred Dixie South whiteness as a centralizing regime of corporeal power

within the mediations and celebrations of a distinctively parochial iconography.

Rephrasing Andrews (1996b), the next part of this chapter critically analyzes the imaged

persona of the most famed quarterback of the neo-Confederacy, Archie Manning, and

the faux 'alternative' celebrityhood of Ben Williams. Each discursive stop offers an

important moment in the mediated Ole Miss popular in the post-integration era—and the

problematic, yet celebrated discursive spaces in which preferred racial ideologies and

representations are *publicized* and *authorized* in the language of a monolithic Dixie

South whiteness. Within distinctive contextual moments of post-Meredith Ole Miss, each

of these sporting celebrities captured, and indeed defined, the narratives and imagery of

Dixie South masculinity as dialectically celebritized within the cultural economy of the

visible center.

Archie 'Super' Manning: The Recalcitrant Hero of the Visible Center

> *Dad's days at Ole Miss were life-shaping. For me, they were magical. If I could, I'd want to go back to when he played. I'd have loved to make an entrance into a fraternity party on one of my linemen's shoulders the way he did after a big game. I'd love to have played a game where I got hurt in the second quarter and then came back and won it in the fourth like he did against Georgia. I wanted all the things my dad had. I wanted to have the girls look at me twice and walk through campus and have people I didn't know smile and say hello. I'm not sure you could ever again completely experience what he had then. It was a different time* – Peyton Manning (qtd. in Manning, Manning, & Underwood, 2000, p. bc)

John Vaught's most heralded 'student-athlete' was unquestionably Archie

Manning, a 'red-haired, freckle-faced' native of the nearby Delta town of Drew—a

celebrity figure who set quarterbacking records at Ole Miss and, perhaps more

importantly, reunified the post-integration visible center in a spectacle of whiteness the

South has not seen since. "One of the last true Southern icons" (Barnhart, 2003, p. 1E),

Archie Manning was not only superstar but folk hero: "I don't think I could describe how

big he was," one teammate marveled (qtd. in Calkins, 2003, p. D1). During his playing

career, Archie became the carceral and pugilistic embodiment of *new New South*

whiteness. His popularity in Mississippi was captured in the opening gambit of a *Sports*

Illustrated article titled "Archie and the War Between the States" started with the

vignette: "Mississippi is the place where a doctor hangs up a picture of Archie Manning

and then wonders: 'Is it wrong for a 40-year-old man to be in love with a 21-year-old

boy?'" More than any other athlete before or since, Archie embodied the cultural politics

of the [imaginary] isolationist white South. Under the celebrated discourses of 'Manning

Mania,' the post-integration imagined community of the visible center could reunite

every Saturday and glorify the sporting prowess of the white Dixie South's

thoroughbred. It has been argued that Ole Miss football in the era of Archie Manning

took on a new life, as white Dixie Southerners congregated at the on-campus football

temple to pay homage to the sporting icon, and to the resurrected glory of Southern

white corporeal solidarity (Breed, 2003). In the era of Archie Manning, the Ole Miss

football program became:

> a white man's haven, a place for the young, the strong, the committed—boys like
>
> Archie—where a victory on the football field in front of thousands of adoring fans
>
> could stand for more than just a notch in the win column. It was another
>
> reassertion of southern pride and a victory on the cultural battlefield. For four
>
> months every year, football was the university's secular religion, and as one
>
> astute observer put it, 'If you were not waving a rebel flag, then you were not part
>
> of the congregation.' (Cohodas, 1997, p. 166)

At a school where football remains a quasi-religion, quarterback Archie Manning was 'a

god' (Breed, 2003). As the phantoms of race riots from five years earlier haunted the

Ole Miss campus, and the residues of a tarnished national reputation constrained the

identity of the University, Archie emerged as the central figure in the lexicon of requiting

white subjectivity.

Songs were written about Archie Manning during the heights of his playing days,

songs which celebrating his athletic exploits and his parochial ways. A University of

Tennessee linebacker, when asked by a reporter if he 'feared' Archie Manning in an upcoming game, snidely replied, "Archie who?". Following that footballing contest against Tennessee, which resulted in an outcome of 38-0 in favor of Ole Miss, a local songwriter composed a song in honor of the 'red-hared hero' of the neo-Confederacy titled: "The Ballad of Archie Who" (Gildea, 2002, p. D1). 'The Ballad of Archie Who'[94] was one of many tributes which glorified the exploits of Archie, and sold thousands of copies in 1969—with one line summing up the magnitude of the 'the red-haired bomber's' (Kriehn, 1970) celebrity: "They try to make a tackle, the wonder where he went . . . Archie Super Manning should run for President" ("'Archie Who' could be state's top seller," 1969a, p. 7). More importantly, the song located the 'red-haired' quarterbacking hero as a distinctively white celebrity—a popular figure in the rebuilding of a 'Southern Ethic' which reserved adoration for the likes of General Robert E. Lee, Jesus Christ, and Ross Barnett. During his college career, more than 20,000 'Archie' buttons were sold, along with 12,000 buttons which read 'Archie's Army' (Sorrels & Cavagnaro, 1976). 'Archie's Army' continued to grow, and in 1970 the University organized a campaign to promote his candidacy for the Heisman Trophy, college football's most coveted award—and the distinction reserved for the nation's best all-around player. While intermediaries wrote songs and parishioners named children in the honor of Archie Manning throughout the course of his playing career at Ole Miss, his visibility as the star of the 'new New South' meant more than simple sporting adoration.

In early September of 1970, *Sports Illustrated* featured Manning in an article entitled "And the best of them all is . . . Archie." Archie was named the Oxford campus's

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[94] The song was sung to the tune of 'Folsom Prison,' was written by a postal clerk from a small Mississippi town, and was sung by Mississippian Murray Kellum ("'Archie Who' could be state's top seller," 1969a).

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1971 Colonel Reb, the highest honor for any male student during that time. Archie

'Super' Manning, who writer John Grisham described as "a legend larger than life"

(Manning et al., 2000, p. 3), became an exclusively Dixie Southern celebrity discourse,

a strategically encoded byproduct of the reclamation of white authority. In a place that

'redshirted both all-Americans and Miss Americas,' Archie Manning emerged as *the*

contextually-important, hyper-mediated representative of the Old South hierarchical

logics of race, gender, and sexuality. Immersed in a local Mississippi mediascape that

had, for some time, held as a central mission the manipulation of white iconography—

constructing the social ideologies for its constituents through a calculated mosaic of

half-truths and deified venomous ideologues—Archie was the sporting savior of the

post-integration failed Old South.[95] For the *Clarion-Ledger*, as well as local radio and

television producers, Archie was the embodied redeemer of the Lost Cause: "Archie

came to Ole Miss at a very critical time," noted David Sansing, Professor Emeritus of

the University of Mississippi, "Archie was a wonderful and pleasant distraction from our

everyday trouble" (Gildea, 2002, p. D1). In the context of home-spun mediations and

recompensatory luminaries of the local, Archie was leveraged as the homegrown [white]

'Southern boy' made-good in the face of an assailing federal government and

antagonistic national media.

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[95] For instance, when Byron de La Beckwith, son to an established Deltaland family, who despite being born on the west coast had lived the previous 38 of his 42 years in Mississippi, was apprehended and accused of killing civil rights activist Medgar Evers in June of 1963, The *Clarion-Ledger* of Jackson offered the imaginative headline: "Californian Is Charged With Murder of Evers" (Lehew, 1963, p. 1). Similarly, the only pictures of the August 28, 1963 Civil Rights March on Washington, D.C. offered by the *Clarion-Ledger* showed the trash left behind after by the swells of protestors. The caption to a report of the events read: "Washington Is Clean Again With Negro Trash Removed" (Silver, 1966, p. 32).

More importantly, Archie Manning's *stature* as sporting icon and champion of the

white Dixie South[96]—constructed out of a two-part narrative of a white-stock physical

prowess (and sacrifice) and a distinctively Southern trope of native instincts and

unassuming diligence—transmitted a glorified technology of the New South sporting

self. This 'bonafide southern football idol' (Gutman, 1975, p. 7)—defender of the visible

center—was persistently located in the narrative structures of divine [Anglo] physique

and the resurrected visions of corporeal machinations and of primordial language:

relays, extensions, and media-mediators of a 'natural' manifest destiny of idealized Old

South deportment. The essential performative white Southern sporting body, Archie's

athleticism was described by rival University of Georgia coach Harry Mehre, who

lauded:

> Manning is so elusive and so dangerous as a runner that he breaks down any
>
> pass defense. He motors backwards, sideways, and upwards. When you're close
>
> to him he finds someone open and lets go. He creates this situation, and then
>
> eats it up. He's got to be the best quarterback I've ever seen in the SEC
>
> (Southeastern Conference). (qtd. in Gutman, 1975, p. 15)

The physicalities of a contextually-specific Dixie South whiteness afforded cultural

intermediaries of Civil Rights Era Mississippi entrée into the conjoined politics of:

whiteness as intellectual capacitance (the white = cerebral/

black = unintelligent trope); whiteness as inherited assiduousness (i.e. the white-

diligent/black-lazy trope); and the return of athletic gait as symbolic discourse of

Southern [white] sacrifice. The physical capital constructed out of, and performed within,

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[96] As an insight into the relevance of football and Southern pride during Archie's term at Ole Miss, prior to the start of the Southern Mississippi game in 1970, one Ole Miss player said, "to control the Confederacy, we have to start by controlling Mississippi" (Anon, 1970b)

the discourses of Archie Manning were, in the first instance, embodiments of newly articulated whiteness in the changing climate of the desegregated South. The politics of Archie Manning's athletic body extended into the politics of race, as the all-white team Manning played for become the last symbol of segregation in the climate of the integrating South. While other football powers in the region were integrating their teams, Ole Miss stood vigilantly in opposition of integration. Thus, Manning and his all-white teammates resuscitated a counter-narrative to integration—a symbolic, mass mediated discourse of resistance and reaffirmation. Further, Manning's accomplishments against integrated teams further cemented the corporeal merits of Ole Miss football within the white Sporting South imaginary.

Concurring with the Georgia coach on the superlative nature of Manning's abilities, Ole Miss head coach John Vaught extolled that: "Archie's got it all. Not only is he blessed with a strong arm but he has another invaluable asset. After one step he's under full throttle. He can really take off. Combine that with a great football mind, which he has, and you've got yourself an A-1 man" (qtd. in Gutman, 1975, p. 16). In a famed quote from his coach, Manning was praised for the 'seemingly-natural' union of intellect and physical prowess: ". . . in the spring drills I saw how quickly Archie could read defenses and come up with an automatic way to exploit it" (Johnny Vaught, qtd in Sorrels & Cavagnaro, 1976, p. 252). In the custom of an idealized, genteel Southern Man, the technologies of Archie Manning's celebrity discourse engaged the Southern cerebralism in the mould of William Faulkner or John Vaught, as well as the traditionalism of an imaginary parochial 'Southern ethic':

Archie Manning deserves a special note for his performance and

leadership on the field which has won him much national acclaim and

above all for his modest acceptance of the honors he has received. This

read-headed quarterback is adored by every football fan in the South,

mobbed by every kid that sees him play, and placed in high regard by the

students at Ole Miss (Collins, 1970, p. 252)

The *reaffirmation of Southern Manning* through public discourse thus translated into a

reaffirmation of Dixie South whiteness. The politics of the mind/body consummation

leveraged within the Archie Manning celebrity discourse during his playing career at Ole

Miss recentered fleeting whiteness at the core of identity and representational politics

on the Ole Miss campus and beyond.

As the iconic embodiment of Southern white excellence in the era of seemingly

ephemeral white power, Manning became the archetypal incarnation of the reclamation

of exemplary whiteness in the late Civil Rights moment. His commitment to his craft

became another central element in the discursive constitution of the Archie Manning

celebrity. One teammate famously described Manning's work ethic this way:

He worked harder than any guy on the team. The thing about Archie was

watching him practice. The way he could throw harder running to his left

than anybody else running to the right was unbelievable. And the reason

he could is because he spent 30 minutes a day down on one knee

throwing passes. That's how dedicated he was (qtd. in Sorrels &

Cavagnaro, 1976, p. 250)

During his senior season, Archie suffered a broken bone in his arm during the Southern Mississippi contest. In the tradition of corporeal sacrifice for the Confederacy, Manning's mediated persona (often pictured in the infirmary with a Confederate Battle flag as the backdrop during his rehabilitation) took on the popular position of fallen footballing soldier—hero figure who sacrificed his body for the betterment of the solid South. The media hailed Manning as the 'captain of the Confederacy,' the leader of a sporting army who, in the defense of Mississippi's honor, forfeited his wellbeing for the greater good of the Old South. Upon his return to the battlefield, Manning was lauded as the unyielding champion of the white South:

> It would have been easy for Archie to just stop right there. But he didn't!
> He kept himself in shape despite a heavy cast on his arm, and when the
> cast came off four weeks later, he insisted on getting right back into the
> action. He did, with a steel pin inserted in his arm and a cumbersome
> brace almost immobilizing the injured appendage. Yet he led the Rebels to
> a postseason bowl bid for the third straight year. That's the kind of guy
> Archie is, the reason there have been songs written about him, parties
> given in his honor, and legends spread around like wildfire. (Gutman,
> 1975, p. 8)

And thus Manning's stature as sporting icon of the Dixie South whiteness was constructed, crystallized, and solidified through the popular mediations of his sporting profile. Amidst the backlash discourse of white entitlement, whereby black civil rights activists were assailed in the media as lazy, philanthropy-seeking vagrants, Archie's celebrity came to be moulded as an idealized version of whiteness: hard-working,

cerebral, 'naturally' gifted with pure-pedigree physicality, and leader of new Army of the South. In the decades which followed his playing career, Archie Manning became the most recognizable and most eminent figure in the Dixie South sporting lexicon, and perhaps the most recognizable icon in all of Ole Miss history.

'Gentle' Blackness

> *We got to make him a nigger first. He's got to admit that he's a nigger –*
> William Faulkner, *Notes on Virginia*

If the central embodiment of Dixie South whiteness in the late/post-Civil Rights Era on the Ole Miss campus appeared in the narrativized physicality of Archie Manning, the first important black celebrity figure on the Ole Miss campus arose from the bodily discourses of Ben Williams. Williams was the first black athlete to play football for the University of Mississippi, arriving on the Ole Miss campus in 1972. Williams was recruited to Ole Miss by John Vaught's immediate successor,[97] and chose to attend and play football for the University not as an agent acting to catalyze social change, but rather to serendipitously abide by the prevailing racial politics of the institution in the post-Civil Rights Era. Williams recalled a few years after his career at Ole Miss:

> I came to Ole Miss because it was a challenge for me, and I liked a
> challenge. Also, I was recruited by Coach Junie Hovious, and I admired
> him a lot. He helped me make up my mind, plus I felt like I could make a
> contribution at Ole Miss. As far as what had gone on before—in terms of
> race—my attitude was that I couldn't change history. All that had already

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[97] Vaught never recruited a single black player to play for any of his Ole Miss teams, and thus his team were always and unequivocally racially-exclusive to white players.

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happened before I came to Ole Miss. If I couldn't deal with that, I shouldn't

have come. (qtd. in Wells, 1980, p. 136)

After arriving at Ole Miss, Williams quickly emerged as the best player on the post-

Archie Manning squads of the early 1970s. Subsequently, as his role on the team

expanded, his celebrity in the imagined football community of Ole Miss fandom swelled.

Williams eventually took on the nickname 'Gentle Ben,' which he was afforded due to

his 'savage-like disposition' on the field, and 'gentle mannerisms' off the gridiron.

Williams' placid blackness, as opposed to the more virulent activism of members of the

BSU during that time period, became a symbol of 'advanced, progressive' race relations

at Ole Miss. In numerous commentaries in the *Mississippian*, white student subjects

interjected that Williams' ability to work within the normative social relations of the

University was 'a welcome reprieve' from the more strident efforts of many 'campus

blacks.' Thus, Ben Williams' complicity, or the public persona constructed for Williams,

served to reinforce the hegemonic norms of Dixie South whiteness and the

authorization of preferred sterile blackness. [98]

In the fall of 1975, Ben Williams announced his candidacy for heralded post of

Colonel Rebel, an honor bestowed on many a football player before, but never a black

man. To the surprise of reporters from the *Mississippian*, Ben Williams won the award

that spring semester. The awkward juxtaposition of a black man occupying the profile of

'Colonel Reb' in the imaginations of Ole Miss student subjects was soon displaced by a

more discernible image, that of the 1976 yearbook which featured Williams and 'Miss

Ole Miss' Barbara Biggs positioned with farmland as the backdrop, with the black man

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[98]Similarly, the University's most high-profile black running back in recent years, Deuce McAllister, donated $1 million to the University after his graduation as a gesture of 'appreciation' for the 'opportunities afforded him' at Ole Miss during his playing career.

and white woman separated by a fence (see Figure 6). Whereas the tradition had been

for most popular campus coeds to interlock in the pose for the *Ole Miss*, this picture

signified the separatist ideals regarding race at Ole Miss—the fence almost acting as a

metaphor for the separatist divisiveness of social attitudes within the institution. The

inclusivity awarded Ben Williams for his service to the University (and its football team)

was thus usurped by the segregationist posture employed against the black body of

Williams and the white body of Biggs. Rather than challenge the normalized racial

hierarchy of the Dixie South, Ben Williams's celebrity iconography promoted

"integration without equality, representation without power, presence without the

confirming possibility of emancipation" (Wiegman, 1995, p. 41).

Symbolic configurations of Williams' celebrity discourse, and the closeness of his

sterile, 'gentle' blackness to the preferred blackness of an antiquated, hegemonic Dixie

South social hierarchy, afforded him entrée into the symbolic universe of Dixie South

whiteness, but only under *pretenses of submission*, rather than equality. As a further

example of post-Meredith sporting servitude and preferred blackness, in 1979 Rose

Jackson, an accomplished student and All-American basketball player for the Ole Miss

women's team, elected to attempt to become the first black 'Miss Ole Miss.' However,

her efforts were met with a great deal of resistance, as her campaign posters were

defaced with by scribbles of the word "nigger" and many of her white classmates

suggested to the Ole Miss senior that while they respected her, they could not support a

black woman. Whereas Ben Williams was more easily accepted because of his athletic

prowess and acquiescent personality, Jackson was perceived to be both too strident in

her blackness, too rigid in her academic pursuits, and too masculine in her sporting

femininity (Cohodas, 1997), and thus, while she was a much more qualified candidate that Williams, her mediated persona eclipsed the preferred intersections of sterile blackness and servile femininity.

Another significant figure in the black Ole Miss sporting iconography was Roy Lee 'Chuckie' Mullins, a defensive back for the Rebel football team in the late-1980s. While his accomplishments on the field were not as distinguished as Archie Manning or Ben Williams, Mullins has been posthumously memorialized as a seminal figure in the heroic Ole Miss sporting lexicon. In a nationally televised game, Mullins was paralyzed after making a tackle during the October 28, 1989, contest against Vanderbilt. When the severity of his injuries became clear, members of the University community came together to raise money to help the fallen athlete's family meet his medical expenses and continue his education. A few years later, Mullins passed away from complications resulting from the injury and surgery. Subsequently, his legacy as a gladiator of the highest order became further embalmed in Ole Miss lore—as well as inscribed into a memorial outside the Vaught-Hemingway stadium wall. The more scurrilous observers of the Chuckie Mullins trauma have posited that the philanthropical bent which motivated Ole Miss supporters to assist Mullins was suggestive of the pattern of 'white paternalistic behavior' common in the Old South's slavery days. In other words, some commentators have suggested that this post-facto egalitarianism too closely resembled the ambivalent humanitarianism of slave-era race relations, whereby the indentured black body only became humanized after suffering injuries while rendering services for the white power elite. Subsequently, such charitable actions did not offend the racial status quo of the Old South, but rather reinforced the iniquitous, patriarchal power

relationships in which whites from positions of privilege bestow their benevolence on a particular black individuals in need—only to the effects of reinforcing the 'hierarchized racial code' (Mouffe, 1992). As King and Springwood (2001) suggested, by the latter part of the century at Ole Miss, "racial paternalism was manifest as a patrician, Southern whiteness which, when mapped onto the newly racialized collegiate sporting world, turned on the assertion of difference, supremacy, and generosity" (p. 154).

<center>*The Neo-Confederate Generation*</center>

With the unanimity of Ole Miss's racial cohesion and identity politics seemingly behind it, the University emerged from the Civil Rights Era primed to enter into an era of post-hegemonic whiteness. Unfortunately, rather than fulfilling the promise of an integrated collective, University stalwarts of the conservative cause rearticulated the Southern cause into what amounted to a battle cry for "Dixie's Last Stand" (Meyer, 1962, p. 441)—mobilized and motivated by the transience between a divisive educational system and its corporeal signifiers. The most pervasive, if not invasive, medium for rearticulating Ole Miss as a sanctimonious Southern space was in the discursive plasticity found throughout the University's sporting pastimes. Through the discursive formations of nostalgia and traditionalism, sporting Ole Miss was transformed into a political creature of the resilient Dixie South Right. In particular, during the post-Meredith era, the Ole Miss Rebel football team became the symbol of resistance to Federal dictums mandating integration in the schools, and a counter narrative to the diversification of Mississippi's power structure. The Rebels came to exemplify the transitory Dixie 'Southern Ethic' which had become such an integral part of Ole Miss

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social and corporeal identity politics. The *Ole Miss* yearbook likened the team to the revered war heroes a century earlier: "Amidst a sea of Rebel flags waving to the strains of 'Dixie,' these Confederate Soldiers fight for the Gallant Cause. . . . The Soldiers know that the Cause is not Lost . . . [each victory means] the Confederate troops rise again" (Cohodas, 1997, pp. 193-194) (see Figure 7). To disrupt the unquestioned nature of hyper-racist Dixie South performativity within the Ole Miss football spectacle during the late 1960s and early 1970s, black students would attend football games and conduct "their own ritual protest." The black Ole Miss students sat together in the end zone of the stadium and blatantly cheered for the opposing team, "ever more lustily when a black player made an outstanding play. They refused to stand up for the alma mater of 'Dixie.' Occasionally someone from the group would hold up a banner: 'Racist Athletic Department' or 'Ole Miss Racism'" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 169).

As participle to the verity that at Ole Miss, the past simply will not die, the presence of black bodies in the stands and eventually on the field became symbolically redesigned to mirror an Old South social order. Through these football spectacles, the presence of black bodied spectators, even in protest, served as a cultural formaldehyde of an Old South racial hierarchy, embalming the phenotypical dyad of the powerless black 'Other' operating in the spaces of white privilege. Perhaps a more compelling argument could be made that as the football team became integrated, and black 'muscle machines' performed to the delights of the white Dixie South disciplinary gaze, football became a space for the denial of the present, and the reversion back to the logics of the laboring black body as a means of pleasure for white power elites. Under the mark of the Confederacy (the incessant waving of the Southern Cross throughout

the stadium), the black bodied 'student-athlete' became an instrument for propelling the heights of Southern delights, and a discourse of Old South power relations. The decisive and divisive flashpoint of Ole Miss football following integration occurred in the early 1980s, as the discursive assemblage of symbols and imagery related to the Civil War and the Confederacy were regaining momentum as cultural signs. For more than a century these signifiers had been woven into the textual fabric of Ole Miss—from the stained glass window honoring the University Greys to the memorial to the Confederate war dead to the Confederate flag and 'Dixie.' Each was a "reminder of how the past shaped the present. The football team, in particular, served whites as a powerful link to bygone years" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 193). For example, in the fall of 1979, the senior class elected to purchase a horse to represent the University as a mascot during home sporting events. The horse, which was named "Traveller" in honor of Robert E. Lee's favorite steed, became a source of contention as Civil Rights activists took notice of the increased connection between the University's athletic symbols and the Confederacy (Robinson, 1979).

While the athletic teams were integrated by the early 1980s, there was still a "reluctance to elect blacks to positions that went to the core of the Old South pageantry so much a part of the university's ethos" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 196). One such example was the contested nature of the university's first black cheerleader. John Hawkins was a product of a Mississippi public school system which was, by his estimation, best described as "integrated but segregated," but one which he felt helped prepare him for his time at Ole Miss (Cohodas, 1997, p. 197). In 1982, he was elected to be the first black cheerleader on the Ole Miss campus, upon which he was asked if he would

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execute the tradition of carrying out the Rebel flag onto the field—a request which he refused to honor. After repeated attacks against his personal belongings, his dorm room (which was set on fire), and his personage (constantly being called 'nigger' via harassing telephone calls and death threats), Hawkins spoke out to the local and national media: "While I'm an Ole Miss cheerleader, I'm still a black man. In my household I wasn't told to hate the flag, but I did have history classes and know what my ancestors went through and what the Rebel flag represents. It is my choice that I prefer not to wave one" (qtd. in Rawls, 1982b, p. 6). Hawkins assayed that "The Rebel Flag is the only thing separating blacks and whites at Ole Miss" (Dumas, 1982, p. 1). Instead of allowing the conquest of the black body through orthodox symbolic assimilation, Hawkins' refusal *for the first time* contested the discursive control of black deportment in spectacular white spaces.[99]

In the middle of the controversial football season of 1982, the Ku Klux Klan decided to stage a demonstration and recruitment drive in Oxford during the last week of October. The white supremacist group paraded through the Square in full regalia— wearing hoods and white robes, and carrying Confederate flags—with some 450 students and townspeople watching and listening to Grand Dragon Gordon Galle supplicate whites to unite, send black Americans back to Africa, and discontinue school integration: "I'm talking about whites dominating not Oxford, not Mississippi, but the world," Galle spewed (Stead, 1982, p. 1). In describing the events of the 1982-1983 school year, essayist Willie Morris posited in the year-end *Ole Miss*, the University "is a subtle blend of everything the Deep South was and is"—romanticizing the Confederate

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[99] Hawkins' refusal to carry the Confederate flag onto the football field, and the controversies which arose from that act of protest, are more thoroughly developed in the section pertaining to the Confederate flag as Southern signifier in the next chapter.

flag, celebrating the coming-of age of young white sorority girls. All of this, he said, "is the best and worst of the older South which has survived into a new age. Many of the white students live the most sheltered lives. Their proximity with the young blacks of Ole Miss seems both mystifying and exhilarating. . . . [a place where] much remains the same" (Morris, 1983, p. 44). In the spring of 1983, a petition drive was undertaken to formally require the University to recognize the rebel flag as the school's official spirit symbol. The resolution asked that the flag, Colonel Rebel, and 'Dixie' remain "endeared traditions until the stones crumble from the buildings and Ole Miss is a mere whisper in history" and its proponents argued that "a University which betrays its traditions is a University not worth the respect of its students, prospective students or former students" (Cassreino, 1983a, p. 1). Black students on campus were outraged by a pictorial essay in the 1983 Ole Miss which featured images from the Ku Klux Klan rally of the previous October in the "Themes" and "Issues" section of the publication (Freeland, 1983a). According to *The Daily Mississippian*, a number of black students from the BSU planned to "protest" the symbolic oppressiveness of the KKK feature in the *Ole Miss* as well as the use of the Confederate flag at sporting events by demanding a refund for their student fees (Turner & Nettleton, 1983a, p. 1). As part of their protest, black campus leaders formulated a set of 13 demands for a better learning environment of the Ole Miss campus—most of which echoed the specters of a generation before, calling for the hiring of new black faculty and administrators and expanded cultural programs. Upon hearing of the proposed protest from black students who felt disenfranchised by the University and its policies, carloads of white students 'waving Confederate flags' drove through the campus on Friday, April 15, shouting, "Save the flag" (Freeland, 1983b, p.

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1). On the following Monday, more than fifteen hundred white students gathered in front of the Lyceum in their own protest, shouted racial epithets and chanting "Hell no the flag won't go" and "Hotty Toddy;" and then proceeded to march toward the black fraternity house of John Hawkins[100] chanting "We want Hawkins" (Raines et al., 1983). As an act of defiance, white students again clad themselves in the accoutrements of the University Greys, as a demonstration of Southern solidarity and as a tribute to the heritage culture which they so dearly revered (see Figure 8), and performed various ceremonies throughout the campus to re-assert the hegemonic whiteness upon the campus space. The sentiment of many white students on campus resonated in Richard Benz' comment which captured the prevailing campus attitude in that moment: "What started the whole controversy? John Hawkins' refusal to wave the flag. What finally prompted the KKK to march? James Meredith's ultimatum to Ole Miss. If we need to throw out the KKK pictures, we also need to throw out the picture concerning Meredith and Hawkins" (Benz, 1983, p. 2).[101]

On April 20th, Chancellor Fortune somewhat quelled the volatile emotions on both sides by acknowledging the important role of the flag to Mississippi's 'shared heritage,' but declaring that the symbol was no longer formally associated with the University. In describing this 'shared heritage,' Fortune intimated that both black and white Mississippians shared a 'common history' (Turner, 1983b). While perhaps this assertion is true, it in no way addressed the deep cultural divide from which the flag controversy sprang. The Chancellor's half-hearted solution called for the instituted of a set of rules

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[100] John Hawkins was elected as BSU President in April of 1983, succeeding Lydia Spragin (Tullos, 1983a).

[101] James Meredith had offered his opinion of the controversies at Ole Miss only a week earlier, publicly supporting the demands of the BSU.

which discontinued the distribution of flags in the stadium during football games, and disallowed student cheerleaders from running onto the field with the Southern Cross (Turner, 1983b). Black Student Union President Lydia Spragin immediately rejected Fortune's solution, citing that the organization's request for the abolition of the playing of 'Dixie' and the mascot Colonel Reb had not been met, neither had the terms of the 13-point resolution which the BSU had passed a week earlier (Nettleton, 1983). That fall, the first pep rally of the football season saw "more Confederate flags than usual" (Tullos, 1983c, p. 1)—a defiant response to the threat of dissolving the heritage of a supremacist, symbolic Southern shadow which cast its racist austerity over Ole Miss sporting traditions.

As a further complication in race relations, during their fall recruitment efforts, Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity was reported to have communicated to potential members that to enter the fraternity, they "would have to fuck a black woman . . . black women are the best because they move good" ("Pike's, E's: Abusive?" 1983, p. 1). This caused a great deal of commotion on the Ole Miss campus, but ironically not primarily because of the racist practices of the organization, but rather because of the violation of an unwritten ascetic code by the student newspaper when using the word 'fuck' in reporting the incident. Also in the fall of 1983, less than a week after the University had established a 'biracial task force' to address the growing divide between black and white students on campus (Bibbs, 1983a), *The Daily Mississippian* reported of a Chi Psi fraternity party where the attendees were dressed up like Klansmen (Bibbs, 1983b). The University's affirmative action officer, Erie Jean Bowen, responded to the exhibit by stating that "she was not shocked at the 'display'" and BSU President John Hawkins stated that "some of

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the people in these outfits harassed black students as if they were trying to intimidate them" (Bibbs, 1983b, p. 1). As the surly environs of the South's most Confederate university became more racially divisive, new black student enrollment took a decided downturn. Following the 1982-1983 academic year, the total black student enrollment at the University of Mississippi fell from 715 that year, to 656 in the fall 1983, to 536 in 1984 (Gooden, 1985). Bowen, the University's Affirmative Action Officer for much of the 1980s—commenting on the "history of racial prejudice in the state and university," lamented that for many, the role of Ole Miss in creating and reproducing Mississippi's power structure during the 1970s and early 1980s was viewed "as one step shy of the Klan" (qtd. in Cohodas, 1997, p. 205).

Good Ole Boys of the 'New New South'

Through a re-mediation of monolithic whiteness through celebrity embodiment and the re-culturalization of political and social exclusivity, new visions of Ole Miss look very much like older one. As such, I want to conclude this chapter with two brief, correlative discussions. In the first, I want to link the embodiments of the newer generation of 'good ole boys' to the cultural politics and lived experiences of the student subject operating on today's Ole Miss campus, and how the re-imagined hierarchies of privilege, wealth, masculinity, and white superiority persist at Ole Miss and throughout the Dixie South. The *new good ole boy network* at Ole Miss not only looks very similar to the older version, but also mobilizes the same introspections of spectacular whiteness to establish an iniquitous knowledge/power hierarchy. And therefore, in the second discussion, I offer a discussion of the ascendancy of Eli Manning into the

popular iconography of Ole Miss lore, and how the younger Manning, and his ancestral 'place' as an Ole Miss Rebel, is discursively-bound to the prevailing logics of contextually-specific iterations of Dixie South whiteness in the contemporary moment. As a fixture and preferred physicality of today's dominant subject position, Eli Manning has come to represent and authorize the collective identity politics of the visible center

The *spectacle of Dixie South whiteness* at Ole Miss is in the second instance funneled through and reaffirmed by the conduits and arbiters of social (fraternity-dominated) life. As many critics of Ole Miss have posited, Greek organizations dominate the landscape of power at and beyond the institution—through their selection of campus leaders to the definitional role each plays in the popularization and commodification of preferred forms and practices of whiteness. From the dress and behavior at football games, to the dictums for celebratory sociality, the Greek system has become a contemporaneous extension of the antebellum ideologies of race and Southern life. A University appointed task force on minority participation in campus life cited fraternities and sororities as 'cogs in the racist machine,' stating that they played a significant role in "institutionalized racial separation" (Mason & Yarbrough, 1989, p. 1). For example, in the summer of 1988, a new chapter house was under construction for Phi Beta Sigma—the first such building for a black fraternity on the Ole Miss campus. As a symbol of 'new, progressive race relations,' the Associate Commissioner of Higher Education for Mississippi proclaimed the erected structure a symbol of the "new Mississippi" (Cook, 1988, p. 1), a more racially tolerant and diverse state and University (Gurner, 1988). However, during the weekend prior to the start of classes, the house was set ablaze by arsonists. Despite no reports in *The Daily Mississippian*, the opening of the first black

fraternity house on campus was postponed until renovations to a different, abandoned fraternity house could made (Dabney, 1988). The Rust College incident of 1989 (from Chapter 1), as well as numerous other racist incidents within the Ole Miss Greek system since, is suggestive of the diffuse nature of ideological power imbedded in the social practices and discourses of the institution. *Daily Mississippian* columnist Jay Oglesby (1989) postulated that the problem of racism was not confined to one house but was system-wide. "The thinking in too many houses," he wrote, goes like this: "'I may not be better than anybody else and minorities may have every legal right that I do. But I never will let a nigger be my brother.' This racism, devoid of a shred of logic, is the worst form of the disease and to say that it does not exist in our system is simply naïve" (p. 2). Furthermore, the large number of Ole Miss students who are members of Greek social organizations on campus and the almost total lack of multiracial chapters suggests that "the Greek social organizations are discriminatory and do not promote participation by minority students" (Cohodas, 1997, 246). Despite the fact that the University of Mississippi's Greek system was finally integrated in December 1988, when Kappa Alpha Psi, a black fraternity, admitted two white members, there have rarely been black students invited to join white fraternities over the past fifteen years.

Race has always been a fixture in the conscience of Ole Miss, always been at the fore of its directives and its problems. No other public institution in American society is more self-conscious about race than Ole Miss, and certainly few have endured the intense internal debates and external scrutiny. Much like his predecessor, current Chancellor Robert Khayat's inaugural speech was highlighted by a spirited contention that "We are one—we must be one—regardless of our role, race or gender, economic

status, religious affiliation, or political persuasion. We are one people" (Khayat, 1996, p. 1). In a visit to campus to participate in a town hall meeting conducted by the President's Initiative on Race, the chairman of the organizing committee declared, after being away from the campus for thirty years, that the university had undergone a "complete revolution," so encouraged by what he saw the chairman affirmed "we don't have quite as far to go as we thought we did" (qtd. in Sansing, 1999, p. 315). In spite of the rosy rhetoric from this and other campus leaders, to this day, there is a deep-seeded "chasm fueled by that dichotomy between a shared history and a divided heritage" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 259) that splits the human agents acting within the Ole Miss space. At contemporary Ole Miss, it has been repeatedly proffered, after classes conclude for the day, there are 'two different campuses at Ole Miss'—one for white students and one for black students. More divisively, the permutations of a racist and elitist rhetoric are allowed not only to penetrate the lived experiences of students and members of the Ole Miss community, but those same individuals increasingly perform the historical materialisms of ideological white supremacy through the reconstruction of new technologies of discursive power.

Eli Manning: The Modern Prince of the New Sporting South

> *The ball is on the 50,*
> *the down is third-and-10.*
> *Some 30 years have slipped away,*
> *we don't know how or when.*
> *A Manning still under center,*
> *what other could it be?*
> *The best dad-burn quarterbacks,*
> *Ole Miss will ever see.*
> *The ball is snapped to Eli,*
> *the down it is the last*

he throws it to the end zone
and what shall come to pass?
A glorious win? Atlanta bound?
Or a loss to LSU?
Either way, they're father-son,
Two legends, cast in blue. – 'The Ballad of Eli Manning' (qtd. in Calkins, 2003, p. D1)

As the sporting accomplishments of the University were realized in meager intervals during the 1980s and 1990s, by century's end a figurative savior of the white sporting South emerged out of the familial stirs bound to the order of parochial privilege and white inheritance. The Manning legacy first re-materialized on the Ole Miss campus in the form of Cooper Manning, Archie and Olivia Manning's oldest son, who briefly played on the Rebel football team in the early-1990s before his career was cut short by injury. Following Cooper's injury, expectations grew rampant in Oxford as the king of Ole Miss football was set to send his second son, highly-regarded quarterback Peyton, to Ole Miss. However, following an exemplary senior season at his high school outside New Orleans, Peyton chose to attend and play football for the University of Tennessee. While Peyton's accomplishments at Tennessee have become the stuff of legend, his 'betrayal' of the anticipatory heritage culture which he abandoned at Ole Miss fueled both 1) an ill-will toward the future hall-of-fame player and 2) the intensity with which his younger brother, Eli, was recruited to play football for the University of Mississippi. Following an equally illustrious high school career, Eli chose to following father and oldest brother, and fulfill his destiny as the hero son of the neo-Confederacy. When Eli arrived at Ole Miss in the fall of 1999, he did so with "the fanfare expected of being Manning, a brand name in Southern college football" (Higgins, 2003, p. M3):

Eli could be the family's best, and that's saying a lot since Peyton was the

NFL's co-MVP, along with Tennessee's Steve McNair, last season, and

Archie is still a legend in the South. Say 'Archie' almost anywhere south of

the Mason-Dixon Line and you don't have to utter a last name. To

understand Eli, you have to understand the Mannings and what they have

meant to football in the South, particularly at Ole Miss. University

chancellor and former NFL kicker Robert Khayats called the Mannings 'the

DiMaggios of the NFL.' (Blaudschun, 2004, p. E3)

The room where Eli usually performed his weekly media interviews at Ole Miss was

named 'The Archie Manning Room,' a space which featured memorabilia from his

father's career and where his image dominated the interior decoration (Altavilla, 2004).

Accompanying the expectations of a return to the golden age of Ole Miss football which

the 'Manning name' conjured up for many Ole Miss supporters, Eli brought with him a

diachronically informed-celebrity canvas from which new articulations of celebrity

whiteness could formulated and mobilized. In a Machiavellian sense, the prince was

empowered by, and counternarrative to, the king's elocutions of power:

Talk about bloodlines. Archie was the second pick in the 1971 draft.

Peyton was the first pick in the 1998 draft. And Eli figures to go No. 1,

maybe to the New York Giants, if you believe the latest trade rumors. He's

smart enough to say he doesn't care. 'I can't worry about it,' said the 6-

foot-4 3/4-inch, 221-pounder who [emerges] as the most famous

Mississippi quarterback since, well, Archie. (Blaudschun, 2004, p. E3)

During his career, Eli Manning rewrote all of the Ole Miss records for passing, replacing many standards which were set by his father in the early-1970s. More importantly, Eli became the acculturated embodiment of idealized sporting Dixie South whiteness in the era reclamationist white elitism. As the University 'celebrated' its superficial pursuits of racial diversity by rescinding many affirmative action opportunities for students and faculty, citing a 'lack of interest' from the black community, Eli emerged as the physical reincarnation of white entitlement and hereditary solipsism.

The *new technologies of the South* were thus expressed in and through Eli's celebrity discourse, and in under the hyperreal auspices of familial inheritance and ascendancy through genetic dispositions for 'hard work' (think: George W. Bush as determined political figure, rather than product of systemic exploitation), Eli's physical prowess was celebrated as an effect of his father's meritocratic investments in physicality, rather than the successor of a distinctive Southern socio-economic stature. Perhaps more than coincidence, as the Junior Bush's ascendancy to power gained momentum in the South, and the wave of public attitude in Mississippi supporting the abolition of 'hand-outs' in the form of social welfare, support for public works for minority and women's projects, and subsidies for Americans experiencing unemployment (Whiteside, 2003) intensified, the Junior-most Manning's iconage was similarly amplified. Just as the vast majority of rich, white Mississippians—many of whom were inheritors of 'old money' in the form of plantation wealth—readily identified with the politics of Bush and the postulations of the conservative Right for a return to individual wealth and anti-socialist polity, Eli can to embody a localized symmetry of wealth, inheritance, and economic and cultural conservativism. As such, in the momentary

Bushy-bliss of [racialized/classed] hedonistic individualism, whereby the convictions of

the dominant Mississippi majority identified with Trent Lott, Haley Barbour, and their

abilities to seize a familial manifest destiny (and thus ignore the politics of race and

social class, and the access afforded rich whites and denied poor blacks), Eli Manning's

sporting ascendancy typified, and indeed personified, the body politic of contemporary

Southern society.

Decidedly, the fruits of Eli Manning's parochialized, politicized import were not a

matter of accident, but rather:

In following the father to Ole Miss, Eli is envisioned returning the school to

its golden age of football, which ended more than 30 years ago with

Archie. The son has created expectations that broil like the summer sun.

They would smother him, surely, if it were not for the fact that he is Eli,

meaning that in addition to his physical stature—6 feet 4, 215 pounds—

and natural quarterbacking ability and all that he has been taught both by

Archie and older brother Peyton, the Indianapolis Colts quarterback, he

possesses a God-given knack for letting nothing faze him. Or so it would

seem. (Gildea, 2002, p. D1)

The 'god-given-ness' of Eli's sporting prowess echoed Archie's corporeal superlatives,

and connected the 'times not forgotten' to the new politics of Southern representation

from which is celebrity sprung. Much like Archie, Eli's complimentary set of natural

physical attributes and innate intellectual abilities was subjected to intense media

adoration:

Eli had a private tryout for scouts at the Saints' training facility over the

winter, and the feedback was positive. 'Excellent size, good fundamentals

and leadership skills,' read one report. 'He is intelligent and makes good

decisions. He has an outstanding arm and can make all the throws. He

has good vision of the field and the defense, and is very accurate with a

nice touch.' (Blaudschun, 2004, p. E3)

And much like Archie's neo-confederated hero trope, the Eli-as-local-hero-figure

narrative was constructed in the mass media out of the complimentary characteristics of

'dignity,' diligence, and deservingness. As a product of "the dignity and poise Eli has

displayed in staring down what could have been an impossible legacy" (Drape, 2003, p.

D1), the native son's public persona was both a product, and reproducer of, the former

Manning's centrality as the seminal figurehead of Dixie South whiteness.

During his sons' days at Ole Miss and beyond, Archie actively marketed and

manipulated Eli's position in the Southern celebrity vernacular. The "son of Archie and

brother of Peyton took the Fightin' Secessionists" (Hummer, 2003, p. 3F) to new heights

of national notoriety during the era of sporting hyper-media, as most Ole Miss football

contests were televised on national television outlets and attendance and merchandise

sales skyrocketed. Archie was typically featured on Ole Miss programs, and was often

brought in as a 'guest commentator' during telecasts of Eli's games at Ole Miss.

Following his graduation, Archie notified the National Football League's San Diego

Chargers that if the first pick of the 2004 Draft were spent on Eli, the Ole Miss

quarterback would sit the year out, and thus demanded that the quarterbacking son be

traded to a more desirable team is they were to use the pick on Eli. Archie Manning

cited the lack of comfort he and Eli had with the Chargers front office as the reason for

the demand, a move which drew heavy criticism in the national media. Most media

commentators proffered that the real reason for the hold-out was that Archie had been

in contact with the New York Giants, who were interested in attaining Manning's

services. Those critical of Archie suggested that the elder Manning wanted to capitalize

on his son's popularity in the more lucrative market of New York:

> The Mannings were characterized as manipulative crybabies before the
>
> draft when they informed the Chargers that Eli would sit out the season
>
> rather than play for them, forcing the trade to the Giants. . . . He came off
>
> as a real Little League father in April, a characterization he detests, but he
>
> knew what he was doing. San Diego didn't get Philip Rivers signed until
>
> after the second preseason game following a contentious holdout, and
>
> that could have happened to his son, too. And if you have to guess which
>
> 4-12 team can turn things around in a year or two, it's the Giants. (Myers,
>
> 2004, p. 116)

Thus, Eli's celebrity was one part reprise from Archie's heroics, one part mirror of

his father's iconage, and one part crude poetics of late capitalism. Eli's celebrity skin

was moulded out of a narrative defined by his 'close-cut brown hair,' [decidedly white]

phenotypical profile, and parochial vernacularism as expressed in the imaginary and

spoken 'drawl' (Gildea, 2002, p. D1); and thus he came to signify the return to a unique

expressivity of whiteness and a power elitism structured around Old South lineage and

'new New South' problematics. At the intersection of white privilege in the pseudo

egalitarian regimes of power, the hereditary politics of individualism in the South, and

the drug-like enchantment with subversive iterations of Dixie South whiteness, Eli

Manning's celebrity discourse links agents of the dominant faction to both the past

(through the superior fertilization of Archie and his neo-Confederate stardom) and to the

synchronic politics of exclusivity, 'angry Southern white male' ideals, and a colonizing

Bush-era cultural economy of 'heritage' and lineage.'

Brave New Whiteness?

In the year 20 PM (1984, 20 years after Meredith graduated from Ole Miss), the

University appointed new officers with the purpose of 'guiding Ole Miss into the next

century,' readied to face the challenges of a more diverse and changing Dixie South. In

an evolution which mirrors the theme of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, what

followed over the next two decades was a discursive union of public opiates,

reestablishment of a [clearly] demarcated caste system, and, much like in George

Orwell's *1984*, an over-reliance on the centralizing armatures of distributional [white]

power. Ironically, it was in 1984 when newly appointed Chancellor Gerald Turner's

proclaimed the beginning of a new era at Ole Miss in regard to race: "This is the

University of Mississippi for all Mississippians—white, black, brown, red. . . . If you as

alumni are not ready for this to be, get out of the way" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 222).

Ushering in a period of *veneer multiculturalism* and the *façade of equal opportunity*,

Turner's publicly-stated goal was to make the campus 'psychologically accessible' to

Mississippi's prospective black students. In spite of his best intentions, Chancellor

Turner's maneuvers were not received favorably by many of his white constituents. In

fact, through a detritus public discourse, the initiatives to create expanded opportunities

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for black students were met with considerable hostility. One group started its own publication, the *Ole Miss Review*, modeled after the conservative publication from Dartmouth University. The *Review* documented the impinging accommodations offered to black students, and how such measures threatened to undermine "the anchor of the Old South [that] many of these students were looking for in Ole Miss. Further, *Review* writers admonished the University, stating that attempting to "curb displays of the Confederate flag or silence 'Dixie' was [an effort] to diminish the college experience they had expected" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 224).

A recurring thread of dissent came in the protest against the amount of student aid given to black students. Much like in Huxley's world, the Alphas[102] and Betas of Ole Miss had spent decades carving out discursive and ideological spaces for promoting a culture of hierarchy and the privileged positions which they occupied. The measures taken by the new administration, namely to provide greater access to the institution for Mississippi's black high school students, were met with cries of 'reverse discrimination' by many campus whites. In a preview for the 1990s backlash against affirmative action and equal opportunity, many white students publicly decried the measures taken by the university to make an education at Ole Miss more accessible to the state's poor black high school students. On July 10, 1984, the Gannett Foundation pledged $100,000 to help "minority students" seeking an education at Ole Miss (Moore, 1985, p. 1). Columnist Robert McLeod despondently scathed: "If you are a white male, look out . . . There are countless organizations, scholarships, and grants for everybody, but white males." McLeod's bigotry continued, "I am tired of working. I'd like some of that

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[102] The dominant group—those empowered by the system, for the reproductive qualities of the systems hierarchy. However, unlike Huxley's world, at Ole Miss, the Alphas wear khaki.

scholarship money, but I have something wrong with me. I'm white" (McLeod, 1985, p. 2). Rhetoric of a disadvantaged, angry white male recurrently permeated the editorial pages of *The Daily Mississippian* throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The longitudinal proclivity of this crisis of white male hegemony typically incited on of three themes: anti-affirmative action, victimization of the hegemonic center, and defense of an imagined Confederacy. Some twenty years after McLeod's tirade, the Editorial Board of *The Daily Mississippian* offered a similar interpretation of the effects of greater opportunities for black students in the Ole Miss Law School:

> . . . one of the most negative impacts that these scholarships may have is that of diffusing incentive among black students who are aspiring to law school Undergraduates who plan to enroll in expensive graduate programs have a great incentive to work hard and remain academically competitive in order to get scholarships for these programs. If you tell any group that they don't need to do anything in order to qualify for substantial scholarships, it will certainly decrease their incentive to perform to the full extent of their abilities in their undergraduate programs. (Carrington, Scovel, & Salu, 2005, p. 2)

In spite of the fact that these scholarships are very competitive, the authors of Ole Miss whiteness in this brave new world returned to the tropes of an invisible stultification of their privilege, as well as the overly popular 'lazy black' figuration.

In Huxley's world, human agents over-relied on soma, a drug-like opiate, to rid society of pain and anguish. At contemporary Ole Miss, that opiate is the discourse of disadvantage, which not only masks the iniquitous social relations of the present, but erases the historical biography of the University and the Dixie South which led to the

present circumstances of racial iniquity. In this brave new world, much like in Huxley's, citizens have no awareness of history except for a vague idea of how different things were before the inception of the present society.[103] In his book, Huxley tells of a common practice in his brave new world, whereby crowds gathered and chanted 'Orgy-porgy,' a sensual hymn used to generate a feeling of oneness. Ole Miss Orgy-porgy over the past few decades has materialized in the form of sporting and social spectacles. Through a methodical public discourse, the arbiters of racial privilege at Ole Miss defined the expected practices of whiteness in the era of veneer multiculturalism through spectacles of race and privilege. As a response to staunch criticism concerning the Ole Miss fight song and use of the Confederate flag, *Daily Mississippian* Editor of 1987, Frank Hurdle (1987), baptized the opening that fall's football season with the following remarks: "Wave a flag, drink a pint and yell a cheer . . . The Rebel flag is still the official flag of Ole Miss as far as the students are concerned, and it always will be," he wrote during homecoming week. He continued, "If you are against the flag, go to hell. Because my preacher told me that heaven was full of the things we love, which means it is full of Rebel flags" (p. 2). Through a spectacle of symbols, song, and practice, Ole Miss sport has become the nexus of the discursive leveraging of identity politics. The cyclical process of discursive representation leading to ideological identification leading to signified practice leads to a politics of identity unique to the University. Hurdle's mentality is reflective of a broader resilience of whiteness and spectacular dispensation. In Huxley's world, *normal* behavior is to be highly sociable, engage in promiscuous sexual activity, avoid negative thoughts and feelings by regular consumption of soma,

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[103] In the following chapters, I aim to deconstruct the discourses of racial privilege operating with contemporary Ole Miss, and how clandestine racism and white empowerment are coded in the unique language of Ole Miss spectacle whiteness.

practice sports and, in general, be good consumers. This hyper-normative sociality is reinforced in the novel by the characters' frequent repetition of tag-lines from their conditioning such as: "Everyone belongs to everyone" and "A gramme is better than a damn" (referring to soma). It is socially unacceptable to spend time alone, to be monogamous, to refuse to take soma, and to express opinions which conflict with those taught during conditioning. In Hurdle's world, the spectacle of Dixie South whiteness at Ole Miss parallels Huxley's world with uncomfortable exactitude. Commonly referred to as the 'Dixie's party school,' for many students Ole Miss social life and identity politics are organized around fraternity parties, football games, and cotillion balls.

Whereas in Orwell's *1984*, an authoritarian governmental regime used mass surveillance to create a climate of panopticism for the lived experiences of human agents, in *Brave New World* the primary means of social control is internalized by the human agents. In other words, in Huxley's futuristic vision, the characters are physically engineered to not desire 'dangerous' knowledge, but to promote the agenda of the state their seemingly natural instincts. In *1984*, the people are dehumanized by an autonomous state which controls their natural instincts for things such as sex or free thought, whereas in *Brave New World* the 'state' infantilizes the masses by giving free rein to basic human instincts such as sex and perceived power. Over time, the University of Mississippi has successfully integrated the ideological impetuses of white supremacy into the preferred, spectacular whiteness for which the institution was created. The amalgamation of ideology and physicality (through corporeal discourse) in Mississippi's brave new world is demonstrated in the governmentality of local intermediaries on the Ole Miss campus, particularly in the preservation of social and

ideological spaces of the conservative white majority. In what Guy Debord (1990) might refer to as the *integrated spectacle of Dixie South whiteness*, which has permeated all vectors of campus life and the ideologies which float throughout the university space, celebrity athletes and campus Greeks (as opposed to administrators of the Board of Trustees) now define the social identity of the University and its members, and the public discourse of the University is one of indulgence and class-based consumerism. While the University has emerged as a more pluralistic space in terms of free-expression and individuality, the mass-media constructions of identity and Ole Miss constantly return to the archetypal narratives of Southern masculinity and gentility. And thus the link between subjective experience and mediated celebrity has become infused, as the idealized alpha male trajectory has taken on a familiar face.

Chapter V: The Decontextualized Brand

Without symbols . . . social feelings could have only an unstable existence. . . . While emblematizing is necessary if society is to become conscious of itself, so it is no less indispensable in perpetuating that consciousness – Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 1912

The past is never dead. In fact, it's not even past – William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun*, 1951

In recent years, the symbolic iconography of 'Ole Miss,' identified as both a figurative socio-academic institution and as an affective romanticized discourse, has become the subject of extensive public scrutiny, primarily due to the enduring politicization of a highly marshaled (by both advocates and opponents) union of signifiers of the solid South and a spectrum of politics bound to a pervasive Old South ideology. The mobility of the institution's distinctive emblematizations and symbolic practices, namely the waving of the Confederate flag[104] during on-campus sporting events and the continued use of ethnically-coded signifiers such as school's sporting mascot, Colonel Reb—whose image is akin to a white plantation owner of the antebellum American South (Sindelar, 2003), have created a viscerally-determined conundrum for University administrators. While the signs and symbols of the institution are wildly popular and commercially lucrative for the University of Mississippi, each also further crystallizes the equilibrium between the academy and its imagined (and real) racist past. While the cultural seductiveness, or the *interpellative import*, of each sign is

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[104] My use of the term 'Confederate flag' might be a little misleading. Within contemporary discourse, the 'Confederate flag' refers to the battle flag of the Confederate States of America, which was popularized during the Civil War. This flag is slightly different from the official flag of the Confederacy, which also features a cross, emblazoned with stars, but in a smaller configuration. For the purposes of understanding the emblems of he Confederacy in this chapter, I will refer to the Confederate battle flag as the 'Confederate flag, acknowledging its historical inaccuracy but locating the flag in its modern linguistic location—as the battle flag is now commonly referred to as the 'Confederate flag.'

very much rooted in the perseverance of a unbending Old South ideology woven into these symbols, in both the waving of the flag and the activated persona of Colonel Reb (as well as other creations of the Ole Miss symbolic), the academic institution becomes linked to the broader idiomatic and symmetric formations of longitudinal racial oppression and monolithic Dixie South whiteness. Some commentators have gone so far as to say that University of Mississippi has strategically fashioned a symbolic identity which pays homage to, and locates the institution within, the "signs and symbols of the nineteenth-century Southern Confederacy" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 130). As such, the discursive trajectory of symbolized Ole Miss parallels the material and the historical, in that the reinventions of the Old South plague, and meaningfully resurrect, the antiquated racialized experiences of the Oxford campus. Consequently, the signified communicative actions of Dixie South whiteness at Ole Miss, and particularly the meanings imbedded in 'Colonel Reb,' the 'Southern Cross,' the hymnal 'Dixie,' and other signifiers of the Old South both shape, and are reified by, the figurative 'continuities' of the post-plantation 'new New South.'

Contrary to popular convention, the 'traditions' of symbolic Ole Miss, those of an evocative Old South and courageous Confederacy, are relatively recent allusions. While each signifier resurrects a romanticized vision of the Old South, each has been artificially constructed within the arches of a contemporaneous signifying system. The flag and 'Dixie' were adopted by the University in the late 1940s as elocutions of opposition to integration. On campus in 1948, advocates of a mid-century States' Rights platform (the 'Dixiecrats') activated symbols of the Confederacy to promote their anti-integration polity (see Chapter 4). 'Dixie' became the 'official song' of the Dixiecrats, and

the Confederate flag became the collective symbol for segregationist efforts and ideals. To rally support on the Ole Miss campus, the Dixiecrats passed out small Confederate flags during home football games that year. The reemergence and revivification of the Rebel flag contributed to "more than one bond between Ole Miss and the Confederate past," and the fact that "it was an election year was a political plus. The crowd in the stadium could not only cheer the Rebels on the field. They could also wave their flags and sing 'Dixie' for the insurgent politicians representing their cause and way of life" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 34). In the year in which the University was celebrating its centennial anniversary, the Southern Cross became a symbolic fixture on the Ole Miss campus, a representative marker of Old South 'heritage' and 'perseverance'—a banner of *credence* for its constituents and the cause for which they seemingly stood united. The symbolic construction of collective whiteness at Ole Miss through these symbols prompted one professor at the University to suggest, "the song and the Confederate battle flag were adopted by the all-white university specifically as a gesture of white supremacy" (Lederman, 1993, p. A52). In sum, the regenerations of the flag and 'Dixie,' as well as the creations of caricaturized, embodied Dixie South whiteness, further complicated an already complex interaction of the symbolic, the corporeal, and the political.

Thus, it can be argued that in the imaginary and physical space that has come to be known as the 'country club of the South' (Read & Freeland, 1983), parishioners of the last bastion of the visible center imbibed, and continue to replicate, the neo-Confederate 'luxuries of the ephemeral' (Baudrillard, 1981, p. 51) which generate[d], and layer[ed] meaning upon, a complex system of the sign oriented around the

prevailing logics of hegemonic whiteness. The racialized politics encoded into the sign,

and empowered through preferred readings therein, have in recent years given life to

old signifiers, brought them out of the ephemeral and into the realm of the fixed and

concrete. In other words, intersections of race and power *animate* the sign, bringing to

the fore the recalcitrant politics of representation, and publicizing them through the

processes of human interaction (King, Staurowsky, Baca, Davis, & Pewewardy, 2002).

These manifestations of the sign, and the symbolic appendages which embody the

University's cultural politics, act as flashpoints that are both internally revered and

externally scrutinized. Therefore, the system of the sign and the systemic signification of

racial hierarchy brings the palpable, yet contestable cultural politics of Dixie South

whiteness into focus: in the first instance by way of the critical gaze fixed upon the racist

elements of these symbols; and in the second instance in the empowerment of the sign

by way of ideological unification and the conventional solidarity of the visible center in

support of these hierarchizing markers. As such, the symbols of the institution contribute

to a more problematic dualism of the institution, whereby two factions have arisen to

proclaim the identity of the institution: "those who believe in the University of

Mississippi—[for whom] the symbols prevent the university from being everything it can

be" and those who are faithful to Ole Miss—those who "think that if you took the

symbols away, there wouldn't be anything there. The symbols are seen as a real burden

for the University of Mississippi. But they're the backbone of Ole Miss" (Lederman,

1993, p. A52). The former is a self-reflexive, socially intricate institution of higher

learning which has a troublesome past when it comes to race—one which in its own

introverted posture is working to alleviate the strains of racism which continue to act on

the student subjects it encapsulates. The latter, on the other hand, is an imagined

community (or a collective configuration of Dixie South whiteness) constructed out of

these racially-focused 'ideological chains'—one which mobilizes Old South aesthetics

and neo-Confederate symbols to mark the University in the language of isolationism

and territorialism, and repositions the signifiers and the practices of the institution in the

codes of the visible center.

For the defenders of the symbolic South (champions of idealized 'Ole Miss') the

vestiges of signified Dixie South whiteness layered into the emblematic rudiments which

constitute the symbolic universe of 'Ole Miss' represent a parochial, reverential

[imaginary] space for safeguarding their heritage culture and a melancholy compassion

for the 'simpler,' genteel traditions of the Old South. For this fanatical faction, these

symbols have evolved into sites of identity and identification, elements of a discursive

space where neo-Confederates can articulate their whiteness as impresarios of a

glorified past. Further, as these signs and illusions become further fetishized, and thus

objects of internal delight and external scrutiny, the visible center and its politics

become interlaced into the differential symbolic formations of the institution: "If anything,

the dispute over the university's symbols seems to make many whites more, not less,

inclined to cling to the past" (Lederman, 1993, p. A52). For the visible center, the

imagination of a Southern revisionist history is understood through a preferred reading

of 'simpler,' antiquated social relations. In these uncomplicated times, the uncontested

nature of racialized, gendered, and class-based social relations meant a more fluid,

continuously hierarchized social praxis. As such, members of the white center look to

the past, to the time when Colonel Rebs lorded over Mississippi's vast plantations, and

the Confederate flag symbolized the rallying call for the defense of the 'Southern way of life.'

Subsequently, the dominant contributions to the contemporary public sphere extol the traditional symbols of Ole Miss, and typically locate the sentiments of the 'majority' in support of these antiquated, delineated social hierarchies. A preponderance of University constituents—from numerous alumni supporter groups to student led 'activist' factions—have in recent years come to the defense of the symbolic 'traditions' of Ole Miss. These defenders of the symbolic South have congregated in protest, organized petition signings, sounded off in the print and visual media, and lobbied the administration for the countenance of these symbols (Coski, 2005). Furthermore, the Ku Klux Klan and the Nationalist Party[105] have each garnered unexpectedly prominent influence in the interworkings of these public debates. For example, during the 2003 football season, students and Nationalists, facing the possibility of removal or modification of the school mascot in favor of a more 'modern,' less racist symbol, organized and protested outside the University's administration building (Bartlett, 2003). Over the past few decades, neo-Confederate support collected via this and other similar public demonstrations has resulted in the University retrenching to the intractable 'majority' and its measures to preserve the codified, signified gesticulations of 'Dixie'— staving off challenges against Colonel Reb and the Confederate flag and forcing the University to recoil to a series of 'compromises.' As a consequence of the outpourings of the visible center, superficial measures—such as the University 'officially'

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[105] Headquartered in nearby Learned, Mississippi, the Nationalist Party's is perhaps the most prevalent white supremacist organization in this region. The organization's mission has always been the fanatical pursuit of white interested and white supremacy in matters of the political, the religious, and the cultural spheres.

disassociate itself from the Confederate flag in 1983 and 'removing' Colonel Reb as the officially sanctioned on-the-field mascot for home football games in 2003—have been attenuated by campaigns to safeguard the symbols of the visible center. As a result, these days at Ole Miss, any individual who traipses across campus on football Saturdays can attest that the symbolic 'traditions' of the institution are alive and well, as the ocean of Confederate flags remains, and the Colonel's likeness can still be found outside and inside the stadium during every home game.

For detractors of *Dixiefied* Ole Miss—those who see the potential for a diverse, progressive, inclusive University of Mississippi—the iniquitous nature of localized signifying acts has prompted a two-fold public deliberation as to the appropriateness of its symbolic sporting 'traditions.' For those who 'believe in the University of Mississippi,' the salacious temperament of signified 'Ole Miss' lies in the excessively racist and historically-layered discursive formation acting upon the lived experience of the student subject. Referring to the epigraphic quote from Oxford resident William Faulkner, at 'Ole Miss,' symbolic discourse is mobilized to ensure that *the past is neither dead, nor that it is allowed to pass.* Rather, the nostalgic entrenchments of a romanticized Old South social order are perpetuated through the pervasive language and the crystalline quality afforded antiquated discursive formations—those imprinted upon the Ole Miss sign. In other words, the present has become a performance of the past, whereby the authorized histories of the power elite within the Dixie South offer a discursive formation upon which collective memory is understood in the affective responses to the nostalgicized sign, and the racial and gendered histories of the Dixie South are forgone in the active project of collective forgetting. In other words, the symbolic spaces of Ole

Miss act to organize *memory*, and the multiperspectival nature of remembering representations of the past, into a more invasive logic of nostalgic *mythology*, whereby in the context of relations of power, memory is 'imposed' upon the individual through the selective narratives which add layers of mediated meaning to history (cf. Barthes, 1957/1972). In this sense, the symbolic myths of Ole Miss and the South become stories that render the sign powerful and make it a site for nostalgic response—thus activating the vectors of affect and the economy of emotions predisposed to the individual (through systemic mediation) (Rosenstone, 1995; Schwartz, 1982).

The swarm of public concern is deepened by the extent to which the racialized contingencies and exigencies of these discursive arches are tied to the prolongation of racist ideologies within the contemporary social practices of the Dixie South. While the visible center endeavors to craft a preferred reading of 'harmless history' celebrated by these markers, "No matter how much things have changed," wrote the first black Editor of the *Daily Mississippian*, "African Americans will always remember why all [these symbols] were brought here—to keep us out" (qtd. in Lederman, 1993). In the winter of 1974, a popular black contributor to the *Mississippian*, Harold Reynolds, supervised a special section titled "Focus," which was intended to provide readers with "black-oriented views of life in a predominantly white environment" and an effort to gauge "black progress under the Rebel flag" (Reynolds, 1974, p. 6). The black students interviewed in the special report found campus symbols such as 'Dixie' and the Confederate flag "degrading and deflating" and that Ole Miss was "still unfriendly territory for black students" (Reynolds, 1974, p. 7). As these symbols, which I will describe in depth over the coming pages, have been allowed to contribute to, and

become further ingrained in, the local imaginary, the dominant system of representation has further cemented Dixie South whiteness as the symbolic center and hegemonic norm. These and other confrontations around the use of symbols and images have further entrenched 'Ole Miss' in the popular American conscience as a hotbed of racist polity. Further, and perhaps more relevant to proceedings of this analysis, the monolithic nature of Dixie South whiteness has been further inflated, if not insulated, by the stultifying knowledge/power priorities of these racialized symbols and their experiential references.

As such, the 'continuities' which these and other institutional symbols of the divided Dixie South perpetuate, and thus allow for the preponderance of an unbroken 'ideological chain.' The complex symbolic universe of Ole Miss organizes social power around the visible center and contributes to the internalization (and eternalization) of a revisionist account of local politics mired in historical racism, to such an extent that racial inequities seemingly become muted through new symbolic articulations of the Old South:

> Most white students and alumni insist—no, more than that, they practically swear—that there is nothing racist in their use of the symbols. Whatever link the flag and song might once have had with slavery and the South's segregationist past, they argue, has been supplanted in their hearts and minds by an association with the university they love. Waving the flag and cheering the playing of 'Dixie' evince Southern heritage, they say, not bigotry (Lederman, 1993, p. A51)

King and Springwood (2001) refer to the ways in which spectacular discourses within the Ole Miss popular (such as the above quote) have given rise to "historical amnesia" (p. 19), or collective forgetting, whereby the preferred reading of these modes of signification are pardoned and partitioned from their racist past (Hutton, 1988). King and Springwood (2001) continue, "although racial difference is central to [signified Ole Miss], it remains intangible, seemingly insignificant, precisely because representational techniques dematerialize it, excise it, and otherwise dismiss its continued significance" (p. 20). As such, following Eileen M. Jackson (1993), they suggest that signifiers such as those of the Ole Miss spectacular symbolic universe contribute to the 'whiting-out' of cultural heterogeneity—fostering the erasure of racial difference within the institutional popular. As a 'manifestation of white supremacy,' the whiting out process in Ole Miss signified discourse imbricates, and is imbricated in, the politics of representation and the centrality of whiteness. Rather than confront the racial segregations and incarcerations of Mississippi's past, for advocates of Ole Miss's neo-Confederacy, these symbols take on a perceptibly anodyne quality:

> Take a look at the Confederate Flag. Does it actually cause harm to anyone? Has it brought back slavery and bondage of is it only a rallying point for the spirit of the students? What about 'Colonel Rebel'? Is he a devout bigot and racist or merely a cheerleader in a costume? Does playing 'Dixie' incite people into becoming a lynch mob or is it simply a harmless fight song? The answers to these questions are simple. Please don't let years of spirit and traditions be taken away by the whims of a few. I say, 'Fly that flag high and tell Colonel Reb to keep whistling 'Dixie' (Lulbrot, 1983, p. 2)

In this excerpt, while 'liberating' the signifier from the liquid history of the Dixie South, the author fails to engage his own rhetorical redundancies, perhaps due to fears that these answers might present themselves as self-evident. As such, individuals affiliated with the University of Mississippi are confronted by the conundrums presented by a number of 'dilemmas of the self' (Giddens, 1991, p. 201), whereby the dominant identity politics of a historically racist institution are organized around the fissures and dichotomies of the Old South, and new articulations of those discourses of representation are expressed through a synthesized network of uncontested white power and non-reflexive conformity. The vestiges of historical whiteness projected upon symbolic discourses of contemporary Ole Miss "are not only more conspicuous, but literally are inflated" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 130), as an ether of signifiers, an atmosphere of imaged whiteness, a blanket of suppressive discourse, smother and canvass the university space.

In this chapter, I will develop a critical analysis of the meanings and mobilizations of the constellation of symbolic Ole Miss. In particular, I aim to pry loose the politics of representation from signifying acts such as Colonel Reb, the Confederate Flag, 'Dixie' and the school cheer, 'Hotty Toddy,' as well as the University's popular moniker, 'Ole Miss.' My aim is to effectively disrupt the inertia of a hyper-racist signifying system—to postulate the ways in which a flag, a song, a name, and an old caricature substantively contribute to the unbalanced representational politics of a racial hierarchy which has been long-fostered in the Dixie South and at the University of Mississippi. When dealing in the order of complex discursive structures, and particularly those which act upon the lived experience through representation, Foucault (1994) asserts that one must devise a

critical 'taxinomia,' or a thorough interpretation of composite symbolic memories and

empirical representations (p. 72).[106] In this instance, the taxinomia of the Ole Miss

symbolic cosmos will be situated within the context of representational signification in

the moment of postmodern, commodified identity politics, and will address the historical

contestations of the sign within the Ole Miss empirical. Following King and Springwood

(2001), I want to engage the composite system of the Ole Miss sporting sign, and

deconstruct the empirically sutured structures, symbols, sentiments, and subjectivities

through a critical analysis of the dual processes of racialized and commodified

signification. The exclusivity of hegemonic whiteness, and the reign of the symbolic

solidarity of the visible center, promulgates the distancing of the marginal 'Other' away

from the solid center. As such, the aim of this chapter is to engage the questions left

unanswered by hegemons of the University of Mississippi's identity-based symbolic

discourse. As Mark Gottdiener (1994) surmises, this type of "criticism should not be

confined to textual analysis alone or to the critique of forms of representation. It should

inquire also into the ways forms of representation structure everyday life. To forget

everyday life and the users of culture is to neglect the formative aspect of culture" (p.

177). As such, I offer a critical textual analysis of the signs which constitute the ocular

constellation of *the Ole Miss brand*—the commodified system of symbols and signs

which constitutes the dominant representational politics of Dixie South whiteness.

Supplemented by qualitative interviews with key gatekeepers of information to further

illuminate how the taken-for-granted aspects of Ole Miss symbolic culture affect the

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[106] In other words, 'taxinomia' is to the symbolic what 'mathesis' is to numeric representation. The taxinomia is the political project of conceptualizing the relationships between the sign, the affective response to that signifying act, and the creation of collective memory and fetishized nostalgia through social interrelationships.

lives of individuals operating under these auspices, I aim to develop a critical sociology

of the postmodern brand as a signpost in the pantheon of signified identity politics at

Ole Miss.

More specifically, following Bishop (2001), I will focus on the 'public

representations' of Ole Miss through its popular sports logos and symbolic practices.

Perhaps if we are to adopt Baudrillard's (1983) position of postmodern sign as

simulacrum, whereby the decoded signifier is two degrees separated from the

referential, unique version, we can then optimistically reduce these problematic symbols

to introspective caricatures, divorced from the 'real' world. However, if we concurrently

examine the social practices performed under the guise of Ole Miss symbols, we find a

more troubling correspondence between sign and praxis. As such, this project will

investigate "not only the conscious system of ideas and beliefs, but the whole lived

social process as practically organized by specific and dominant meanings and values"

(Williams, 1977, p. 109). Prior to delving into the empirical world of the Ole Miss

signifying system, I first want to develop a contextually-driven framework for

understanding contemporary acts of signification at Ole Miss. In a critical context

whereby many social critics are reducing all social relationships to signification, and the

dual processes of identification and commodification are collapsed under the expansive

global exercises in symbolic capitalism, the unification of the sign, *the brand*, and the

uninterrupted ideal are instructive, and indeed necessary, to understanding the

dynamics of representation and signification at Ole Miss.

The Brand Logics of Dixie South Whiteness

As the captains of corporate America "spread their tentacles ever wider around the world, commercialising public places and branding celebrities" (Lane, 2000), the interrelationships between commodity capitalism and pluralistic identity politics are further encoded in the preferred language of late capital—the brand (Elliot & Wattanasuwan, 1998). The brand has become the inclusive cultural unit within late modern capitalism, as social action is encoded in, and social actors are interpellated by, the language of the consumptive collective consciousness (Firat & Venkatesh, 1996; Lury, 1996). The brand has become "the prime exemplar of the global ecumene: a symbol of cross-national commodification and the logic of simulation" (Lury, 1999, p. 499). If the eighteenth and nineteenth century industrial era sign-system was predicated on the precepts and *lingua franca* of production, according to David Harvey (1989), postmodern power is extracted out of the interpenetrations and consumption-based continuities of signifying systems. These continuities, the linkages between consumer and commodity and between individual and society, are organized around the *logics of the brand* (Klein, 2002). New, hyper-commercialized 'technologies of the self' allow for a condition where the brand is 'free to soar,' less as the free-standing markers of goods or services than as collective hallucinations (Klein, 2002). These hallucinations, activated by what Deleuze and Guattari (1983) refer to as the late modern capitalistic 'desire machine'—the devices (marketing, advertising, public relations) of contemporary 'culture industries' (cf. Adorno, 1991; Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972)—constitute a regime of mass accumulation where the development of individual identity is indivisible from the parallel development of hyper-commercial social collectivity (Elliot, 1997). The individual

unites with the broader social formation by way of consumption, and is drawn into the vectors of commodity capitalism through nuanced regimes of contrived pluralistic understandings of the self (Debord, 1994).

Consequently, the process of identification within the postmodern moment leads to social incorporation, cultural segmentation, and branded fragmentation. In other words, consumption becomes an expression and extension of identity in the postmodern cultural economy, as the "functions of the symbolic meanings of products operate in two directions: outward in constructing the social world, social-symbolism; and inward in constructing our self-identity, self-symbolism" (Elliot & Wattanasuwan, 1998, p. 133). The fractures of the commodity form, layered with human desires for assimilation into the realm of the commodity, create new identities, new fetishes, new markets, and new cultural goods which link identity politics to forces of capitalism. This notion of postmodern 'fragmentation' can be traced back to the early conceptualizations of Lyotard (1984), who suggested that the fissuring of commodified goods and the resultant dissection by marketers of marketable brands and brandable markets within the domestic and global marketplace illustrated the multifarious [re]inventions of consumable identity politics. The ephemeral nature of contemporary regimes of representation, and the omnipotent reign of the consumer commodity conjoin as "aesthetics and economics interact dialectically to produce the aesthetics of commodity form and the commodification of the aesthetic subject" (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995, p. 249). This convergence is described by postmodern theorist Fredric Jameson as a 'blurring' of traditional economic and cultural boundaries, or what Jameson refers to as the fragmentation of identity through commodification as 'pastiche' (Jameson, 1983).

Cultural intermediaries organize the symbolic commodity to hail individuals within strategic classification systems based on collective configurations of race, gender, ethnicity, age, sexuality, and so on (Ritzer, 2001). According to Joseph Turow (1997), market segmentation is organized to accommodate the perceived wants of consumers in this way:

> Curiously, advertising and media practitioners' way of complimenting a group was to further divide it. Generally, the more attractive a population segment was to marketers, the more they segmented it. An implicit theme running through the trade press was that to make best use of different segments of American consumers, marketers and media would best see them living in different worlds. (p. 3)

The pasticheur of contemporary formations of identity politics elicits a climate whereby brands are used as "symbolic resources for the construction and maintenance of identity" (Elliot & Wattanasuwan, 1998, p. 133). The individual actively seeks out the signified brand, "domesticates it, and provides it with protective shelter; he or she makes a form of bodily contact with it" (Coombe, 1998, p. 169). The brand thus becomes both an interpellative space and a disciplinary fixture within social experiences of the late capitalist moment. By internalizing the brand, and the meanings encoded therein, individuals reify the symbolic aspect of the commodity form, bringing to life the commercial and cultural abstract (McRobbie, 2000). Importantly, this process of reification crystallizes difference, both the differences within the modernist binary logics of race, gender, and so, and the different allocations of the commercial good as a figuration of these ideological constructs. Difference has become the mode for creating

distinction through the commodity sign—for advancing late capitalist development and expansion through signified product and image (Lury, 1996).

In the contemporaneous moment where individuals are submersed in the signified universe of their postmodern, fractured, commodified selves—where the articulations of representation are designed to deal in the currency of the commodity sign—the signification of the prevailing Dixie South identity politics in the form of Ole Miss intellectual properties and signifying practices presents an interesting site for critical examination. Colonel Reb and the Confederate flag have become more than one-dimensional signs, referent to the University or the Confederacy. These signs, in context, constitute a fulcrum of commodity whiteness, whereby preferred readings of these intellectual properties equate to the preferred regimes of power written into the processes of signification, representation, and identification. [107] As such, the individual sign and the collective brand become sites of representative authority and social control. In the first instance, the monumentality of the sign "implies social rapport and social power" (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 88). When encoded in the narratives of the Old South, the embodied sign such as Colonel Reb is suggestive of a prevailing identity politics of the plantation era. As Rosemary Coombe (1998) posits, logos such as Colonel Reb "mark and galvanize bodies in public rituals of homosocial bonding" (p. 194).

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[107] Interestingly, the popularity of the brand extended beyond the white, masculine consumer subject, as the logoed merchandise on the Ole miss campus was adorned by a number of different subjectivities (masculine, feminine, black, and white). Perhaps, this is an example of the colonization of the oppressed through the signifier (and post-modern consumer culture), whereby material ownership (of merchandise) symbolizes citizenship in the imagined Ole Miss community. Or, perhaps the popularity of the brand is emblematic of the contested meanings and appropriations of the Ole Miss sign, an act of conformity and resistance through corporeal activism.

The collectivity, or solidarity, of identity politics thus becomes organized around

the sign, as the sign transcends abstraction, and shapes human action. Thus, in the

postmodern 'economy of signs' (Baudrillard, 1981; Lash & Urry, 1994), that which exists

in the commodified logics of the sign as interlude to the brand—the encoded sign as a

central element of the contrived brand—is constructed through the twin moments of

strategic encoding and preferential decoding. Within the Ole Miss empirical, the 'role of

the reader' (Eco, 1979), or the momentary deliberation of decoding the brand (more

later), serves as a rite to membership in the imagined fraternity of the visible center.

Furthermore, the amnesia-like erasure of the iniquitous social history which

corresponded to the development of these symbols suggests what Baudrillard (1981)

would refer to as 'prestation,' or a "feeling of obligation to an irrational code of social

behavior" (p. 30). The cultural intermediaries of a signifying system which

inappropriately and disproportionately represents the entirety of the University's

constituency thus promote a 'preferred' correspondence between signifier and signified,

in a hierarchized collage of branded, uncontested Southern symbolism. As Firat and

Venkatesh (1995) suggest, the increased use of such a 'collage' is "one consequence of

fragmentation, the separation of signifiers from their (original) referents in order to

attach them with new meanings, and the necessity of creating sophisticated, exciting

moments through technique and form to achieve communication" (p. 256). The collage,

or the branded location of signified Ole Miss, is suggestive of the notion that while most

brands are trying to define themselves and find their niche in the pantheon of mass

popular culture (i.e. Mountain Dew cola or Abercrombie and Fitch clothing), the Ole

Miss [sporting] brand is already firmly ensconced in the commodity dreams of its target

market—middle and upper-class white Dixie Southerners. Problematically, that 'communication,' or the intensive resonance of momentary preferred Dixie South signification through the brand logics of Ole Miss, suspends the racial divisions and hierarchical codes imbedded therein.

'Dual Unity' and Southern Singularity

The struggle to define the meaningful nature of the Ole Miss brand (and its tentacles of the imaginary) is emblematic of a divide between the preferred meaning as inscribed by the hegemons of identity politics and the alternative politics of the disconcerted margins. In essence, the conundrum of the sign at Ole Miss is a problematic of 'signifier' and 'signified,' to borrow from Sausurrian linguistics. In the most basic of terms, the layers of meaning encoded upon the Ole Miss signifying system assume a 'dual unity' of signifier and signified: whereby the signifier, or "the acoustic image of the spoken word as heard by the recipient of the vocal message" (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 157), unites with the signified, or the "meaning called forth in the mind of the recipient resulting from the stimulation of the signifier" (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 157), to create the sign. As Derrida (2000) emphasizes, "the signified is the concept, the ideal meaning; and the signifier is . . . 'the image,' the 'psychical imprint' of a material, physical phenomenon" (p. 88). The sign is formulated upon double articulated axes, whereby meaning is constructed out of the intersecting discourses of a syntagmatic axis and a paradigmatic axis. In Sausurrian linguistics,[108] the syntagmatic axis defines the relational position of the letter to the word, the word to the sentence, the sentence to the

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[108] The nature of Saussure's intellectual style was such that most of his important theorizations on linguistics were distributed by way of lecture more than book, as he never constructed a full-length text on semiotics.

paragraph, and so on. Moreover, linguistic syntax becomes meaningful with respect to the absence of words: certain linguistic formations signify the absence of alternative *langue*, denoting the qualitative aspect to certain elements of discourse. As such, the use of language must also be located along a paradigmatic axis, as the use of words, phrases, and so on are governed by the logics of semantics.

For Saussure, by way of association and juxtaposition, the sway of the linguistic sign and the signification process codifies discursive elements in a language bound to the forces of synchronicity and diachronicity.[109] The synchronic aspect of language is linked to the associational semantics of word usage—as words derive meaning from their relation to other words, and the absence of similar words. For instance, when speaking of the Civil War, many Dixie Southerners refer to the battle as "the War of Northern Aggression,' 'Lincoln's War,' or 'The Defense of the Southern Way of Life.' While each is referring to the same event, there is difference in the language of the Confederacy, and the synchronic interchangeability of words becomes a meaningful part of the signification process. Likewise, language is shaped by historical forces, by the diachronic constitution and evolution of language. For example, the word 'Negro' is meaningful not simply it is used in a sentence, or used in favor of alternative words, but because in the context of a culture ridden with racist discourse, the word has meaning defined by the politics of the local, and the historical antecedents of a hyper-racist *la langue*.

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[109] A diachronic relationship "is temporal;" it's the relationship a word or phrase or event might have with words or phrases or events that come before or after it. By contrast, a synchronic relationship has nothing to do with time or sequence; it's the relationship that a word or phrase or event might have with all other words, phrases, or events in a language or a narrative. Diachronic relationships are often described as horizontal, and synchronic relationships as vertical." (cf. Levi-Strauss, 1986, p. 812)

In Saussure's theory, semiotics constitutes our understandings of cultural life—or our location of cultural relativity. The axiological structure of language, representation, and signification give meaning to the material world, it layers the discursive upon the physical. Following Saussure, semioticians Claude Levi-Strauss and Roland Barthes extended the notion of syntagmatic and paradigmatic signification to other nodes of communicative action, such as cuisine (Levi-Strauss, 1969), fashion (Barthes, 1983, 1991), literature (Eco, 1976; Levi-Strauss, 2004), film (Barthes, 1972), and sport (Barthes, 1972). In laying the foundation for structuralism, Saussure's 'semiology' grafted a complex understanding of language as an organizer of cultural forms. Following Saussure, and acknowledging the limits of the linguistic reductionism of Sausurrian semiotics, Barthes (1967) conceptualized a multi-layered, complex understanding of the sign. For Barthes (1967), the sign extents beyond the dualism of signifier/signified, into a second order of the sign which is dialectically bound to a broader, more complex network of cultural signification. Within this network, the sign becomes both meaningful and ideological—it becomes interwoven into the collective configurations of race, class, gender, sexuality, [dis]ability, and generationality. Just as the sign unites the signifier and the signified, it also conjoins both the signifier and signified to the regimes of status-driven signification—giving meaning and *power* to discourse. Barthes (1972) further insisted that this 'tiered view' of the sign can lead us to understand the hierarchized sign as a 'myth.' These myths take on lives of their own, as the mystification of the sign leads to the aggrandized politics of representation. The mythologized sign "can become linked with a state of being connoted by an ideology of high-status living that includes other associations: technological sophistication,

modernization, progress, mastery of social change, and so on" (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 163). For Barthes, within regimes of the mythologized sign, material objects and lived experiences are usurped, or displaced, by their connotations. As such, material objects become functionalized not through use value, but through the 'sign-function' of systems of representation. The sign function of the object, however, is neither transcendental nor guaranteed; rather, it is syntagmatically, paradigmatically, and systematically contingent on and reciprocal of the conditions from which it exists. The superfluous nature of the sign and the mythologization of the signifier prompted two interrelated critiques of Sausurrian linguistics during the latter part of the Twentieth Century.

Initially, Sausurrian linguistics were undermined by the post-structuralist critiques levied by Levi-Strauss and Barthes as well as another French social theorist, Jacques Derrida. Initially, Levi-Strauss and Barthes (1967) each raised the issue of *polysemy*, and of the failings of Saussure to address the complexity and fluidity of the signifier and the infinite possibilities of the sign. Rather than frame the notions of signifier and signified in a linear, guaranteed relationship, Barthes and Levi-Strauss acknowledged the fractures and social divisions of heterogeneous cultures, and as such inscribed a third layer of signification upon the sign, that of context. In other words, signifiers 'float freely' throughout the discursive ether, and are subjected to distinctive interpretive contexts (Jameson, 1983). As such, the process of signification "enables completely new perspectives, cognitions, and expectations, which have an impact upon human perception and behavior" (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995, pp. 252-253). In the latter stages of his career, Barthes (much like Foucault), turned his attention toward the ways in which power was distributed within discursive formations. Similarly, Derrida (1974)

problematized the notion of *la langue* and the uncomplicated unity of signifier and

signified. For Derrida (1974), the unidirectionality of Sausurrian linguistics oversimplified

what should be considered an open-ended signifier which is referent to a complex social

world. In the tradition of Levi-Strauss (1963), Derrida (1974) indicts Saussure's

correspondences of signifier and signified as failing to engage the multifarious

contextualities from which meaning is conferred. The written word was considered

merely a representation of the spoken word, a material object to stand in its place.

Derrida (1974) calls this bias in the Western tradition "logocentrism," which attempts to

associate philosophical discourse with universal logic and reason. Taken in a

Sausurrian light, the speech/writing opposition can be translated into an opposition

between signified and signifier. Philosophical writing therefore claims to have the most

intimate ties with absolute, centered, *denoted* meaning. By validating speech over

writing, Plato intended to subordinate the signifier to the signified. However Derrida

collapsed this presumptuous opposition using deconstructive techniques, most notably

illustrating how the two categories are not autonomous, but mutually dependent, not to

mention how the qualities of writing and speech are not separate, but actually *seep into*

one another. Ultimately, Derrida established a compelling argument that the order of the

signified in fact depends on, cuts difference out of, and substantively refers to the

signifier as meaningful in the first place.

Secondly, following Barthes' conceptualizations of the second-order sign and

Debord's notion of spectacular society, Baudrillard (1999) posited that capitalism, in its

most advanced stages, created an aura of *hyperreality*, whereby the dominance of

media forms and ideological myths created an everyday life dominated by second-order

signs—or what Baudrillard referred to as 'simulacrum' (cf. Baudrillard, 1994). In the

realm of hyper-consumption, sign value usurps use or exchange value, as the signified

object is made relevant through the sign, through "the giant system of signification"

(Gottdiener, 1994, p. 168). Baudrillard extends his argument beyond that of Barthes or

Derrida, suggesting that the hyperreal complexities of consumer society are infinitely

and absolutely moulded by simulacrum—individuals of the realm of hyperreality

understand themselves through, and act out their lives on the terms of the third order of

simulacrum. For Baudrillard, there are three orders in the "procession of simulacra"

(Baudrillard, 1983, p. 2): *counterfeit*, *production*, and *simulation.* In the first, the

dominant scheme of the 'Classical' period, the 'emancipated sign' does not link

individuals to other individuals, but individuals to a "common denominator of the real

world" (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 85). In the first order, the signified is a constant fixture in

the imaginations of the public, as the 'free production of goods' is homogenized under

the laws of convention. In the second order, exemplified by the mass production found

in Western societies during the era of industrialization, the mode of production itself

becomes reified, inscribed into the discourse of consumer goods. As consuming

spectators marveled at the advances in consumer capitalism, the mode of production

became its own sign. As such, the signified object came to be understood under the

'commercial law of value' (Baudrillard, 1983)—through its axiomatic contingencies of

referential-ity (the paradigmatic relationship to other objects and to like objects),

synchronicity (ephemeral sign value within that moment), and diachronicity (the

historically contextual regimes of production). In the third order, the reigning scheme of

value is defined and distributed by a code of signification. In other words, whereas in

previous eras the sign was referent to the object, in the third order of simulacra the sign

is two layers removed from the real: the fulcrum of meaning is now found in the signified

sign. Precluding Baudrillard, Debord forewarned that the "perceptible world" had been

"replaced by a set of images that are superior to that world yet at the same time impose

themselves as *imminently* perceptible" (Debord, 1994, thesis 36).

Southern Solidarity and Différance

As fundamental elements of local cultural discourse, 'Dixie,' Ole Miss, the flag,

and Colonel Reb comprise the governing trajectory of an interpellative 'second order'

sign-scape of identification. As a germane discourse displaces the social institution, Ole

Miss as signifying system placates the broader physical anatomy of a cultural and

political body. The imaginary and signified spaces of Ole Miss, much like other

American academic institutions, are instead bound to the hyper-normalized order of

discordant whiteness as monolithic signifying praxis: "American colleges and

universities, intercollegiate athletics, and sporting spectacles structure are structured by

an insidious, if largely invisible, white supremacy" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 9). As

Cameron McCarthy (1998) suggests, the symbolic nature of public institutions such as

Ole Miss act on behalf of the prevailing order within a racialized knowledge/power

dynamic, or as:

> critical site[s] in which struggles over the organization and concentration of
>
> emotional and political investment and moral affiliation are taking place. These
>
> battles over identity involve the powerful manipulation of group symbols and
>
> strategies of articulation and rearticulation of public slogans and popular

discourses. The signs and symbols are used to make identity and define social

and political projects (p. 333)

These 'group symbols' comprise a bond between individuals and the institution, and

between individuals and a broader intra-group popular reverence for Dixie South

whiteness—a bond which repositions the white subject as central authority of social

privilege. Gottdiener (1994) explains that the empowering nature of the signifying

systems are a result of strategically implemented 'producer codes'—a concept which

suggests the social construction of the sign, both by the intermediaries who control it

and the consumers who reinvent and embody it. At Ole Miss, every element of the

imaged brand is an interconnected sign, woven into the system of signification that

connects the academy as a universal sign to the politics of Dixie South whiteness. As

Derrida (1974) suggests, in the first instance signs of this nature are constituted out of

difference. Following Saussure, Derrida (2000) argues that the signified concept "is

never present in and of itself" (p. 89). Rather, the play of the sign is predicated upon a

relational quality within a broader system of signs and simulacrum. The sign is

conceivable, and understood "only on the *basis* of the presence that it defers and

moving toward the deferred presence that it aims to appropriate" (Derrida, 2000, p. 87).

In other words, symbols such as Colonel Reb are understood in relation to the

antithetical language of different representations and mascots (hyper-white versus

abhorrent visions of 'non-white'), and become meaningful as they 'move toward,' or

colonize, the appropriations of the oppositional text. As such, signified Ole Miss is

constructed out of what Derrida refers to as *différance*, the deference of the sign to

temporal and spatial differences within discourse. Derrida (2000) explains that:

It is because of *différance* that the movement of signification is possible only if

each so-called present element, each element appearing on the scene of

presence, is related to something other than itself, thereby keeping within itself

the mark of the past element, and already letting itself be vitiated by the mark of

its relation to the future element, this trace being related no less to what is called

the future than to what is called the past, and constituting what is called the

present by means of this very relation to what it is not. (p. 90)

The symbol is constructed out of difference, and is thus produced by, and is a product

of, *différance*. Each sign is meaningful, or retains meaning, for two reasons: First, the

sign is entrenched in a historically constituted relationship to previous acts of

signification. Second, each sign becomes powerful, and thus mobilizes human action,

through re-historicized nomenclature of [representational] difference. Through *différance*

the sign gains its import and its power; moreover, paraphrasing Derrida, the consuming

subject (in its identity with itself, or eventually in its consciousness of its identity with

itself, its self-consciousness) is inscribed in the language of difference and thus

becomes an active, representative figure only through conformation to the sign

system—to the system of rules and languages constructed out of difference (cf.

Baudrillard, 1989).

This is the Ole Miss problematic: the signifying system of the symbolic imaginary

as active producer of both difference and the *epicentric* qualities of whiteness, or

whiteness as representational monolith. The oppositional signifiers to the visible center

stimulate a antithetical re-affirmation of hyper-racist institutional symbols, as "whiteness

enters as a defensive reflex, a sign of resentment and rejection. Most commonly,

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individuals deflect attention and defuse tension around the circulation of racial signs by invoking ethnic, honorary, or historical whiteness, as if white identity and the ideologies and institutions legitimating it were fixed and transcendent" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 129). The signified institution becomes a "reality, image, echo, appearance" (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 95), a reified signal of a solid discourse which is articulated between the social anatomy of a turbulent Dixie South history and neo-Confederate formations of supremacist ideology—creating what Stuart Hall (1983) refers to as an oppressive 'ideological effect.' For example, various discourses act upon the human subject in the formation of identity, but for the subject to be interpellated into subject position, there has to be a connection between the signified text (meaningful discourse) and the 'decoded,' preferred or oppositional reading of the text.[110] Or perhaps put a better way, following Barthes, Hall (1980b) suggests that meanings decoded from the referent are not always 'fixed,' and there can be multiple readings of the same discursive text. Thus, the sign is encoded with particular 'preferred' meanings, but power is derived from the ways in which those discursive elements affect, or connect to, the [subjected] human experience. Connection, and more importantly disconnection, to the signifying act, thus become powerful apparatuses of the sign—as the Dixie South's power elite construct the preferred meanings of the flag and the Colonel, and their close relationship to these signs reconstitute a knowledge/power dynamic of racialized affectivity.

In this relationship, as Grossberg (1996) rightly suggests, experience itself becomes a product and producer of power/knowledge formations. These discursive

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[110] Stuart Hall's (1980b) notion of 'encoding/decoding' is an extension of Sausurrian linguistics and the refutation of linear models of communication. For Hall, the 'moments' complete a circuit of culture by which meaning is transferred.

formations (often referred to as 'dimensions of power') of identity within the ideological field are often limited to classificatory boundaries of race, ethnicity, gender, generationality, regionality (or nationality), and so on. In other words, these categories are often mobilized in contemporary popular discourse to make up the economy of the politics of identity. As Paul Gilroy (2000) suggests, within the conditions of the postmodern:

> Politics is reconceptualized and reconstituted as a dualistic conflict between friends and enemies. At its worst, citizenship degenerates into soldiery and the political imagination is entirely militarized. The exaltation of war and spontaneity, the cults of fraternity, youth, and violence, the explicitly antimodern sacrilization of the political sphere, and its colonization by civil religion involving uniforms, flags, and mass spectacles, all underline that camps are fundamentally martial phenomena. They are armed and protected spaces that offer, at best, only a temporary break in unforgiving motion toward the next demanding phase of active conflict. (p. 82)

To "promote new ways of satisfying old needs, and associate the consumption of branded products with imaged identities and pleasures" (Barber, 1996, pp. 68-69), cultural intermediaries at Ole Miss have constructed a 'cult of fraternity' around the ephemeral gesticulations of the Ole Miss symbolic. The historical materialism of this symbolic system has been encoded with preferred meanings of whiteness are central regimes of representational governance within the institution. The active 'substance of expression' within these signifiers is the mechanism of power which constrains the play of signification (Deleuze, 1988; Foucault, 1984a; Gottdiener, 1994).

As I have laid out in the previous pages, meaning is not produced through the free play of signifiers alone. Rather, signification and representation are constrained by the forces of power in society, or what the early Barthes (1967) referred to as the 'logotechniques' of symbolic control. The sign both empowers and dis-empowers, based on the artificial link made between the individual and the racialized, commodified symbol. As such, I now want to turn this analysis toward a critical examination of the 'logotechniques' of cultural intermediaries (marketers, university officials, supporter group officers, and student and alumni advocates) who produce and reproduce the Ole Miss symbolic signifying system through signifying acts. Rephrasing Mark Gottdiener (1994, pp. 179-180) this type of cultural analysis is an adventure in the recovery of those lost signifieds that have been obliterated by the dominant modes of Dixie South representation associated with cultural exchange and racial domination. By deconstructing the preferred readings at the moment of encoding, we can document the role of power in defining which meanings have greatest legitimacy and which are regulated to obscurity and sent to the margins of social discourse. Let me start such a deconstructive project with brand name itself, the moniker 'Ole Miss.'

Brand on the Run

> *There is a valid distinction between The University and Ole Miss even though the separate threads are closely interwoven. The University is buildings, trees and people. Ole Miss is mood, emotion and personality. One is physical, and the other is spiritual. One is tangible and the other intangible. The University is respected, but Ole Miss is loved. The*

University gives a diploma and regretfully terminates tenure, but one never graduates from Ole Miss. - Frank E. Everett, Jr., Ole Miss alumnus[111]

The appellation 'Ole Miss' surfaced in 1897, when the yearly academic and social review was given the permanent title *Ole Miss.* According to the program for the dedication to Meek Hall held at the University of Mississippi in 2001, the loving nickname was created when:

> In 1896 . . . a contest was staged to choose a suitable name for the 'Annual,' the first issue of which appeared in 1897. The choice fell on the name 'Ole Miss' suggested by Elma Coleman Meek. This affectionate name, derived from antebellum plantation terminology, quickly passed from yearbook to institution ("Dedication of Meek Hall," 2001, p. 3)

The first volume of the *Ole Miss* was dedicated to the University Greys, and by the turn of the century the nickname of the annual had been transferred to the entire university (Cabaniss, 1971). The soubriquet's origins date back well beyond 1897, to the antebellum plantation. Despite popular belief outside of Mississippi, the name "isn't short for Old Mississippi, as most people think, but rather is what some slaves called the wives of their owners" (Lederman, 1993, p. A51). Historians have traced the derivation of the nickname to a phrase black slaves used to refer to their white matrons on the plantation during the antebellum period (Leatherman, 2003). More accurately, the term 'Ole Miss' was "a title domestic slaves in the Old South used to distinguish the mistresses of the plantation house from the young misses of the family" (Sansing, 1999, pp. 168-169). The rather antiseptic history offered in the program for the dedication of

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[111] This quote appears in large bold script on the central wall of the Ole Miss Student Union. It has long been celebrated as the intuitional mantra of the University, to such an extent that it often appears on Ole Miss-related materials such as internal memos, press releases, etc.

Meek Hall has recently been updated toward a more detritus-like reading of the choice and origins of the term:

> Many of the symbols adopted by this university are steeped in a racist past. I will not shy away from such a word as 'racist,' and I believe in calling a spade a spade. Even the nickname of the university, 'Ole Miss,' saw its origins in the slave-built plantations of the antebellum South. When the yearbook staff sought a name for the university, a woman from Oxford wrote that they should adopt 'Ole Miss,' which was used by slaves in reference to the lady of the house, the plantation owner's wife. How lovely. (Niemeyer, 2005, p. 2)

The human-like, maternal qualities bestowed upon the University by its followers over the years is suggestive of two concurrent linguistic trajectories of institutional reification: the first is a matter of re-invoking a derisive plantation vernacular to populate the *lingua franca* of a distinctively Southern institutional cultural economy; while the second is a product of crystallizing formations of *la parole* (elements of speech) transposed onto the subjected body of the University. 'Ole Miss,' as an element of signification, has come to mean more than the institution. As I alluded to earlier, popular convention suggests that two schools occupy the same space in Oxford, Mississippi: the University of Mississippi and Ole Miss. The former is an institution a higher learning where a student can freely commingle and gain access to higher education. The latter refers to, as anthropologist Peter Aschoff argues, a place "where you go to learn to take your role in the halls of power in the state of Mississippi" (qtd. in Cohodas, 1997, p. 181). Revisiting the opening section, within the two Mississippi's, the latter is the material realization of an idealized regime of power coded in the language of plantation privilege and white supremacy.

The popular sentiment of the romantic reader of the Ole Miss discursive text has long held fast to the popular campus prognostication: 'There's magic in the words Ole Miss. They cast a spell wherever one hears them.' As the figurative articulation of the commodified and institutionalized emblematization of Dixie South whiteness, the 'producer codes' embedded in 'Ole Miss' as a linguistic element have created a stultifying preferred reading in which the signifier and the signified are conjoined in a harmonious abstraction from the consequences of an introspective problematization of the brand. For the visible center, 'Ole Miss' is an uncontested, liminal space within which "the cream of Mississippi youth and the flower of Mississippi families" (cf. Sansing, 1999, p. 270) frolic about, both imaginarily and physically reconfiguring the malleable discourse of the institution in a free play of hierarchized signification. In spite of an upsurge of detraction in recent years, particularly targeting the brand and its symbolic elements, University officials have steadfastly and unbendingly reaffirmed the institution's intent to keep the nickname out of any considerations of linguistic and image modifications. So deeply ensconced in the locus of Dixie South imaginary, and in the entrepreneurial pursuits of the administration, the 'Ole Miss' brand has come to transcend the physical spaces of the campus, the academic undertakings of the University, or even the sporting franchises which bear its name.

In 1997, the Ole Miss Athletic Director commissioned Burson-Marsteller, a private public relations firm based in New York, to review the school's images and symbols and 'rebrand' the University as an academically sophisticated, "contemporary yet traditional" institution (Dodson, 1997, p. 1). While the psychical imprint of the Ole Miss brand (see Figure 9), which operates as a free-floating signifying system, is

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certainly not guaranteed to be decoded as a codified representation of power, privilege, and neo-Confederate conservativism, its cultural and economic appeal to the South's white elite guarantees a reciprocal profitability for the University. The emblematization and ambulation of the strategically-encoded Ole Miss nomenclature resonates the cultural politics of the dominant side of 'the divided South,' as 'Ole Miss' as an official trademark, along with its ancillary figurations (such as Colonel Reb and the Confederate flag), are now widely disseminated and recognized as markers of the University of Mississippi. Locally, each has contributed to an overwhelmingly popular and significantly lucrative sporting brand. According to a representative from the sports marketing division with the Ole Miss Department of Athletics, Ole Miss themed merchandise generates nearly $4 million per year for the University (Personal Interview, 2005). Unlike national collegiate brands such as the University of Tennessee, the University of Michigan, or the University of Southern California, most of the commodities sold under the Ole Miss banner are consumed in the Mississippi Delta region—from Memphis to Jackson. Through creative partnerships with Nike, the Collegiate Licensing Company, CSTV (College Sports Television), and Barnes and Noble, Ole Miss has capitalized on the upsurge of interest in their brand. Nike has the exclusive rights to produce apparel and footwear for the University. Ole Miss is 'a Nike school,' meaning that Nike has exclusive rights to produce, market, and sell apparel and footwear donning the Ole Miss Rebels logo. The Collegiate Licensing Company (CLC) handles all the licensing agreements for the University of Mississippi, including player presentations on video games, the use of intellectual properties by third party vendors, and other uses of the symbols and markers of the institution. The University of

Mississippi is currently working under a contract with CSTV, as the newest addition to the media-sport dais has the broadcast rights to many Ole Miss football, baseball, and basketball games via multiple platforms, namely broadband internet feeds and cable and satellite television. Through an extensive contract with Barnes and Noble Booksellers, Ole Miss symbolic properties are sold via the campus bookstore and other on-campus retail spaces during the semester, and on game days (Personal Interview, 2005). In total, these and other initiatives catalyzed by the University's athletic department have further expanded the economic and symbolic value of the Ole Miss brand, and the gestalt of signifying properties and practices have become further unified under the guise of the broader portents of 'Ole Miss' as one part academic institution, one part marker of Southern solidarity.

As such, the 'sign value' (Baudrillard, 1981, p. 65) of the Ole Miss institutionalized brand eclipses the traditional model of commodity exchange, and the active manipulation of both signifier and signified further expand the discursive affectivity of 'Ole Miss' as a popular cultural form. Jean Baudrillard (1981) claims that within the postmodern consumer society, commodity forms such as sporting 'Ole Miss' are exhibited and consumed more for the percieved sign value than for any utility-based 'exchange value,' and that the existentialism of the sign precludes any rationalized exchange value relative to contemporary consumer society. Baudrillard's theory of the sign is greatly indebted to Veblen's (1994) notion of 'conspicuous consumption,' and the overt display of signified commodity culture as analyzed in Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*. For Baudrillard, the entire society is organized around consumption and display of commodities through which individuals gain prestige, identity, and standing. In

the Ole Miss signifying system, the accumulated value of the sign is thus transferred onto, and distributed throughout, the corporeal expressivity within the physical and discursive boundaries of phantasmagoric Oxford. In what Baudrillard refers to as the 'political economy of the sign,' the act of consumption fabricates the [re]production of sign value and the distribution of meaning (and thus knowledge and power). Further, the active creation and performances of signified Ole Miss create a locus of identity politics distributed through consumption, and the act of consuming gives life to the symbolic commodity. In other words, the faculties of the Ole Miss brand themselves only garner sign value in relation to the ways in which those signs are created, mobilized, and exchanged: "there is no symbolic 'value,' there is only symbolic 'exchange,' which defines itself precisely as something distinct from, and beyond value and code" (Baudrillard, 1988, pp. 38-39). For Baudrillard (1989), the 'ecstasy' of *dimensional annihilation*, whereby the complete immersion of the body in the universe of the sign connects the physical experience to the visceral nodes of identification, subjectification, and inculcation, incarcerates the body in *la langue* of a differential system of representation. In such a differential system of prestige and status, connection to the ideologies and structures *embodied* by the Ole Miss brand and branded onto the consuming bodies locates the consumer as an active agent in reproduction of a hierarchized symbolic exchange. In turn, the Confederate flag, Colonel Reb, and the signature sonnets of the South each contribute to a symbolic exchange rich in history, and wrought by the politics of representation.

Stars, Bars, and Racial Scars

  The origins and meanings of the Confederate battle flag have been debated

amongst Civil War and Southern historians since the moment the fighting ceased at

Palmetto Ranch (cf. Coski, 2005).[112] By most accounts, the flag originated following the

First Battle of Manassas. After confusion of the battle field due to the similarity of Union

and Confederate battle flags, General Beauregard adopted a new battle flag that could

be easily and quickly distinguished from the American flag (Bonner, 2002). The

Confederate battle flag—also called the Beauregard battle flag, the Southern Cross,

and the flag of the Army of Northern Virginia—did not become the official flag of the

Confederate government during the war, but rather the flag most regiments of the

Confederate army donned during battle (Coski, 2005). However, the symbol that now is

generally identified as the Confederate or Rebel flag, which was popularized throughout

the war years and identified with the Confederacy, eventually became part of the

second and third national flag of the Confederate States (Bonner, 2002). The

foundational principle of the Confederacy, and its primary cause for secession (and thus

fighting the war), was a state's right to allow for, or disallow, the continuance of slavery

(Hale, 1999). "There is no reputable historian anywhere in America that will say slavery

was not the cause of the war," wrote Mississippi historian David Sansing (qtd. in

Baldwin, 1993, p. 2). While the flag has come to represent the fallen Confederacy,

perhaps more importantly, the entanglement of the flag in the preponderance of white

supremacy (i.e. the use of the flag by the Dixiecrats and the Ku Klux Klan during the era

of integration) further cemented the close symbolic ties of the cause and the sign. For

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[112] The southernmost tip of Texas became the site of the final battle of the American Civil War in May of 1865 as Confederate troops staved off the Union army in one of the minor skirmishes of the prolonged battle (Hunt, 2002).

those living outside the visible center, the flag came to emblematize the cultures and ideologies of segregation in the Dixie South. The flag became a fixture at pro-segregation meetings, political gatherings of the Citizen's Council, and voracious Klan and Nationalist meetings, cross burnings, lynchings, and other spectacles of malice (McWhite, 2002). And while the history of the flag has been rewritten in a sterile tone over the past few decades, it continues to be revised as a 'living symbol' with a "potent ideology" (Coski, 2005, p. 291). That living history has evolved into two strands of an axiomatically discursive helicon: one trajectory sanitizes the genealogy of the controversial symbol, while the second further clouds the murky ideologies imbedded in the sign.

During the post-war Reconstruction era, the flag became a recurring feature in the state symbols of many Southern states, such as in 1894, when the Confederate battle flag became a part of the state flag of Mississippi. A century later a wave of backlash against the Confederate elements of state symbols flooded the South, as the local governments in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Georgia were forced to deliberate changes to their state flags. Calling for a 'flag for all of us,' the NAACP lobbied each state government to pass legislation which would change the state flags. The NAACP called for the memorialized and physical spaces occupied by Confederate flags to be transferred "to a place of historical context (such as a museum) rather than sovereignty context" ("NAACP press release," 2001). In other words, the NAACP along with numerous other critics identified that the Confederate flag as a symbol of the state government had long cloaked the body politic in a representational, symbolic, and ideological blanket which disenfranchised those who had suffered under its auspices.

The sovereignty of the flag thus represented a singularity, a signifying act of the oppressive capacities of the visible center through the body politic. In South Carolina and Georgia, new flags were adopted by state citizens and lawmakers, thus removing the signifying elements and ideological expressivity of the Confederate battle flag (in the case of Georgia by a populist vote of three to one in favor of a new flag) (Bonner, 2002).[113] However, in 2001, Mississippians voted by a margin of two-to-one to retain the original 1894 state flag put in place by an all-white state legislature. The antiquated state symbol to this day still features the Southern Cross in the top right corner of the banner. Ironically, the margin of victory for supporters of the Southern Cross was nearly identical to the percentage of white residents (61 percent) versus black residents (36 percent) living in the state at the time.

At Ole Miss, the Confederate battle flag which is thoroughly absorbed in the institution's 'heritage culture' is a relatively new fixture. The Southern Cross did not follow the Confederate veterans back to the Ole Miss campus following the Civil War. In fact, the appearance of the flag was rarely seen on the Ole Miss campus prior to the late 1940s (Davis, 2005). It was not until the moment when the threat to white power and racial solidarity was marching toward crescendo, in the lead-up to the heights of the Civil Rights Movement, that the flag became a prominent fixture at social events on the Ole Miss campus. The 'Beauregard Battle Flag' did not appear on campus until 1948, a date with 'double significance' (Cohodas, 1997). During the centennial year of the University, the Dixie Week festivities catalyzed the resurgence of an [re]enchantment with the Confederacy, and the reaffirmation of the institution as colonized white space. Out of tribute to students who fought in the Civil War, a group of men reenacted the

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[113] Statewide, the new flag won a majority vote in every county.

charge of the 11th Mississippi infantry at Gettysburg during Dixie Week: celebrating the

efforts of the regiment at Gettysburg which included Company A, which was made up of

Ole Miss students known as the 'University Greys' (Ginn, 2003). During the

reenactment, the student actors dressed in Confederate uniforms carried Confederate

flags across the Ole Miss campus symbolizing the fateful charge of the Greys at

Manassas (see Figure 2). In the first instance, this spectacular prelude signaled the

reemergence of the Confederate flag on the Ole Miss campus. However, more

importantly, this was the same year the Southern Democrats, or Dixiecrats, abandoned

the National Democratic Party over the issue of civil rights. The recently established

Civil Rights Commission sought to bring sweeping change in Southern race relations,

and with the support of Harry Truman and the Democratic Party, antagonized many

Mississippians and their long-standing avocation of the party's racist politics. Southern

Democrats, upset with the party's support of the commission, abandoned the

Democratic Party to start their own political group, what came to be known as the

Dixiecrats. The party was openly opposed to civil rights legislation, as their leader Strom

Thurmond campaigned almost exclusively on the platform of segregation. Droves of

students from Ole Miss attended the Dixiecrat convention in Birmingham, Alabama,

when the Confederate flag and the song 'Dixie' were adopted as official symbols of the

party (see Chapter 4). At about the same time when the Confederate battle flag was

coming to be identified with "Southern resistance to civil rights and the Ku Klux Klan"

(Sansing, 1999, p. 108), the unbridled support on the Ole Miss campus for the Dixiecrat

cause further cemented the representational Dixie South triad of segregationist politics,

Ole Miss, and the Confederate flag.

As the Dixiecrats and their isolationist politics gained momentum in the Deep

South, the flag materialized everywhere within public spaces of Mississippi, from

courthouses and government buildings to commercial spaces and sporting places. The

sovereignty of sign and space further crystallized through the close symbolic symmetry

of the wildly popular Ole Miss football team and its new proximity to the banner of the

Confederacy. As politicians became regular personalities on the midfield podium at

halftime of Ole Miss home football games, the ideologies of the flag become

simultaneously identified with both the Ole Miss Rebels and the Dixiecrats. The close

symbolic ties between the college football team and the political party opposed to civil

rights resulted in a harmonious equilibrium of signifier (the flag in its material form) and

signified (the politics and ideologies behind the flag) within the Ole Miss sporting

spectacle. As one commentator described, "It was a happy marriage of politics and

school spirit, a way to celebrate white southern pride in the safe confines of the

stadium" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 162). For example, during the football homecoming

celebration of 1948, the Rebel flag became the focal element of neo-Confederate

imagery that "would soon cloak the Ole Miss campus" (Sansing, 1999, pp. 269). In 1948

the Ole Miss band also introduced a wildly popular halftime routine during which it

marched onto the field and announced its political intentions by unfurling the world's

largest Confederate flag to the stirring strains of *Dixie* (see Figure 10). The 1948 M-

Book explained that the giant Rebel flag was a symbol that announced to the non-

segregationist world: "We do not want anyone telling us what to do" ("M-Book: Student

handbook of the University of Mississippi," 1948a, p. 5). The uniforms of the Ole Miss

marching band, aptly known as the 'Pride of the South,' were modified into gray

militaristic outfits and small-brimmed hats symbolically linking the students who wore them to a century earlier and the garb donned by University students who become defenders of the 'Southern way of life.' Spectators were given miniature Confederate flags to wave during each home game, and cheers for 'Ole Dixie' echoed throughout the sea of white-bodied football-swilling separatists. The symbolic properties of the backlash politics of confronted whiteness thus interpellated the white individual "with a more visual orientation and with more corporeal desires—desires met both by material consumption and by visual consumption of embodied others" (Coombe, 1998, p. 171). The corporeal responses to the debate included the introduction of a new tradition: Students painted Confederate flags on their bodies before entering the stadium, and bore costumes and accessories which memorialized the 'Lost Cause.' For neo-Confederates, this temporal moment and sardonic sway of the culture of segregation was realized through the unobstructed convergence of: the mark of the Old South (the flag), the racist politics of the Dixiecrats and Southern segregationists, and the institution and its sporting iconography. One local journalist gleefully reported: "More and more it looks like the confederates will rise again as Rebel boosters don their black hats, wave the southern flag and whistle 'Dixie'" ("Long live the Colonel," 1953, p. 1).

In the 1950s and 1960s, two things happened which further brought the symbiotic relationship of the Confederate flag and Ole Miss into focus: First, as the Civil Rights campaign fixed its eye on the Dixie South, and specifically on the state of Mississippi, the University of Mississippi became a significant site for contesting segregation and resisting integration. Second, intercollegiate football became an increasingly relevant social space for expressing racial intolerance, particularly as the

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Ole Miss squad became a considerable football power during the era—attending 17

bowl games in 18 years (Baker, 1989). The persistence of the Ku Klux Klan in the public

affairs of racial integration at Ole Miss further obscured the meanings connoted by the

flag, particularly as the Southern Cross became a permanent public fixture of which

represented their cause:

> On the news program each night there was the Ku Klux Klan waving the rebel
>
> flag, and on the sports program there was the Ole Miss football team with the
>
> same flag. Ole Miss and the KKK, using the same symbols, became identified
>
> with each other, especially after the resistance to admitting James Meredith in
>
> 1961 and '62. (Cohodas, 1997, p. 237)

The contextual equilibrium of the sign and the ideological chains from which the flag

drew meaning gained momentum, and in the pivotal moment in the University's racist

history, the contested integration of the institution via the arrival of James Meredith in

1962, demonstrated the malevolent auspices under which the civilian army of

segregationists marched to the Confederate battle flag. The flag became a central

discursive fixture in the fight against integration in the Dixie South, and particularly Ole

Miss:

> not only a common banner at KKK rallies but also at civil government buildings
>
> and general protests against federal desegregation orders, the Confederate flag
>
> was the choice symbol of those many citizens who gathered in Oxford during the
>
> weekend preceding October 1, 1962 (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 134)

As the riots ensued in the hours leading up to Meredith's forced admission to the

University of Mississippi, Confederate flags littered the spatial landscape of the campus

in a spectacle of symbolic (and forceful) defiance (Barrett, 1965). The flag was draped across the front porticos of many of the fraternity houses on campus, and the American flag in the center of campus was displaced in favor of the Southern Cross (Silver, 1966). Similar to ways in which the Klan's appropriations of the flag were understood to be representative of the white supremacist cause during the middle part of the Twentieth Century, the riots surrounding Meredith's admission "galvanized in the public's mind that Ole Miss not only had symbols, but was a symbol itself. In the American eye, the Rebel flag and 'Dixie' were symbols of organized resistance to civil rights . . . The nation was seeing Ole Miss use its symbols in the act of denying a black man admission to the school" (Lord, 1965, p. 18). Consequently, through resistance to integration and civil rights, and under the banner of symbolic Old South 'traditions,' 'Ole Miss' evolved into a discursive formation which embodied the obtuse and dogmatic politics of race in the Dixie South.

The flag remained the uncontested symbolic fixture of white privilege at the University of Mississippi throughout the remainder of the 1960s and well into the following decade. In fact, it was not until the early 1980s when the first serious challenge to the flag's supremacy was formulated. On April 22, 1982, the student body of Ole Miss elected John Hawkins as the first black cheerleader in school history. It was assumed that the first black cheerleader in school history would honor the 'tradition' in which every male cheerleader was expected to carry a large Confederate flag onto the field for the start of every Ole Miss football contest. Following his election, the *New York Times* quoted Hawkins saying he wouldn't wave the flag: "While I'm an Ole Miss cheerleader I'm still a black man. In my household I wasn't told to hate the flag, but I did

have history classes and know what my ancestors went through and what the Rebel

flag represents. It is my choice and I prefer not to wave one" (Rawls, 1982a). He

continued, "I am a black man and the same way whites have been taught to wave the

flag I have been taught to have nothing to do with it" (Rawls, 1982a). Hawkins garnered

little support in the local media, with the exception of two black student journalists who

wrote, "for the blacks who make up about 35 percent[114] of our state's population, the

[Confederate battle flag] stands as both a barrier and as a banner for Mississippi's racist

past" (Read & Freeland, 1983, p. 2). The backlash against Hawkins was considerable,

as he was verbally and physically harassed throughout the period leading up to the

football season. As the flag issue heightened, many white student subjects began

wearing t-shirts with the symbolic letter 'X' popularized by the film *Malcolm X*, and

underneath it were the words: 'You wear yours . . .' and on the back read 'We'll wear

ours.' Other popular garb during this time period included a popular t-shirt on the Ole

Miss campus which read: 'I'll give up this flag when you give up MLK Day.' To

temporarily quell tensions, as a 'compromise,' University administrators decided to allow

the carrying of the flag to be optional, as long as one flag was carried onto the football

field (Nettleton, 1983).

Ironically, the twentieth anniversary of integration at Ole Miss coincided with the

1982 football season. To commemorate the integration of Ole Miss, the University

invited James Meredith to speak on campus as the feature of the week's events. In his

speech, he charged that the Confederate flag, Colonel Rebel, and 'Dixie' "must be

abolished as school symbols and songs. There is no difference between these symbols

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[114] Mississippi's overall population has a greater percentage of black residents than any other state in the nation.

and the segregation signs of twenty years ago such as White Only Waiting Room,

Colored Drinking Water . . . and so forth" (Meredith, 1982, p. 1). Meredith's message

was received with mixed responses. Toward the end of the presentation, and

immediately following the above comments, a large group of white students stormed out

of the lecture hall. Once outside, the students started to sing 'Dixie' and chant the 'Hotty

Toddy' spirit cheer. However, inside, the University's few black students diligently

followed Meredith's challenges. Leaders from the newly formed Black Student Union

were on hand to hear Meredith's challenge to the University, as was John Hawkins.

While the administration deliberated the flag issue and Meredith's appeals, the

Ku Klux Klan organized a rally in Oxford in support of their signature symbol and its

continued affiliation with the University of Mississippi. At the event, the Grand Dragon of

the Klan stood in the middle of Oxford Square and declared: "the Rebel flag . . . is more

sacred than anything else in the South." Many of the hundreds of spectators on hand

applauded the white supremacist leader, amidst a sea of Confederate battle flags, went

on to proclaim that "blacks should go back to Africa!" (Sansing, 1999, p. 327). As

tensions between neo-Confederates and members of the shorthanded BSU distended,

both white and black students organized to do battle over the meaningfulness of the last

vestiges of the Civil War. The meaningfulness of the flag became the subject of further

public debate, with one contributor to the *Daily Mississippian* suggesting:

Anyone who still does not understand why the so-called 'Rebel' flag is offensive .

. . has only to ponder why Ku Klux Klan marched on this campus in November of

1982 in defense of its use here. Its symbolism goes far beyond mere regionalism.

Even European Nazis wave it, because it is an international symbol of white

supremacy. Displaying it communicates racial ideals, like it or not. (Baldwin,

1993, p. 2)

White students created the 'Save the Flag' Movement, and in an effort to garner 6,000

signatures in support of retaining the flag, throughout the spring of 1983 drove around

campus, honked their horns, waived the Southern Cross, and taunted black students.

The mantra of the white majority was surmised by a neo-Confederate contributor to the

Daily Mississippian:

The Rebel flag is Ole Miss. Its tradition embodies this university. It IS Dixie, our

pledge, our symbol. What would Ole Miss be without it? Just plain Miss, I guess.

Certainly, with a name like that we would get even fewer recruits than we do with

the flag. Granted, our racial dispute would probably be solved. But what would

become of everything else? (Becker, 1983, p. 2)

These white students, often numbering in the thousands, organized protests in front of

the Lyceum, one of which eventuated in a march on the black fraternity house of John

Hawkins (Raines et al., 1983). In response to the confrontational actions of seemed to

be a vast majority of the white student population, the BSU formulated a number of

'demands' for social justice (see Chapter 4). Led by their President, Lydia Spragin, one

such demand from the BSU was that the Confederate flag be removed from all

university-sanctioned events.

In response to this request, on Wednesday, April 20, 1983, Chancellor Porter

Fortune announced that the University was no longer actively promoting symbols of the

Confederacy as part of signified Ole Miss. Fortune announced: "It is time that the

University of Mississippi disassociate itself from the debate over what various symbols

might mean to various groups and individuals" (qtd. in Turner, 1983, p. 1). Almost

sardonically, the Chancellor submitted that the 'debates,' rather than the symbols, were

the representational problem which afflicted the harmony of the University. In response

to a verbal confrontation initiated by the leader of the United League of Mississippi

during the press conference, in which the 'agitator' challenged the Chancellor to

discontinue the use of other racist symbols such as the image of Colonel Reb and

playing of 'Dixie,' Fortune declared that the only symbol under debate was the flag, and

the other symbols were to remain a part of the University's symbolic culture (Turner,

1983). However, it was clear to black students that this measure in no way resolved the

problematic nature of the Confederate flag on the Ole Miss campus. James Meredith

reacted to the decision by praising the Chancellor, but also by arguing that the decision

was both incomplete and long overdue. Meredith contended that the flag decision was a

result of 'the reality of the reality of the situation,' the hyperbolic conjuncture of an

institutionally racist past and a racially diversifying present. Citing his call one year

earlier for the discontinuation of all 'three of the University's racist symbols': the Rebel

flag, the song 'Dixie,' and the caricature of Colonel Reb, Meredith suggested that the

BSU should pursue more active responses to the unequal treatment and prolonged

symbolic disenfranchisement of Ole Miss students based on race (Tullos, 1983b). The

response from the visible center, however, was not one of resolution. In fact, in the

weeks following the administration's decision, the backlash from the visible center

spawned a new intensity and affinity for the flag amongst Ole Miss's white population.

The Ole Miss campus became awash with Confederate flags, as students again

relocated the Ole Miss space as the territory of neo-Confederate conservativism and the dogmatism (McWhite, 2002).

That same year, the *Ole Miss* annual featured several pictures of the KKK during their demonstration on campus in the fall of 1982. In the pictures (see Figure 11), the Grand Wizard is photographed amidst rebel flags, urging Mississippi's resistance to the surge of post-Civil Rights Era challenges to white supremacy in Mississippi. In protest to the unsettling depictions as part of 'campus life,' Black Student Union members demanded a refund for student fees appropriated to the *Ole Miss* and announced they would burn their annuals on the Lyceum steps. As a proactive counter protest, a group of 1,000 white students brought their flags to the steps of the Lyceum in anticipation of the book burning, but found that the BSU had canceled its plans. The mob of students then marched to the Phi Beta Sigma house, which was located across the street from the Oxford Mall, and demanded to that John Hawkins appear before them. While outside the Phi Beta Sigma house, the angry throng shouted the chant from 1962, "two, four, six, eight, hell no, we won't integrate" (Raines et al., 1983, p. 1). While the physical confrontation that day was eventually pacified, the venomous response of the visible center spilled over into the pages of the *Daily Mississippian* in the days and weeks and years that followed, in what has come be described as "the longest running dialogue on the Confederate battle flag" (McWhite, 2002, p. 309):

> It looks as though Ole Miss has spawned yet another terrorist group onto the
> face of the planet [the BSU]. . . . Blacks have accomplished a good deal within
> the time they have been allowed at Ole Miss. They have succeeded in getting rid
> of the old Confederate soldier and his white horse. They have gotten the Rebel

off the football helmets. They have been increasingly accepted in some white

circles at Ole Miss. They would have eliminated the Rebel flag, the song 'Dixie,'

and Colonel Rebel if they had been able to control themselves just a little bit

longer . . . notice how many of these demands are 'gimme demands.' The writers

of these grievances want things to be GIVEN to them (sort of like a Christmas

list. They did not want to have to work for them—GOD FORBID. . . . Will these

type of people ever realize that others have only so much Christian spirit and are

tired of giving them everything that they want. I especially resent the fact that

they say I owe them something because of their history. . . . If they really want

these things, then they must prove it and stop acting like greedy, violent little

children and more like mature adults (Reed, 1983, p. 2)

The logic of this commentator's argument is moored in the traditions of ultra-

conservative white pathology: these black students should be content in their

oppression because their experience is better than their ancestors, and even iniquitous

access to spaces traditionally reserved for white privilege should suffice.

According to this racist logic, the invasion of the white center by black bodied

infiltrators is a two-part equation of lazy, greedy black ingratiation to disadvantage 'hard-

working' whites and the ill-advised failure of black students to conform to the racist

norms of the institution. Another writer deploys an eerily similar argument:

First of all, who are you to 'demand' anything from anybody? Some of your

demands are too ridiculous to even be considered. Why should the University

create another department when it just did away with one? Provide a separate

budget which is substantial for black cultural projects, which includes funds for

black speakers and professionals? If this is not separatism and discrimination, what is? . . . As for banning the use of the Rebel flag, 'Dixie,' and Colonel Rebel, just try. These have nothing to do with academics and if you're here to get an education then ignore them and start studying. I guess the biggest question and the one asked most often is, 'Mr. (or Mrs. or Miss) BSU member, if you don't get what you want, what are you going to do? (Hill, 1983, p. 2)

The author warns that the tolerance and goodwill of the visible center is limited, and these 'terrorists' seeking to undermine the historical dogmatism of Dixie South whiteness will not succeed in their endeavors to reshape the face of racism at Ole Miss. Another offering from the deluge of white backlash against the challenges to their beloved representative symbol further illustrates the ideological chains operating within the racial politics of Ole Miss during the era:

I am appalled at the lack of realism shown by the Black Student Union. . . What started the whole controversy? John Hawkins' refusal to wave the flag. What finally prompted the KKK to march [in Oxford]? James Meredith's ultimatum to Ole Miss. . . . if we need to throw out the KKK pictures, we also need to throw out the pictures concerning Hawkins and Meredith. (Benz, 1983, p. 2)

For this white Ole Miss constituent, and many of his fellow members of the visible center, the KKK served as an armature of the neo-confederation of an aggravated white reaction to racial equality, and the seminal instrument which *had to be deployed* to stave off the 'irrational' appeals of campus blacks for social justice (McWhite, 2002).

Capturing the early moments of angry white backlash to the effects of the Civil Rights Movement, the dualistic endeavor of repositioning the debate around democratic

racism (retaining the privileges of the white 'majority') and the victimization of the angry white male emerged as a central trope in the subversive prestidigitation and symbolic gesticulation of hyper-white orthodoxy. The former was fashioned under the conditions and attitudes of an insular reigning whiteness, a ideology and discourse founded upon a logic that went something like this: the campus was predominantly white, most white students found the flag an endearing symbol of Old South traditionalism, and thus the demands of the minority were unfair because they threatened to undermine the preferences of the majority. One editorial featured in the *Daily Mississippian* rationalized this posture in such a way:

> . . . allow me to reopen a can of worms, specifically, the Rebel flag issue. Amidst the discussion last spring of racism, tradition, football recruiting, and various other tangential topics, the paramount question facing each of us was somehow lost in all of the excitement. The cause of the incident was not racism, tradition, or football; instead, the struggle we witnessed was a direct result of the majority in this academic community believing that its right to rule in a democracy had been abridged. The issue was one we face everyday in this country: what is the proper relationship between the majority and the minority? It matters not whether the line is drawn between conservatives and liberals, blacks and whites, rich and poor, the bottom line is majority and minority. There are several premises to support this conclusion and each has come from factual evidence to support it. First, the majority in this community of students, alumni, faculty, administrators, etc. saw no racism in the symbols of the school. Only the minority was 'offended.' Any random poll of the community will bear this fact. . . . The bottom line is this.

The opponents of the symbols have the right to voice their disapproval of them.

Until they constitute a majority, or until they can show how the symbols

TANGIBLY violate their rights however, they should not have the power to do

away with the symbols (Perkins, 1983, p. 2)

The white majority was effectively "asking black students to surrender to the blatantly

racist symbols and attitudes of much of the white Ole Miss student body. The logic of

this argument is evident—Black people should not ask for social justice because it will

upset white racist traditions" (Alred, 1983, p. 2).

Secondly, the fight to retain this symbol was thus equated with some imaginary

civil rights for [self-victimized oppression of] the white faction—a signifying system

marked historically by racial oppression was thus converted into a site for the

preservation of the infiltrated white race. One commentator went as far as to suggest

that the symbols themselves were victimized through this debate, somehow taking on

human-like qualities and having nothing to do with the racist practices of the

Confederacy or the Jim Crow South:

As for the banishment of the so-called 'racist symbols,' does the BSU really feel

that their removal would ease racism? I tend to feel that any removal of our

symbols for the sole purpose of pleasing one group would merely result in

increased tension directed toward that group. Is the BSU willing to make a martyr

out of these symbols? These symbols do not possess mystical powers that

cause all those who come in contact with them to become practicing bigots.

Racism exists within people, and removing these so-called 'racist symbols' would

help end racism like removing the swastika would have helped to have ended

Nazism (Peirce, 1983, p. 2)

Based on this reading of the emblematic impasse, challenges to the symbolic

representations of Dixie South whiteness threatened the heritage culture of the

plantation-wealthy white South, but falsely implicated the individuals who for nearly two

hundred years perpetuated the racist hierarchies for which the flag and its cause

represented. The moribund autonomy of the Confederate sign was thus demonstrative

of baseborn charges against the practicing racist of the Dixie South past and present.

For many students and community advocates of the Confederate/Ole Miss

amalgamation, white students were the real victims in this dispute:

the Black Student Union has no intentions of improving race relations at this

school. Consider these actions by [BSU President] Spragin and company:

publishing an article in *The Daily Mississippian* in which she drags up every

conceivable negative thing she can say about my ancestors; making an issue out

of a simple symbol which causes no one harm; . . . then holding closed door,

black only meetings, and inciting the members to hate, yes HATE anyone who

disagrees with them, especially those of the Caucasian variety. . . . Let's be fair.

Oust the BSU or install a campus chapter of the Knights of the invisible Empire

(Henley, 1983, p. 2)

This self-victimizing trope of the visible center became a recurring narrative in the pages

of the *Daily Mississippian* following the John Hawkins incident. As the practices and

signifiers of the hegemonic Dixie South whiteness were imploded by way of national

and local interrogation, the reflexive response of the visible center was to further expand

the sovereignty of local symbolic power. With the endorsement and support of the Southern National Party and the KKK, protests continued well into the fall semester of 1983 (Cassreino, 1983b). The issue of the Confederate flag assented over time—not by way of white supremacist acquiescence, but rather by way of an over-determination of the sign through social praxis. Confederate flags became a more prominent fixture in the outside the football stadium during home football weekends in the fall of 1983 and beyond.

To this day, the visibility and ideality of the Confederate flag abounds throughout the geometric and ideological spaces of Ole Miss. Upon visiting an Ole Miss home game in Oxford in 1989, political commentator Lewis Grizzard (1989) surmised, "I lost count of just how many times the University of Mississippi band played 'Dixie' last Saturday . . . the number had to be in double figures however. There were 31,000 at the game. Everyone who wasn't from Georgia had a Confederate flag" (p. 2). Despite repeated pleas from various community leaders, University administrators, and even head football coaches, supporter groups and local leaders have ensured that the flag remains a central element of the symbolic and discursive texture of Ole Miss. As such, more flags than ever clutter the Grove and the Circle during home football games, as the symbolic territorialization by the old guard of the campus space is demarcated by the cross-cutting lines of racial power and Southern Crosses. Similarly, both Tommy Tuberville (the head football coach in the late 1990s) and David Cutcliffe (Tuberville's successor) pleaded for fans to stop waving the flag at home sporting events, alluding to popular opinion that this banner of the Old South hindered the team's efforts in recruiting the 'top black high school athletes'

Thus, the any concessions made on behalf of the visible center with regard to the

Confederate flag were mere acquiescences to the following conundrum: "Ole Miss

coaches have said for years that Old South symbols, such as the Confederate battle

flag, the song Dixie and Colonel Rebel, have hurt in the recruitment of African-American

athletes" (Cleveland, 2003, p. 19). One report positioned the race/recruitment issue this

way:

> Steve Sloan coached at Ole Miss from 1978-1982 and contends the university
>
> lacked a strong commitment to integration. Sloan is one of several former Rebel
>
> coaches contending that the racial history of Ole Miss dating back to the
>
> Meredith crisis has damaged Ole Miss' ability to recruit quality black athletes in
>
> large numbers. He believes athletic symbols such as the Rebel flag significantly
>
> hinder recruiting at Ole Miss . . . The university is immediately placed on the
>
> defensive when recruiting a black athlete because of the school's racial history
>
> and reputation. Coaches must spend valuable time with a recruit explaining that
>
> these symbols 'aren't important' (Baker, 1989, p. 36)

Again, the problem with the flag was reduced to the negative consequences for the

visible center (poor performances of their beloved Rebels) rather than any introspective

consideration of the oppressive nature of the sign. The presence of the flag within

Vaught-Hemingway Stadium was eventually diminished in 1997 when the university

passed a law banning poles in the stadium. Citing safety concerns, the administration

and athletic department disallowed large flagpoles and thus stunted the display of large

flags which had become popular during the late-1980s and early 1990s. In November of

1997, Chancellor Khayat applauded the ASB (Associated Student Body—the student

government association of Ole Miss) for voting to discontinue any symbolic waving of the Confederate flag in the on-campus stadium, stating: "I have faith in the students of Ole Miss. They have courage to objectively review issues and the wisdom to make good decision" ("Reb mascot to be bear, horse or biker," 2003b, p. 1). Following the removal of flag poles from the stadium, and the seemingly amicable response of the student body, an insert in the Daily Mississippian instructed students to: "Let a Sea of Stars and Bars Fill the Field on Saturday. . . . For We Dare Defend OUR Rights and the rights of countless thousands who came before to our Ole Miss" (Malone, 1997). As such, the flag remains a fixture on the Ole Miss campus to this day.

As I have alluded to, a more critical examination of the Confederate flag as an element in the oppressive signifying system of the Ole Miss empirical suggests the unrelenting supremacist attitudes affixed to the sign. The logo creates a "sense of belonging to an imagined community" (Coombe, 1998, p. 33), it unites the collective configuration of Dixie South whiteness under the banner of historical dominance. The use of the Rebel flag as a spirit symbol has created two interrelated arcs of interpretation for the individuals allied with Ole Miss. The flag has evolved into a signifier with both a dominant, preferred reading and a marginalized, oppositional reading. The preferred reading is thus encoded in the discourses of power, racial hierarchy, and neo-Confederate narcissism. The oppositional reading, borne of the alternative politics of the Civil Rights Era, is one of oppression, inequity, and terror. The centrality of the sign within popular discourse has become powerful in its control and dominion over the alternative appropriations of the sign. The Confederate banner, made available in endless permutations, now signifies both the centrality of whiteness and the control over

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"embodied otherness" (Bishop, 2001, p. 32). In other words, the visible white center is centralized because the marginal 'Other' is marginalized through the transparency of the sign—and the reign of confrontational, historically oppressive signs such as the Southern Cross allow Dixie South whiteness to occupy that central position in social relations at Ole Miss.

The reified central position of the Confederate flag has thus resulted in a discursive conjoining of the sign and the institution (the academic institution and the social institution of racism), as the hegemonic social construction of signified white privilege has taken a life unto itself. The flag and the broader signifying system are thus transformed into 'a lie' (Eco, 1976), "something that stands for something else" (Gottdiener, 1994, p. 156). White students "with few exceptions," David Sansing noted, "think the flag in its present shape and configuration only as a spirit symbol of the University of Mississippi . . . But it is not" (Sansing, 1982, p. 1). Problematically, the flag 'liquidates the real' (Bishop, 2001), becoming a simulacrum of the racist history of the institution and the signifier. As an abstracted signifier of Dixie South whiteness, the Confederate flag acts as a "signature of authenticity," it "registers a real contact, a making, a moment of imprinting" (Coombe, 1998, p. 169). That momentary imprint is disconnected from previous signifying acts, as the superficial defense of the symbol has succeeded in its endeavor to "free it, to pare it, to disassociate it from [race-based] sentiments and philosophies and images" (Sansing, 1982, p. 8). The absolution of the signifier from the signified, or the liquefaction of the 'preferred reading' of the sign, has turned the simulacrum into the real for many members of the visible center, absolving the referent from it reference. The selective encoding and decoding of the signifier is

thus two degrees separated from the Confederacy, slavery, segregation, and so on, and yet is mobilized as the signature of Dixie South whiteness at Ole Miss—the preferred symbol of a space which still alienates and oppresses individuals based on race, and which gains strength and value from the allegiances of the visible center.

The Colonel of Militant Whiteness

The sporting mascot of the University of Mississippi, 'Colonel Rebel,' has an equally problematic history with regard to signification and racism. The genealogy of 'the Colonel' offers a great deal of insight into the politics of representation and sporting iconography at Ole Miss. More importantly, the diachronic evolution of the Colonel into his role as caricaturized embodiment of contemporary Ole Miss further complicates the already complex relationship of the University, the South, and racialized identity politics. The University's inaugural football squad, established in 1893 by Latin Professor Alexander Bondurant, originally played under the colors red and blue. The football team subsequently adopted the nickname, 'The Red and Blue,' as a symbolic moniker that remained until the late 1920s. Then, in 1929, the University sponsored a contest to rename the football team. The winning entry was the 'Mississippi Flood,' adopted in remembrance of the great flood of the Mississippi River that devastated the Mississippi Delta in 1927. 'Mississippi Flood' was chosen over 'Rebels' (2nd choice), 'Democrats' (3rd Choice), and 'Ole Marsters' (4th choice) ("'The Mississippi Flood' picked as name for athletes," 1929, p. 1). The nickname was not atypical for the period, considering the University of Alabama was known as the Crimson Tide and Tulane University was the Green Wave. But 'Mississippi Flood,' like 'Red and Blue,' would not last long. Seven

years after the 'Flood' was adopted, it was dropped for the name that has endured ever since. The team nickname, 'Rebels,' had been adopted in 1936 in a contest sponsored by the *Mississippian*. The previous nickname was deemed "inadequate [just as] the one before it . . . had been dumped for lacking that certain something" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 161). There were 500 entries in a contest to choose a nickname, with the name *Ole Massas*, the term often used by black slaves for their masters, coming in a close second to the winning entry, the *Rebels*. 'Rebels,' the *Mississippian* suggested, was "suggestive of a spirit native to the old south and particularly to Mississippi" ("University adopts new nickname - Rebels," 1936, p. 1). Furthermore, in an explanation given to the *Mississippian*, the Confederate army nickname was selected because Ole Miss Rebels was easier to say than Ole Miss Ole Massas ("University adopts new nickname - Rebels," 1936). The name 'Rebels' became synonymous with the University over the course of the remainder of the Twentieth Century, with the graphic caricature of Colonel Rebel following only few years later, and the embodied version of the mascot emerging in the 1970s.

'Rebels' has since become an official sporting trademark of the University of Mississippi. The visual presentation of Colonel Rebel emerged for the first time on the cover of the 1937 *Ole Miss* annual. The original image of Colonel Reb was that of "a southern gentleman in the image of a plantation master: flowing white hair, bushy mustache, wearing along coat nipped at the waist, light pants, dark shoes, and a big broad-brimmed hat" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 161)—he was only a caricature and didn't have connections to the Civil War, but was instead associated with the Old South. There is a considerable debate as to the origins of the image. The Colonel Reb Foundation, an

organization committed to preserving the Colonel as the mascot of Ole Miss, contends that the mascot is moulded in the image of 'Blind Jim' Ivy, a blind black man who worked on the campus until his death in 1955. According to the Colonel Reb Foundation website:

> Jim Ivy became an integral part of the University of Mississippi in 1896. Born in 1870 as the son of African slave Matilda Ivy, he moved from Alabama to Mississippi in 1890. Ivy was blinded in his early teens when coal tar paint got into his eyes while painting the Tallahatchie River Bridge. Ivy became a peanut vendor in Oxford and was considered the university's mascot for many years. Ivy attended most Ole Miss athletic events and was fond of saying, "I've never seen Ole Miss lose." Ivy was very much a part of the Ole Miss scene in 1936 when the editor of the school newspaper proposed a contest to produce a new nickname for Ole Miss teams, then known as The Flood. . . . According to Sansing, "If you look at the photo of Blind Jim in the three-piece suit, with the hat, there's a striking resemblance. The original Colonel Rebel emblem is a spitting image of Blind Jim Ivy, except for white skin. ("Let's keep the Colonel at Ole Miss," 2004a, online)

While this version has been questioned over the years, even the whiting out of 'Blind Jim' is surely problematic. One of a handful of black individuals on the Ole Miss campus, Blind Jim represented the docile, subservient blackness of the postbellum era. His celebrity was constructed out of his accommodating oppositonality. In other words, if the embodiment of Colonel Reb was derived from 'Blind Jim' Ivy, it was not done so as to signify the racial diversity of the collective institution, nor was it constructed out of

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tribute to the individual, but rather as a pedantic conquest of the servile black body. The

founder of the Colonel Reb Foundation reconstructed the cultural import of Blind Jim Ivy

with the following description:

> he was the true Ole Miss mascot during that time. And I've had a lot of questions
>
> asked about why he wasn't black. Well, students back then were all white, and
>
> why, I mean, do you not think that if what the students, student body that was all
>
> white used a black mascot, don't you think that would be kind of, send people up
>
> in arms and get people upset because it's not well representing the University by,
>
> by creating a mascot of a black man. But instead he simply created a white man
>
> but based him off of, of the black man Blind Jim Ivy. And so they put it in the first
>
> edition of the yearbook in 1929. (Personal Interview, 2004)

The whiting out of 'Blind Jim's' likeliness (whose dress, unlike Colonel Reb, was not

emblazoned with Confederate military insignias) further emblematizes the invasion of

downtrodden blackness. Over time the Colonel came to be known by other names,

including 'Johnny Reb' and 'General Nat'—with the latter a reference to General

Nathaniel Bedford Forrest, Confederate war hero and founder of the Ku Klux Klan

suggestive of the close ties between the mascot and white supremacy (Kanengiser,

2003a).

In the years following the creation of the Ivy-esque Colonel, the mascot was

brought to life by way of an embodied tribute to the Confederacy—in the form of a

student dressed in a Confederate military uniform who paraded down the sidelines

exhorting the Rebel faithful to cheer for their winning team. The microphone-wielding

student led the cheers of Ole Miss fans through the heyday of the University's football

team, as the squad captured three national championships (1959, 1960 and 1962) and six Southeastern Conference titles (1947, 1954, 1955, 1960, 1962, and 1963) during the tenure of this version of Colonel Reb (Cleveland, 2003, 19). The debut of the current embodied mascot, a 'huge, mustachioed headed' caricature with the wide brimmed hat, came in 1979 (Cleveland, 2003). Supplanting the preceding version, the cartoon-like incarnation of Colonel Rebel immediately became a symbolic fixture of the Ole Miss signifying system (see Figure 12). Colonel Reb could be sighted all over Oxford and the Ole Miss campus, including several Southeastern Conference sporting tournaments and Ole Miss football, baseball, and basketball games. The mascot became such a central element in the University's discursive landscape that it's image became the most prevalent aspect of the Ole Miss brand—featured on a vast majority of branded goods. Following the decision to do away with the Confederate flag, the Chancellor was presented with concerns from alumni and students as to whether Colonel Rebel would remain the university's mascot. His reply was that "The University does not consider it 'racist' and will not discontinue its use" (qtd. in Cohodas, 1997, p. 220). However, in 2003 the Chancellor and the Athletic Director of the University of Mississippi announced that institution's intent to change the mascot, failing to cite racist overtones of the Colonel's image and use, and instead forwarding that the "decision to update the mascot was based on the belief that a Disney-like elderly plantation person [was] not representative of a modern athletics program" (Khayat, 2003, p. 1). The more public rationale offered by pundits of the sporting South suggested that much like the in the case of the Confederate flag, the problematic nature of the mascot had become a

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serious issue in recruiting top black high school players to come to Ole Miss (McWhite, 2002).

As was the case when the University suspended any 'official' ties with the Confederate flag, the decision to replace Colonel Reb was met with a great deal of hostility from a considerable faction of the visible white center. Numerous supporter groups and other activist parties lobbied to retain the mascot, citing its significance in the distinctive social histories of the school, its sports teams, and the region. During the 2003 football campaign, when faced with the possibility of changing the school mascot to a more contemporary, less racist symbol, conservative students and other Southern conservation and white supremacist groups such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the Nationalist Movement organized and protested outside the University's administration building (Kanengiser, 2003b). In a campus poll taken in the early fall of 2003, almost 94 percent of students voted to keep Colonel Reb as the school's athletic mascot (Bartlett, 2003). Again, the echoes of 'reverse racism' and white disenfranchisement were stirred about in the present day local media—a central theme which directed students and alumni to prevent the Colonel from being replaced:

> This whole movement of 'political correctness' is just a milder, more innocuous
> aspect of the same slop Mao and Robespierre tried to dole out. I guess the Ole
> Miss (excuse me, University of Mississippi) officials think retiring the colonel will
> turn us into New Age Mississippians and better love our fellow man. (Emmerich,
> 2005)

Members of Kappa Alpha fraternity organized a *Support Colonel Reb* drive, in which they encouraged students to protest the University's decision through the popular print

mediums of the region. Meanwhile, administrators organized a contest in which

students and community members were encouraged to submit renditions for the new

Ole Miss mascot. After reviewing hundreds of submissions, a large majority of which

were deemed unacceptable for consideration by the committee appointed to review the

entries (a decision which the *Daily Mississippian* speculated was a result of numerous

racially-insensitive sketches), the contest was scrapped and the University took the

decision out the students' hands (Sindelar, 2003).

As they had done before, the ultra-racist Nationalist Movement offered their own

impressions, boring out the wickedness and divisiveness of the organization in the form

of a prejudiced submission of their own (see Figure 13).[115] In the end, the entries were

paired down to three: 'a bear, a horse, and a biker in the image of James Dean'

(Burnham, 2003, p. 12). The lattermost option lost momentum in the lead-up to the vote,

as the likeness to Dean brought into play the rumors of Dean's sexual preferences:

"Would Ole Miss have a gay mascot if the rumors are true?" (Burnham, 2003, p. 12). To

come to a decision concerning the new mascot, officials announced that students,

faculty, and alumni would be eligible to select the new mascot by way of a popular vote.

Despite thousands of dollars spent by the University to publicize the election, the search

for a new on-the-field mascot was terminated in the fall of 2003, as university officials

declared that following a preliminary vote to decide the new mascot in which only 2,400

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[115] Barrett presented a supremacist-inspired speech on the footsteps of the Lyceum on October 30, 2003 to the Ole Miss student body, a conclave which was 'well-received' by a 'number of Ole Miss students.' Barrett has filed suit against the University of Mississippi for 'unlawfully' disallowing the Confederate flag in public places. This lawsuit eventually went to the Supreme Court, where Barrett and his Nationalist lawyers lost their case.

of the eligible 40,000 voters cast a vote, the University would have no in-stadium mascot.

Citing "poor participation and no support for either mascot," the Chancellor determined that the matter was now closed and it was "time to move forward" (Sindelar, 2003, pp. 1-2). According to the *Daily Mississippian*, the low voter turn-out was in part due to a boycott of the election called for by members of Ole Miss community (Bartlett, 2003). It was rumored that of the 2,400 votes that were cast, a considerable number were 'write in' votes for Colonel Reb. By 'moving forward,' the university effectively decided to discontinue the sanctioning of an on-the-field mascot. In other words, while Colonel Reb remains a prominent fixture in the signified landscape of the institution, and generates millions of dollars in revenues through reproductions of his likeness on consumer goods, his persona is supposedly 'banned' from the stadium during home football and basketball games. However, the Colonel's likeness is still a prevalent part of the Ole Miss sporting sign-scape, in part due to the insurmountable knowledge/power devotions of the visible center and the equally colonizing forces of money discipline which act upon the 'corporatized university' (Harvey, 1998).

The Corporate Logics of an Undying Soldier

The capitalistic enterprise of the Ole Miss mascot clouds the impetuses for social change which might level the representational politics of the institution and the sway of emblematic Dixie over the constituency of the University. However, the decline in public support for state-funded institutions of higher education over recent years, coupled with the increasingly lucrative nature of intercollegiate sport, has resulted in a condition

whereby the corporate logics of capitalist America now govern the university (Sperber, 2000). As social critic Noam Chomsky (2002) suggests, the democracy of the academic institution has been sacrificed by the money discipline which now organizes all aspects of higher learning:

> There has been a general assault in the last 25 years on solidarity, democracy, social welfare, anything that interferes with private power, and there are many targets. One of the targets is undoubtedly the educational system. In fact, a couple of years ago already, the big investment firms, like Lehman Brothers, and so on, were sending around brochures to their clients saying, 'Look, we've taken over the health system; we've taken over the prison system; the next big target is the educational system. So we can privatize the educational system, make a lot of money out of it.' (p. 1)

In other words, the corporatized university has become a capitalist enterprise, and a generation of funding the activities in the university is now reduced to the corporate model of entrepreneurialism. Chomsky's contention echoes that of David Harvey (1998), who asserted that:

> the hidden hand of the market distributes resources and rewards so as to ensure a proliferating freedom of market choices in higher education while denying the capacity to explore alternative values. Money discipline undercuts the freedoms of research and speech promised by tenure and threatens to be worse than McCarthyism in its effects on independent scholarship and critical thought. And it is far more insidious: there is no overt source of oppression to be identified and resisted. Even university presidents are caught within the logic, forced to raise

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more and more money or economize on costs by whatever means to meet the

escalating financial needs of teaching and research. (p. 115)

To meet these escalating shortfalls, a number of America's larger public universities

have increased tuition by more than thirty percent over the past three to five years.

Other schools have reduced the program and services offered to students in a

corporate 'fat-trimming' exercise for the ages. Conversely, more resources have been

allocated to athletic departments and new stadium ventures than ever before. While

operating outside the organization structure of the [academic] university, and while the

quality of academic programs wane, these athletic departments have been able to

procure considerable funding from alumni booster groups, mandatory students fees,

and state initiatives to grow college athletics (Lamb & Sperber, 2000).

Within the sport culture of the University of Mississippi, the centrifugal force of an

embodied corporate/sporting collective [domi]nation is realized through the purchase of

Old South symbols such as Colonel Reb. At Ole Miss, whiteness "emerges as a

commodity in the form of an array of Jim Crow symbols, discourses of Southern pride

and resistance, and an investment in victory" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 141). As the

figurehead of the Ole Miss sporting brand, Colonel Reb's command over the consumers

of symbolic, sporting Dixie South whiteness encrust his image as a valuable commodity

with layers of institutional 'pride and resistance.' Subsequently, any 'compromises' or

concessions by the University (to the concerns of the Colonel's racist past) are made

only under the pretenses that the Colonel remain in his liquid, transcendent, symbolic,

and commodity form. As the reputation of the academic programs at Ole Miss toil,

falling short of its claim as a 'Great American Public University,' the corporate logics of

the branded academy cannot escape the grip of booster moneys (and their Confederate wishes), commodity whiteness, and the racialized sporting symbolic:

> Instead of reminiscing about some place that never existed outside the minds of men, the administration should attempt to distance itself from those things and allow students to gain the best education possible. The best educational opportunities are thwarted by the administration's overt attempts and drive toward emphasizing research and on-field excellence, not the quality of the undergraduate degree. (Niemeyer, 2004, p. 2)

The Foundations of Whiteness

Following the administration's removal of the Colonel from Ole Miss home events, students and alumni organized the Colonel Reb Foundation, a non-profit association committed to 'bringing to Colonel back to life.' The founder of the organization recalled the creation of the Foundation in this way:

> it was the summer of 2003, and we had just gotten worried that they were removing Colonel Reb from the field and from the sidelines and I went to a friend of mine who I was taking Business Calculus with and I said, 'man we're going to have to do something about this.' And we got in touch with a couple alumni members, which I knew one of them was big into Sons of Confederate Veterans and another one was a very big PR guy. One named John Rawls, one was Hally Morgan. We got in touch with both of them. And they helped us tremendously in trying to start up an effort to try and save Colonel Reb. Well one of the first things that we started was in September, I think it was September the fourth of 2003

right after the Vanderbilt game and right before the Memphis game. We had

interest meeting, we had a meeting to show that we are going to do something

about it, and we're going to fight the administration to keep what we feel is a

symbol of this University. That he is our mascot. Um, but not just that, the fact

that they pretty much shoved it down our throats that we was never going to

remove Colonel Reb regardless of what the students, alumni, and the staff of this

University want. (Personal Interview, 2004)

The group's mission was to bring the Colonel back into the stadium and arena on the

Ole Miss campus. "He's a great mascot. He's the character we all relate to," said the

group's leader, "Colonel Reb is like our grandfather, or our old uncle" (Kanengiser,

2003b, p. 5). While the founder's sentimentality loses its residual effect on many of the

black students of Ole Miss, particularly those who fail to make the paternal connection,

and rather see the Colonel as a symbol of institutionally sponsored white solidarity (in

the form of whiteness as hegemony), the occupation of the Colonel over the Ole Miss

campus becomes a marker of hegemony for the visible center. In the their efforts to

reinstate the Colonel to his command, during the two football seasons following the

decision by administrators to remove the mascot, the Colonel Reb Foundation passed

out over 125,000 lapel stickers to Ole Miss fans and attendees of the Grove spectacle

with a variety of similar-themed message: "we've had about five different stickers. First

one we come up with 'Colonel Reb is my Mascot.' The next one was: 'Pete Boone bring

back Colonel Reb.' And this year's was 'For Pete's Sake Bring Back Colonel Reb.' And

then the final was 'For Pete's Sake, Khayat Bring Back Colonel Reb'" (Personal

Interview, 2004). Further, the group raised enough money to create 'Colonel Too,' a

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nearly identical reproduction of the original Colonel Reb. The group used more than

$25,000 in alumni contributions to have a North Carolina company reconstruct the

Colonel Reb costume (Alford, 2005). As the Foundation's organizer proposed:

> The 'Too' design, it's more of a Confederate uniform with stars, with the whole
>
> entire outfit. He's got the gold band around the hat, which Colonel Reb didn't
>
> have. Um, he's got the blue stripe down the pants, which the Colonel didn't have.
>
> (Personal Interview, 2004)

While there are subtle changes between Colonel Reb and his 'cousin,' Colonel Too,

namely in the latter's dress (see Figure 14)—a style more consistent with the military

look of the Civil War era (Breed, 2003), despite the interdictions against Colonel Reb in

the stadium during games, 'Colonel Too' has continued to showcase his Rebel pride at

Ole Miss football, basketball and baseball games, "waiting for his famous cousin to

respectfully returned to the Ole Miss sidelines" ("Let's keep the Colonel at Ole Miss,"

2004a). In response to the new embodied product of the Colonel Reb Foundation's

efforts, which have included bringing the plantation simulacrum back into the stadium,

the Chancellor stated "If the students want Colonel Reb in the seating areas, that's

great. I don't mind" (Alford, 2005, p. A1). Problematically, Colonel Reb and his cousin

organize social and symbolic relations around the embodied politics of the visible

center. As the founder of the Colonel Reb Foundation described, the role of the Colonel

is to symbolically locate the institution in the realm of a collegial Dixie South whiteness:

> Colonel Reb, to many people, is kind of a symbol of the good times that people
>
> have had. Ole Miss for many of us is a spot down deep in the South that anybody
>
> can come where, it's kind of like a Cheers bar—everybody knows your name.

And, it's a sacred place to many people. As the quote says, which I don't know if

you've got that but it's one of my favorite quotes out of the student union, it says

that 'one may forfeit tenure at the University of Mississippi, but one never

graduates from Ole Miss.' I mean you're always a part of Ole Miss, and that's

very true, and because you're always welcome back here. (Personal Interview,

2004)

As such, like the Confederate Battle flag and the moniker 'Ole Miss,' the Colonel

symbolizes the non-reflexive epicentrism of the visible center. Furthermore, and the

embodiment of Southern plantation gentility in the post-plantation era, Colonel Reb stirs

the echoes of an Old South hierarchy and the deportmentalization of a prevailing

'Southern ethic.'

Conquering Difference through Song

Much like Colonel Reb and the Confederate flag, 'Dixie' has evolved into an

important element in the symbol landscape of neo-Confederate Ole Miss. The racist

intonations of the song are more subtle than perhaps the other two signifiers, and yet

the practice of singing Dixie during Ole Miss home sporting events shares a similar

polemical history. The song was written in 1859 by a white playwright for a blackface

minstrel performance (Stanton, 2005). The song became enormously popular in the

North and South during the antebellum and Civil War years, and eventually became

known as an unofficial anthem for the resistive cause of the Confederate states. The

original lyrics to the blackface hymnal carry both the mood of Southern lore and the

dialect of Southern black slaves:

I wish I was in the land of cotton,
old times there are not forgotten,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.
In Dixie land where I was born in, early on a frosty mornin',
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.

Old Missus marry Will de Weaber, Will-yum was a gay deceaber,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.
But when he put his arm around her,
smiled as fierce as a forty pounder.
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land. (Chorus)

Dars buckwheat cakes an' ingen batter, makes you fat or a little fatter,
Look away, look away, look away, Dixie land.
Den hoe it down and scratch your grabble to Dixie's land
I'm bound to travel,
Look away, look away, look away Dixie land. (Chorus)

Then I wish I was in Dixie, hooray! Hooray!
In Dixie land I'll take my stand, to live and die in Dixie,
Away, away, away down south in Dixie,
Away, away, away down south in Dixie. (Emmett, 1893)

This version of 'Dixie,' which originated in 1893, became the post-war signature sonnet

of the New South. While the words to the hymnal are not necessarily "demeaning to

blacks," wrote David Sansing, its problematic nature lies in the use of "the black dialect

(of the original words). It is one of subservience and a song of deference to blacks" (qtd.

in Cleveland, 2003, p. 19). The version which became popular during the

Reconstruction, and from which the Ole Miss anthem was created, more indiscreetly

summoned the slave vernacular as a means of linguistic conquer. The singing of Dixie

during Ole Miss sporting events began in the fall of 1948, the same year as the first use

of the Confederate flag and the rise of the Dixiecrats. By the mid-Twentieth Century,

'Dixie' was the 'anthem of the white south,' as "the song and the flag by now were

inextricably linked to segregation and white supremacy, not just school spirit"

(Cohodas, 1997, p. 162). The Anglo-Saxon-ized version, which can be heard bellowing

from the white spectating collective of Vaught-Hemmingway Stadium on football

Saturdays, marks the reterritorialization of the black vernacular, as well as the

celebration of a heritage culture from which the minstrel song sprung:

> O, I wish I was in the land of cotton
> Old times there are not forgotten
> Look away! Look away!
> Look away! Dixie Land.
>
> In Dixie Land where I was born in
> Early on one frosty mornin'
> Look away! Look away!
> Look away! Dixie Land.
>
> Old Missus marry Will, the weaver,
> William was a gay deceiver
> Look away! Look away!
> Look away! Dixie Land.
>
> But when he put his arm around her
> He smiled as fierce as a forty pounder
> Look away! Look away!
> Look away! Dixie Land.
>
> His face was sharp as a butcher's cleaver
> But that did not seem to grieve her
> Look away! Look away!
> Look away! Dixie Land.
>
> Old Missus acted the foolish part
> And died for a man that broke her heart
> Look away! Look away!
> Look away! Dixie Land.
>
> Chorus:
> O, I wish I was in Dixie!
> Hooray! Hooray!
> In Dixie Land I'll take my stand
> To live and die in Dixie
> Away, away,
> Away down south in Dixie!

Much like the Confederate flag and Colonel Reb, 'Dixie' has become a symbolic flashpoint for the racial problematic of the Ole Miss brand. "Any black coming to the University, particularly anyone thinking about playing sports, had to realize he would be confronted with these symbols day in and day out, and not solely in the athletic domain" (Cohodas, 1997, p. 162). While the Colonel and the flag occupy the iconographic spaces of the Ole Miss branded sporting imaginary, the song 'Dixie' operationalizes another dimension of the symbolic—that of the spoken, practiced discourse of Dixie South whiteness.

While most other Southern universities broke ties with 'Dixie' as a sporting anthem during the latter part of the Twentieth Century, the relevance of the minstrel song became intensified at the University of Mississippi. For example, Roger Dancz, the University of Georgia's band leader in the 1970s, ordered that the band at that school stop playing 'Dixie' in 1974. He based his decision on the growing animosity the song created among the university's black student populace (Borucki, 2003). However, following the banning of the Confederate flag in 1983, Chancellor Fortune was asked if he would curtail the use of 'Dixie,' to which he responded in the negative citing 'freedom of speech concerns' (McWhite, 2002, p. 342). Nearly a decade earlier, a *Clarion Ledger* writer predicted that as long as "the real Ole Miss anthem is 'Dixie' . . . There will be no Negro flashes in the Ole Miss backfield, or lightening-fast black flankers in the flats or tough Negro troopers in offensive or defensive lines so long as the Stars and Bars of the Confederacy remains the true standard of the school" (Kanengiser, 2003a, p. 2F). Again citing the close relationship between the song/flag combination and Ole Miss racism and isolationism, the introspective tack of the visible center understood the song

not as an obstruction to social progress, but rather as a hindrance to the aspirations of the visible center. And so the song remains an uncontested marker of [white] Dixie Southern solidarity and the associational ties between the Old South and the University of Mississippi. However, much like the flag and Colonel Reb, a transitory consideration of the appropriateness and appropriations of the song materialized, only to be met by the recoiled backlash of the visible center.

In the winter of 1993, as the student band prepared to strike up 'Dixie' during an Ole Miss home basketball game, four black students in the University's band, affectionately known as the Pride of the South, put their instruments down and stood in silent protest. The group's leader, Tim Jones, cited his uneasiness with the song and its racist intonations—particularly how the song had been used in the past by members of the Ku Klux Klan and the Southern Nationalists in efforts to preserve the vestiges of slave based racial hierarchies ("Students protest 'Dixie' at Ole Miss," 1993b). A heated dialogue ensued in the pages of the *Daily Mississippian*, with one writer from the visible center slathering:

> We have got to draw the line somewhere of there will be nothing left to remind us what a spirited and traditional school is like. If you take away 'Dixie,' then what's left? Johnny Reb? Then what have we got to call ourselves? As for the African American Mr. Jones, who said the song offends him and his people, I tell you that I am very offended as a white Southern-American that you would come to the University of Mississippi and try to take something away from it that creates so much pride and spirit to our sports programs. (Weeden, 1993, p. 2)

As a former member of the campus band, the author instructed Jones to "play your part likes it's written—*Play Dixie Damnit*" (Weeden, 1993, p. 2). Another commentator scathingly protracted: "If ignorant minorities can't read well enough to learn history correctly, they have no place at Ole Miss. . . . perhaps our motto should be 'Get your heart in Ole Miss or Get Out'" ("Angry reaction,"1993a, p. 3). These responses are further illustrative of both the intolerance with which alternative politics are engaged by the visible center, and the programmatic assimilation into the boundaries of Dixie South whiteness which is expected from racialized outliers coming to Ole Miss. In the end, as is the case with the Colonel and his flag, 'Dixie' remains, and while the administration has set artificial limits to the number of times the song is played at Ole Miss sporting events, it continues to be a symbolic mainstay in the representational politics of the Ole Miss symbolic. Much like the noticeable and embodied specters of the Confederacy hold sway over the visually symbolic, through 'Dixie,' the visible center can further find solace in the 'continuities' of an unfettered chorale of conquer.

'Dixie' is the anthem of the conquering white South, the redemption of the 'Lost Cause' through the vocal colonization of black cultural forms. However, the uses and distributions of 'Hotty Toddy,' the school's fight song, have perhaps evolved the chant into an even more overt and aggressive centralizing limerick. Students chose 'Hotty Toddy' as the official school cheer that represented the Ole Miss spirit in the late 1940s, composed of the energetic verses:

> Hotty toddy, God A'mighty
> Who in the hell are we,
> Flim flam, bim bam,
> Ole Miss, by damn!

While the origins of the song are subject to the emotional location of the storyteller, the resonance of the chant for a rebellious whiteness has developed from its original use as a defiant cadence of the visible center. When James Meredith attempted to desegregate the University in 1962, white students used the cheer as an acoustic marking of their exclusively white space, using the song and a smattering of racial slurs to deter the black student from entering the University. In this instance, the inquiry 'who the hell are we?' was vehemently defined by an angry white mob with the hurling of racial epithets and tire irons. Twenty-five years later, in the fall of 1987, the University administration responded to criticism concerning the inhospitable 'Hotty Toddy' by discontinuing the sale of t-shirts with the cheer imprinted on them which were being peddled at the on-campus bookstore. In retaliation, the Editor of *The Daily Mississippian* added the cheer to the headline of the paper on that Friday, and situated the Confederately-symbolic state flag in the center of the title page. In his explanation for changing the nameplate, the student-journalist explained: "The 'Hotty Toddy' cheer is a tradition at Ole Miss and certainly I want to do everything I can to preserve it. I'm appalled that something like this could have happened in the first place and think that it is indicative of the growing dangerous level of religious intolerance in our society" (qtd. in Khola, 1987, p. 1). His awkward claims to victimization through 'religious intolerance' are perhaps superseded only by the discomfiture of claims to any sort of disenfranchisement by way removal of the written version of the cheer. The song, which has long been used to mark Ole Miss as a supremely white space, either through its use during integration or during post-integration animosities toward visiting football teams with black players, is not demeaning in its original referent, but rather in the

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reconstituted meanings layered upon it in the decades since integration. In response to

the demise of scriptural Hotty Toddy, the Editor implored students to:

> Carry a rebel flag to the game. The Rebel flag is still the official flag of Ole Miss
>
> as far as the students are concerned, and it always will be. . . . If you are against
>
> the flag, go to hell." He also suggested that students should: "Dress up for the
>
> game. Wear some decent clothes, which means a sport coat and tie. For those of
>
> you who may not have a coat and tie, the university provides a special service. It
>
> is called the radio. (Hurdle, 1987, p. 2)

Reconciling the Present

State Senator Michael Gunn, during recent ceremonies to observe Confederate

Memorial Day, suggested that interventions in the Ole Miss symbolic system

represented "a national conspiracy to exterminate the vestiges of our heritage." The

Senator continued, "Make no mistake . . . we are the victims of a nationwide conspiracy

perpetuated by the Left to exterminate any vestiges of our precious Southern heritage.

When Ole Miss uses my tax money to pay hate-mongers like Johnnie Cochran to speak

on campus and call my Southern heritage racist, I'm offended" (qtd. in King &

Springwood, 2001, p. 140). Many white Southerners such as Gunn frequently have

attempted to locate the debate of Southern symbols around notions of 'Southern pride'

and traditional Southern values, and the victimization trope of their revisionist history

(Vanderford, 1996)—disregarding that the logics of racism and white centrality are

inseparable from these imaginary spaces. If there has been an assault on the signified

heritage culture from which these symbols stand, it has not come from the Left or its

progressive politics, but rather from the Klan, the Nationalists, and other advocates of resilient white supremacy. Any defense of the markers of Southern culture should start by confronting the meaning-makers who mobilize these symbols for racial terrorism, not racial equality. This retaliatory posture of the visible center following 'attacks' on Dixie South heritage culture signals the dualistic mechanism the signifiers of Southern history play. "At best, they are instances of imperialist nostalgia and at worst, whether or not intentionally, they function as forms of symbolic terror" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 141). Essentially, the symbolic affectivity of the system of Confederate signs active in the Ole Miss popular work because each 'matters' to members of the visible center (Grossberg, 1992). In other words, the import of these imagined signifiers is that they connect ideology to the material world; conjoining the collective conscious of Dixie South whiteness to the gestures, practices, and distributional power of the lived experience. These symbols extract the inequality of racial dominance, or as Stuart Hall (1981) suggested, they are representative of a "continuous and unequal struggle, by the dominant culture, constantly [trying] to disorganize and reorganize popular culture; to enclose and confine its definitions and forms within a more inclusive range of dominant forms" (p. 233). As such, the knowledge/power dynamic imbedded in these symbols was created by the dominant group, the visible center, to colonize the discursive landscape and the active bodies therein with a signifying system which memorializes the Old South and its hierarchical 'heritage.'

   This colonization, the reorientation of social operations in the 'tradition' of the Old South, is rationalized as a product of *dual erasure*, whereby "the first is an erasure that has emptied these symbols of their past, but only because they had to be, to ensure

their continued presence in a post-civil rights era; and the second is "an erasure based on a denial of the contemporary manifestations of white supremacy and the existence of racial stratification and institutional racism" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 142). In this process of scoring through, or filtering, the historicized meanings of Confederate symbols, the University of Mississippi and its power elite are actively refurbishing the symbols of the Old South to crystallize the symbolic gesticulations of a more 'comfortable,' less complicated [racially divided] Dixie heritage. As the Chancellor vehemently charged, "we are deeply disappointed that some would inject race into the discussion" (Khayat, 2003, p. 1). In other words, those who have been physically, financially, and psychologically tortured over the past two hundred years are expected to arbitrarily divorce the signifier from the signified at the demand of the non-reflexive visible center. According to the Chancellor's logic, the signifier and the signified should be ordered around a preferred reading, one which is predicated upon the notion that the 'real' cause of the Civil War was states' rights, that slavery has had no lasting impact on the University. However, as one student detractor suggested:

> . . . these traditionalists rely on a string of lies, half-truths and garbled inconsistencies. There is not a 'liberal' conspiracy against these symbols, but a conspiracy of truth. The jingoistic cliché of 'heritage, not hate' is often deployed in such a discussion. The South maintains a tainted history, however, one filled with racially-motivated violence and oppression, a heritage of hatred. (Niemeyer, 2005, p. 2)

What neo-Confederate defenders of the symbolic South such as Chancellor Khayat fail to realize is that "both sides share a common concern about the suffering of ancestors"

(Bonner, 2002, p. 178), as black Mississippians have experienced oppression and disenfranchisement under the auspices of these symbols.

The problematic history of these symbols, that which organizes symbolic terror for those outside the center, is not rooted in the memorialization of the courage demonstrated by soldiers fighting for states' rights, but rather in the primary cause of the Civil War (economic liberalism and the free practice of slavery), and more significantly, in the meanings which have been encoded into the flag, the Colonel, and Dixie since the war. Ole Miss students who broke ties with the Democratic Party in 1948 on the issue of desegregation used the Confederate battle flag as a symbol of resistance to integration. The Klan and the Nationalists have been active supporters of the efforts to retain Colonel Reb. Furthermore, 'Dixie' and 'Hotty Toddy' have emerged as active racist [audile] signifiers, primarily due to the ways in which each was used during the Civil Rights Movement. These are the active signifieds in the imaginations of black Mississippians. In other words, perhaps rather than thinking of the mobility of these signifiers as suggestive of some 'revisionist history,' the Chancellor, the Colonel Reb Foundation, and other members of the visible center would have us consider the strains of the South's past as emblematic of a decontextualized, preferred reading which sterilizes the appropriations of these signifiers since the Civil War's conclusion:

> Many white southerners have chosen, consciously, to believe the Confederate battle flag only involves its use on the battlefields of the War of the Rebellion. They ignore the 140 years of its use between 1865 and today. They ignore Jim Crow, the Dixiecrat Party, lynchings, cross burnings and the other terrible

legacies of the South, many of which were done under the starry cross.

(Niemeyer, 2005, p. 2)

Lest we need not trace the 'history' of Colonel Reb, the Confederate battle flag, and 'Dixie' back to the War Between the States. Their relevance and resonance are linked to a more recent formation of Dixie South whiteness and the racialized power structures of the local. Indeed, as signified simulacrum, each element of the Ole Miss symbolic system is two degrees separated from the war. Over the past few decades, the ephemeral reproductions of the flag, the song, and the Colonel have repositioned the Ole Miss symbolic in the realm of racial oppression, Klan-like fanaticism, and subtle hierarchization of the discursively territorial center. The hostility and symbolic terror of these markers of Dixie South whiteness transcends the short history of each, to the extent which the preservation of the Lost Cause has become conflated with, if not supplanted by, the paranoid *logos* of the visible center. Such a paranoiac vision of these symbols goes something like this:

the school that has borne out traditions that have endured some 150+ years . . . Yes, our Rebels are fashioned after the Rebels of the Civil War, but anyone trying to make something racial out of that just doesn't know their history very well. Yes, the Civil War ended slavery as it was known, but the issues that caused the Civil War were primarily State's rights and State's economics, not slavery! If the Southern States had not become so lucrative over cash crops that were borne by slave labor, and if they hadn't wanted to break away from the taxation and control of the Federal Government, then

the Union wouldn't have had a moral issue such as slavery to throw against

them. (Davis, 2005, p. 2)

Again, the backwards logic, whereby the cause of slavery is extracted from the moral

preservation of states' rights, belies a selective forgetting on the part of the members of

the visible center. Furthermore, the resilience of these "overly simplistic, too-tired icons

of whiteness" reveal "how individuals and institutions reimagine, reconstruct, and

recuperate imperial identities, imagined communities, invented histories, and

(im)possible worlds" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 180). The Decontextualized and

dematerialized signifier, floating freely, yet readily mobile for racist purposes, represents

the *immanency* and super-fluidity of the power bestowed upon the visible center.

Consequently, the University of Mississippi finds itself now immersed in the

discursive universe of faux racism and the 'compromised' logics of veneer

reconciliation. The administration has in recent years moved toward disassociating the

institution with symbolic racism, yet only superficially—in the form of a negotiation

between the call for social justice and the preservation of the commodity brand. That an

institution such as the University of Mississippi publicly attempted to come to terms with

"its archaic investments in whiteness only in the context of an increasingly lucrative,

racially marked system of collegiate athletic is telling" (King & Springwood, 2001). As

such, despite repeated calls for the banishment of Confederate symbols on the Ole

Miss campus since the integration days more than forty years ago, the Chancellor

recently, and defiantly, charged:

To allay fears of those who believe we are abandoning our history and heritage,

please know: 1) we are the Ole Miss Rebels and will continue to present

ourselves under that name; 2) the song Dixie remains in our repertoire of school

spirit songs and will be played at sporting events; 3) Colonel Rebel is an official

trademark of the university and will continue to be included among our registered

names, appear on merchandise and in public presentations. (Khayat, 2003, p. 1)

This veneer reconciliation, in which the social conscience of the University is

undermined by the alienating forces written into the power/knowledge symmetry of its

symbols stand in monolithic sovereignty, is incessantly perpetuating the collective

imaginary of Deleuze's 'double.' In other words, the Ole Miss branded symbolic bears

"an indelible stain and frequently evoke discomfort, if not disdain, precisely because

[they] represent a problematic or vile formulation of whiteness, relying . . . upon symbols

and sentiments of white supremacy that are no longer deemed acceptable or

appropriate" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 154)—marking the symbolic territories of the

inside (whiteness) and the outside ('[re]visions' of an alternative symbolic politic).

In summary, in creating, distributing, and mobilizing the signifiers of Dixie, Ole

Miss cultural intermediaries necessarily amputate the multifarious trajectories of the

sign, and the diachronic and synchronic forces from which that meaningfulness is

constructed. As Umberto Eco (1976) suggests, such 'fluency of the sign' presupposes

that the labors of producing the sign or signal work in tandem with the labor of choosing

what will be articulated within the sign. The meaningfulness of Confederate symbols is

thus more complex than any ill-conceived reading of the sign, or a disconnect of

signifier and signified, and is rather a manifestation of a faulty interplay between the

monolithic center and its ability to 'read' the *'expression-strings'* which organize human

attitudes, collective consciousness, and symbolic and *real* power. As long as the band

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plays Dixie, the chorus of 'Hotty toddies' meets the footballing opposition, Confederate flags are waved, and Colonel Rebs lord over the campus, Ole Miss and the markers which give the institution meaning within the imagined and ideological spaces of the South and beyond will be the indentured institution of the Old South.

Chapter VI: Southern Spaces

"It took getting away to appreciate Oxford and Ole Miss. I went to Alabama my freshman year. I couldn't get into the Roll Tide. It's not as traditional as Ole Miss is. Oxford itself is so traditional. It is a small, quaint hometown that becomes students' new homes." - Ole Miss student

"Ole Miss is an intangible experience rather than just a place. It is the beauty of the Grove, the sound of 'Dixie,' and the charm of Oxford itself."- Ole Miss student

In 2004, the university newspaper solicited Ole Miss students to describe their various affinities for the institution: 'what makes Ole Miss special to them.' The responses, some of which are offered in the above epigraph, often referred to 'Ole Miss' as a temporal space existing beyond the trees of the campus Grove, the mortar of the Lyceum portico, and the architecture and geography of the geometric space in Oxford. For many, the imagined space of Ole Miss precludes the physical spaces on the campus in a dream world of Southern hospitality and gentility. These quotes echo the sentimentality etched into the minds of Ole Miss undergraduates, as well as the famous central wall of the Student Union: 'The University is respected, but Ole Miss is loved. The University gives a diploma and regretfully terminates tenure, but one never graduates from Ole Miss.' Within the imaginations of the Ole Miss collective, geographic discourse is reconfigured into an illusory space of unification through shared inventions of spatial meaningfulness. The articulated solidarities of meaning, space, and whiteness (as a locus of representation) comprise the knowledge/power undergird which transposes the ideological onto the physical—grafting imagined collective configurations at the University of Mississippi onto the geometric fabric of the institution. Consequently, there is an interesting, if not problematic, interplay at Ole Miss between spaces of the

representational imagination, the physical spaces of the campus setting, and the lived

experiences which promote a hyper-connectivity of racist ideology and spatial

discourse. The reciprocities and animosities of the Ole Miss campus built environment

are formulated through the functional academic ground, but also the museum-like

resurrection of a visceral Old South aesthetic. On the Ole Miss campus: the buildings

are moulded by the laws and traditions of plantation gentility; the topography features a

torrent of campus memorials which serve as tributaries of ideological and symbolic

flows of a Confederate 'Southern ethic;' and the streets and walkpaths constitute a web

of homage to Dixie South relics. The central edifices of the campus collectively

comprise an 'axis of power' under which Dixie South whiteness is the governing

principle, the visible center, and the unilateral arbiter of social life. In this chapter, I

explore the 'continuities' of space as a pervasive discourse in the 'signifying system'

(Williams, 1981) of Ole Miss representational and identify politics. Continuing on from

Chapters Three, Four, and Five, whereby the earlier chapters were intended to

illuminate the genealogical discourses of whiteness and hegemonic masculinity, and the

latter was an exploration of the identity politics woven into the symbols and rituals of the

Ole Miss sporting popular, this chapter complicates the discursive articulations of space

and race at Ole Miss. More specifically, I aim to elucidate the strategic use and

manipulation of spatial aesthetic and infrastructure to examine the portents under which

bodies operating in Ole Miss spatialities are reformed and conformed through the

progression of a Dixie South universalism—unified through both the centralizing

function and race- and class-infused habitus created within the spaces of the institution.

Through a series of interviews with significant intermediaries of the cultural spaces of

Ole Miss (architects, physical plant designers, and campus master planners), I engage the social constructs within, and the strategic manipulation of, geometric space within the Ole Miss empirical—investigating how physical Ole Miss space organizes the corporeal and ideological visions of the material (and the interplay between aesthetic, bodily, and imaginary spaces of the campus) and the disciplined (the conscience of a governing center, which 'one can never graduate from').

Throughout this analysis, I will integrate a multifarious and occasionally contradictory body of theory on 'physical' and 'mental' space to develop a sociological interpretation of the empirical complexities at work within formations of discourse at Ole Miss. In particular, this 'spatial analysis,' or "the effective critique of representative and normative spaces" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 356), will synthesize the work emanating from debates on late modern space as conceptualized by French social theorists Henri Lefebvre and Marcel Merleau-Ponty. Further, I will utilize the vocations of Walter Benjamin, Michel de Certeau, and Michel Foucault to expound upon the relationships between the body and competing and complimentary physical and ideological spatialities within the institutional formations of Ole Miss. Acknowledging the multifarious, eclectic, and perhaps diametrically oppositional nature of such a vast corpus of literature, I want to preface such an open-ended theoretic project with a few provisos. First, my appropriation of, and engagement with, this diverse theoretical corpus is not merely a matter of conceptual reposition or juxtaposition (one upon another upon another), but rather a fusion (grafting the best of each) of a complex interpretive landscape which best illuminates the phenomenon under investigation. For instance, while many cultural geographers, especially those theorizing from a

Lefebvrean lens, have identified critical contradictions between Lefebvre and Foucault, citing "deficiencies in Foucault's spatial imagination" (Van Ingen, 2003, p. 209), I prefer to explore how Foucault's conceptualizations of governance and disciplinarity make Lefebvre's theory of space more incandescent, more empirically luminous. This prevailing critique of Foucault is that his theory fails to address the complexities of human agency in the production of social space. As Smith and Katz (1993) argue:

> Foucault's pervasive substitution of spatial metaphor for social structure, institution and situation continues to elide the agency through which social space and social relations are produced, fixing these instead as the outcome of juridico-political forces (p. 73)

While this critique falls in line with the abounding strand of deprecation for the poststructuralist frame—whereby deconstructionism is misread as abstractionism—it fails to acknowledge that Foucault, in the latter stages of his career, reflected on his oversight of space and 'geography' in understanding discourse and formations of power. Foucault (1980) himself lamented that is his theory:

> . . . geography acted as a support, the condition of possibility for the passage between a series of factors I tried to relate. Where geography itself was concerned, I either left the question hanging or established a series of arbitrary connections. The longer I continue, the more it seems to me that the formation of discourses and the genealogy of knowledge need to be analysed, not it terms of types of consciousness, modes of perception and forms of ideology, but in terms of the tactics and strategies of power. Tactics and strategies deployed through implantations, distributions, demarcations, control of territories and organisations

of domains which could well make up the sort of geopolitics where my

preoccupations could link up with your[116] methods. (p. 77)

As Chris Philo (2000) has postulated, 'Foucault's geography' is more implicit and

inconspicuous in his archeology of discourse, and space as productive discourse is

over-pronounced while the production of social space is underdeveloped. The active

agent is there in Foucault's theory, but remains in the background throughout his

interpretations of discourse and discursive formations (Bratich et al., 2003). As such, my

use of Foucault's archeology of discourse and Lefebvre's 'spatiology'[117] of more

concrete forms is not intended to be read as an amalgamation of irreconcilable

perspectives, but the synthesis of two visions, or inspections, converging upon the

same set of cultural phenomena.

A second provision which must herald this analysis is the penchant for ruptured

appropriations of theory which the reader will no doubt find apparent in the following

passages. It is my intention to oscillate between the poststructuralist abstractions of

Foucault and de Certeau, and the more agency-oriented (and cognitive) cultural politics

of Merleau-Ponty and Lefebvre—juggling the imaginative and cognitive with the

signified and abstract. As such, my intent is to develop a sociology of oppressive

ideology, as transposed onto and materialized by corporeal gesticulations and physical

spaces which comprise imaginary and lived experiences at Ole Miss. In other words, I

will map the articulated dialecticisms of the preferred meanings written into the spatial

text, the active body as a site for governance by the prevailing power structure, and the

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[116] Foucault is reflecting on his use (or lack thereof) of geography in developing his theory of discourse. In this interview, conducted by editors of the geographical journal *Herodote*, he comes around to understanding their critique of his work, and its lack of spatial theory.
[117] I will develop Lefebvre's notion of spatiology and its relevance to this analysis more in the coming pages.

politics of whiteness which pervade and unite each under the imagined spaces of a

collective consciousness of the Ole Miss imaginary. The interplay between physical

space, corporeality, identity politics, and unifying discourse acts in qualitative ways upon

the lives of individuals within the society of Dixie South whiteness, and I aim to disrupt, if

not implode, the perfunctory power structure embedded in this social and institutional

dynamic. Ultimately, it is my aim to emphasize the degree to which the active body,

within the cognitive and geometric spaces of Ole Miss, operating as a response to a

network of encoded spatialities, becomes an important site for producing and

reproducing the hegemonic reign of Dixie South whiteness.

The Land of Cotton

> *At the University of Mississippi, the past clings to the campus like kudzu.*
> *It's in the face of the marble Confederate who stands over the entrance to*
> *the famed Circle. It's in the Lyceum's bullet-scarred columns, enduring*
> *reminders of the school's bloody 1962 integration. - (Breed, 2003)*

   Perhaps the best starting point for an analysis of spatial discourse is by outlining

the conceptual origins and meanings of the notion of 'space,' and delineating the

distinctions between 'space' and 'place.' At the collision of the 'juggernaut' of late

capitalism as context (cf. Giddens, 1990; Jameson, 2001; Mandel, 1975) and post-

positivism as paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 2000), one of the more substantial

contributions to the conceptualizations[118] of 'space' and 'place' was formulated by

Michel de Certeau, who imagined a distinguishable, yet unified relationship between the

two. For de Certeau, the former can be understood as a kind of locus, specifically as "a

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[118] Henri Lefebvre's *Production of Space* was printed in 1974, but the first edition to be translated into English came in 1991. Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* was first published in English in 1984.

plane which is the order in accord with which elements are distributed in relationship of coexistence" (Certeau, 1984, p. 117). Place is the cognitive, dynamic, representational, codified, and signified mechanism of meaning in practice. For de Certeau, "place is constituted by a system of signs" (Certeau, 1984, p. 117). In navigating the relation between place and space, de Certeau locates the notion of space as a frequented system of the experienced, mobilized by and understood as an "intersection of moving bodies" (cf. Auge, 1995; Certeau, 1984). Space is a physical and imagined geography constituted by dynamic elements which meet, intersect, unite, cross each other, or diverge. Or, as de Certeau posited, "Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities" (Certeau, 1984, p. 117). Perhaps the relationship between space and place can be described in this way: place is a "fixed position," and space is a "realm of practices" (Crang, 2000, p. 138). Perhaps the most simple way to describe the relationship between the two is this: "*space is practiced place*" (Certeau, 1984, p. 117, his italics). Space is the dominion of fluid exchange—exchange of practices, conceptions, and discourses of the products, and the producers, of lived experience therein. Place is fixed, bound to a particular location within discourse, while space is "composed of intersections of mobile elements" (Certeau, 1984, p. 117).

Following Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2002), de Certeau likens his notion of place to Merleau-Ponty's notion of 'geometric space,' or "a homogenous and isotropic spatiality" (p. 24). Geometric space is constructed out of the material world, and the language used by human being to locate fixed objects in the realm of the imagination. By way of

distinction, Merleau-Ponty's notion of 'anthropological' space is reconstructed in de Certeau's work to refer to the dreams and perceptions defined out of, and by, distinctive spatial experiences. For de Certeau, an "anthropological, poetic, or mythic experience of space" (Certeau, 1984, p. 117) differs from the built environment or physical geography most commonly referred to as 'space,' as anthropological space is situated within the complexities of interpretation. De Certeau theorizes that place involves a varying level of perception, in that anthropological space is defined out "of the journeys made in it, the discourses uttered in it, and the language characterizing it" (Auge, 1995, p. 81). This relationship between space and place is at the heart of the Ole Miss problematic, as the signification processes acting upon Ole Miss subjects to demarcate Ole Miss spaces from Ole Miss places, or more importantly those which construct Ole Miss as collective 'place' (as in the epigraph), activate sensory nodes and cognitive experiences and the collective conscious of the institution and its members. This process is further detrimental when those symbols of Dixie South whiteness, and those practices of ocular racism, organize the signified constellation under which this unity in spatial discourse is constructed. Such an anthropological space, as utilized in the theorizing of Henri Lefebvre, has been described as "organic and fluid and alive; it has a pulse, it palpitates, it flows and collides with other spaces" (Merrifield, 2000, p. 171). As Lefebvre (1991b) postulates:

> Every social space is the outcome of a process with many aspects and many contributing currents, signifying and non-signifying, perceived and directly experienced, practical and theoretical. In short, every social space has a history, one invariably grounded in nature, in natural conditions that are at once

primordial and unique in the sense that they are always and everywhere

endowed with specific characteristics (site, climate, etc.). (p. 110)

The spatial imaginations of Ole Miss subjects are dialectically intertwined in the 'perceived' and 'experienced' possibilities of the signifying system from which the University as 'place' is immersed. Kristen Ross (1988b) suggests that space "is not an immutable thing. It is made, it is remade, every day" (p. 91) through social practice. The interactions of the body, or embodied practice, and anthropological space thus create an aura of 'place,' a sense of representational location grounded in the logics of white-bodied collectivity, black-bodied ostracism, and iniquitous antiquities. Ole Miss space becomes a discourse which mobilizes a post-plantation aesthetic and operationalizes conduct therein to create a sterilized, strategically intermediated cosmos of solidarity under the arches of Dixie South whiteness. As such, in this analysis I will alternate between abstract space (discursively informed spaces of the imagination) and concrete space (material, lived spaces of the Ole Miss campus) in an attempt to illuminate the taciturn, yet congealing forces which constitute iniquitous social relationships within the contemporary Ole Miss empirical.

In the first instance, geometric space—and particularly discursively constituted space (and spatial discourses)—is that interpretive sphere upon which meanings are affixed. David Harvey (2001) suggests that in studying the empirical and the relational manifestations of space and place, social critics must look to the iniquitous designs which *make space place*: researchers need to identify those discursive regimes of power which are mobilized through space to construct the lived realities unique to that space. The interplay of place and space is an important site for understanding modern

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formation of power, and also for interpreting the conjunctures of ideology, discourse,

and agency (Harvey, 1989). Much like Harvey (cf. 2001), for Lefebvre (2004) space is

neither fixed nor is it neutral. Space operates on the everyday experience of human

agents, often in productive *and* oppressive ways (Lefebvre, 1991a). To a great extent,

Lefebvre's theorizing on space was developed in the company of the Situationists,[119]

and thus should initially be located in the conceptual dialogue between Lefebvre and

Guy Debord. In particular, the ideological conscription provided in and by space in

Lefebvre's theory is indebted to Debord's notion of 'psychogeography.' For Debord, in

spectacular practices and the public spaces of spectacular society, the confluence of

the lived and the imagined and the affectivity of power are made possible because of

the interconnectivity and internalization of ideological chains shared by the 'atomized

masses' (Debord, 1994). As such, Debord implored that to understand the cognitive

processes of the imaged spectacle, critics must engage "a study of the precise laws and

specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized . . . on the

emotions and behavior of individuals" (Debord, 1981b, p. 5). Debord's

psychogeography was a framework for resisting spectacular spaces as political

armatures, extensions of the ideological police state. Manuel Castells would later outline

the connection between oppressive ideological space and ostensibly collective physical

space in this way: 'social space produces spaces of hegemony' (Castells, 1985). For

Debord, followed by Lefebvre and Castells, the aspirational and spectacular power of

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[119] The Situationist International was a group of young artists and social critics who enjoyed public attention in Paris during the late-1950s and 1960s. The group evolved from their Surrealist predecessors and formed the Letterist group, which eventually became the Situationists. Their most qualitative contribution to social theory is Guy Debord's The Society of the Spectacle, a complex set of theses on the effects of consumption, the mass media, and the spectacle on late modern society. While the SI never had more than a handful of members, their manuscripts had a rather significant impact, as some attribute the uprising in May 1968 to the Situationist.

space thus lies in the formation of a 'unity of atmosphere,' a Debordian term referring to the collective consciousness amalgamated through, and organized within, space (Debord, 1990). In other words, unified space becomes a meaningful, and powerful social formation, as "the subject's freedom of movement is restricted by the instrumentalized image" (McDonough, 2002, p. 243). Unity of space creates codification through homogenization, and through the contextually-specific set of laws that govern ideology and practice within that space.

The recent trend within contemporary social theory has been to conceptualize the active formation of space and the interrelatedness of space, place, ideology, and social praxis in the theoretical framework of 'spatiality.' Spatiality refers to more than the socially produced spatial configurations of social activity, to a stronger conceptual framework regarding the inherently spatial constitution of social relations (Giddens, 1984; Harvey, 1989; Lefebvre, 1991b; Soja, 1989). At Ole Miss, the social formation and constitution of an uncontested spatiality, and of the racialized interrelationality of space, place, and social relationships, has long begged for critical analysis. The aim of this chapter is to explore that 'unity of atmosphere' which propagates and produces identity-based power relationships within the imagined and physical spaces of the University of Mississippi. Contemporary spaces of identity within the Ole Miss vernacular and the popular have come to be understood within the intersecting discourses of: contrived physical space (aesthetics of the built environment); active 'embodied significance' (gendered, racialized, and classed physicalities of the Ole Miss spectator); and spatialized representational power (the semiotics of identity politics, and knowledge/power relationships therein). My central interrogative lies in the cross-

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examination of signifiers floating throughout the various spaces of Ole Miss, excavating the oppressive articulations between triumvirate processions of signification, representation, and identification. Lefebvre (1991b) refers to such a critical analysis of spatiality as critical 'spatiology'—an interpretive rapprochement between physical space (nature), mental space (formal abstractions about space), and social space (the space of human action and conflict of 'sensory phenomena'). Through an analytical triangulation of corporeality (the body in space), ideology (spatial imagination, or the cognition of place), and spatiality (the complex arrangement of discourse), the following analysis will illuminate the spatial constellations and discursive practices of empowerment within the logical and physical expressions of Dixie South whiteness at Ole Miss. To situate this analysis within the boarder dissertation project of Ole Miss, corporeality, and whiteness, I will first discuss the interactions of the body (as text) with physical and ideological space, and how the body is both a product and producer of space.

Spatializing the Hotty Toddy Body

With regard to both the corpus of theorizing on space and spatiality and the [corpo]realities of discourse, practice, and the lived experience, the body is a central element in understanding human activity in space (Bourdieu, 1990b; Merleau-Ponty, 2002). The body occupies, and is organized in, space; the body is space; the body produces space; and the body exists within the spatial imagination. For Lefebvre (1991b), the body is the most imperative of spaces in the social/spatial conundrum:

. . . social practice presupposes the use of the body: the use of the hands,

members and sensory organs, the gestures of work as an activity unrelated to

work. This is the realm of the *perceived* . . . . Bodily lived experience, for its part,

maybe (sic) both highly complex and quite peculiar, because 'culture' intervenes

here, with its illusory immediacy, via symbolisms. (p. 40)

When studying the body in space, social critics must acknowledge an overarching

topography of the corporeal, as the body does not act in autonomy, but rather "the body

is a composite and hierarchized space which can be invaded from the outside" (Auge,

1995, p. 61). Such an 'invasion' belies the ancillary affect on the body, and the power

dynamic between temporal space, physical space, and the intercession of the two

(corporeality). Space itself becomes a disciplinary technology which acts upon the body,

as—through normalizing judgments and ideological embeddedness—rationalized space

converges on spectacularized physicality. Lefebvre (1991b) describes the body/space

relationship in this way: "all 'subjects' are situated in a space in which they must either

recognize themselves or lose themselves, a space in which they may both enjoy and

modify" (p. 35). Rethinking Foucault's notions of panopticism and governmentality, we

can thus understand the relationship between the productive, yet constricted interaction

of the body in space in this way:

Disciplinary power depends upon the creation of novel physical arrangements in

which people can be monitored in the minutest details of their activities. It works

by partitioning, enclosing and codifying space, enabling the detailed

management and training of conduct by organizing the movement of bodies in

space and through time (Barnett, 1999, p. 378)

As a product of space, the body is the defining signifier of conformity (or contestation), adherence to prevailing polity, and the contestability of saturated ideology (Blum & Nast, 2000). Put in other terms, "starting from simple spatial forms, we see how the individual thematic and the collective thematic intersect and combine. Political symbolism plays on these possibilities to express the power of an authority, employing the unity of a sovereign figure to unify and symbolize the internal diversities of a social collectivity" (Auge, 1995, p. 62). In and through space, the body becomes both a unifying instrument and a unified object, a discursive axis of 'social collectivity' and representative affixture (Ross, 1988b).

However, it would be myopic to consider the body as only a product of the spaces in which it exists. The corporeal space is both constituted by, and constitutor of, the physical and mental spatialities in which it resides (Soja, 1989). For the Situationists, individuals become part of what could be termed a *spectacular spatiality*, what Debord refers to as the *plaque tournante* (the revolving platform used to connect the tracks of a locomotive). Linking the segments of a 'psychogeographic map' (Debord, 1981d), yet always oscillating between the discursive pathways which have already been laid out, the active human subject becomes both that imagined and physical space for connecting discursive formations, as well as the conduit by which power relations flow. Further, perceptible, embodied space extends beyond the autonomous fixtures of physical and imaginary spatiality, toward a more involved synthesis of the productive forces and social product of the human body (Ross, 1988a). In other words, "rather than define the body *through* space," we must investigate "how bodies create and *produce* space" (Van Ingen, 2003, p. 202, her italics). In Lefebvre's work we find recurring

inferences to what Situationists refer to as "spatializing actions," or the physical performances of space, in space, which serve as gesticulations of spectacular society, either confronting or reinforcing the "certainties inscribed in the soil" (Auge, 1995, p. 119). For Lefebvre (and Debord's Situationists), social practice constitutes and constructs space. The reconciliation of structuralist and poststructuralist structural over-determinism starts for Lefebvre with the reassertion of the spatialized body as active producer of social space. Space is first of all heard (listened to) and enacted (through physical gestures and movements), and the body is ensconced in the dual regimes of disciplinarity and intertextuality—operating as an active producer of discourse and governance (Merrifield, 2000; Vasterling, 2003). Furthermore, the spatial and dialectic centrality of the body in modern regimes of power work to reinvent and re-inscribe the prevailing logics of a spectacular racialized, gendered, and classed social hierarchy. As Marc Auge (1995) suggests, "the narrowness of the confines containing the sovereign figure, quite literally form a centre that underlines the permanence of the dynasty, and orders and unifies the internal diversity of the social body" (p. 63). It is that centrality of spatializing actions, and the productive formation of a prevailing discourse of centralized white privilege within the spaces and spatialities of contemporary Ole Miss culture, that I aim to deconstruct and disrupt over the coming pages.

This analysis is framed by the possibilities and limitations of the body operating in the social, physical, and imagined spaces of Ole Miss. The body works as/are dialectical: constitutor of space and constituted by space. The convergence of *spatial physicalities* and *temporalities of space* (cf. Fielding, 1999) is perhaps best conceptualized by in the phenomenological acumen of Marcel Merleau-Ponty. Merleau-

Ponty (2002) locates the origins of space within the movement of the body, which he regards as holding a productive functionality in space. Further, Merleau-Ponty locates the body/space conundrum within two essential features of *embodied mobility* (mobilization of the spatialized body): expressive movement and bodily orientation— each of which results in interaction between the spatial and the corporeal (Kujundzic & Buschert, 1994). Revisiting the notion of whiteness, and particularly the social construction of Dixie South whiteness, in the first instance we can locate the ethnological embodiment of racialized identity politics within the corporeal *tabula rasa*. The politics of Dixie South whiteness are therefore distributed, collected, operationalized, and oriented around the trajectories of corporeal space. The dialectic orientation of the spectacular (ocular, readable, signified, textual) body is not a consideration of solitaries, not as the body as it in fact is, as a thing in objective space, but as a system of possible actions, a virtual embodiment with its contextually phenomenal possibilities. Thus, Merleau-Ponty (2002) warns against isolating the body from space, as momentary producer or singular product of space, and rather petitions us to consider the ways in which body inhabits space—the body combines with space, includes space, and unifies space. The body is a stitch in the spatial fabric, the embodied conduit of imagined space and the representative locus of social politics (Casey, 1997). The corporeal subject, for both Merleau-Ponty and Lefebvre, acts within the realms of conception, perception, and spatial experience, vacillating between the ideological and the 'concrete' (Kelly, 2002). Henri Lefebvre (1991b), in his seminal work *The Production of Space*, develops a framework for theorizing the complexities of space and embodied social discourse. He organizes his conceptualizations of space around a

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'spatial triad' in which three conjunctural moments of dialectical simplification are identified: *representational space*, *representations of space*, and *spatial practices*. These three 'moments' of social space "are inseparable from one another and each involves, underpins and presupposes the other" (Van Ingen, 2003, p. 202). This is the framework from which I will develop the following analysis, as throughout much of the remainder of this chapter, I endeavor to synthesize each of these conceptual nodes against the empirical competing/complimentary spatialities acting upon the contemporaneous Ole Miss subject—elucidating the intersection[ality] and indivisibility of contextually-specific physical spaces (architectural, aesthetics of the built environment), mental spaces (nostalgia), and social spaces (performances of the 'Southern Ethic').

An Insipid Phantasmagoria

> *The lovely school is built in concentric circles, ever spiraling outward from the Circle. About a thousand yards to the east, some 700 of the Civil War fallen . . . are buried. William Faulkner walked the paths here. So did Willie Morris and John Grisham. History still overwhelms this campus like kudzu. The streets are named Confederate Drive and Magnolia Lane. The students are called Rebels.* – Linton Weeks (1999, p. C1)

I now turn the focus of this analysis to the relationship between spatial 'coherence' and the organization of the physical spaces within the Ole Miss empirical, and how the spatial aesthetic of the Ole Miss campus codifies, and solidifies, the imagined collectivity of Dixie South whiteness. Throughout the course of the Twentieth Century, much like other modalities of production, spatialities of the Ole Miss local underwent a series of 'metamorphic' changes. In the first instance, the built environment

was transformed into a functional structural design, as well as a unifying apparatus—encapsulating the bodies (through dormitories, halls of learning, etc.) and imaginaries (through an academic disciplinarity) of its subjects through the solidity of purpose. In particular, during the early and middle parts of the Twentieth Century, the campus experienced unprecedented growth in the student population, and thus underwent a significant expansion in the physical configuration of the campus space. From the mid-1930s to the end of the late-1960s, the geometric campus space doubled in topographic radius and substantive quantity. However, the buildings and campus spaces designed during this era demonstrate a noticeable break from the original architecture woven through older campus buildings such as the Lyceum and the 'Y' (see Figure 15). Function over form was the logic of the day, as these newer buildings were primarily oriented around utility—bringing students onto the campus space, and organizing their conduct once there. Following Foucault (1984b), the "construction of a collective infrastructure" (p. 239) at Ole Miss became a means of social control, and a technique of normalization over the performances within that spatiality. During this era, the Old South 'feel' of older buildings such as the Lyceum and the Chapel gave way to a more functional, 'brick box' style such as that of Bishop Hall, the Student Union, or Guess Hall (see Figure 16). In the second phase of campus metamorphosis, from the 1970s through the 1990s, the constructed, material spatialities of the Oxford campus became symbiotically [re]connected to the ideals and ideologues of the Old Dixie South—the property (at least symbolically) and the produced (those bodies which had been operationalized over time within that space) took up an imperceptible likeness.[120] In

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[120] Let me, for a moment, refer back to the first half of this project, and the genealogical analysis of deportmental transposition—the layering of a preferred masculinity onto the student body.

other words, through the reinvented similitude between the university geometric space developed during the era, and the embodied Old South signifying system of institutional neo-Confederates, an antiquated aesthetic remerged in the built spaces of the campus. For example, the Grove was cordoned off, and the football, baseball, and basketball arenas were constructed or remodeled to promote the burgeoning 'Rebel-esque feel' of the University. In this stage of metamorphosis from functional space to imaginary place, the fusion of symbolic space, physical space, and bodily space created a hyperbolic mélange of cultural isolationism, governance over the student subject, and spatial and ideological homogeneity. As such, spaces of the Ole Miss imaginary and the material were conjoined through a space/race collective consciousness, whereby spatial formations of symbolic discourse organized the oppressive politics the Old South are emblazoned upon the spatial linguistics of, and performative embodiment in, the University of Mississippi campus.

Through a strategically contrived aesthetic and a tactically organized topography, the spatial landscape which now constitutes the Ole Miss campus in the third phase of metamorphosis is defined by the semiotics of perceptible spatialities which *outline* and *define* the ideological possibilities produced within that space. Buildings created in middle part of the Twentieth Century are now being re-aestheticized to accommodate the Old South 'feel' of the campus, as one spatial intermediary working in the Ole Miss Physical Plant department stated: ". . . but mainly the changes to the exterior appearance of the building [are done] because it's not a style that's generally compatible with most of the other nicer buildings" (Personal Interview, 2004). This informant then offered the following description of the complete integration of Ole Miss

style, institutional function, and uniformed aesthetic is in the strategic use of brick color on the campus:

> We do have a standard brick now that we try to use now whenever we can. If we're renovating an older building obviously we can't go and stick in a brick, a different brick on it, you know. But in some cases we'll try and match as close we can the old brick but, we have developed a standard brick that we try to use in every instance that we can. We started that with the athletic department, actually, when we did the baseball field, and we were looking for brick. We thought, well, you know, orange brick is not particularly good. At which most brick tends to be kind of orange, not particularly good for Ole Miss since we're red and blue, and athletic department in particular tries to have a lot of red and blue things in the buildings and such, particularly in the baseball field we were going to have red and blue elements all in that. So, we tried to get a brick that was basically red, and this one that we picked actually, it's a basic red brick that has some blue highlights in it, so the red and blue relates well to it, and everybody kind of liked that. So we kind of adopted it as our standard brick and we use whenever we can on campus. (Personal Interview, 2004)

From the brick color to the nearly $1 billion in renovation projects undertaken over the past decade—particularly the restoration of the Chapel and Lyceum and the construction of new buildings such as the Ford Center for the Performing Arts—the University of Mississippi geometric spaces in this third phase of metamorphosis have been homogenized and reinvented in the tradition of Old South nostalgia and symbolic

collectivity. The linkages between the built environment and the 'Southern eth(n)ic' were described by one campus architect in this way:

> So, that brings us back to Ole Miss, which is to say that it is a very, very specific campus. And it does bring you back to the other thing that it has, which is this, this Southern tradition. And, it's going to take a huge amount of study to understand what that means. Some of it's nostalgic, I can speak of that as being an outsider coming in. Southerners like to think of themselves in a particular way. And I can say that without offending them because English people like to think about themselves in a particular way too. I think that I've been able to see how Southerners perceive themselves, probably, as well as most because I'm an outsider (not from the USA). I think that enables you sometimes to see things, maybe more clearly. (Personal Interview, 2005)

The particularities of the spatialized university often coincide with the distinctive nuances of Dixie South identity politics. History and uniformity are inscribed in the aesthetic and functional dimension of the campus space, creating a site for the celebration and indoctrination of an Old South racialized and class-based habitus.

This final metamorphosis of Ole Miss spatialities can perhaps best be framed within a synthesis of Walter Benjamin's interpretations of the early modern Parisian Arcades and Foucault's (through Bentham) notion of 'panopticism.' Much like the Ole Miss integrated spatiality, the architectural, ideological, and habitus-based interworkings of Parisian spectacular space is developed in the work of Walter Benjamin. As a political "phalanstery," a dream world of utopian form and function (Benjamin, 1999, p. 5). The Ole Miss campus, much like the Arcades, forges the prevailing logics (capitalism for the

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Arcades, Dixie South whiteness for Ole Miss) with the spectacular geometric spaces of the institution. In such a politically incorporated space, the property of symbolic universes is limited in that it constitutes a means of recognition, rather than knowledge, for those who have inherited them. Such spaces form "closed universes where everything is a sign; collections of codes to which only some hold the key but whose existence everyone accepts; totalities which are partially fictional but effective; cosmologies one might think had been invented for the benefit of ethnologists" (Auge, 1995, p. 33). In his seminal work on the physical spaces of the Arcades, Benjamin (1999) situates the blurred dyadic of material and ideological spaces within the notion of 'phantasmagoria.' For Benjamin (1999), the phantasmagoria is a collection of "rapidly shifting scenes of real or imagined things" (p. 9); forever swarming, constantly charming, always interpellating. Within the Arcades, the hyper-consumerist impetuses of modern capitalism are layered onto the visceral geography, forging an inseparability which "beckons the flaneur" (wondering consumer) into the phantasmagoria— phantasmagoric space appears as both an open opportunity and an enclosed restriction, "now a landscape, now a room" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 10). Benjamin's interpretations and logics of the Arcades can be similarly applied to the physical spaces of the Ole Miss campus, moulded into a spatiology of the imaged, imagined, and the aestheticized. For the remainder of this chapter, I will devise an artificial taxonomy of the spatial possibilities and enclosures of the Ole Miss campus. This taxonomy will be divided into three parts: The first part, following Benjamin and Foucault, is an examination of the forms of governance woven into the architectural aesthetic of the Ole Miss campus, and how this 'representational space' has become the true sanctuary

(mortuary?) of a 'cult of the ephemeral'—the ghostly landscape of pleasures, professions, and power relations within this context. The second part will take a turn toward the imagination, toward the construction of an idealized spatiality existing somewhere amidst and between the borderland of physical space (monuments, tombs, symbols) and ephemeral cognitive space (the imagined 'Southern Ethic'). Finally, in the third part, I will map the politics of spatial organization, and how, much like in the Arcades or the prison, the physical spaces of the Ole Miss campus direct and conduct the social spatialities performed therein. In form and function, each of the empirical illustrations which follows is not archetypically singular in its design, purpose, or interpretation, as each (i.e. the Lyceum, the streets on campus, and the Grove) can be read as conceived space, perceived space, and certainly lived space.

The Ole Miss Aesthetic

Visitors to Ole Miss often extol the campus for its 'strikingly beautiful' fascia: a fusion of classical and neo-classical cenotaphic buildings and a multihued montage of floral accoutrements bound to a geographically expansive and historically antiquated Old South gentility. The aestheticization of the Ole Miss campus, and the hallowed inscription of Old South gentility into that built space, did not come into being by happenstance. After careful consideration, according to an Ole Miss campus planner, University administrators commissioned the Fredrick Law Olmstead firm to create a master plan for the campus in the middle part of the century (Personal Interview, 2004).[121] A visionary firm in the art of weaving built space with green space

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[121] Chancellor Williams contracted Olmstead Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts, in September of 1947, to construct a 25-year campus master plan.

(Rybczynski, 2000), Olmstead's group successfully conjugated the antebellum

structures of the University with the prevailing magnolias and native shrubs to create a

phantasmagoric Dixie South campus aestheticism. For Olmstead's firm, Ole Miss was

one of very few interjections[122] in the architectural landscape of American universities.

The renowned architect usually worked with parks (such as Central Park in New York

City and the U.S. Capital Park in Washington, DC) and estates (such as the Biltmore

Estate and Gardens in Asheville, NC) (Rybczynski, 2000). The process of creating a

strategically-contrived aesthetic within the campus topography of Ole Miss initiated by

Olmstead's master plan conformed to a long-standing celebration of 'Old South'

stylization, one that was symbolically intertwined with the plantation cultural economy of

the Cotton South. Incorporating elements of the local and historical, Olmstead's

vision[123] for the University was to develop an imaged space consistent with the early

American architecture traditions of Greek revitalizations while maintaining the bountiful

and lush greenery of the campus. Recognizing that the built environment of the Ole

Miss campus was founded upon the classic Greek architectural influence seen in many

plantation-style Delta South homes and buildings of the antebellum and Reconstruction

eras, Olmstead seized the campus geography and reinvented it as *a living museum to*

early American South reinventions of classical architecture.

Borne of the 'classical language of architecture,' the Ole Miss campus resonates

the aesthetic logics of distinctive early American appropriations of Greek construction

and style. The oldest, most prominent buildings on campus are crafted out of the Ionic

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[122] Olmstead also developed a master plan for Stanford University in Palo Alto, California.
[123] Following Olmstead's death, which actually occurred prior to the administration of the master plan, Ardemus Richardson of the Olmstead office in New York took over the Ole Miss project, and designed the campus space until his death in the early 1990s.

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order, which is a stylistic and chronological compromise between the earlier Doric[124] or later Corinthian[125] Greek styles, a synthesis which appears as both decorative and masculine in form (Chitham, 2004; Tzonis & Lefaivre, 1986). In the context of an emergent plantation cultural economy of the middle part of the Nineteenth Century, the Ionic order was popularized in the built environment of domestic (plantation homes), governmental (court and state houses), and public (universities) spheres (Lane, 1993). More importantly, throughout the new Cotton South of the 1800s, the classic Greek language materialized as signification and signifier of the Old South political economy of genteel expressionism and aesthetic habitus of the plantation bourgeoisie (Hoelscher, 2003). In Mississippi, the spatial 'tastes' of the wealthy white was manifested in the convergence of a colonial style of popularized in the early 1800s overlain with a layer of signified wealth expressed in the subtleties of the Ionic Greek order (Aiken, 1998). In revitalizing the plantation aesthetic from a century earlier, Olmstead, and his succeeding architectural agents, expounded on the protracted imagery of the Old South colonial/classical architecture and the 'richness' of the campus fabric as defined through its connections to the antiquities of an imagined and perceptible plantation gentility.

The results of the Olmstead master plan, of which many are still in the making, are a geometric space—from the administration buildings and fraternity houses to the strategic campus-wide use of shrubbery and florally infused color schemes—which visually discharges a commitment to a socially and historically distinctive post-plantation aesthetic. In their design and manufacture, each building is calculatingly planned to

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[124] The Doric order is very plain, but masculine, or 'powerful-looking,' in its design. Doric, like most Greek styles, works well horizontally on buildings, and compliments the long rectangular buildings made by the Greeks.
[125] The Corinthian order is the most decorative order of classical Greek architecture. It emerged much later than the Doric and Ionic orders, and features more curvature and tapestry.

incorporate various elements of style, texture, and color to correspond with and compliment existing structures. When asked to describe the 'Ole Miss aesthetic,' a campus architect posited:

I think it's both classical and colonial in nature. I think that non-architects with their nostalgic view of the University, and who may have been here as undergraduates or graduates years and years ago, have a fondness for the University. And I think if you would ask them to sketch on a napkin what their image of Ole Miss would be, I think they would probably draw columns. . . . So, in their subconscious they know that it has classical characteristics. [The University] is based in the classical language, which in turn goes back to ancient Rome and Greece. And when this nation was founded, the founding fathers saw that as a very stable image from which to found the Republic. They were very attractive images and that's where the classical language of architecture really captivated people in this country. And so when you come to the 1850's, you've already got a hundred years of architecture under your belt in terms of classical buildings and so it isn't surprising [this campus is moulded in this style] (Personal Interview, 2005)

At Ole Miss, physical spaces are encoded in an overarching language of 'classical and colonial' architecture, which emits the bearing of an Old South aesthetic which was one part colonial (symbolizing the new-gentility which occupied plantation wealth in the period of westward expansionism and the university's founding) and one part early modern American habitus-taste for classical regimes of architecture (the Grecian built environment as signifier of wealth and privilege). Most of the celebrated buildings on the

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campus grounds, such as the centerpiece of the campus space, the Lyceum, have

common aesthetic qualities, those of this 'classical and colonial' tradition. As such, the

physical spaces of the campus are understood in the idioms of the imaged past and the

visceral, habitus-based taste for the aesthetic.

The first portent of Lefebvre's 'spatial triad' speaks to the aesthetic implosion of

the ideological (perceptive space) and the physical (perceived space). Lefebvre's notion

of r*epresentational space* offers heuristic to:

> directly *lived* space through its associated images and symbols. . . . This is the
>
> dominated—and hence passively experienced—space which the imagination
>
> seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic
>
> use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with
>
> certain exceptions, to tend toward more or less coherent systems of non-verbal
>
> symbols and signs. (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 39)

The affectivity of *representational space*, or what Lefebvre interchangeably refers to as

lived space, lies in the active construction of social solidarity and spatial unity (or

normative interactions with that space) and through the value system assigned to the

particularities of the signifying system. In the first instance, this solidarity is formulated

through the construction of a *unified spatial discourse*. At Ole Miss, the solidarities of

space are constructed through the formulaic materializations of a common 'classical

and colonial' architectural design. As one representative of the University noted:

> Now we're trying to relate more to the original buildings on campus in which you
>
> get a collegiate style that was pretty much classical, or neo-classical . . . So we
>
> want our overall campus theme to be sort of at least relate to classical. It doesn't

have to actually be classical, but like the Natural Products Center, so it's got the columns on it, it's, uh, connects to Pharmacy and up to Chemistry. Between those two buildings with connectors to both of them. But it's fairly new building, and while it's not what you would call classical style, it relates to classical style. It's got the little pavilion the out front with columns, and it's kind of stylized columns on the building itself that looks kind of, uh, what's done in there is cutting edge technology. . . . It looks more like, instead of the Lyceum, it looks a little more like a science type building, but it relates . . . So we're trying to make everything relate. (Personal Interview, 2004)

In trying to 'make everything relate,' the arbiters of Ole Miss spatial discourse are placing value on the Old South aesthetic inscribed in the campus's signature buildings such as the Lyceum. The building code as geometric hyper-conformity thus become a conduit for resurrecting the plantation South architectural habitus taste, and thus reinventing the university as a memorializing space of the cultural economy of antebellum Dixie. The problem lies in the value assigned to the aesthetic, and the process of valuating the representational spaces on the Ole Miss campus. The merits of qualities of a classical/colonial style were defined in the era of slavery, and mobilized by slave-owning bourgeoisie for the ocular expression of their economic, cultural, and social capital which was a product of racialized inequities within the region. By rearticulating antiquated regimes of the aesthetic, the institution both locates itself within the imagined space of the Old South, and revitalizes the class- and race-based problematic of built environment a hierarchical signifying system. As an uncontested, honored system of signs, the Ole Miss spatial landscape organizes the spatial

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imaginations of its hegemons, whereby the population of "absolute space" by political forces (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 48) further weaves Dixie South identity politics into the discursive fabric of the institution. Following Lefebvre (1991b), such an absolute space, "religious and political in character, is a product of the bonds of consanguinity, soil and language, but out of it evolved a space which was relativized and historical" (p. 48). This 'relativized' space thus dialectically informs the present by articulating the past to the active formations of lived experience within the confines of the institutional geography. The Ole Miss lived space is both oppressive and enabling, constrictive and open-ended. Lived space[s] of Ole Miss is oppressive in that it can become "the site of discriminatory practices such as racism, sexism and homophobia and is where marginalization is produced and enforced" (Van Ingen, 2003, p. 204). At Ole Miss, the unity in spatial discourse brought about by collective configurations of a 'classical and colonial' aesthetic imaginaries reconstitutes are aura of plantation privilege which harkens back to the slavery politics upon which the university was founded.

Consequently, the representational spaces of Ole Miss are enabling for the controlling intermediaries of the Dixie South social hierarchies of race, gender, and social class. In describing the unity of spatial discourse on the Ole Mss campus, one campus planner outlined the strategic management of the aesthetic in this way:

You know we're trying to make all the buildings classical or neo-classical because our best buildings are . . . pretty much classical design. [These are] really nice buildings with *a good people kind-of-feel* to them. It's a good kind of human scale that relates to the feeling, makes you kind of want to be in the building or go in the building or at least appreciate the size and scale of it—a

scale that relates to people that makes you want to go in the building. (Personal

Interview, 2004, italics added)

Much like the plantation homes built during the same era as the classical structures on

the Ole Miss campus, the symbolic import of the designs and designations of the

aestheticization of the institution do not extend very far beyond the visible center. By

embalming, or resurrecting, Old South representational spaces, campus intermediaries

deploy the *strategies* of spatial organization, encoded in the politics of race and class

based distinction and burden on the student subjects operating within the ephemeral

situation. De Certeau refers to the notion of 'strategy,' which is suggestive of the

"imposition of power through the disciplining and organizing of space" (Crang, 2000, p.

137). The control of representational spaces shapes the perceptions people can have

about that space, which in turn generates a normalizing function, as "space is

fundamental in any exercise of power" (Foucault, 1984b, p. 252). Thus, the spaces of

the imagination, and the discourses which dialectically engage collective memory,

become both important and significant and the physical space becomes that node which

activates those affective responses.

Environmental elements such as light and architecture have been vital to the

implementation of self-disciplinary mechanism in geometric space. Tony Fabijancic

(2001), referring to the Parisian Arcades theorized by Benjamin, described the

relationship between aesthetic and geographic elements in this way:

Fortuitously for the builders and entrepreneurs, though it was not deliberate,

providing aesthetic pleasure was also a method of control, initially working

toward an entrenching affluent nineteenth century subjects' reified vision by

redirecting or refining their intellectual or cognitive awareness about the crass

commercialist reality in arcades, transforming the actual orientation toward profit

into a cultural experience. (p. 143)

Within the social spaces of Ole Miss, the strategic management of physical space leads

to a secretion of normalizing judgments from within the physical and ideological

collective, as the embodied cohesion between mental space (attitudes and

appreciations for the aesthetic) and physical space (the aestheticized spatialities of the

campus) operationalizes, narrows, and normalizes. In simpler terms, white bodies

operating within geometric spaces—purposefully created and managed to promote an

Old South orientation—redistribute the marginalizing forces of ancestral privilege in the

phalanstery of Dixie South whiteness. The veiled *politics of representation* enlisted by

representational space (and vice versa) lead to the politicization of the aesthetic, and

the aestheticization of political. As such, it can be argued that each of these elements

contribute to a racialized, spatialized signifying system coded in the prevailing logics of

social relations within the region. And while the various spaces of Ole Miss are

contested, the *prevalence of these codes* activates the power/knowledges of 'the

double,' as the normalization of space creates normalizing judgments and thus

normative practice—marking the territories of whiteness and the exteriorities of the

'Other.' Such a signifying system, since the days of slavery, has long granted affirmation

and licensure to a code of racist praxis and social inequality. One critic has gone so far

as to suggest that "for many whites in the state, the University of Mississippi isn't so

much a school as a kind of secular temple" (Nossiter, 1997)—a temple which is

secularized by the representational politics imbedded in the stylized spatial framework on the built environment.

The Spatial Fabric of a Memorialized South

The strategic construction and aestheticization of space on the Ole Miss campus is more than a prosaic tutorial in architectural history. There is a hierarchical overtone amidst the pronounced Ole Miss aesthetic woven into the architectural fabric of the university's institutional spaces. The placid spatialities of the institution give way to ideological and physical appellations of 'place' which supports, if not promulgates, the diachronic ideological chains bound to the systematic reconstitution of a fusty 'Southern Ethic.' Returning to the epigraph and the placation of an embalmed Ole Miss spatiality, Ole Miss spaces ignite the obtuse (and obtrusive) sentimentality of a distinctive Old South populism. In other words, what makes Ole Miss a 'place' for many individuals is the symbolic, aestheticized spatial fabric of a geographic traditionalism in the order of the Old South. Lefebvre refers to this form of space as the second construct in his 'spatial triad': *spaces of representation*. In the most generic sense, the notion of 'representations of space' refers to "conceptualized space, the space constructed by assorted professionals and technocrats" (Merrifield, 2000, p. 174). Representations of space, or 'conceptualized spaces,' are "tied to the relations of production and to the order which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 33). For Lefebvre, conceptualized space "is the dominant space in any society" (Lefebvre, 1991b, pp. 38-39), strategically constructed around discourses of a prevailing signifying system. If, as I have posited up to this point,

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the overarching utility of the University is to produce a dominant form of Dixie South

whiteness through the human modalities of representational power, then the codified

spaces within the campus serve to organize, if not make coherent, the logics of this

project. This type of social space "always remains imagined and is constructed through

discourse . . . the kinds of social spaces that we engage in through our thoughts, ideas,

plans, codes, and memories" (Van Ingen, 2003, p. 203; cf. Soja, 1996). In other words,

in representations of Ole Miss space, physical space (the aesthetic of the built

environment) gives way to conceptions within the spatial imaginary. Representations of

space create a spatiality which is "*conceived*, and invariably ideology, power and

knowledge are embedded in this representation" (Merrifield, 2000, p. 174).

At Ole Miss, the social construction of representations of space is exfoliated

through the systematic signification of semiotic physical spaces. Over time, the campus

space has become a *museum of Dixie South whiteness*, a tributary of the longitude of

oppressive forces acting on the subjects of the institution. The permutations of this

"ideological blanket" (Baudrillard, 1983, p. 25) reach far beyond the aesthetics of the

campus space, beyond even the inscribed history of the built environment, into history

itself, into the diachronic imagination, retelling and rebuilding the myths of an imagined

South. As Edward Soja (1996) argues, such a pervasive social order "is constituted via

control over knowledge, signs, and codes: over the means of deciphering spatial

practice and hence over the production of spatial knowledge" (p. 67). The arbiters of

physical discourse at Ole Miss have created a wonderland of the "Confederate myth"—

a romanticized phantasmagoria of "the South as a humane society risen in spontaneous

self-defense of its sanctified institutions, its family and country life, against wonton

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northern aggression" (Silver, 1966, p. 150). As counter narrative of social vagrancy, this universe of 'wish symbols' (Benjamin, 1999), dispersed by those in control of production, serves as a collective expression of the ethereal in tangible, monumental memorials. As Debord (1997) argues, the degree of aesthetic success and conceptual perpetuity "is measured by a beauty inseparable from duration, and tending even to lay claim to eternity" (thesis 1). Through these symbols, physical space becomes mythologized space, which promotes the ideological products of a prevailing "wish imagery," whereby "the collective seeks both to overcome and to transfigure the immaturity of the social product and the inadequacies in the social organization of production" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 4). Mythologized history (collective memories of the center) is authority at Ole Miss, and collective solace becomes knowledge and thus power, distributing privilege through the nodes of a collective conscience (cf. Healey, 1997).

At Ole Miss, strategically conceptualized physical spaces alert the senses to a liminal precipice, collapsing the distance between physical space and imagined place. Through the consecration of symbolic artifacts, memorialized monuments, celebratory encomia, eternalized interments, and semiotic statues, these representations of space unify signifier and signified, as the contemporary (experiential now) with the historical (discursive then). Not coincidentally, a majority of the hyper-symbolic spaces were developed within the Ole Miss campus during the post-war period of intensified collectivity and American super-nationalism (see Chapter 3). The influx of post WWII student enrollment served as a catalyst for the addition of several new buildings on campus. This expansion of the Ole Miss built environment was part of a strategic plan to

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install new physical spaces to accommodate the growth of the University populace in lieu of the G.I. Bill. The new buildings, as instructed by the Chancellor, were to remain "consistent in form and style to the existing structures and built on site within the campus proper" (Sansing, 1999, p. 265). More importantly, the visual accoutrements of power written into the newly formulated spatial texts mobilized the power dynamic of space, creating a geography of knowledge and a topography of imagined entitlement. The intermediaries of the campus space thus constructed a semiotic-burdened layout defined by commemorative decorum, an imaginary infrastructure, and terrestrial monuments. The affect, as one student commentator recently noted, is that the spaces of the Confederacy on the Ole Miss campus serve as divisive markers and demarcations of the hyper-racial spaces within the university:

> The university has a Confederate cemetery, a Confederate monument, a stained glass window honoring Confederate soldiers and a street named Confederate Drive. Even Colonel Reb, the nickname "Rebels" and the words "Ole Miss" are wistful reminders of Mississippi's pro-slavery and anti-minority past. ("UM should honor Black History Month with diverse monuments," 2000, p. 2)

This constellation of singular spaces act in concert to create a stratosphere of discourse—whereby space and identity actively interchange, and the celebrated politics of Dixie South whiteness permeate the pliant bodies partied (apartheid) to this oppressive imaginary. I will now, in turn, offer a brief introduction to these discursive sites which comprise such constellational *spaces of representation*, and thus constitute the spatial fabric of the memorialized Dixie South on the Ole Miss campus.

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Halls and Walls

One of the University of Mississippi's most 'picturesque,' and certainly most pictorialized, buildings is the centrally-located (connecting the Grove and the Circle) Ventress Hall. The building has served as the University's main library, and the home for the College of Liberal Arts. Ventress Hall, the first building constructed on the Ole Miss campus following the Civil War, has undergone a number of cosmetic changes over the last century. A campus architect described the building in this way:

> . . . it's more playful, and it's got the little turrets, the little towers, and is highly attenuated, it's having more fun. The Lyceum is a very serious building. It would be extremely uncomfortable if, for instance, you move those two buildings, if you put Ventress at the end in that prominent place at the end of the Circle, and the Lyceum on the side, everybody would understand even if they'd never been to an architectural lesson in their life, they may not know what it is, but they'd know there was a hierarchical problem, and that this, this buildings the boss, sitting down there, and then off to the side it needs to be, put right where it's on the axis. And so Ventress, in the cast of characters is a supporting character. Although it's got significance in its own rights, of course. (Personal Interview, 2005)

In addition to the towering turret, castellated walls, expressive Romanesque arches and lintels of stone and concrete, and the two-level attic which rises skyward under the steeply-sloped roof, there are two features for which the architectural showpiece is best known. The first is a fine stained glass representation of the Confederate Grays heading off to war, which is located on the northern face of the building's central stair hall (see Figure 17). The window commemorates the many students who joined the Confederate

cause at the onset of the Civil War. Linking collective space to imagined place, the stained glass embodiment of diachronic physicality as instrument of the machinations of ideology reinforces the configurations of knowledge power which permeate the campus space. The body layered onto geometric space serves an encapsulating function, uniting the politicized corporeality of warring militia (the instrumental corpse as extension of a Confederate ideological corpus) with the spatialized and stylized discursive formation of the built environment. As further linkage to the past, students at the university have prolonged a tradition of inscribing their names, dates, and hometowns onto the walls of the second floor of Ventress Hall, and thus symbolically etching the individual subject onto the collective body, the attitude of an entity within an imagined totality. The University Museum's graphic designer explained:

> Legend has it that a Confederate veteran signed the staircase wall first. We
> found several names, but one—J.R. Anderson—caught our eye because of his
> handwriting, this old-fashioned script. And it was in the middle of a cluster of
> names from the 19th century. (qtd. in Houston, 2004)

And through the legend of J.R. Anderson, and the specters of the 'Lost Cause,' the traditional rites of exodus become symbolic gestures of the Confederate collective. Further, the walls of Ventress Hall act as an expression of the intersectional hegemony of: communal cognitive space, transpositions of the active physical being layered onto the geometric canvas, and the active relationship between spatial practices and spaces of representation. As one campus planner described:

> it's one that when the art classes go draw something, that's the one they draw.
> So it's probably the most photographed and drawn building on campus. But it's

an interesting style with the spires and the stained glass window in there

commemorating the University Grey's and all that kind of thing. It's got a lot of

history in the building itself. And the tower of the spiral staircase that goes up has

signatures from students from the early 1900's on. So we've several governors

and senators and folks like that that have signed the stairwell in there. So it's uh,

interesting piece of campus. (Personal Interview, December 20, 2004)

The charming and 'playful' nature of the building gives Ventress Hall is location within

the aesthetic imagination, while the symbolic layers of commemoration give the building

its identity within the pantheon of Ole Miss spaces of representation. In other words, the

aestheticized built environment alone stands as an awkward, yet well-received

juxtaposition of style and function in the central space of campus, while the spatial

narrativization of the building, that which gives it an assonant quality in the imaginations

of the Old South, is bound to the traditions of the University Greys and the rites of the

institution's degree-holders.

   A Lucid Labyrinth

   The dual functionality of campus streets and buildings (organizing the flow of

traffic; symbolizing the lifeblood of the institution) is an interesting, if not important,

element in the social production of *différance* (the social creation of cultural difference)

and *communitas* (momentary collectivity, the liminal space of the imagined communal)

and thus the spatial analysis of the Ole Miss campus. In the next section I will further

discuss the organizational infrastructure and the organization of space as disciplinary

apparatus, but here I want to briefly flesh out the titles of Ole Miss campus streets and

buildings as a further stylization of hegemonic (entitled) Dixie South whiteness. The

infrastructural 'labyrinth' of paved streets, paved sidewalks, and barren pathways, acts

as a system of vessels trough which human capital flows, connecting the main arteries

of the campus and connecting transportation-oriented spaces to symbolic and imaginary

spaces. The vascular nature of the campus infrastructure is perhaps only superseded

by the signified relevance of these conduits of symbolic resilience and the ideological,

transhistorical collective. Following Walter Benjamin, I argue that no less important than

the symmetry of the campus's layout is "the unconquerable power in the names of the

streets, squares, and theatres, a power which persists in the face of all topographical

displacement" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 516). With regard to the naming of streets, the

cultural intermediaries of Ole Miss have created a topographic web of glorification and

memorialization of the Old South. Through the strategic naming of streets, the campus

has been transformed into a "linguistic cosmos" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 522) whereby the

ideological spaces of the Confederacy intercept, and intersect, at the junction of such

roadways as Rebel Drive, Confederate Drive, Jeff Davis Drive, and Lee Loop. To the

delight of the Old South sensibilities, the classification system of traffic routes has taken

on a "peculiar voluptuousness" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 517), as street names become

symbolic of the broader *communitas* (Alderman, 2000). The passage through campus

takes on an imaged life unto itself, as individuals are confronted by a dominion of

representational space and spaces of representation. As Benjamin suggests, "street

names are like intoxicating substances that make our perceptions more stratified and

richer in spaces" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 518). Collective Confederacy of the logics of an

imagined Ole Miss community is thus not only inscribed in the linguistic cosmos of

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street names, but the act of transport on these symbolic spaces becomes that spatializing action which concretizing the bond between the active body and representational space.

The celebration of a 'Southern ethic,' and the homogenization (or unification) of a racialized collective conscience, is cemented in the representational network of signposts and pavement which meanders throughout the campus physical space. The further embodiment of that Southern Ethic, as inscribed into the celebrity discourses of Ole Miss sporting icons, is transfixed onto the streets through naming practices and symbolic overtones (Alderman, 2000). For example, the commemorative signpost at the entry point to Poole Drive reads:

Poole Drive honors the legacy of the Pooles of Ole Miss, who stand proudly as one of the shining cornerstones in the history of the University of Mississippi athletics. This one family—beginning with the fabled trio of brothers Buster, Ray, and Barney Poole—were the first of many Poole student athletes at Ole Miss. It is an athletic lineage like no other at the University. Buster's son Jim, and Ray's son, Ray, Jr. suited up for the Rebels as did cousins Fleming, Phil, Jack, Oliver, and Leslie Poole. Reggie Robertson and Joseph Robertson, whose mothers were Pooles, and nephews Paige Cothren and Robbie Robertson. Among this extraordinary family, a total of 47 athletic letters were earned. From the sandy banks of the Homochitto River in northern Amite County, the Poole family members have left their indelible mark on the pages of the record books and in the memories of Rebel fans. They will forever be remembered as one of the greatest families in the history of intercollegiate sports in America.

This recounted genealogy of the Poole family, and their impact of the sporting imaginations of the Ole Miss spectator, cuts a historicized, unidirectional line through perceived sporting space much like the linear design of the passageway which bears their name crosscuts the geometric campus space. The celebration of Ole Miss sporting celebrity as an extension of embodied ideological space is further represented in the signposts which authorize acceptable speed limits throughout campus. While American regulation of the speed of vehicular transportation is almost always organized in increments of five miles per hour, the speed limit throughout the Ole Miss campus is "18" miles per hour (see Figure 18). The extraordinary speed limit is commemorative of the university's most esteemed sporting icon, Archie Manning. During his playing career at Ole Miss, Manning wore the number "18" on the back of his jersey, a jersey which as since been retired. Infrastructural discourses as spaces of representation envelope spurious body through the language of the Ole South and the iconage of the figures which best embody the attitudinal dogmatism of the conservative South, reaffirming the one-dimensionality of the Ole Miss space.

The naming of campus buildings holds a similar utility in the promotion of unified spaces of representation at Ole Miss (Hale, 1999). Through the narrative of the built environment, disparate campus locales become a unilateral campus text, upon which a thesis of hyper-masculinity, Old South conservativism, and the politics of Dixie South whiteness is transposed. Through a geographically and aesthetically expansive collection of buildings, such as Vaught-Hemmingway Stadium (the physical materialization and iconic commemoration of the legendary football coach's contributions to the University), Paul B. Johnson Commons (celebrating the life's work

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of former Governor and Lieutenant Governor who physically blocked James Meredith's admission attempts in 1962), Bondurant Hall (honoring the University's first head football coach), Lamar Law Center (in memoriam of the secessionist politician and University professor), and the Trent Lott Leadership Institute (in tribute to the [formerly?] segregationist U.S. Senator from Mississippi). Each of these buildings is immersed in the structural impetuses of campus life: both the need for physical structures in the development of the campus space, and the 'mental' structures of spectacularized Dixie South masculinity which comprise a panoply of separatist space. These legends of white supremacy, and the commemoration of their efforts through the naming of buildings, further cements the relationship between the ideological and the spatial (Fusco, 2005).

While students of the University likely traipse though the halls of buildings named for Johnson, Lamar, and Bondurant with no historical grounding of their separatist doings, Lott's more contemporary neo-segregationist profile is prevalent in the political imaginations of American political spectators. For example, in December of 2002, Senate Majority Leader Lott came under heavy scrutiny within the national media after he declared that his state was proud to have voted for Strom Thurmond's segregationist ticket in 1948 (the year of the Dixiecrats). In remarks at Thurmond's 100th birthday party, the celebrity-like political elephant postulated that "if the rest of the country had followed our lead, we wouldn't have had all these problems over the years either" (Tumulty, 2002, p. 16). Lott also incurred the wrath of the Leftist media in 1993 following reports that he held close ties to leaders of a local white supremacist group (Weeks, 1999). These remarks and reported ties were consistent with Lott's racist politics during

his days at Ole Miss, where he exercised his power as Intrafraternity Council President to persuade Ole Miss fraternities, as well as his national Sigma Nu fraternity, to remain segregated. In fact, a fellow Sigma Nu member from the University of Georgia explained that at the national convention, "Trent was one of the strongest leaders in resisting the integration of the national fraternity in any of the chapters" (Tumulty, 2002, p. 16). By naming a building in Lott's honor, and in the honor of Johnson, Lamar and the others, campus edifices are transformed into meaningful spaces of representation—bound to the Old South logics of privilege and separatism. In conjunction with the naming of streets bound to the same logics, the geography of Ole Miss constitutes a contemporary plantation-like space of reverie, tradition, and imagined configurations of the confederate collective.

Resurrections of the Insurrection

The most pronounced nostalgic creation of the parochial geometric landscape of the Ole Miss campus is comprised by the configuration of four homag[inations] to soldiers of the 'Lost Cause.' A monument in the campus Circle commemorating fallen Confederate soldiers serves as the centerpiece of what Fredric Jameson refers to as the "aesthetic of cognitive mapping," whereby fragmentations of the social body create the need for a recognizable discursive constellation that "enables a situational representation on the part of the individual subject to that vaster and properly unrepresentable totality which is the ensemble" (Jameson, 1984, p. 90). The ether of a Confederate ensemble is comprised of: the monument in the center of campus, a monolithic shrine in the Grove, Confederated, flag-pierced phallus erected in the center

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of the Circle, and a cemetery behind C. M. "Tad" Smith Coliseum where "several

hundred Union and Confederate soldiers who died while being treated in the university

hospital are buried in unmarked graves" (Sansing, 1999, p. 111). The confederate

moment in the Circle is perhaps the most conspicuous of campus edifices, as the

central locale means the gaze of extolled soldier perched atop the memorial, peaking

above the tree-line, stretches across the vast campus space (see Figure 19). Also

positioned in the center of the geometric campus space are the Class of 1986's

monolith which petitions for Ole Miss students to "Preserve our Heritage" and flag

garden directly outside the Lyceum which hosts the modified banner of the

Confederacy—the Mississippi state flag (see Figure 20). Lastly, the most revered space

of representation on the Ole Miss campus, the Civil War Cemetery, sits atop a hill on

the northern edge of campus. The central marker of the cemetery functions in a Tolkien-

like double spatial consciousness, a second tower from which the flows of Old South

power can oscillate from and between. The diffuse symbolic power emanating from the

structures of the built environment are in some ways the lifeblood of a prolonged

Confederacy, as the spaces of representation consecrated around the lifeless body

(such as those depicted in the stained glass representation in Ventress Hall) act upon

the living body in meaningful ways. As Marc Auge (1995) posits, "the mummification of

a body and the erection of a tomb completes the transformation of the body into a

monument after death" (p. 62). That transformation, from living to dead and back,

fossilizes in perpetuity the connection between the physical spaces of Ole Miss, the

imagined spaces of its constituents, and the identity politics which shape hyper-

conformity at the University.

Southern Synoecism

In his discussion on the founding of Rome, Lefebvre (1991b) evokes the Athenian spatial and political formation of the cityscape under the direction of Theseus. By gathering the cultural and political armatures and acumens of village folk into one city-state to form a more integrated political power, Roman leader Theseus proscribed a new distribution of space, power, and lived experience—the synoecism. In turning his attention toward spaces of lived experience, Lefebvre points to the synoecism and the modern regimes of control through the organization of space. The third installment in Lefebvre's 'spatial triad' contemplates the political function of spatial management, what he refers to as *spatial practice*. Spatial practice, for Lefebvre, "embraces both production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation," as "spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 33, his italics). Spatial practices could thus defined as "conception and execution, the conceived and the lived, [which] somehow ensure societal cohesion, continuity, and what Lefebvre calls a 'spatial competence'" (Merrifield, 2000, p. 175). This conceived space, as Edward Soja (1996) posits, is "the process of producing the material form of social spatiality, [it] is both the medium and outcome of human activity, behaviour and experience" (p. 66). Spatial intermediaries configure social space in a calculated orchestral of human activity and performativity. As such, the orchestration of spatial practices becomes both a medium and means of

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social control. Drawing on the work of Foucault, Clive Barnett (1999) argues that the body is constantly subjected to:

> new forms of discipline that are precisely calculated to regulate the movements, gestures and attitudes of the bodies of its subjects . . . disciplinary power is exercised through the spatial distribution of individuals in order to subject them to various modes of surveillance and monitoring. (p. 378)

The diffuse nature of this form of governance infiltrates the perception of physical or material space, as spatial practices "involve the use of an established spatial economy characteristic of each social formation (place) and demonstrate the ways in which bodies interact with material space" (Van Ingen, 2003, p. 203). Interactions within space are bound up in "an economy of representation and difference" (Crang, 2000, p. 142).

In the spatial practices of the institution, where "representations of space and representational space, though they do not coincide, are harmonious and congruent" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 247), the lived spaces and the conceived space converge into a sophisticated schema of spatial disciplinarity and individualized governmentality. While Lefebvre argues that to empiricize spatial practice one must conduct individualized accounts of the routines of human agents acting with space, he also suggests that the politics of spatial design[126] work in tandem with social practices to create a cohesiveness between the logical and the spatial, as the spatial practice of a society "is revealed through the deciphering of its space" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 38). As such, I now want to turn to the political organization of space, and how the geometric space defines

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[126] Lefebvre refers to motorways and the strategies for organizing air transport as sites for understanding the complexities of spatial practice. These and numerous other synoecistic apparatuses in modern society act to control activity, regulate the flows of humanity, and create a universal governmentality bound to the spatial logics of the dominant regimes of power.

the anthropological spatialities within the institution. To understand and critically engage

the spatial practice at Ole Miss, I will offer a synthesis of Benjamin's spatial poetics and

Foucault's hermeneutics on governmentality. Tony Fabijancic (2001) offers such a

hybrid conceptualization, wherein the historical developments of the arcades in Paris

serve as empirical verification of the burgeoning social control (both of the bourgeoisie

and the proletariat class) within cathedrals of capitalist consumerism. In the arcades,

the topo-geometrics of spaces of consumption are first organically, then strategically,

organized to promote the ideals of hyper-consumerism. The panoptic relationship

between carceral disciplinarity and disciplined bodies found in Bentham's panoptic

prison setting could be translated (as Foucault suggests) to the order and discipline of

everyday life (Foucault, 1977). In modern Western spaces of representation such as the

Arcades of Paris or the campus of Ole Miss, discipline has been "centered on a

motivation or even a visceral need among conservative governing elites with aristocratic

pretensions to control [public] space" (Fabijancic, 2001, p. 142). The organizational

infrastructure of the University of Mississippi was described by a campus architect as a

'spine,' a linear configuration which distributes power along an x-axis of historical and

spatial linearity:

> I would say it's [the campus] laid out along a spine. An east-west spine that
>
> begins at the Square, which is non-university property, of course. It may even
>
> begin at the Square, but I think that's where it's most noticeable. It moves west
>
> from the Square along University Avenue and then onto campus: University
>
> Avenue crosses the threshold between the main entrance to the University,
>
> actually around about the M House. And then, there is a, what I think of as a,

preliminary kind of portal or gate into campus, and you now pass the new forts

enter on your right hand side which is the north, and goes forth to the south

which is a less significant building. And then the Ford Center. And then critically

you pass over, truly what I believe is the threshold which is the rail, the old

railway bed known as Hillgard Cut. That's traveled the busiest and the north

south direction. You pass over that and you find yourself at the Welcome House,

or the Guard House. It depends on how you view the security, which is a little

wooden shack, and which is traffic control. The road past is Oak. In a westerly

direction or east-west direction as far as the war memorial, which is right at the

entrance to the Circle. The Circle's well known. We talk about key objects along

this east-west axis but then the Lyceum which is the first significant building to sit

on the axis, it was recently renovated. Now Longward has recently undergone

restoration, not renovation. Moving all the way through the Lyceum you come to

a library which has had a key addition placed on it's west side. You're still on this

east-west axis moving west, you can go all the way to the library, you come out

at the other end and you find yourself in the new quadrangle still moving east to

west. The quadrangle is terminated on it's east side by a library that you just walk

through, and on it's west side by the new chapel. Then the, the spine, the actual

spine, we can say that it ends at the Chapel. But if you stand on the west side of

the Chapel on axis, you can see all the way up to Dyson Hall, so that the axis

gets weaker as it continues all the way up to Dyson. (Personal Interview, 2005)

Within the Ole Miss axis of spatial power, buildings are organized within the significant

'syntactic codes' (Eco, 1986) of this 'spine,' which extends to both the eastern and

western ends of the campus boundaries. From this linear power formation, discipline can be distributed outwardly to the reached of the university grounds. Whereas in the panopticon described by Bentham, and later Foucault, surveillance of the prison guard evoked self-discipline by the imprisoned, in the panopticon of the Ole Miss campus, the eternal gaze of the dominant ideologues and the osmosis of a phantasmagoric phalanstery serve as the disciplinary mechanisms.

Six Columns

The Lyceum, the oldest building on the Ole Miss campus, was constructed from 1846-1848 by a local contractor. William Nichols[127] was chosen by the Board of Trustees as the architect by a vote of five to three, in part to his commitment to a traditional style of the Greek tradition. The exterior of the building "still preserves the dignity and tradition of the Old South" ("History of the Lyceum Building," 1952, p. 1). The building is constructed of brick, with a portico in front, "resting six columns, of the Corinthian order, finished in a plain, neat and substantial manner" (Walton, 1995, p. 4). Styled in the Prostyle tradition, having a heastyle portico on the front entrance, the proportions of the columns and entablature of the portico "are taken from the Grecian Ionic Temple on the Illyssus near Athens" (Walton, 1995, p. 3). The Greek aesthetic, in the era of university expansionism, signified the cultural politics of Classical intellectualism, as well as similitude of the imagined American *universitas*. The building also features a memorial clock, sanctioned by the Class of 1927, as well as a bell, where the ringing of which symbolizes athletic victory or celebration of some other sort.

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[127] The Trustees choice of Nichols was informed by the work he had done at the University of Alabama and the University of North Carolina (Walton, 1995).

Beyond the documented and aesthetic accounts of the university's cornerstone structure, the symbolic history of Ole Miss, and of Dixie South regional politics, is written onto the Lyceum walls and accoutrements and reads like a recalcitrant dictum of the 'cooperations and tension' of cultural and spatial politics at the university. To understand the political function the Lyceum plays, one must look no further than the historical marker in front of the building, which reads:

> The Lyceum, which opened for the first University of Mississippi class in 1848, symbolizes the origins, endurance, and triumphs of higher education in Mississippi. During the Civil War, the building served as a hospital for Union and Confederate soldiers. In 1962 it was the scene of a major event in the Civil Right Movement. After a night-long riot, the University's first African-American student, James Meredith, enrolled in the Lyceum. An extensive structural renovation was completed in 2001.

The landmarking of the Lyceum can be read in two ways: the first is the preferring meaning, which tells the story of the space which has endured and overcome adversity; while the second, a *détournement* [128] of sorts (cf. Debord & Wolman, 1981), recounts the physical space as a site for triumphing against diversity. The preservation and persistence of the physical space gives way to the perseverance of the ideology from which it originated, and for which it symbolizes. As the campus's "main edifice," the Lyceum has symbolically systematized the power/knowledge relationship between the politics of representation and access to the university space. One campus architect

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[128] For Debord's Situationists, the practice of *détournement* served as a means for rearranging the praxis of the spectacle, and to create 'situations' rather than serve the overarching aim of the spectacle—reproduction. These situational *détournements* were a principle element in the application of Situationist political perspective.

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described the symbolic function of the Lyceum in this way: "The Lyceum sets the standard for the architecture of the University. It's image is everywhere. You see it on this table,[129] you see it in the Ole Miss logos, there it is, it's the 6 column, um, pediment, classical pediment, ionic" (Personal Interview, 2005). As a symbolic and administrative gateway into the University, the Lyceum is that physical apparatus which mitigates the 'repetition' of an inclusivity/exclusivity dyad of the University's "dominating-dominated rhythm" (Lefebvre, 2004). It symbolizes the endurance of the institution and the institutionalism which prevails over campus bodies; the entrée into the history of racialized politics at Ole Miss and the medium for allowing entrée into the halls of the academy.

Concentric Whiteness

The 'concentric circles' referred to in the epigraph of this section offers description of the geometric map of the campus, and how over time the various sectors of the campus space flowing outward from the central axis have taken up identifiable, if not unique, aesthetic and disciplinary functions (see Figure 21). The spherical orientation of the 'Circle,' within which the six original campus buildings and early campus social life were organized around, has operated as both central locus of control, encompassing the main administration buildings for the majority of the university's history. In the earliest years at Ole Miss, Chancellor Fulton labored to maintain a standard of aesthetic throughout the campus. The centerpiece of his endeavors was the land area to the east of the newly constructed library (which was located around the

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[129] Here the interviewee is referring to the table at which the interview was conducted. In the center of the table is the mark of the University, which features six columns modeled in the image of the Lyceum columns.

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Circle). He planted ornamental shrubs and blossoming trees in the area, and cordoned

it off with privet hedge—establishing the geometric space which generations that

followed have embraced as their celebrated 'Grove.' If the Circle is where the

brainpower of the campus lies, then the Grove is the university's heart. A campus

planner described the Grove this way:

> The Grove is kind of the heart of campus, I guess you could say, particularly for
>
> athletic events. You know it has become kind of famous—most to the magazines
>
> and so on that come to write about it say they haven't seen anything exactly like
>
> that. . . . What is it? Georgia and Florida have what they call the 'largest cocktail
>
> party' or something in the country. But you know most of that's all on parking lots
>
> and such so we've got a fairly, maybe not unique, but it's close to unique
>
> situation here. We have that available area in the center of campus which it adds
>
> a lot of ambience during just the regular period to the campus. It's a nice place
>
> for students to walk through, and just hang out in. (Personal Interview, 2004)

The cultural center of the Ole Miss campus, the Grove is the manifest destination of Old

South social and ideological expansionism. Tailgating, concerts, theatrical and filmic

presentations, and occupy the Grove space from early spring through the end of fall

(Frederick, 1999).

The spatial practices within the Grove are often coded in the language of Dixie

South whiteness, from the Dixie Week events of mid-century through the tailgating *fêtes*

of a more contemporaneous texture. As such, one could find in this type of geography a

"good example of a discipline which systematically uses measure, inquiry and

examination" (Foucault, 1980, p. 75). In the Grove as well as the Circle, ideological

mystification turns into these landscapes into spectacular spaces, whereby the natural

topography of trees, shrubbery, and flowery are augmented (if not supplanted) by

Confederate memorial erections, scars of desegregation, and celebratory inscriptions of

the rigidity of a preferred and performed whiteness. Spatial governance within these

spectacular spaces (detailed more thoroughly in the following chapter) organizes the

student subject as performer of Dixie South whiteness within the regimes of solidarity,

hyper-normativity, and collective conscious. Panopticism in this instance creates

governmentality, as the neo-Confederates operating within these carceral spaces are

transformed into discursive cells, agents of the body politic. The 'dominating-dominated

rhythm' becomes unidirectional, emanating from the visible center in a multitudinous

gleam of refractory corporeal subjectification and unification.

Pillars of Ole Miss Power

If the land and buildings which occupy the center of campus in the Circle and the

Grove are the main organs of the campus spatial body, then perhaps the terrestrial

arteries which best exemplify the extension of ideological and representative power of

the visible center of whiteness at Ole Miss can be located in its Greek armatures of

power/knowledge: namely the westward flanking fraternity houses and contiguously

northward sorority houses (a spatial axis of gendered power relationships?). Following

Lefebvre (1991b), the spatial arrangement and symbolic functionality of the geometric

space of the Ole Miss Greek system organizes bodies within space in a manner in

which those with less power are relegated to less desirable spaces, as socially

constructed difference of race, class, gender, and sexuality come to life in these social

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spaces. As such, black fraternity and sorority houses on the Ole Miss campus occupy the outer 'margins' of the campus space. This ideological and physical [infra]structure can be identified by as a product of epoch or function—the former referring to the eras in which Greek life swelled on campus; the latter to an iniquitous system of hierarchal affirmation which situates white masculinity at the core of concentric spheres of social power. In the first instance, the Greek fraternity and sorority houses on campus were constructed as domestic spaces for the campus students involved in these organizations. A number of these Ole Miss fraternity houses were razed during the era of Greek expansion on campus (early 1900s), The aesthetic elements woven into these structures are symbolic of an elite artistic habitus borne of an appreciation for Classical architectural antiquity popular during the era. The Ole Miss aesthetic domicile, is bound to, and descended from antiquity, a "conceptual framework which gives practical direction to our commerce with the arts" (Osborne, 1970, p. 16). The artistry of the built Greek structures on the Ole Miss campus reverberate the antebellum era styles and tastes of plantation elites: the common aesthetic elements shared throughout many of the older houses on Fraternity Row resonate the preferred stylization of the antebellum era—large porticos with sizable pillars at the front entrance, layered with elements of a plantation aesthetic shared by the Lyceum and many of the campus's other older buildings.

The dual formations of ocular governance and geometric segregation reinforce the spectacular nature of physical spaces within the Ole Miss Greek system. First, the perceptible differences between the wealthiest white fraternities and sororities and those of middling wealth signify an embodied politics of privilege. This politics of

privilege is trumped only by the noticeable variations between the architectures of white

fraternities and black fraternities, and more so by the grandiosity of white sorority

houses versus the meagerness of black sorority houses (see Figures 22 and 23).

According to some reports, two of the black sorority houses on campus are known

among students as the "slave quarters" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 133). At Ole Miss,

such a meta-territorialism acts in meaningful ways, beyond built environment as artistic

transponder of taste, toward a restrictive regime of hyper-normativity which regulates

the social actions of the participants with the spectacularized space. The language of

space is representative of the broader topography of power at Ole Miss, as the Greek

system organizes and distributes power across the vectors of campus intermediation.

Spatial practices of dominator/dominated create a hyper-disciplinarity in which a third

space, a space of contestation and contestability, is rationalized and subsumed into the

ideological formations of tradition and 'place.' In other words, the spatial power-play

encoded into the structural language of the Greek buildings is representative of a

broader body politic of the institution and region, whereby inclusion of black bodies in

the academy of the visible center is a function to redistribute notion of 'place.' Black

students learn their 'place' through segregation from exclusive white spaces (such as

Trent Lott's Sigma Nu house), but are insufficiently 'included' in the system as a means

of social control. For instance, each black Pan-Hellenic student organization must be

'registered' with the University, yet the diachronic distribution of social and economic

capital is apparent to any visitor on the Ole Miss campus. The grandiose plantation-style

white Greek houses anchoring both Fraternity and Sorority Rows locate the domestic

and social center of campus life, and stand in spatial opposition to the underdeveloped

Pan-Hellenic houses located 'on the other side of the street'–thus symbolically

reinforcing the fact that black Greek organizations exist on the Ole Miss campus, but not

with the same economic and social authority as their cross-street neighbors. As a

symbolic discourse, the diametric polarity of black/white, privilege/underprivilege,

subject/object, and center/margin are encoded into the built spaces of the campus

Greek system. Further, the existence of an aesthetically hierarchical geography further

crystallized Dixie South whiteness at the core of social and spatial relations on the Ole

Miss campus.

Collective Dreams of the New Confederacy

In summary, as a phantasmagoria of Dixie South whiteness, the spatial fabric of

the University of Mississippi is interlaced with elements of: nostalgia for the Old South

and the Confederacy which fought to preserve it, the preferred aesthetic of the

contemporary post-plantation gentry, the normalizing functionality of the campus

infrastructure, and the segregationist politics written into the geometric text. The

collective, cognitive space of the University, defined by the narratives and imagery of a

spatialized signifying system, both unite and divide the subjects operating in boundaries

of temporal Ole Miss space. As Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985) suggest, "a

discursive structure is not merely a 'cognitive' or 'contemplative' entity; it is an

articulatory practice which constitutes and organizes social relations" (p. 96). For the

collective body of whiteness, Ole Miss space becomes meaningful place, and disparate

agents are bound to the University, and united through its political discourses of

'topophilia,' or what John Bale (1994) refers to as their "love a place" (p. 120). Yi-Fu

Tuan (1974), who originally authored the concept of 'topophilia,' described the notion as "the affective bond between people and place or setting" (p. 4). The experienced, or embodied, spaces of Ole Miss create an austerity of topophilic response, whereby the student subject is immersed in the 'collective dreams' of a Confederate utopia (Buck-Morss, 2000) which influences, informs, and is materialized in the spaces of spectacle whiteness. The collective conscience becomes a device and medium through which layers of geometric signifiers coagulate, taking on cohesive, reified characteristics. For agents of the white center, paraphrasing Tuan (1974), the phalanstery of Dixie South whiteness offers a spectacle of topophilic space whereby a fleeting visual pleasure and the sensual delight of physical contact create a fondness of Ole Miss as physical and imagined place—it is home and incarnates the past, because it evokes pride in ownership of regimes of power within the racialized past and present (p. 247). Consequently, for the black-bodied outlier, the spatialities of the visible center at Ole Miss further shift blackness to the outside—to physical, imaginary, and symbolic margins of the lived, perceived, and conceived spaces of the institution.

Chapter VII: Dixie Spectacular

"Ole Miss is not just a school, it's a way of life. I've been an Ole Miss fan all of my life. I've been coming to the Grove since I was a baby. I just love it." - Ole Miss student

To end with the conflictual riddles of celebrity and spatial discourse would only tell half the story of space and the body at Ole Miss. At Ole Miss, the visible center of whiteness is carried through the generation by imagery of Archie and Eli Manning, the waving of the Southern Cross, and the singing of Dixie, as well as Confederate legacies etched into the spatial fabric of the campus. However, I would be remiss to overlook how practice itself, and particularly the practices of an identifiable, visceral corporeality further transmit the racial hierarchies of the Dixie South's past. It is with a virulent ritualism that the spectacular practices within Ole Miss spatialities suture the relationship between discursive space, racist ideology, and bodily deportment. Picking up from the critique and response of Foucault's cultural geography, knowledge/power relationships are created through geographically- and historically- specific contexts, and are results of distinctive spatial practices therein. Through the work of Guy Debord and the Situationist International, and their conceptualizations on spectacular society, in this chapter I will explore the ideological preponderance and social devices (spectacles) which act to reinforce and re-inscribe the embodied politics of a broader society of the Dixie South spectacular. Such a society, according to Debord, is links the individual to the cultural, economic, and social forces of that society through engagement with the individual spectacle—the sporting mega-event, the mass mediated hyper-real experience, or interpenetration of the filmic, musical, and popular spectacular into our

everyday lives. As such, this empirical analysis is organized around two individual

spectacles of Dixie South whiteness, each of which contributes to the contemplations

(of lack thereof) and reproductions of a broader society of class-based, race-based, and

gender-based inequalities that organize much of the human experience in the Deep

South. Whereas in previous chapters I have attempted to isolate discourse from

practice, prying the signifier loose from the signified in order to deconstruct the

oppressive discourses acting within the Ole Miss space, in this chapter I look at both the

abstracted polemics of discursive formation and lived practice as discourse—and how

acting out, and the act of being within, spectacular discursive whiteness produces both

further evocative practice and repressive symbolic discourse.

More than race protests and counter-protests, more than the spatial imaginaries

of the Lyceum or the Circle, more than the celebration of 'campus cuties' or William

Faulkner, Ole Miss is best known in the popular sphere for the tailgating[130] spectacle

which takes place in the Grove prior to, during, and following each Ole Miss home

football event. At the Grove, a vast majority of Ole Miss citizenry produce one of the

most unique college football experiences in the South and in the country. The *Sporting

News* ranked the spectacle among 'college football's greatest traditions' and described

the Grove as "the Holy Grail of tailgating sites" (Stewart, 2003, p. 6). In listing America's

'top sports colleges,' *Sports Illustrated* named Ole Miss the nation's 'No. 1 tailgating

school' ("Tailgating top 10," 2004c, p. 1). Tens of thousands of Rebel supporters

converge upon the Grove each Saturday during football season to celebrate their

university's football team (or perhaps, to celebrate themselves). A *Sports Illustrated*

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[130] 'Tailgating' is the popular phenomenon in American football where sports fan congregate in the hours
leading up to the event to 'cook-out,' drink alcoholic beverages, and engage in conversations pertaining to
the upcoming event.

writer who attended the first home football game of the 2004 season celebrated the Grove in this way: "in Oxford lies, as promised, the most magical place on all of God's green, football-playing Earth: the Grove. A school of red and white and blue tents swimming in a shaded 10-acre forest of oak tress, floating in an ocean of good will and even better manners" (Duerson, 2004, p. 11). ESPN personality Mel Kiper, Jr. lauded the Grove: "We witnessed an amazing scene in the Grove just outside Vaught-Hemingway Stadium. An estimated 30,000 fans, and more tents than you could imagine, took the term 'tailgating' to a completely new level" (qtd. in Stewart, 2003). A complex assemblage of symbols of the Confederacy, Old South gentility, and the splendors of hyper-white orthodoxy awaits the spectator of the 'Grove Society.' The term 'Grove Society' itself holds intricate and multifarious meanings: In the first instance, it refers to the human interactions within the Grove space during home football games which constitute the spectacle of the Grove. In the second, 'Grove Society' refers to the society of the conservative white South, the broader cultural and political body which has historically shaped social relations in Mississippi and beyond. Finally, the term is directly taken from season-ticket sales and promotional materials produced by the Athletic Department of the University of Mississippi, a creative branding strategy which in some ways forges a link between the first two descriptions. The alumni supporter group which financially supports Ole Miss Rebel athletics is referred to as the 'Grove Society,' a strategically organized foundation for the profit-making impetus of the institution. Members of the Grove Society are asked to financially 'give back' to the University, in order to ensure that "beauty, comfort, and solitude" remain a "unique part of [Ole Miss] heritage" ("The Grove Society," 2004, p. 2). That 'comfort,' I will argue, is

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both a product and marker of the distinctive formation of an all-permeating whiteness. Surrounded by a spatial discourse marker as terrestrial, 'Southern,' and matriculating through time and practice in the realm of uncontested white reign, the Grove Society becomes more than a symbol of longevity, it becomes a formation of power through which the practices of Dixie South whiteness have evolved into an extension of the broader power regimes of the region. In sum, my use of the term 'Grove Society' parallels Guy Debord's notion of a 'society of the spectacle,' an expansive cultural economy constituted through the assemblage of a vast array of spectacles (in this instance, local spectacles), each of which links the individual to the broader impetuses of spectacular society. In order to problematize the qualitative experiences, and experiential discourse of the spectacle of the Grove Society, I conducted a four month long ethnography[131] of the 2004 football season at the University of Mississippi. I undertook a multifaceted and multi-method analysis of the spectacular empirical, including: participant observation of spectator behavior, before, during, and after home football games; observations of all sport-related events leading up these events (pep rallies, parties, etc), interviews with members of the athletic department and leaders from booster clubs, and historical and media discourse of the football traditions and rituals interwoven into the physical and imaginary fabric the Grove Society. My intent is to problematize a Grove spectacle "that transforms the university space into a broader field of public culture where race is, quite literally, practiced as an allegory of play and performance" (King & Springwood, 2001, p. 11). My intention is to report and interpret those findings here, offering the most relevant quotes, observations, and findings of this

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[131] See the Appendix for a more in depth description of issues related to empirical analysis and interpretation.

parochial spectacle in order to problematize the taken-for-granted nature of these oppressive spectacular practices.

Following the analysis of the spectacular praxis (collective) of the Grove Society, I will briefly turn my attention to a second, perhaps more invasive spectacle of Dixie South whiteness. As I have discussed in preceding chapters, the specters of the Confederacy haunt Ole Miss geometric spaces, particularly in the memorialized fixtures such as the Confederate cemetery on campus, the purulence of ideological formations seeping from the importunes of Southern Cross imagery, and the edification of the Old South in the built environment. This complacency for, if not celebration of, signifiers of the racist past allow for the preponderance of racist discourse within contemporaneous Ole Miss. One example of this type of spectacle of Dixie South whiteness is the Confederate carnivalesque—the perseverance of ceremonious spectacles bound to the imagery, ideology, and collective conscious of the Confederate cause. Through a series of events in early May 2005, proponents of the everlasting Confederacy held a memorial service in Oxford, and on the Ole Miss campus, to commemorate their fallen forefathers. To the delights of Dixie South spectators, these proceedings (both in speech and in sign) highlighted the close relationship between the Confederacy and the institution.

In the present study, a 'microethnography' (Erickson & Shultz, 1981), I focus on the specificities of the Ole Miss tailgating experience, interpreting the setting and cultural events which "give emphasis to particular behaviours in particular settings" (Wolcott, 1990, p. 64). This approach is effective for explicating the ways in which cultural beliefs and practices and social relations shape the prevailing spectacular

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discourses within the contemporaneous Dixie South context. Much like the more comprehensive and intensive boundaries defined by ethnography, microethnography is the qualitative study of "a smaller experience or a slice of life of everyday reality" (Stokrocki, 1997, p. 33). Microethnography defines sub-systems in relationship to larger systems, social practices in relation to the broader regimes of representational power. To understand the culture of a set of interactions within the Grove setting can lead to understanding the culture of the visible center at Ole Miss and beyond. In this case the culture of the class is defined by the diverse ethnicity, ages and gender of the participants. Through this microethnography of the production and consumption of the spectacle of Dixie South whiteness, I aim to understand if, and how, individuals have become colonized under the auspices of this conservative Dixie South ideological blanket. I aim to undertake the endeavor here of complicating the spectacular practices of the Grove Society and the hierarchical power structure which permeates all its vectors. First, I want to offer a brief introduction to the theoretical position from which I will generate such an analysis.

Situating Oxford

In the surrealist tradition of the Situationist International (who acronymoniously referred to themselves as the 'SI'), my interpretations of the Ole Miss empirical will deploy a Debordian theoretical lens and a reconfiguration of previously existing theoretical epistemes to formulate a conjunctural, radically-contextual interpretation of these spectacles of Dixie South whiteness. From his disdain for the late modern means of production and consumption, in the moment when a productivist bias was displaced

by the logics of a consumer society, Guy Debord began the organization of the

Situationist International in tandem with the his theoretical acumen in attempt to

complicate and confront (as the SI frequently engaged in physical confrontations with

spectacular society) the contemporary conditions of everyday life in industrialized

societies. In the Surrealist tradition of juxtaposition fostered by the Letterist International

and the SI, Debord's theory emerged as a reconfiguration of previously existing

theoretical conceptualizations—in many ways an updating of the classical social

theories of Karl Marx, Georg Lukács, Henri Lefebvre, and Antonio Gramsci (Best &

Kellner, 1997; Jappe, 1999).[1] The value of Debordian theory lies both in historical

contextualization (revising the classics to a late modern, media- and consumer-driven

cultural economy) and its theoretical synthesis of four dominant social theoretical

positions. Debord's seminal work, *The Society of the Spectacle* (1994), weaves a

complicated, yet concise synthesis of: the classic social theory of Karl Marx; Georg

Lukács' (1971) neo-Marxian reading of Marx's notions of reification and class

consciousness; Gramsci's (1999) interrogations of hegemonic power; and Henri

Lefebvre's (1991) theoretical interpretations of the sociology of everyday life, to

formulate a multifarious account of the contemporary social and economic condition. In

spite of such an influential body of work, the tendency of contemporary social critics has

been to dismiss Debord's project as a conjectural intellectual theory, or to

misappropriate Debordian theory by concentrating on one core aspect of *The Society of

the Spectacle*—the singular spectacular event (Tomlinson, 2002). As Tomlinson (2002)

suggests, social critics have for too long "taken [spectacular events] for granted by

labeling them as spectacles, without any full developed sense of the conceptualization of the spectacular" (p. 2).

This caricaturization of Debordian theory both complicates our understanding of his conceptualization of the spectacle and overlooks the nuances of a complex set of theses devoted to social critique. Jappe (1999) posits "there must be very few present-day authors whose ideas have been so widely applied in distorted form" (p. 1). The most problematic application of Debordian theory, and particularly relative to cultural praxis such as that of the Grove, is the [mis]appropriation of the notion of the "spectacle" to describe the modern exhibitions of the spectacular: such as 'prolympic' sporting events, television and mass produced mediations of the popular, and filmic reinventions of past, present, and future. The sporting spectacular in particular has been at the core of an emerging spectacular society. Loosely defined as anything from the mass mediation of sport (Gruneau, 1989), to the American sporting mega-event (Real, 1975), to the generic 'symbolic and ceremonial dimensions' (Tomlinson, 1996, 2002) of sport, these configurations have oftentimes failed to delve into the complex ways in which cultural phenomena function dialectically with and within what Debord (1994) refers to as the broader "society of the spectacle." In this analysis, the spectacle (complex formation of social activity which makes up the Grove tailgating extravaganza) will be defined through its relationship to the broader society which it serves, and of which it is an extension. Those who simply evoke the Debordian spectacle to describe the sporting mega-event and its ancillary elements ignore the central thesis of Debord's position, where he explains, "The spectacle appears at once as society itself, as a part of society and as a means of unification" (1994, p. 12). That unity of discourse (the

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cohesiveness of the visible center), the imperceptibility of spectacular practice from the

formations of the broader spectacle, is at the center of the forthcoming analysis on what

could be considered the *new theater of operations in Southern culture* (Debord &

Wolman, 1981).[132]

Debord's theory of late modern society illuminates the ways in which 'spectacles,'

in their individualized form, creates a spatial (ideological, symbolic, and embodied)

collectivity amongst spectators through their engagement with, and fetishization of,

commodified and commercialized cultural forms. To be a part of the spectacle means to

become part of the society of the spectacle, the formation of new technologies of the

self create new identities, and the creation of new possibilities to delight oneself through

the spectacle (Best & Kellner, 1999). However, equally as significant, to reproduce the

power imbedded in the spectacle, Debord asserts that the spectacular society must

reinvent itself, always marking and remaking itself as something new, something yet to

be attained. The two-part outcome of the spectacle is thus alienation and class

consciousness (Debord, 1997), as the individual in spectacular society is reinvented

through engagement with the commodity and its signifiers. For the spectator, the

distance between what one has and what one wants, who one is and who one wants to

be, and so on, is always siphoned through the spectacle, forever interpellating, never to

be reached (Debord, 1994). This conundrum, in turns creates an emotional distance

from the spectacle, a return to the Marxian notion of alienation, but through

consumption rather than production (Debord, 1991). The spectator systematically

becomes part of the spectacle, incessantly consuming and engaging the modalities of

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[132] The Situationist International refer to aerial photography, and particularly the variety which depict the activity within the cityscape, as the 'new theater of operations in culture'

the spectacle to locate herself or himself within the popular discourses of networks of representation and signification (Debord, 1981c, 1981e). The spectating body thus becomes an extension of the spectacle, colonized by the prevailing logics of power and representation.

The following analysis is thus in the first instance an analysis of the spectacular event as powerful formation which acts on behalf of Dixie South spectacular society. Power, in the Grove Society, becomes both a product and producer of the discursive formation which stitches embodied whiteness, hierarchical ideology, and representational space and spaces of representation together in a cohesive articulation of spectacular Dixie South whiteness. By evoking a Debordian lens, I hope to forge an understanding of how the spectacular practices within the Ole Miss empirical both unite, and separate, the practices of representation (and representational practices) within society of the Dixie South spectacle. In other words, while Foucault has led us through the ways in which [the] formation[s] of discourse organize human activity, and the politics of identity at Ole Miss, and Lefebvre has guided the conceptualization of various forms of space in framing the ideological and material manifestations of a Dixie South cultural economy, Debord's theory can help us better understand how practices of the body, in the spatial panopticon that is Ole Miss, not only discipline the active body, but also fuse the practices of the spectacular event with the impetuses of the cultural body politic of the Dixie South. Through cultural spectacles, dominant regimes of power are able to instill, propagate, and reproduce the iniquitous social relationships organized therein (Grossberg, 1985). As such, the society of the spectacle, the manifold, multi-layered articulations of power in contemporary society, is more than the singular event,

more than the formation of dominant media forms. Debord's spectacle is described by

Stephen Best and Douglas Kellner (1999) in this way:

> In one sense, it refers to a media and consumer society, organized around the
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> consumption of images, commodities, and staged events. But the concept also
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> refers to the vast institutional and technical apparatus of contemporary
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> capitalism, to all the methods power employs, outside of direct force, to relegate
>
> subjects to passivity and to obscure the nature and effects of capitalism's power
>
> and deprivations. Under this broader definition, the educational system and the
>
> institutions of representative democracy, as well as the endless inventions of
>
> consumer gadgets, sports, media culture, and urban and suburban architecture
>
> and design, are all integral components of the spectacular society. Schooling, for
>
> example, deploys sports, fraternity and sorority rituals, bands and parades, and
>
> various public assemblies that indoctrinate individuals into dominant ideologies
>
> and submissive behavior. (p. 132)

Understood in these terms, we can situate Ole Miss at the center of the *society of the*

Dixie South spectacle. The spectacle of [Dixie South] whiteness is both embodied in the

practices and principles the institution, and transmitted and diffused through those

formations. Rephrasing Debord (1990), the visible center of practices and politics of

representation at Ole Miss has 'spread to the furthest limits on all sides, while

increasing the density of the centre' (thesis 2). Not only in furthering our understanding

of the spectacle in its particular form, but in understanding the contemporary context

where these social practices occur, Debord's commentary on the postmodern

implications of consumer capitalism adds heuristic benefits to the study of contemporary

frames of the politics of representation (Bracken, 1997). In the age of hyper-

consumption, Debord suggests, "In form as in content the spectacle serves as the total

justification for the conditions and aims of the existing system" (1994, p. 13). In other

words, the dialectic of the semiotics assigned to commercial goods and social

experiences by cultural intermediaries, and the broader social forces that inform the

consumer sensibilities toward consumption, are the core interrelationship within

Debord's society of the spectacle (Best & Kellner, 1999). Consumers, or more

accurately, spectators, are located in the discursive landscape of the spectacular—

carving their identity out of the commodified pluralities of representation (Debord, 1990).

At Ole Miss, this platitude of commodity whiteness is the singular problematic which

complicates social relations in contemporary spaces of representation—the integrated

spectacle as manifest through the individual. As Debord posits, "spectacular

consumption preserves the old culture in congealed form, going so far as to recuperate

and rediffuse even its negative manifestations; in this way, the spectacle's cultural

sector gives overt expression to what the spectacle is implicitly in its totality—*the*

communication of the incommunicable" (Debord, 1994, thesis 192, his italics).

In sum, articulations between the concrete and the abstract, the local and the

popular, the spectacle and spectacular society, are illustrative of the power dynamics at

work in any given social formation. In other words, the affectivity of the local spectacle is

an important expression of the degree to which, if not medium for, spectacular power is

exercised on the everyday experience of individuals. In its most concretized form, the

localized spectacle refers to "to particular events or spaces. In this manner it has been

prominent in attempts by geographers and other critics to address the emphasis on

visual components and strategies within late modern culture" (Pinder, 2000, p. 357).

While there are a bevy of discernable 'spectacles' which, through accumulative

reciprocities and inter-relationalities constitute, and are constituted by, a broader society

of the spectacle (more later), in the following pages I want to elucidate two specific local

'spectacles' of Dixie South whiteness—tailgating in the Grove in conjunction with Ole

Miss home football events and the performances related to Confederate Memorial

ceremonies. The spectator in this society of Dixie South whiteness is both bound to and

immersed in the spatial and imaged discourse—an individual "who is utterly

undiscoverable" (Benjamin, p. 420), as well as affixed to the local by way of intolerance

for the unknown 'out there' and the possibilities of similar intolerance within the outside

world. Lefebvre, borrowing from the Situationists, refers to the notion of 'interior

colonization,' which is the "new concentration of capital, personnel, and administrative

techniques on realms such as consumption, leisure, and urban space" (Pinder, 2000, p.

366). The interior colonization of the Ole Miss spectator makes the individual both

anonymous and seemingly autonomous, able to shift between and within the formations

of a prevailing power discourse.

Society of the Dixie South Sporting Spectacle

 Upon reflection of my first visit to the Grove, my initial inclination in describing the

spectacle of the Grove was that of 'Southern comfort.' Both in the ingestion of pre-game

mixtures of whiskey and the racial and habitus homogeneity, the Grove is more than

ambiguous social space. It indeed is a "cathedral of pleasure" (Foucault, 1984b, p. 251),

a cathartic realm in which its constituents can imbibe all the fruits of their imagined

selves. The Grove as spectacular space is constructed through placation; offering an

intoxication of the comfortable; a flanerie[133] of the highest order—the familiar and the

superlative. As the touring journalist from *SI* deduced, "There are rules here in the

Grove. And ways of communicating that I couldn't comprehend" (Duerson, 2004, p. 10).

The code of a unifying (divisive) Southern ethic is both encoded and decoded in a

language unique to the Grove. Those unique ways of communicating are 'measured' by

visibly performativity, in dress, gait, posture, activity, and conformity. One such 'rule' is

the conduct and decoration of the bodily canvas: "I didn't know the rules at the Grove,

rules like . . . Dress as if you're attending a baptism" (Duerson, 2004, p. 11). And the

spectators of the Ole Miss sporting spectacle imbibe, gulping their collective whiteness

as:

> they drink bourbon and eat boiled peanuts and finger sandwiches from sterling-
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> silver platters and serving dishes arranged by caterers and frantic moms on
>
> elaborate tabletops. They partake in front of flat-screen TVs with DirecTV,
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> underneath chandeliers and amongst intricate candelabras and ornate flower
>
> arrangements. And when football calls, they pay people like Andre, at the Rebel
>
> Rousers tent, to stand guard. (Duerson, 2004, p. 11)

The distinctive cultural practices within the Grove space are more than a metaphor of

the centrality of whiteness in the spectrum of representative power at Ole Miss (see

Figure 24). The Grove spectacle permeates the consciousness of the Ole Miss

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[133] The 'flaneur' is different from a Situationist participant of derive, in that "the flaneur symbolizes the privilege or freedom to move about the public arenas of the city observing . . . [and] consuming the sights through a controlling but rarely acknowledged gaze" (Pollock, 1988, p. 67), while participant of derive seeks to disrupt the class-, race-, and gender- based indifferences through refusal of forms of surveillance of that nature.

collective, in the first instance bringing to the life the embodiment of an imagined and physically identifiable center.

Spectacular practices of the Grove, as a fixture in the nexus of Dixie South spectacular society, transcend the logics of 'spaces of representation' or 'representational space,' instead emerging as an amalgamated set of integrated and interrelated social practices consisting of spatial governance, ideological indoctrination, and the politics of embodiment. Foucault (1984b), theorizing the governance space and the body in space, emphasizes that no one can enter or leave a place "without being seen by everyone—an aspect of the architecture that could be totally oppressive. But it could only be oppressive if people were prepared to use their own presence in order to watch over others" (p. 246). Such is the case at the Grove, as the unity of practice transcends spatial governance, becomes both colonizer and isolator. In the Grove, the circular shape of the geometric space creates an enclosure in which the body becomes a site for governance through vigilant surveillance, but through the practices of consumption and social engagement, the individual spectator in the Grove becomes both affixed to the collective spectacle, and atomized into a state of alienation. Individuals are brought together through consumption, through engagement with the spectacular commodity. Practices of consumption, rephrasing Marx (who theorized from a productivist bent), lead to the fetishization of the commodity. In the spectacle, the practices of the consumption reign supreme, as the creation of the 'pseudo needs' of individuals within the spectacle is achieved through mass mediated imaginaries of alienation and boredom and a recurring sense of necessity to consume. As I noted in the previous chapter, the commodification of branded identity politics in the form of Ole

Miss wares leads to fetishization of the commercial/spectacular, which in turn leads to the alienation of the consumer/subject amidst the 'lonely crowd.' In other words, those attenuations of signified Ole Miss penetrate the consuming pocketbooks, and more importantly the consuming ideals, of the localized subject, while simultaneously stimulating involvement in the spectacle through consumerism and involvement in the collective configurations of whiteness through the iconography of the ephemeral.

From the Situationist perspective, "capitalism [has] extended its reach so that commodity relations not only affected workers in the realm of production but also [has] reached into all facets of life through the dominance of the spectacle" (Ritzer, 2001, p. 181). Debord's (1994) theses consider the commodity, in its dominating form, as perceived by spectators to be something real, yet something which both mystifies and hypnotizes. For the Weberian Marxist, Debord's conceptualization of the commodity can be interpreted as the conjuncture of two important theoretical positions: one surrounding Marxist thought and one traceable back to Max Weber. In the study of a contemporary popular cultural form such as professional sport, Weber's notion of re-enchantment and its relationship to the fetishization of commodities offers useful insight. The other, as George Ritzer (2001) suggests, is linked to the theory of Georg Lukács, in that when "commodities and rationalized structures become intertwined in Lukács' concept of reification [and] Debord's concept of spectacle," it becomes even more evident that "re-enchantment and commodity fetishism are two sides of the same coin" (p. 201). The reign of the commodity, whereby social relations are reduced into commodified exchange of goods and experiences, the re-enchants and reifies the spectacle as grounded discourse. As a Situationist successor to Debord suggested, "the spectacle is

the most highly developed form of a society based on commodity production and its corollary, the 'fetishism of commodities'" (Jappe, 1999, p. 3). As such, it can be concluded that contemporary economic power relations within the Grove are defined through such regimes of hyper-consumption, and a fetishization of a commodified, branded whiteness. Through consumption of Dixie South whiteness, commodities and the market for them are granted independent objective existence by the actors in capitalist societies. The commodity, or in this instance commodified whiteness, is thus brought to life through the practices within the Grove. The thing-like quality bestowed upon commodities by individuals of the spectacle through their social relations and interpretive meanings not only serve as a function of the spectacle, but as a producer of the dominant forces in society (Debord, 1994). Debord references Lukács' (1971) famous quote in the opening of his chapter on "The Commodity as Spectacle" in *The Society of the Spectacle*:

> The commodity can be understood in its undistorted essence only when it becomes the universal category of society as a whole. Only in this context does the reification produced by commodity relations assume decisive importance both for the objective evolution of society and for the attitudes that people adopt toward it, as it subjugates their consciousness to the forms in which this reification finds expression. (qtd. in Debord, 1994, p. 25)

By giving the process and configurations of commodification 'thing-like' qualities, the collectivity of Dixie South identity politics, and the politics or representation, become materialized and unified under the guise of the spectacularized and commodified Dixie South whiteness.

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Spectacular Whiteness and the Grove Society

At Ole Miss, the practices of 'being white' within the Grove spectacle have created a new culture industry based around the fetishization of spectacular whiteness. Through the modalities of adornment and deportment, the reification of the body politic is dispersed through, and onto, the politicized and spectacularized body. Symbolic garments, branded tailgating tents, themed provisions, and a variety of Confederate signifiers litter the green space in the center of campus on football Saturdays (see Figure 25). On such days of *carnivale*, the organic space in the center of campus is transferred into a phantasmagoria of Dixie South whiteness, upon which layers of a conservative 'ideological blanket' and commodity whiteness are interwoven within into spectacular space. My notes from a pep-rally held on the Ole Miss campus prior to the first spring practice/scrimmage of 2005[134] are suggestive of the spectacular nature of the Grove communal:

> Amidst the pom-poms and giant 'M' signs, fashioned after the stars and bars of the Confederacy, the team walked through the Grove to the stirs of Dixie and the chants of 'Hotty Toddy.' The sprit of Dixie takes on a material from in the Grove, as witnessed by the proliferation of Confederate flags, the images of an Old South mascot, and a culture industry fueled by the themed commercialization of every aspect of the Grove space, all the way down to the 'Hotty Toddy Potty' (the portable restroom situated on both the north and south sides of the Grove) (Fieldnotes, April 9, 2005)

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[134] This was the first practice for the football team under the direction of its new head coach, Ed Orgeron.

Following Debord, it is this tendency of individuals of the spectacle to subconsciously fetishize these forms of material and non-material commodities which connect the spectator to the spectacle. As Debord (1994) states:

> Here we have the principle of commodity fetishism, the domination of society by things whose qualities are 'at the same time perceptible and imperceptible by the senses.' This principle is absolutely fulfilled in the spectacle, where the perceptible world is replaced by a set of images that are superior to that world yet at the same time impose themselves as *eminently* perceptible. (p. 26)

The 'perceptible world,' much like Lefebvre's (1991b) 'perceived space,' shows the spectator various opportunities within commodified representational lexicon. As I have alluded to, the phalanstery of commodified whiteness within the Grove holds disciplinary sway over the Dixie South spectator. Moreover, much like 'incessant technological renewal' (Debord, 1994) shapes the eternal return of the consumer to the market, the *incessant renewal of technologies of the self*, embodied in the practice of reifying and consuming symbols of Dixie South whiteness, unremittingly suture the politics of identity to the ideologies of the controlling white hegemons. Further, the art of perception acts are a form of governance, whereby each consumer within the spectacle of Dixie South whiteness, through the act of acknowledging and rearticulation the spectacular praxis, disciplines the alternating (normative and alternative) subjectivities operating within that space. The unity in commodity consumption leads to the empowerment (actualization) of the commodity as symbolic discourse and panoptic currency, with the politics of a 'Southern Ethic' imbedded in the deportment and praxis of a preferred whiteness and

the reproduction of social hierarchies through engagement with the symbolic and the material.

In the first instance, the solidarity of spectacular commodity whiteness is constructed through the ocular preponderance of white-skinned agents operating in the Grove space. From my observations during the final home football game of the 2004 season, I offer the following crudely objectified, if not objectionable remarks:

Throughout my observations at the football events of the 2004 season, the most striking illustration of spectacular homogeneity is the racial solidarity of the Grove spectators. Of those who occupy space the Grove prior to and after Ole Miss home football games, I would estimate that no less ninety-five of every one hundred individuals are white, with a large majority of black bodies bound to roles such as: food servant, traffic officer, student-athlete, and hospitality shuttle driver. (Fieldnotes, November 27, 2004)

These observations echo those made by a writer for the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, who wrote: "just as at the game, blacks are virtually invisible in the Grove—except when the football squad . . . parades through the crowd en route to the stadium" (Lederman, 1993, p. A52). For the spectator of the Grove society, this symbolic unification of the racialized body creates a panoptic spectacular space, whereby commodity fetishization is materialized through the possibilities of an atomized corporeal collective. In other words, the reign of an uncontested white space (the Grove) creates a codified solidarity, as the embodied signification of Dixie South whiteness permeates throughout, encapsulating young and old, masculine and feminine, black and white (Frederick, 1999). The multifarious gesticulations of spectacular Grove whiteness can be (at the

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risk of being overly arbitrary) defined by four separate spectator groups. As such, following Giulianotti (2002), I offer a fourfold taxonomy of sporting spectator/subject positions at work in the Grove spectacle. From my observation and discussions, I concluded that there are four predominate striations, or permutations, from which the politics of Dixie South whiteness are performed within the Grove: the preferred whiteness acted out by an older, upper-class constituency; the infantilized expressions of Dixie South whiteness embodied in the white-bodied youths of the Grove society; the aristocratic court of princes and princesses of Ole Miss—fraternity and sorority members; and the black-bodied, disciplined, marginalized, and objectified 'Other.' I will now, in turn, offer a brief description of each constituency within such a taxonomy of spectatorship comprising the Grove spectacle of Dixie South whiteness.

The Class of 1865

The first group, almost entirely constituted by affluent alumni of the university, represents the old guard Ole Miss subjectivity. From fieldnotes taken during the first home game, I offer the following description of 'the Class of 1865'[135]:

The most prevalent group is comprised of the older fans and alumni who

gathered quite early in the day (and all of the Groves habitants had set—or had

someone set—their tents up the night before to stake their claim on the

provisional space). Many of the men from these sub-congregations spend their

time watching college football games, as a solid majority from this group has

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[135] The colloquial use of the term 'Class of 1865' refers to the year the Civil War ended, and classes at the University of Mississippi resumed. There was no graduating class that year, since none of the students of the University returned following the war. So my use of the term is suggestive of the missing class of the 'Lost Cause,' and how the rites of graduation are often synonymous with the passage of the fallen fathers of the imagined Confederacy.

televisions (often flat screen) with satellite dishes. Meanwhile, the women from

the older group are busy constructing and tending to large profusions of

foodstuffs, often arranged in a buffet-style set-up. Some of these sub-

congregational women are assisted in their endeavors by hired servants, most of

whom are black men. The network of pods which organize the Grove tailgaters is

littered with Confederate, school, state, and local flags hanging from the sea of

Ole Miss logoed tents. Further, there are a number of banners which signify

where the tailgaters reside (i.e. "Rebel Fans from Senatobia"). These individuals

are often dressed in casual, yet up-scale clothing. (Fieldnotes, September 4,

2004)

For this first 'group' of tailgating spectators, the spectacle of Dixie South whiteness is

expressed through the symbolic gesticulations of race, gender, and social class and the

commodification of representational wares. This faction is defined by whiskey-swilling

charter members of the 'Good Ole Boy' network at Ole Miss who playfully consume the

labors and fares of the matrons of spectacle and the black-bodied servants such as

'Andre at the Rebel Rousers tent' (Duerson, 2004). There is solidarity in the experiential

discourse of the Grove spectacle, a distinctive 'rhythm of time and space' (Lefebvre,

2004), class and race—as twill and plaid trousers, penny loafers, red 'Ole Miss'-themed

polo shirts dominate a cacophonous hyper-branded geometric topography. Such

spectacular imagery is both product and producer of spectacular governance, which

according to Debord (1990):

. . . now possesses all the means necessary to falsify the whole of production ad

perception, [it] is the absolute master of memories just as it is the unfettered

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master of plans which shape the most distant future. It reigns unchecked; *it*

executes its summary judgments. (thesis 4)

Written into the text of this spurious tentscape, the politics of race are performances of

memorialized politics (and the politics of memory) of Dixie South whiteness through the

symbolic (an onslaught of Colonel Rebs and Confederate flags), the conversant (the

soft murmur of the white masculine communal), and the embodied (the phenotypical

phalanstery). The flaneur, or masculine connoisseur of the Grove space, is drowned in

the libations of hyper-normativity of which he is an active agent in reproducing. The

relationship between the masculine flaneur of Dixie South whiteness and the social

order in which he perpetuates can be defined by the Marxist notion of *zoon politikon.*

For Marx, "Man (sic) is in the most literal sense of the word a *zoon politikon*, not only a

social animal, but an animal which can develop into an individual only in society" (1977,

p. 346). This notion resonates in Debord's (1994) theory as well, as particularly in his

synthesis of Hegelian and Marxist positions on historical materialism:

> It is because human beings have thus been thrust into history, and into
>
> participation in the labor and the struggles which constitute history, that
>
> they find themselves obliged to view their relationships in a clear-eyed
>
> manner. . . . As for the subject of history, it can only be the self production
>
> of the living: the living becoming master and possessor of its world—that
>
> is, of history—and coming to exist as consciousness of its own activity.
>
> (thesis 74)

While the collective conscious of humans (and the identification of the agent to that

collectivity) is a product of imagined historical activity, the cultural praxis within the

spectacle is the coming together of the spectator with the power/knowledge thrust of the

spectacle. At Ole Miss, the racialized power/knowledge conundrum exists, and is

preponderated through the active subjectification of humans in the language of history,

hierarchy, and privilege. In Debord's (1981a) words, such a cultural formation is "the

reflection and prefiguration of the possibilities of organization of everyday life in a given

historical moment; a complex of aesthetics, feelings and mores through which a

collectivity reacts on the life that is objectively determined by its economy" (p. 45).

The symbolic economy of representation in the Grove, and particularly that of its

most powerful group, leads to a clandestine practice of conjectural racism. The

symbolic, 'solid South' is in the first instance recognizable by the constellation, mobile-

like ornamentation of the Grove landscape. From my fieldnotes taken on October 30,

2004[136]:

> . . . on the eastern edge of the Grove there were a number of tailgaters flying
>
> various symbols and flags. The most popular of which were flags with the image
>
> of Colonel Reb, the university's sporting mascot. There were also a number of
>
> confederate flags hanging from the sea of tents in and around the Grove area.
>
> Some of the flags featured the transfusion of a Confederate backdrop with the
>
> image of Colonel Reb centered in the middle of the 'Southern Cross.' Of
>
> particular interest was an inflated figure of a football player hanging from a pole
>
> of a nearby tent. The figure was suspended from the pole by some strings, which
>
> almost made it look like an Auburn (the opponent on this day) clad voodoo doll
>
> hanging from a noose. If I were the only person who observed this, I might not

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[136] Some of my fieldnotes are written in the present tense, while others are presented in the past tense. Those written in the present were taken on site in real time, while those in past tense were recorded in intervals on site (within the immersive experiences of Ole Miss) as breaks from observation allowed.

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have thought much about it. However, a number of individuals at the tent nearby

also commented on the suspended figure, and I overheard tailgating neighbors to

the north mention its close resemblance of a 'black man hanging from a tree.'

(Fieldnotes, October 30, 2004)

Such is the praxis of an uncontested ethos transmitted trough the sanitized ether of

similarity and difference, whereby the profusion of white bodies gives way to the

diffusion of a practiced racial discourse. In the midst of the tentscape of Dixie South

whiteness, as the combative black bodies ready themselves for sporting malice, the

whispers from a hyper-racist contemporaneous orthodoxy rattle throughout cover of

magnolias in the Grove. For example, within my first few minutes on site in the early

morning hours prior to the University of Memphis/Ole Miss game,[137] one such verbal

interaction with a member of the controlling class came to fruition:

The tailgating party to the immediate south of where we were located had begun

to fraternize with my group, telling stories and offering predictions on the

upcoming game. On his way back from the "pisser," on of the neighboring

tailgaters, a middle-aged white man, stopped by our area to speak with us. He

said, in a soft, almost timid voice: "Any of ya'll mind if I tell ya'll a nigger joke?"

While I wanted to answer in negative, I held my tongue and my company all

agreed that they did want to hear the joke. So the elderly man proceeded: "There

was this nigger who had bought himself a hang glider. He had ordered it

customized from the manufacturer in the color black, and so he had to wait a few

days for it to get to him. He kept waiting . . .waiting . . . finally, on the day it

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[137] For each Ole Miss home game, I adorned neutral, yet color-coordinated attire. For example, in dressing up for the Memphis game, I wore khaki shorts and a blue shirt, as blue is the official color of both Ole Miss and the University of Memphis.

arrived he was so excited to use it that he took it straight out of the box and climbed up a nearby hill. In the valley there was a man and his son hunting for deer. The nigger took off and he was flying high in the sky, when the son said 'daddy, what's that?' The father said, 'I don't know son, it looks like a giant bat. Shoot it!' So the son took out his rifle and fired a shot. The son asked, 'did I get him daddy?' The daddy said 'Well, I'm not sure if you got the bat, but you made it let loose of that nigger it was carrying." And so my day began. (Fieldnotes, September 4, 2004)

This is but one example of a number of overt racist offerings I noted during my time at the Grove. More disturbing than the content of the bigoted yarn is the hegemonic normalization of spoken racism inscribed in the geometric and anthropological space, one which is allowed to permeate all vectors within the Grove. In the first instance, the Grove society is an incarnation of the pervasive race-based 'spectacularization' (Belanger, 2000) of hegemonic Dixie South whiteness.

Children of the Grove

Unlike the elder statesmen and 'Ole Misses' of the Grove society, the younger generation of Ole Miss supporters subjects traipsing through the wooded area on football Saturdays act as agents of the prevailing order of Dixie South whiteness in a very different way. As members of this second spectator assemblage of this taxonomy, the children of the Grove are often outfitted in sport themed apparel (depending on gender) and more adolescent versions of bourgeoisie Ole Miss garb. These children are typically at play in the Grove, frolicking about the wooded football wonderland while their

parents are found socializing, drinking beer, and eating foodstuffs. In this instance, the

important power relationship is perhaps not parental governance over the youthful

subject, but the discursive regimes of surveillance which act upon the children of the

Grove through the unified and the symbolic. My fieldnotes from the second home game,

Ole Miss versus Arkansas State University, begin to tell the story of symbolic space in

relationship to juvenile spatial practice:

> One of the first things I took notice of, which I had not recorded from the first
>
> game, was the degree to which young children are integrated into the logics of
>
> gender defined roles within the spectacle. A majority of the young boys I
>
> observed were dressed in some sort of football uniform, with the uniform of
>
> choice being an Eli Manning Ole Miss jersey. Some of them were even clad in
>
> full regalia, including football pants, pads, and helmets. These boys were
>
> engaged in various football activities, with many of them simulating a rendition of
>
> the sport form which was about to take place inside Vaught-Hemmingway
>
> Stadium. The young girls were often dressed in Ole Miss cheerleader outfits or
>
> spring dresses, and spent their time with such activities as choreographing
>
> various dance-like maneuvers and cheers and helping the mothers with the
>
> preparation of their masterpiece foodworks. (Fieldnotes, September 18, 2004)

In the first instance, much like any other form of sporting spectacle, these children are

learning their gender roles within sport (and society) through the practices of a

gendered sporting polarity: hegemonic masculinity of the sporting combative versus

preferred femininity of the submissive ornamental. Secondly, and perhaps more unique

to the Grove Society, these young individuals are subjected to the creation of an idealized habitus, or a preferred 'class consciousness' of the Dixie South gentility.

The notion of such a class consciousness is best articulated in the Situationist papers fashioned during Debord's brief, fruitful, and somewhat tumultuous relationship with Henri Lefebvre. Their dialogue on mental and physical spaces of subordination to the spectacle harvested interesting trajectories for both Debord's theory of the spectacle and Lefebvre's later conceptualizations on everyday life (Ross, 1997). In reading the *Society of the Spectacle*, it becomes evident that Debord's theory and practice were greatly influenced by his predecessor's critique of everyday life. As Jappe (1999) noted regarding the history of the Situationist International, "a main preoccupation of the Situationists during the first years of the SI was the realm of *everyday life*, its critique and its revolutionary transformation" (p. 72). Debord (2002) describes the unresponsive indoctrination of ideology through the practices of everyday life in this way:

> The repression of practice and the antidialectical false consciousness that
> results from that repression are imposed at every moment of everyday life
> subjected to the spectacle—a subjection that systematically destroys the
> "faculty of encounter" and replaces it with a *social hallucination*: a false
> consciousness of encounter, an "illusion of encounter." In a society where
> no one can any longer be *recognized* by others, each individual becomes
> incapable of recognizing his own reality. Ideology is at home; separation
> has built its own world. (thesis 217)[138]

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[138] The notion of 'encounter' is derived from Joseph Gabel's *False consciousness: An essay on reification* (1975).

This notion of an 'illusion of encounter' is the centrifugal force which shapes

relationships within the spectacle, and is consecrated upon the small bodies of the

children operating within the Ole Miss Grove spectacle. For Debord, social progress is

belied by the affectivity of "rebellious tendencies among the young" to permeate the

existing hegemonic regimes and "generate a protest that . . . clearly embodies a

rejection of the specialized sphere of the old politics, as well as of art and *everyday life*"

(1994, p. 86, italics added). The early installations of the indoctrination project of Dixie

South whiteness, and particularly the semiotic and lived traditions of local gentility, are

inscribed into (learned by) the youthful bodies of the Grove Society through cultural

practices such as those found in the Grove. Immersed in a society of Dixie South

privilege, many of these youths are programmed with the cultural politics of an upper-

class, white, ultra-conservative habitus. From the tailgating extravaganza which

precluded the home football game versus Vanderbilt, I recorded the following notes:

> There is something interesting at work here in the Grove. The children's
>
> playground filled with flying footballs and miniature dance routines has an adult
>
> feel to it. The dress (often resembling the attire of their parents), mannerisms,
>
> and interactions of the youths very closely resembles the actions of their elders.
>
> (Fieldnotes, September 18, 2004)

The Grove spectacle becomes both a cathedral of whiteness and militant social space

for the inscription of spatial and ideological markers of traditionalism, racial orthodoxy,

and hyper-religiosity. For Debord, spectacles such as the one found in the Grove

indoctrinate modern society's youth in such a way:

The erasure of the personality is the fatal accompaniment to an existence which

is concretely submissive to the spectacle's rules, ever more removed from the

possibility of authentic experience and thus from the discovery of individual

preferences. (Debord, 1990, thesis 12)

Debord theorizes that to subvert the prevailing 'false consciousness' of 'the everyday'

implicated the routinization of functions within everyday life, which create a disconnect

between social awareness and social production, spectators must cease contribute to

the postulations of the spectacle by producing the wants for spectacular society through

subconscious fetishisms. The complacency and implicitness of the young in producing

both the Grove spectacle and the Society of Dixie South Spectacle signal the reign of

hegemonic Dixie South whiteness rather than a contested and contestable space of the

politics of representation.

Landed Gentry of the Neo-Confederacy

The third subject position acting in the celebration of Ole Miss whiteness and its

sporting politics has developed out of the indoctrination of younger generations and the

historical/cultural politics of the institution. This group, which consists of the post-

pubescent student population, and particularly the white members of the campus Greek

system, often define the popular imaginary of politicized identity politics of the campus.

Ole Miss is known throughout the state and region as a producer of state and Federal

politicians, high-ranking lawyers and judges, and powerful businessmen. At Ole Miss,

affiliation leads to access of the "Good Ole Boy" network (Weeks, 1999, p. C1). This

network is the conduit to political and economic power in the state of Mississippi, and

has long used the campus Greek system as a means of cordoning off access from racialized, gendered, and social-classed undesirables. In the closed halls of their fraternity houses, these men of campus power shape the social livelihood on campus (almost all campus leaders annually are elected by the will of the Greek system), and the cultural import flowing through the campus space. The discursive terrain constructed by the uninterrupted fluidity with which these bodies float through the Grove space reiterates the territoriality of white hegemons within the context. From my fieldnotes, I offer the following initial description of this spectator group:

> The group which was most evident by their style of dress was comprised of members of the student body. The male members of the student body were most often clad in khakis, button-up shirts, and ties, while the ladies were often dressed in summer dresses and high-healed shoes. Despite the fact that it was raining, the walkways throughout the Grove were highly congested, perhaps a product of the overwhelming number of people in the Grove and the limited walk space allowed by the overflow of Ole Miss tents. Most of the students were in tents which identified them as either in a fraternity of sorority, by way of their banners. The interactions between students was similar to that of their older counterparts, with the men lounging, consuming foods and beverages while women, most of whom belonged to sororities (identifiable by their donning of various symbols), were socialized and wondering about the Grove. (Fieldnotes, September 4, 2004)

Again, for this group, the burden of whiteness becomes a form of governance, as the prescriptions of expressive whiteness and the embodied deportment of the politics of

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representation shape social action. These spectators of the Grove spectacle are defined

out of the discourse of sameness, and of the lack ocular possibilities presented to them.

Surrounded by a phantasmagoria of Confederate whiteness, "social life is so colonized

by the commodity and administrative techniques, so saturated in an accumulation of

spectacles, that people are more like spectators than active agents, occupying roles

assigned to them in a state of passive contemplation" (Pinder, 2000, pp. 361-362). From

my observations prior to the Ole Miss v. University Tennessee home football game, I

came to the following interpretations:

> There is no doubt that while the older alumni and boosters control the activities of
>
> the Grove (by way of their role as provider), the students, and particularly those
>
> in Greek organization, are the lifeblood of the tailgating festivities. They are the
>
> first to arrive, and often the last to leave the event, and for them, more than any
>
> other group, the Grove is a stage, a theater for expressing their beauty, their
>
> power, their wealth, and their solidarity. Interlopers, such as those wearing
>
> orange on this day, are met as such, outsiders to the clan-like cohesion of this
>
> imagined community. While the students are producers of social relationships,
>
> they seem to fail to connect how their unity in dress, deportment, gait, and
>
> behavior reproduce the social hierarchies of their predecessors. (Fieldnotes,
>
> October 16, 2004)

This unknowing [re]productivity, in which the visible center is expressed through the

traditions of deport and dress,[139] becomes the organizing principle by which the

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[139] Ole Miss students pride themselves on being the 'best dressed' student fans in all of college sport, a tradition which was enacted to pay tribute to the University Greys, who upon traveling to Jackson for meetings with the Confederate Council, were lauded for their handsome attire. By wearing their 'Sunday

spectacle of Dixie South whiteness is reproduced. As Homi Bhabba (1994) has argued,

ambivalence is at the epicenter of such a colonial power structure. Through the

uncritical reification of a nostalgic and uniformed acculturation of preferred Euro-

American deportment, and the accessorized discomfort for the black 'exotic,' whiteness

has remained at the core of identity politics within the spectacle.

During the Ole Miss home games, students express the codified language of

whiteness through a number of traditions:

> I entered the stadium approximately one hour prior to kick-off, and immediately
>
> went straight to my seat in the Ole Miss season ticket holder section (the section
>
> adjacent to the student section). All of the events (both on and off the field)
>
> leading up to kickoff were similar to other college football games, with the
>
> exception of two. . . . Prior to the singing of the national anthem, and prior to the
>
> playing of the school's alma mater, the Ole Miss band played 'Dixie,' 'From Dixie
>
> with Love,' and 'Dixie Fanfare.' 'Dixie was played again in the second half of the
>
> game. Secondly, the students, in a spectacle of unanimity, chanted the school's
>
> fight song, 'Hotty Toddy,' following every positive event produced by their team
>
> on the field. (Fieldnotes, September 4, 2004)

Engagement with these spectacular practices links the individual to the spectacle (both

the local and broader spectacle), and embellishment of the body through the feminine

faunal and the decorative Confederate creates that space of alienation, whereby the

spectator is disengaged from the popular, from the spectacle (Debord, 1990).

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best,' these students are seen as paying homage to their Confederate forefathers, as well as
distinguishing themselves by way of sophisticated attire.

The admonishment of the alien, both by the empowered subject in rejecting the

non-comfortable embodied and practiced space, and the marginalizing of subjectivities

operating outside the Grove-encrusted norm, creates a spatiality dominated by racial

reclusion and symbolic reification. In *The Society of the Spectacle*—a set of theses

described by Debord as a 'book of theory' for the Situationists' position (Plant, 1992)—

Debord offers numerous inferred references to *The History of Class Consciousness*

(Lukács, 1971), particularly extracting two ideas from Lukács' essential text. First, it is

quite evident that Lukács' *History and Class Consciousness* (Lukács, 1971) greatly

influenced *The Society of the Spectacle* (Debord, 1994) through the episteme that

capitalist development produces elements that both "deflect and encourage the

proletariat's recognition of its position" (Plant, 1992, p. 16). This state of

unconsciousness, created by the forces of alienation and the mind-numbing reign of the

spectacle, reproduces the social inequities imbedded in the spectacle (where the

powerful retain power, all in the service of the spectacle). In Lukács' (1971) terms, the

materialization of a divide between the material and ideological lies "in the realization

that the real motor forces of history are independent of man's (psychological)

consciousness of them" (p. 47). Therefore, an individual functions unconsciously within

a society bound by dominant economic, cultural, and social structures. This notion of

the unwritten language of control is extrapolated and expounded upon throughout *The

Society of the Spectacle* as the means by which the spectacle reproduces itself

(Debord, 1994). The class-, gender-, and race-conditioned unconsciousness, much like

Bourdieu's notion of habitus, is reflective of the genealogical forces of whiteness which

have persisted throughout the longevity of Ole Miss, and which are transmitted by way

of social practice with the spaces of privilege at the university. In many ways, the conduct of the practitioners of campus privilege (those wealthy members of the sorority and fraternity class) is similar to that of business class elites—there is a certain mystique about their gait, posture, and dress. Everything is slowed down, never a hurried moment, never a thought of disruption or confrontation. Fraternity men dressed in khaki pants and collared shirts motion to one another in subtle, convivial mannerisms. This seemingly telepathetic connection is demonstrative of a realized affective bond to the inculcations of the visible center and the internalized habitus-responses to the bodily discourses of the visible center. Sorority women, in an almost ritualistic fashion, parade across the Grove space, fraternizing with old and young, seeing the festival and perhaps more importantly, being seen. This pageant of masculine bourgeois whiteness is captured in the following observation:

> The Grove is like a Confederate Ball,[140] as the men and women of campus
> dressed in their best attire promenade in a spectacle of conspicuous gentility.
> During my last trip (of the day) through the Grove, I encountered the following:
> First, while walking across the path which crosscuts the center of the Grove, I
> passed some Ole Miss fraternity men (as marked by their pins below the collar of
> their shirts) who were heckling passersby wearing the opposition's (The
> University of Memphis) colors. The men chanted "at least we don't tailgate in a
> parking lot" and "you'll work for us someday." These were but a few excerpts
> from the choral of class demarcation I have seen up to this point. Second, I
> noticed considerable consumption of 'toddies' (alcohol) by members of the
> fraternity groups in the Grove. (Fieldnotes, September 4, 2004)

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[140] Which is an actual event on the Ole Miss campus, hosted bi-annually by Kappa Alpha fraternity.

Conversely, the women of the Grove engage the spectacle in this way:

> The women of the Grove, and particularly sorority women, have a distinctive way
> of expressing a seemingly natural class-based deportment. They spend hours
> preparing themselves for the Grove, hustle back-and-forth from the carnival to
> their sorority houses to ensure maximal beauty, and then gallivant across the
> Grove (unlike their masculine counterparts, who tend to remain less mobile) as if
> they had conducted themselves in this way since childhood. (Fieldnotes,
> November 27, 2004)

The imaged layering of Ole Miss women and the Grove have simultaneously defined

both the emphasized femininity of the Grove Society and the gendered politics at Ole

Miss for a broader mass constituency. In a *Sports Illustrated On Campus* article (2003a)

entitled: "The 100 Things You Gotta Do Before You Graduate (Whatever the Cost),"

number three on the list was "Tailgate in the Grove at Ole Miss, the 10-acre, debutante-

stacked meadow on campus" (p. 4). Following Debord, the human agent at Ole Miss

reproduces and engages the spectacle without knowledge of this relationship. Debord

refers to this all-encapsulating reticence as "new obscurantism," or "the general

resignation of the populace, the complete loss of logic, [and] the universal progress of

venality and cowardice"(Debord, 1990, thesis 24). The power/knowledge dynamic

written into the performances of Dixie South whiteness by Ole Miss coeds "implies a

class-conditioned *unconsciousness* of one's own socio-historical and economic

conditions, this condition [of the spectacle] is given as a definite structural relation, a

definite formal nexus which appears to govern the whole of life" (Debord, 1981f, p. 52).

The student subject as spectator is thus transformed into both a conduit of embodied

politics of the hierarchical body politic, and the imagined representational space of

corporeality which reaffirms the impulses of such a hierarchy.

Warriors and Servants

Within the physical and imagined boundaries of the Grove Society, spectacular

practice becomes its own discursive formation which emits an ether of solidarity for

white bodies within that space, while black-bodied trespassers are relegated onto the

margins. As such, the fourth and final group of individuals in this nomenclature of the

spectators of the Grove spectacle is comprised of individuals who are defined by their

black-bodied 'Otherness.' The marginalizing forces of the visible center have left little

room for empowerment for black individuals within the Grove Society at Ole Miss.

Ocular classification schemes, within this racialized space, convert spatial and

ideological territoriality to a more invasive ownership of identity politics for those

operating under the auspices of the spectacle (Crary, 1984; Salmon, 2001). Through

the unification of individuals, according to the Situationists, "all goods proposed by the

spectacular system, from cars to televisions, also serve as weapons for that system as

it strives to reinforce the isolation of 'the lonely crowd'" (Debord, 1994, thesis 28).

Debord, following David Riesman, refers to the notion of a 'lonely crowd,' in which the

system—for both Riesman and Debord, capitalism's systematic grasp over the

individual—creates division in order to create unity amongst individuals. For Riesman

and his co-authors, individuals in the 'lonely crowd' can be classified into three types,

two of which serve our purposes here (Riesman, Glazer, & Denney, 2001). 'Tradition-

directed people' are those individuals who rigorously obey ancient rules, and seldom

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thrive in modern, rapidly changing societies. These individuals are both part of the 'lonely crowd,' and displaced from its inertia by their inability to create agency (Fulford, 2001). A second type of individual within Riesman's lonely crowd is typed as the 'inner-directed' person. This social agent acts out life in the manner she or he was trained in infancy—tending to be confident and perhaps also rigid in their demeanor (Riesman et al., 2001). While delving too far into the typological fulcrum of *The Lonely Crowd* might prove problematic (as a number of detractors have pointed to the manuscript's overt positivism as a shortcoming of Riesman's signature text), it is interesting that these two figurations of individuals within the society of the spectacle accurately describe many of those individuals who embody, and perform, the strident whiteness of the Dixie South. These actors, or spectators within the lonely crowd, reproduce a society which brings people together only to spread them apart, as the spectacle "eliminates geographical distance only to reap distance internally in the form of spectacular separation" (Debord, 1994, thesis 167). Consequently, two forms of isolationism emerge in the Grove Society: one serves as a cartography to the spectacle through a proximity only whiteness can traverse (the collective space of 'tradition-directed people'); the other is an anthropological map in which symbols of difference, and the distance to embodied normativity, act upon the demarcated outsider. As such, there is but a liminal borderland within which expressions of blackness within the boundary logics of Dixie South whiteness—those operating outside both Riesman's typology and Oxford's hyper-normativity—can construct, and be constructed into, a space of empowerment. Here I want to outline the ways in which, in the first instance, fear of alienation from spectacle whiteness leads to a unified white orthodoxy in the Grove. This form of white alienation

in turn creates more oppressive forms of alienation for the black-bodied outlier—and eventually superficial empowerment through the dual processes of sterilization and false authorization.

In the first instance, the fetishization of Dixie South whiteness within the Grove Society has created a distinguishable isolationism, as expressions of collectivity are embodied, signified, and identified through a cohesive, recognizable, phenotypical whiteness. The ritualistic engagement with the Grove spectacle brings individuals closer together, only to spread them apart again by way of 'images of need' and narratives of want. As such, the social interactions of the Grove Society constitute a more tangible procession of the "clowns of the spectacle" (Debord, 1990, thesis 28) bound to the spectacular logics of the society from which they were borne, rather than the collection of autonomous agents creating new 'situations' of their disposition. According to Debord (1994), "separation is the alpha and the omega of the spectacle" (thesis 25). 'Separation,' in this regard, refers to the forces of alienation which shape the individual experience, always there, never attainable:

> The more [the spectator] contemplates, the less he lives; the more he
> identifies with the dominant images of need, the less he understands his
> own life and his own desires. The spectacle's estrangement from the
> acting subject is expressed by the fact that the individual's gestures are no
> longer his own; they are the gestures of someone else who represents
> them to him. The spectator feels at home nowhere, because the spectacle
> is everywhere. (Debord, 1994, thesis 30)

The relationship between human action and the spectacle is an important one in conceptualizing human agency and the construction of the spectacle. Much like Debord, French social theorist Roland Barthes (1957/1972) uses the terms *spectacle* and *gesture* interchangeably, each referring to the interplay of action, representation, and alienation between man and society. The *gestures* of a spectacular society become immersed in the logics of the spectacle, obsequiously binding the subject into the laws and power dynamics of the prevailing social order. The relationship between individuals of the spectacle is such that "individuals are linked to the spectacle in a one-way relationship while maintaining their isolation" (Ritzer, 2001, p. 185). In the spectacle of Dixie South whiteness found in the Grove, the white-bodied "front-row spectators" (Debord, 1990, thesis 21)[141] made flesh in the developed forms of each group defined above (the elder statesmen of Dixie South whiteness, the children of the Grove, and the princes and princesses of Oxford) serve the spectacle by way of their alienation, and further alienate those resigned to the spaces of idiosyncrasy.

This form of alienation, which produces both docile, eager whiteness and reticent blackness within the Grove Society is reproduced through two primary apparatuses: (1) the segregation of spaces of whiteness and blackness;[142] and (2) the sterilization of black-bodied infiltrators of white spaces. The spectacle recreates itself through the conditions of its own existence—by creating "pseudo-needs" (Debord, 1994, thesis 51) from which the spectators are linked to the spectacle, and to one another, through the

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[141] For Debord, these types of spectators "are stupid enough to believe they can understand something, not by making use of what is hidden in front of them, but by believing what is revealed" (Debord, 1990, thesis 21).

[142] I use the term 'blackness' here, as opposed to the objectified 'black body' trope, to suggest that whereas black bodies in this space are often disempowered or objectified, blackness is a discursive formation which presents the possibility of an alternative (to whiteness) modality of power/knowledge. Objectified black bodies at Ole Miss offer little space for contesting white dominance, whereas blackness, even in a liminal manifestation, offers the possibility of carving out a space of empowerment.

gestures and interactions within spectacular society. For the white-bodied 'front row spectator' of the Grove spectacle, there is unity in practices of consuming spectacle, engaging both the commodity whiteness (symbolic, reified) and the experiential discourses of the Grove spectacular. Conversely, black-bodied campus individuals are relegated into the margins, both in their spatial displacement outside the Grove and their imagined disengagement from the ideological corpus of representational politics and the politics of identity within the Ole Miss space. Black individuals in the racialized spectacle are subjected to:

> . . . a logic of dehumanization, in which African peoples [are] defined as having bodies but not minds: in this way the superexploitation of the black body as a muscle-machine [can] be justified (Mercer, 1994, p. 138)

Throughout my observations, I took notice that black students very rarely participated in the Grove spectacle, instead opting to create their own tailgating festivals outside the Grove space:

> After I toured the Grove for an hour or so, I headed up to Fraternity Row to see if any of the campus men were tailgating on the ground of their fraternity houses. To my surprise (perhaps due to the am hour), most of the fraternities had no organized parties, sans one chapter. The men Phi Beta Sigma had a full-blown front yard festival going on. This was my first encounter with any collective assemblage of black-bodies throughout the campus. . . . Upon reflection of my observations today, I can only recall seeing black students engaging the celebration of Ole Miss on one occasion, at the Phi Beta Sigma house early in the day. (Fieldnotes, September 4, 2004)

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Interestingly, Phi Beta Sigma is the only black fraternity with a house on Fraternity Row.[143] More interestingly, the concentrated gathering of black coeds outside the Phi Beta Sigma house, coupled with the lack of black bodies in the Grove during that same time, is suggestive of the physical and symbolic marginalization of a hyper-territorial, visible center occupied by campus whites. If Fraternity Row lies on the x-axis (along with the Grove and Lyceum) of power at Ole Miss, then my trip up the y-axis in the hours prior to the next home game further reinforced such an interpretation:

> There is a flurry of white-bodied sorority women bouncing back-and-forth between Sorority Row and the Grove, clad in heeled shoes and flowered dresses (imagine the Kentucky Derby without the decorative headwear). Beyond the more pronounced, grandiose houses which are occupied by white sorority members are two women's Pan-Hellenic houses, those of Alpha Kappa Alpha and Delta Sigma Theta. Both houses have ten to twenty students gathered outside. At the Alpha Kappa Alpha house, the students are grilling, listening to forms of music I did not find in the Grove (and which I was unable to identify the artists), tossing a football (note: two of the men at the party), dancing (only sporadically) and conversing. At the neighboring Delta Sigma Theta house, the mood is a little less festive, as the women which occupy the front yard space in front of the house are arranged in an almost semi-circular formation, situated on lawn chairs and engaged in discussion. (September 11, 2004)

In this instance, the geometric spatial separation created by the ideological and symbolic fences which partition the Grove and its spectators from 'the outside'—holding

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[143] Obviously the black fraternity system offers an even more interesting social space for interrogating the intersections of gender, race, and social class at Ole Miss than I develop here, and would certainly be an interesting course of study and one which would help round out this thread of research.

in Dixie South whiteness while keeping out representations of alternative identity politics—reinforces the 'comfortableness' of whiteness in the Grove, and the alienation of its outliers.

Secondly, the reassuring possibilities of uncontested, oligarchic whiteness and the near-subservience of ancillary blackness in the Grove spectacle are reproduced through clearly defined, antebellum-esque roles of super-ordination/subordination. While there are few black-bodies operating within the imagined Grove space (the cognitive spaces of active agents able to seize the privileges of hierarchical identity politics) the geometric Grove is not without a multitude of black individuals operating in that space. However, black individuals of the Grove spectacle more often occupy roles of facilitation, such as traffic officer, security guard, or food servant:

> One of the first things that caught my attention was the fact that most of the traffic officers ushering the automobiles around the university's campus were black. Furthermore, the workers who were shuttling people around the campus via golf carts were also largely black. However, when I entered the Grove, the color and social activities changed dramatically. For example, I only saw seven black individuals inside the boundaries of the Grove. Five of whom were working a servers in some of the extravagant tailgating set-ups, while the other two were walking through the area outfitted in University of Memphis jerseys. (Fieldnotes, September 4, 2004)

The momentary corporeal facade of phenotypical variance is soon displaced by the stark realization that black bodies of the Grove space represent a reconfiguration of the Old South social hierarchical logics—whereby the instrumental black body serves as

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immobilized producer of spectacle whiteness and re-enforcer of race-based hierarchies. The historically defined roles of black individuals in Dixie South spaces are rearticulated through the politics of being in the spectacle, whereby the seemingly empowered (traffic officers, etc) become minions of the spectacle. Furthermore, the deviant blackness so pronounced in the imaginaries of Dixie South whites, or stridently oppositional blackness of the generations passed, are each sterilized through the new spectator roles within the Grove Society. The logics of whiteness become a means of governance, as the normalized roles of preferred blackness are performed with steadfast sterility. By empowering the campus black bodies, yet sterilizing blackness as an accommodatingly oppositional discursive formation, Dixie South whiteness holds sway over the center as well as its margins. As such, under the auspices of the spectacle, the logics of preferred deportment, performativity, and ideology penetrate all aspects of racialized representation, identification, and signification within the discursive lexicon of Grove spectatorship.

Disempowered through (symbolic) empowerment, the closeness of these black bodies to the spectacle thus subsumes, or encapsulates them, uniting alienated blackness with the source of its alienation—the hegemonic regimes of Dixie South whiteness. Perhaps the best example of this is in the 'Walk of Champions:' a ceremonial parade of predominantly black-bodied gladiators (the Ole Miss football team) through the center of the Grove during the hours leading up to the start of each home football contest. During this spectacle within the spectacle, a mob of white, soft-bodied fanatics clad in khaki pants, collared-shirts, and ties croon in admiration as an infirmarized corps of [predominantly black] hard-bodied combatants—each dressed in an awkward

juxtaposition of Dixie South fashion (attire very similar to the style garnered by the older onlookers: shirt, tie, khaki pants, etc.)—marches through the spectacular space toward the battlefield known as Vaught-Hemmingway Stadium. As the visiting journalist from *SI* proclaimed, the players "walk like 'champions.' Read: in their best shirts and ties. Like adults" (Duerson, 2004, p. 11). Read: they dress up in a way which will be deemed satisfactory by disciplinary gaze of spectators of the Grove Society. Prior to the Arkansas State versus Ole Miss fixture, I described the 'Walk of Champions' in my notes in this way:

> In the midst of a congregated throng at the northwestern edge of the Grove, in front of the Student Union, I witnessed one of the signature moments of the Grove experience: the 'Walk of Champions.' The 'Walk of Champions' is a ritual on the Ole Miss campus where student athletes, most of whom are black, walk to the stadium across the Grove a few hours prior to the kickoff. As the athletes walk in a single-file fashion through the flag waving, red, blue, and white clad horde, they are greeted with the strains of Dixie (the entire band is present and blaring), sung by the white-bodied harmonious (in the sense of corporeal homogeneity, not singular verbosity) chorus. Cheerleaders then lead the fans in a variety of chants, such as 'Go Ole Miss,' with crescendo being the spirited rendition of 'Hotty Toddy.' (Fieldnotes, October 2, 2004)

The gestalt of Dixie South whiteness transposes its logics and conventions onto instrumental athletic deportment, as disciplined black bodies march to the fashions, rhythms, and surveillance of the purveying gaze of Dixie South whiteness. As King and Springwood argue (2001), under such regimes, "the black athlete has been constructed

as a *site* of pleasure, dominance, fantasy, and surveillance . . . in a post-civil rights

America, African Americans have been essentially invented, policed, and literally (re)

colonized through Euro-American idioms such a discipline, deviance, and desire" (p.

101). Following Debord (1994), such social and cultural traditions cannot be altered

from within (by the practices of actors within the spectacle) as long as the spectators

within the Grove Society subconsciously embrace, and its foot soldiers surrender to, the

dominant conditions of Dixie South hegemonic whiteness. In the local sense, the black

bodied athlete at Ole Miss thus becomes subjected to "a spectacle of surveillance that

is actively engaged in representing authority, visualizing deviance, and publicizing

common sense" (Reeves & Campbell, 1994, p. 49). The alternating juxtaposition of

black body as "savage, bestial, and uncivilized" is thus governed by a central ether and

disciplinary gaze of the "restrained, cerebral, and civilized white European" spectator

(Andrews, 1996b, p. 127).

Within such regimes of normative power within the spectacle, grated from

Antonio Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony,' whiteness becomes the organizing logic of the

both spectacle and spectator[ship]. For Gramsci (1999), *hegemony* is essential the

sway under which a society's "dominant group" is able to celebrate and legitimate one

way of doing things to the discredit of alternative ways (p. 12). In other words,

hegemony is the dominance of one group over other groups, with or without the threat

of force. As such, the dominant party can dictate the terms of social and cultural

exchange to its advantage (Gramsci, 1999). With regard to Ole Miss, such hegemonic

formations create a standard whereby cultural perspectives become skewed to favor the

dominant group—the arbiters of Dixie South whiteness. By moving into, onto, and over

the historical and cultural terrains of nonwhite subjects, Dixie South hegemons secure

"a partial recovery of their erased selves, from imaginary expressions of libido,

bellicosity, aggression, expressive spontaneity, and deviance" (King & Springwood,

2001, p. 161). For both the black hard bodies and white soft bodies of the Grove

spectacle, the hegemonic reign of a class-, gender-, and race-based formation of Dixie

South whiteness thus organizes, colonizes, and distributes power in the order which

best serves the reproduction and autonomy of the spectacle. As Best and Kellner

(1997) rightly put forth, "the Situationists saw the current forms of social control as

based on consensus rather than force, as cultural hegemony attained through the

metamorphoses of the [spectator] into the 'society of the spectacle'" (p. 82). The

submission of the spectator to spectacular society through the spectacle at Ole Miss,

embodied by the surrender of individual agency for the sake of Dixie South cultural

homogeneity, has resulted in an uncontested, hyper-normative formation of hegemonic

whiteness. Following Debord, such a hegemonic uniformity is achieved through

representational reification (the thing-like quality of Dixie South traditionalism), the

creation of 'pseudo needs' (the aspirations to engage the Grove spectacle), the

alienation of individuals (within racialized relationships between the hegemons and

individual spectators' propensity to fetishize commodities).

A Spectacle of the 'Pure': An Epilogue

As these symbols, rituals, and artificial divisions are allowed to persist and

occupy such a central space in the symbolic and spectacular imaginations of all Dixie

Southerners, they continue to perpetuate a climate of intolerance. Up to this point I have

attempted to map the schematics of the Dixie South spectacle, as the fetishization of

Dixie South whiteness (and its symbols and practice), emanating from and leading to

the alienation of spectators within the Grove Society, in turn creates the reification of an

imagined politics of race, privilege, and gendered hierarchy. The reification of Dixie

South whiteness, of its politics, its power, and its ideologies, through the signifying

practices and gesticulations of the Confederacy, Old South gentility, and hierarchical

collective configurations of race, gender, social class, and sexuality, allow whiteness to

stand as the norm, the powerful center of this antihumane Grove Society. The power of

the visible center is distributed in such a way that it has expanded its reach to the

spatial, ideological, and corporeal ends of the Grove Society. Following Debord (1990),

such an all-encapsulating power of the spectacle, in its most advance, *integrated* form,

has achieved the complete colonization of spectacular everyday life. In his reflections

twenty years following the *Society of the Spectacle*, Debord (1990) wrote:

> In all that has happened in the last twenty years, the most important change lies
>
> in the very continuity of the spectacle. Quite simply, the spectacle's domination
>
> has succeeded in raising a whole generation moulded to its laws. The
>
> extraordinary new conditions in which this entire generation has lived constitute a
>
> comprehensive summary of all that, henceforth, the spectacle will forbid; and
>
> also all that it will permit. (thesis 3)

For Debord (1990), the *integrated* spectacle "shows itself to be simultaneously

concentrated and diffuse" (thesis 4), the 'concentrated' form referring more the state

imposed unification into spectacular society, and the 'diffuse' form referring to more

complicit, hegemonic relationship between the spectacle and its spectators. The

atomization of spectators of the Grove Society is thus created and performed through

the confluence of an integrated Confederate state (read: conservative, hypermasculine,

Old South) and the incessant renewal of technologies of the South (see Chapter Four).

The individual spectacle (i.e. the Grove extravaganza) becomes the site for both

expressing the sovereignty of hegemonic whiteness, and the promulgation of swathes

of symbolic fabric woven into the ideological blanket of the Dixie South. The 'problem

with the problem' of whiteness at Ole Miss, paraphrasing Martinot and Sexton (2003),

thus lies at the intersection of spectacle and banality, the seemingly innocent, yet

disciplinarily reticent power of the homogenized masses inculcated in the cultures of the

Confederacy.

In concluding, I want to offer interrogation of one further empirical spectacle of

the Grove Society. Each year the University of Mississippi hosts a memorial service for

the fallen soldiers of the Confederacy on the grounds of the cemetery located on the

South edge of campus. I observed the ceremonies conducted in early May of 2005 by

the Sons of Confederate Veterans, in hopes of understanding not only if the close links

between Ole Miss and the specters of the Confederacy remain, but also the extent to

which spectacular Confederacy as an imaginary and embodied space still holds sway

over the attitudes and politics of representation at the University. The day's festivities

began with a parade through the town of Oxford. Originating from the resting place of

William Faulkner, the cavalcade of the Confederacy meandered through the streets of

Oxford and eventually arrived at its first stop, the Confederate memorial statue outside

the courthouse in the center of the Square:

The spectacular procession featuring: women dressed in antebellum costumes; men dressed in Confederate military uniforms and carrying rifles; younger boys serving as the color guard of the Confederacy (carrying Confederate flags, the state flag, and flags of local regiments); older men on horseback dressed in full commander regalia donning swords; and perhaps the most famed of automotive television icons, the General Lee—which carried Dukes of Hazard personality Ben Jones, known on the show as 'Cooter'[144] (see Figures 27 and 28) (Fieldnotes, May 1, 2005).

The Confederate compatriots proceeded to perform a wreath laying ceremony in front of an estimated crowd of 200 individuals. The men dressed in military garments then fired three shots in a salute to the fallen Confederate soldiers of the American Civil War. Next, almost in organic unanimity, members of the parade as well as its onlookers belted out a full rendition of 'Dixie,' the Confederate battle song and official song of the University of Mississippi. At the conclusion of the ceremony in the Square, the symbolic cavalry 'made tracks' for the University (Fieldnotes, May 1, 2005).

Once the Confederate convoy had assembled at the front entrance to the cemetery on the Ole Miss campus, the official program of the memorial services resumed. Amidst a backdrop awash with Confederate imagery (see Figure 26), and with a crowd of approximately one hundred 'spectators' looking on, the 'Commander' of the

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[144] The 'General Lee' was the name given the car driven by Bo and Luke Duke in the popular American television program, *The Dukes of Hazard*. The bright orange exterior of the car is emblazoned with the Southern Cross atop the roof of the automobile, coinciding with the 'good ole boy' theme of the show. The show's protagonists, the Dukes, embodied a momentary celebration of rural Southern whiteness, in this instance closely allied with the imagery of the Confederacy. Perhaps the recent release of a Hollywood reinvention of the *Dukes* is suggestive of the broadening import of the South in contemporary American popular culture (see Chapter 8).

University Greys camp,[145] the Oxford division of the Sons of the Confederate Veterans,

began the proceedings with the Confederate Pledge of Allegiance, which goes like this:

"I salute the Confederate flag with affection, reverence and undying devotion to the

cause for which it stands" (Fieldnotes, May 1, 2005). This was followed by the reprise of

the "Confederate National Anthem," 'Dixie.' Following the collective celebration of these

traditions, the Commander then introduced Ben Jones, lauding the *Dukes of Hazard*

actor as a 'real treasure of the South.' Ben Jones then offered a brief speech, in which

he thanked the Sons of Confederate Veterans for their efforts to preserve a heritage

culture, and implored the spectators to endeavor to "reestablish the heritage, symbols,

and traditions of the South." Cooter cited those in the media, as well as political and

academic spheres, as contributing to a "bigoted" depiction of the Old South (Fieldnotes,

May 1, 2005). Breaking from the conventions of Confederate logics, and the pledge

which he had just recited, Ben Jones then suggested that the symbols of the

Confederacy "represent no the cause, but the efforts, the valor" (Fieldnotes, May 1,

2005). He then thanked the organizers of the event for their hospitality, and evoked the

'laudable' customs of Southern gentility and generosity he was afforded in "the tradition

of Nathan Bedford Forrest"[146] (Fieldnotes, May 1, 2005). Following Ben Jones, a local

historian offered a background on the genealogy of the cemetery, positing that while a

few Union soldiers had been buried on the campus grounds, their corpses were

removed in the years following the War, and thus the burial ground was "purified"

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[145] See Chapters 2, 3, and 4 for more extensive analysis of the University Greys.
[146] Nathan Bedford Forrest is considered by many historians to be one of the most important military figures of the Civil War. He was a highly regard cavalry officer, as his guerilla tactics proved successful in battles won by the Confederacy. In the shadows of the war's end, Forrest became a founding member and eventually 'Grand Wizard' of the Ku Klux Klan, and firmly opposed Reconstruction-era attempts to desegregate.

(Fieldnotes, May 1, 2005). The spectacle of the Confederate dead concluded with a prayer lead by a local minister, in which the clergyman asked God's forgiveness for his "ill will" toward those "who stand against the Confederacy, against is symbols and ideals. He also asked forgiveness for the "anger' that sometimes overcomes him when "people attempt to desecrate the legacy of his forefathers." The minister then asked for guidance for those Southern Democrats (Dixiecrats), and those "who have the audacity to call themselves Southern Democrats," who "stand in opposition of the appointment of people of good will and intention who are seeking appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States" (Fieldnotes, May 1, 2005).

Within this phalanstery of the Confederacy, I witnessed the materialization of the integrated spectacle of Dixie South with its conjunctural rudiments of: conservative ideology, symbolic spatiality, and signified corporeality. While for Debord (1990), the integrated spectacle starts with the encircling visions and fetters of an omnipotent nation-state, in the integrated spectacle of Dixie South whiteness, the visible center is defined by a power which floats freely, re-enchanting the spectator with stultifying splendor. As George Ritzer (2001) explains, "commodity fetishism and re-enchantment are conceptual cousins. The former involves a mystification of commodities while the latter posits the mystification of rationalized structures" (p. 201). More accurately, in the spectacle of Dixie South whiteness, symbols of the Old South, of an imagined rationalized structure of Southern privilege, inform, constitute, and organize the possibilities of commodity whiteness. The prevailing postulations and gesticulations of the visible center, transmitted by way of stars, bars, and logoed cars stand uninterrupted as the main artifices of Ole Miss identity politics. Not all spectators of the

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Dixie South spectacle imbibe the Confederacy as those I witnessed in early May 2005 do, but importantly, the pervasive presence of these symbols, and the ideologies for which they stand, constitute and reconstitute the reified relationship between individuals 'that assume, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things' (Marx, 1976). In other words, reified Dixie in the fanatical practices of neo-Confederates at the Civil War Memorial or in the more subversive hegemonic relations of the Grove not only endeavor to locate whiteness at the center of Southern social relations, but accumulate a spectacular cache which unto itself becomes the unifying principle upon which the integrated spectacle is organized. Thus, spectators' tendency to fetishize a commodity whiteness, defied in both the Grove and the Memorial by a rejuvenated adoration for the Old South, has led to an integrated spectacular system of laws "corresponding to its needs and harmonizing with its own structure" (Lukács, 1971, p. 95). Through the reified imaginary of Dixie South whiteness, the integrated spectacle of Dixie South whiteness thus maintains its dominance over all sways of social and cultural life therein.

Chapter VIII: The Rise of the Visible Center

I have endeavored to formulate an account of the interlocking dynamics of race, physical culture, and power at Ole Miss that, in the words of Lawrence Grossberg (1992), "describes how practices, effects, and vectors are woven together, where the boundaries are located and where the fault lines lie. This structured assemblage is a force-field encompassing different forms of objects, facts, practices, events, whatever can be found along the way" (p. 64). My thesis, in a post-facto sense, is that the social technologies which operate on the Ole Miss student subject have constituted, and perpetually reconstitute, a preferred identity politics of the white Right. And while those politics have changed throughout various historical contexts, the dominant representations of Dixie South whiteness today look all too similar to those of plantation days of the old South. Perhaps most importantly, the disciplinary gaze of the center of social power still operates on black and white bodies throughout the campus through codes of the familiar, whereby the complexities of numerous Southern blacknesses become colonized, if not subsumed, by the hegemonic structures of knowledge and power (always reinventing the homogenous alternative) and the fragility of whiteness in post-Civil Rights America is reorganized through the spectacular discourses of the overt and the visible.

In the new 'economy of visibility' (McDonald, 2005, p. 248), such institutions of whiteness, spectacles of whiteness, and corporeal celebrations of the white symbolic territorialize and colonize subjected bodies in disciplined (physical and imagined) white spaces (Kintz, 2002). The interrogative focus of this study has been to deconstruct what

notorious Southern figurehead David Duke (1998) refers to as the 'white civil rights movement' (Bridges, 1994; Hill, 1992), and how the cultural economy of Dixie South whiteness acts upon, disciplines, and authorizes a decidedly white, conservative subject position at Ole Miss. To such an end, the institution has become an important apparatus for the distribution and disciplinarity of a preferred embodiment of the 'Southern eth(n)ic.' While racialized subject positions and the politics of identity in the Dixie South have long been located within, and constructed out of, the binary discourses of black/white, feminine/masculine, and so on, throughout this dissertation, I have attempted to explore the ways in which one side of racialized, gendered, and classed complex of representative polarities is privileged through active discursive formations (and the formation of discourse).

In spite of the reality that Southern society is more multifarious than these simplified, oppositional discourses allow, the arbitration of knowledge and power has persistently returned to a centralized hierarchical binary structure—a social regime whereby genteel whiteness and masculinity act as hegemonic formations of a local socio-political cultural economy. In 'deconstructing Dixie,' I have sought to problematize the ways in which the politicized body acts on, and serves to reinforce, the prevailing logics of the racially-motivated, conservative body politic. Thus my central focus has been that the 'political anatomy' (i.e. the political and politicized body) of the Dixie South is organized around a *visible center* of strident whiteness: the discursive, subjective, politicized centrifuge of power relations in the region. That center, through the dynamic [re]constitution of identity and the overt gesticulations of privilege, emanates not from the society halls of the Ku Klux Klan or the Nationalists, or in the legislative halls in

Jackson, but rather in the performative corporealities of a preferred whiteness which, through various interactions with the symbolic (Confederate flags and 'Dixie'), the spatial (the plantation aesthetic of the built environment and Confederate Memorials), and the spectacular (the integrated spectacle of the Grove Society), reinforce (or make necessary) the non-necessary correspondence between the ideologies of white supremacy and the practices of representation. The subjected body thus emerges as a product of various disciplinary constraints introduced within the paramount institutions of the neo-Confederacy, as well as a disciplined space from which the dominant order of cultural politics in the Dixie South can be created and reproduced.

The formulation of hegemonic whiteness and the discursive formations of the visible center rely on a complex network of apparatuses and institutions to promote the new technologies of superlative Southern whiteness. As I attempted to illustrate here, the University of Mississippi has become the crucible of popularized, homogenous, Southern white governmentality and the central apparatus for subjectifying the student body. In the first instance, whiteness is interpellative, as "the institution's image attracts students who yearn as much for its conservative, traditional nature as for the beauty of its campus and the quality of its education" (Lederman, 1993, p. A51). In the second, the discursive system of 'Ole Miss' acts as an 'ideological blanket,' encompassing the imaginations of the local, and acting as a vessel for the dissemination of popular whiteness to a broader constituency. By examining the political formations of whiteness at Ole Miss, I have sought to illuminate the limited cultural possibilities and exorbitant representational constrictions which act upon the student subject of the University of Mississippi. Through an almost systematic regime of power/knowledge indoctrination,

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the intermediaries of the Ole Miss popular have created a singular mediated, physical, and imaginary space of virtually uncontested whiteness, whereby the desires of the power elite are adopted, transmitted, and celebrated through popular expression of all things Dixie. To close this analysis, I want to end with a brief discussion on the cultural implications of an expanding Ole Miss popular and how, increasingly, *Ole Miss 'matters.'* The contemporary, institutionalized white subject position hailed by, and organized through, the normalizing performative politics at Ole Miss surfaces amidst a broader political shift in America toward the Right. As such, the dominant subject position at Ole Miss is an important site for not only understanding the identity politics of the Dixie South, and the governance of corporeal subjectivity, but also the attenuation, or consolidation, of the alternative technologies of the self in the re-centering the hegemonic order of social relations in post-Civil Rights America.

The 'Southernization' of America?

My use of the term 'rise' in the chapter title is sardonically veiled in the assumption that there was some sort of departure from power for the white, masculine, wealthy visible center—which, of course, fails to acknowledge to the structural realities of a diachronically-burdened historical materialism. As such, it is with caution that I refer to the 'rise' of the visible center, and perhaps more adequately would be served framing the forthcoming argument in the notion of *the elucidation of the risen center*. In other words, and in an effort to avoid allying the principle thesis of this chapter with those social critics who in recent years have announced the 'death of the subject' (cf. Heartfield, 2002)—and thereby dismissed the active subjectifying processes at work in

the social realm—I will instead position the debate of a 'rise' of the visible center in the

public sphere as a contextually-specific 'return' to the *sine qua non* of hegemonic power

and the articulations of identity, power, and discourse. Therefore, following Laclau's

(1996a) conceptualization of subjective formations, I argue that there was never a

'death' of the *visible center* as a subject position, nor did it find intermittent affectivity,

but rather the Civil Rights era and post-1968 politics of the state and the self ushered in

a temporal distraction from the normalized, antiquated, racist American social order. In

its place, a more subversive apartheid materialized, one bound by the backlash politics

of anti-affirmative action and hyper-Anglo-religiosity (Drake & Holsworth. 1996).

Increasingly, however, the white center and its politics of separatism and hierarchy are

being resurrected in the public sphere, and thus we are witnessing a return to regimes

of white power and new articulations of a popular Manifest Destiny narrative. Following

Laclau (1996a), I see the politics of the dominant subject position not as a reprise from

disenchantment, but an intensified subjectivity in the context of a post-national,

postmodern rise of the 'proliferation of particularistic political identities' and as a

contextually-fleeting, non-absolute shift back to whiteness as both local (and global)

discourse of entitlement. For Laclau (1996a), the 'epistemological obstacle' of the

individual subject in contemporary Western society emanates from the colonizing

imperatives of subjectivity, whereby the 'death of the death of the subject' (a counter-

narrative to the intellectual sacking of the subject) is suggestive of the arrival of new

technologies of the self:

> The re-emergence of the subject as a result of its own death; the proliferation of
>
> concrete finitudes whose limitations are the source of their strength; the

realization that there can be 'subjects because the gap the 'the Subject' was

supposed to bridge is actually unbridgeable. (p. 21)

The rise, or 'return,' of the visible center is becoming increasingly transparent in the

public, spectacular discourses of identity and representation in contemporary American

society. Further, the increased 'society effect' (Laclau & Zac, 1994) of the interrelated

discourses of Christian 'traditions,' affirmative monoculturalism, and the 'liberal

conscious' of a dogmatic conservative individualism now permeates the media

platforms of the American popular.

As a conservative, 'traditional' cultural and political economy increasingly

organizes the distribution of technologies of the self and the outward expression of

individualism through the collective narratives of whiteness, the amalgamated logics of

the body politic of the Right and the politics of the body unite under the auspices of local

discourses of representation. These discourses are organized by, and performed under

the auspices of, numerous *institutions of whiteness*. As I have argued, along with a

myriad of religious institutions, civic and social organizations, and other political and

cultural nodes, Ole Miss has become a central apparatus in the normalizing process of

Dixie South whiteness. The anti-pluralistic affectivity of the institution suggests that

while not all subjects of the Dixie South share a common culture, the preferred vision of

whiteness in the context of post-plantation, post-Civil Rights Ole Miss is deeply rooted in

the triumvirate affectivity of: an antiquated gendered subjective/objective experience as

demonstrated in the docility of 'campus cuties' and the patriarchal order of campus

leadership; a class-based aristocracy where privilege and wealth are cemented in the

confines and conduct of University Greeks; and most obviously, an subversive, and simultaneously *perceptible*, spectacle of white supremacy.

Despite marked ideological shifts with regard to racial politics of the South, a commonplace language of 'difference' still prevails. That language, moored in, and bound to, the logics of modernity and modernist conceptions of identity, is constructed out of hierarchized binarisms in order to perpetuate the discursive and lived formations of social power. To some degree, this stems from a sense of entitlement, from historically-grounded social hierarchies build on years of slavery and land ownership (Hale, 1999). The 'new identities' of the South can be genealogically traced back to the investments of whiteness garnered by the first wave of European immigrant into the Dixie South, particularly the early 1800s. In a series of decisive moments since, Ole Miss has functioned as a central site for institutionalizing and indoctrinating Southern subjects into the hegemonic order of white power. Within local and popular discursive formations, notions of 'race' are closely linked to ideas about 'ownership' and 'citizenship'—the former expressed in the ownership of wealth, the ownership of whiteness, the ownership of 'Ole Miss,' the ownership of nostalgia, and of autonomous delineations of 'Southernness' and an ethnicized 'Southern ethic,' and the latter in the declarations of *communitas* and configurations of the subjected collective.

Ole Miss, however, is not the singular source for producing/reproducing the hegemonic acumen of monolithic whiteness in the Dixie South, but rather a 'nodal point' (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) in a long-developing network of racialized, gendered, and classed socialities and corporealities. In the articulated interplay of universalism and particularism, many institutional technologies of the South have been used to stimulate

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and reinvent the antediluvian politics of difference in the *lingua franca* of the present, in the dialectic of 'Otherness' borne of 'the positive and the negative' (Laclau, 1996b). The discursive politics of difference, along with the positive undercurrent afforded whiteness and the contradictions of alternative politics, guarantees "continuity of difference by [always marking off] the other . . . by the constant renegotiation of the forms of its presence" (Laclau, 1996b, p. 53). However, this iniquitous social order is not exclusive to Ole Miss, the Dixie South, or even the United States of America. Rather, representational power, in its competing and multifarious complexities, is created and mobilized in the subjectifying processes of a broader complex of normativity (Hall, 1992e). In the conjuncturally and contextually specific moment of post-industrial economic interconnectivity, postmodern mass-mediated [hyper]realities, and post-colonial politics of identity, articulations of subjectivity are stifled and perpetuated by the creation of 'new identities' and new anxieties. As economic and cultural flows constantly re-apprise us of our cultural citizenship, social 'belonging' and the knowledge/power relations which act upon our everyday lives become further unsettled through popular mediations of individuality and collectivity.

As such, what it *means* to be white or black, masculine of feminine, conservative or liberal, and so on, is constructed out of a broader system of alienation (of the individual from society), fetishization (of the commodified sources of cultural 'belonging'), and representation (hyper-mediated, strategically manipulated technologies of the self). Thus, individuals within this contemporaneous, integrated *society of spectacle* seek out, and find solace in, the consumption of experiences, commodities, and institutions which add layers of meaning to their lives—to the politics

of being ('who I am?', 'how do I express myself?', 'what is it that I want?', etc.) and link the subject to commodity-driven, incessantly reinvented, and atomizing technologies of the self (Debord, 1994). Through interactions with consumer capitalism, networks of social capital, and political institutions, the collective conscious is reinscribed through the "multifarious forms of undomesticated subjectivities in an objective totality" (Laclau, 1996a, p. 20). Thus, Dixie South whiteness is not a product exclusive to Ole Miss, but rather Ole Miss is but one (albeit exemplary) disciplinary space where the social formation of racialized power and the preferred meaning of whiteness are normalized, operationalized, and diffused. Ole Miss is the archetypal 'new Old South' (Rubin, 2002) institution, but more importantly is also an active apparatus in the broader reconstruction of a socially neo-conservative, fiscally neo-liberal American (ideological and physical) empire (Hardt & Negri, 2000). Distinctively Southern, yet decidedly familiar, Ole Miss functions to indoctrinate, and concurrently symbolize, the centrality of local embodiments of power and exclusivity, and is an important social space because it offers that connection between the individual and the collective through the corporeal and the symbolic.

Ole Miss is Everywhere

In the South, the longitudinal project of colonizing alternative discourses of subjectivity and uniting the visible center has been further promulgated through the efforts of several integral social institutions. In the academy, Ole Miss and similar educational organizations promote the extension of an antiquated, idealized 'Southern cerebralism.' The vestiges of Dixiecrat polity still shape the legislative bodies of many

Southern states, as political leaders (such as Zell Miller, George W. Bush, and John Edwards) secure 'moderate' Democrat and 'conservative' Republican seats while legislating a resolutely 'traditionalist' American polity.[147] Amidst the enclave of Confederate flags and religio-nationalistic propaganda, the correctional/judicial structures of the South still litigate and police under the guise of façadist social justice, as black men of the South are nearly five times more likely to face incarceration than their white counterparts ("State rates of incarceration by race," 2004b) and an Anglo-centric vision of Jesus 'guides' the morality of the secular South. The all-white congregations of many Southern churches gaze at pulpits and the religious leaders upon them who proffer 'a return to Christian values,' and thus, veiled in the language of new South asceticism, call for the 'elimination' of racialized social deviance (from the visible center) and promotions of scriptural domesticity. Health care systems of the South neglect poor black individuals, and indict community failings and the 'subhuman' lifestyles of the black working classes, rather acknowledge the inhumane failings of the many city, state, and federal public works. In large part due to George W. Bush's 'No Child Left Behind' Act, military recruiters now reserve their most intense recruitment efforts for black students in working class neighborhoods of the South, and school leaders must accommodatingly identify those students who would make the best candidates for military service.[148] This intensification of what has been referred to as the 'new American proto-fascism' (Giroux, 2005) brings the spectacle into focus, uniting the politics of white, masculine, Christian privilege with the cultural attitudes of

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[147] While Miller and Bush are more commonly referred to as social conservatives, and champions [neo-]liberal economic policy, Edwards' conservativism lies in his appeal to the 'traditional' values of the South: anti-abortion, pro-politico-religiosity, and emblematic of an idealized Southern work ethic.

[148] If these school officials fail to comply with the military take-over of student livelihood, they stand to lose substantial government funding and significant teaching jobs.

individualism, nationalism, and conservativism—thus giving license to a populist

organism of a reordered American system of social hierarchy.

The indoctrination into a conservative order of whiteness through access to

knowledge and power is an expanding social conundrum, whereby the individualistic

politics of the body, the *body politic of American conservativism*, and *embedded*

privileges of whiteness intersect within these popular institutions of governmentality. In

other words, these institutions organize the cultural exchanges of the racialized body,

the evermore Confederized American flag, and an ideology of white prerogative, all of

which become conjoined and congealed through the operationalized synthesis of the

symbolic and the material. Within the 'racial imagery of white people', the universalism

of whiteness becomes visible, and is made powerful, through the distribution of

corporeal signifiers and ideological locations of seemingly 'non-located and

disembodied positions of knowledge' (Dyer, 1997). In other words, by making central

aspects of power visible, whiteness can act in a panoptic way, ordering social power,

capital, and the politics of race and representation in systematic regime of oppression

and normalization. But one has to step back here, for this is paradoxically a

disembodied *embodiment*.

The claim to embodiment, too, serves as a marker of whiteness and its privilege,

the legacy of the Christian story of a God who became man, and revalorized, while

transcending, the human body and saving it from mortality. For example, in the fall of

2005, numerous Christian-based, hyper-white conservative coalitions boycotted to toy

brand 'American Girl,' citing the parent company's support of one of the nation's oldest

girl's advocacy groups, Girls, Inc. American Girl, whose often patriotic products have

long had a loyal following among conservatives, was boycotted by the Mississippi-based American Family Association, whose members were urged to demand that American Girl halt support for Girls Inc., which it called 'a pro-abortion, pro-lesbian advocacy group' (Crary, 2005). This conservative group, as well as numerous other religious-Right organizations, cited Girls, Inc.'s efforts to support a girl's right to have access to contraception and support for girls dealing with issues of sexual orientation as reasons for the boycott. Perhaps, as is the case in many Southern cities these organizations prefer the interventions of groups like 'Love in Action International,' a Delta South-based ministry that provides prevention and treatment for behaviors like homosexuality and drug addiction (Brody, 2005). Just as these and other social institutions are fashioned to delineate racial difference, locate the marginalized and authorize normativity, and oppress or colonize the 'Other' and reaffirm the centrifugal forces of the center in many communities of the South, these institutions of access, power, and universalism are most certainly at work in other regions of the nation and globe. In other words, Ole Miss is less unique than perhaps I have intimated. In fact, *Ole Miss is everywhere*.

Paramount sites for subjectifying identity are active throughout this nation-state and beyond, as the homogenizing forces and dominant regimes of power organize human life under the auspices of capital accumulation, representational subordination, and the imagined global community of post-colonial whiteness. Ole Miss is but a signpost on the super-expressway of mass-mediated spectacles, celebrities, and symbols *en route* to monolithic whiteness. The operational focus of the visible center, and its politics antithetical to socialism, social welfare, and social equality, is to

homogenize the cultural possibilities of the subject, eliminate pluralism or assimilate

particularism under the sway of normative regimes of capital accumulation (and

alienation through labor and consumption), cultural universalization, and objective

marginalization:

> Difference and particularisms are the necessary starting point, but out of it, it is
>
> possible to open the way to a relative universalization of values which can be the
>
> basis for popular hegemony. The universal and its open character certainly
>
> condemns all identity to an unavoidable hybridization. (Laclau, 1996a, p. 65)

Within the contemporary American mass/popular discourse, the normative narrative of

distinctive Southern cultures has helped forge that link between the consumable politics

of the [conservative, white] South and the consumer poetics of the self. The popularized

vision of the monolithic South has littered the filmic mainstream in Hollywood iterations

such as *Days of Thunder*, *The Dukes of Hazard* , *Mississippi Burning*, *Heart of Dixie*, *O'*

Brother Where Art Thou?, *Deliverance*, and *Slingblade*. The popular sphere is further

saturated with the country western musical exploits of Toby Keith, Alan Jackson,

Gretchen Wilson, Dolly Parton, and Faith Hill and the hybrid rock/country offerings of

Kid Rock, Lynard Skynard, and Credence Clearwater Revival. Peyton Manning, Eli

Manning, and Lance Armstrong occupy a permanent space on the ESPN rotation of

programs. Our current President, George W. Bush, is quick to identify himself as a 'man

of the South.' His opponent in the 2000 election, Al Gore, lost the election because he

failed to reassure his home state of Tennessee that he had not lost his 'Southernness.'

Bush's predecessor, Bill Clinton, was lauded for his ability to translate his distinctive

'Southernness' into votes from the Northern and Southern moderate faction. In sum, increasingly, when it comes to mainstream American culture, *the South matters.*

The mainstreaming of the Dixie South belies the trend that, in recent years, numerous popular American (political, religious, cultural, and economic) institutions rely on a distinctively Southern style. This shift is considered by many scholar/commentators to be suggestive of 'the spread of Dixie' to the cultural economy of America: what some refer to as a broader process of the 'Southernization of America' (Cowden, 2001; Egerton, 1974). Whether referred to as the 'Southernization of the nation' (Cowden, 2001), the 'Americanization of Dixie,' or 'the Southernization of America' (Egerton, 1974), idiosyncratically 'Southern' personalities, ideologies, and institutions increasingly infiltrate American mass culture. To this end, the dialectical homogenizing forces of American social technologies are now symbiotically bound to the collective configurations of the South. Proponents of this notion of a "Southernization of America" point to examples such as the influx of country western radio stations, the popularity of Southerly programming, and the import of the WWE and NASCAR. These forms of 'helluvafella' mass culture present the mainstream, white, male consumer with a universally-accepted populist refuge—a non-threatening, exclusive, almost 'comforting' alternative to the usual manifestations of commercialized pluralism and narrativized multiculturalism. The mass culture industries now offer a vast panoply of consumable wares of Dixie South whiteness, as Niggaz with Attitudes, Jim Brown, Mohammad Ali, Terrell Owens, Kanye West, Jesse Jackson or Reverend Al Sharpton are strategically positioned in the popular realm as antithetical to the white Southern equivalent celebrities of NASCAR might be Tony Stewart or Dale Earnhardt, Jr.—a couple of 'good

ole' boys' out there just having some reckless fun—or Tim McGraw or Toby Keith, a pair

of pure-bred songsmiths; new-wave Bible-reading, cowboy-hat-wearing sons of the

South. NASCAR, country music, and a number of other mass culture institutions thus

become sanctuaries of conservatism; of the ideologies and traditions of chivalry,

hypermasculinity, and 'traditional' conceptions of race and ethnicity. This expansion of

Southern tribalism(s) indicates an 'authorization' of the South, the normalization of

Southern polity, and the universalization of Southern traditions and Southern

hierarchies.

There is, of course, a counter argument to theories of Southernization, one which

suggests that southern culture is being co-opted by the forces of commercial capitalism

rather than obtaining any sort of mainstream recognition of culturally distinct nuances. In

this thesis, southern culture is becoming more "Americanized," bringing it further under

the late capitalistic sways and the dominant ways of organizing society. In this trajectory

of critical interpretation, the overrepresentation of Southern cultural forms in the main,

particularly the import of Southern religion, music, sport, and politics, is defined by the

homogenizing processes of normative technologies of mass culture. The relevance of

George Wallace in the last century, for example, or the Southern favor of Nixon's

republicanism, is suggestive of the incorporation of a Southern political economy into an

incessantly vigilant conservative American monoculturalism. Under such a conceptual

frame, Southernized Americana is thus articulated as the amalgamation of an imaginary

South and the incorporative, homogenizing forces of the 'normalized' popular. This

trajectory of thought perhaps falls in line with other debates about the negations of the

global and the local, and of the heterogeneous and the homogenizing forces of global

capital. Problematically, this frame of analysis tends to privilege the local, sympathizing

with the seemingly inimitable rather than critically deconstructing the political power

invested in the institutions and representational discourses operating as *distinctively*

Southern.

Perhaps there is a third, alternative hypothesis from which we can conceptualize

the increased relevance of the South—and the formative role that contemporary

institutions such as Ole Miss, and figures such as Eli Manning, play in both cultural

diffusion and cultural territorialization. Because these symbolic figurations embody the

visible center's normative vision for contemporary America, and simultaneous establish

the common ground of a populist dream for monolithic whiteness, the geographic

boundaries and imaginary spaces of the center are galvanized in the assimilative

moorings of the Right. We are not in the midst of a Southernization of America, nor an

Americanization of the South, but rather we are engrossed by a return to the

governmentalities of the visible center (which are so succinctly, and efficiently identified

and identifiable with Dixie South imagery, values, and ideologies). Further, the affectivity

of this new American proto-fascism is predicated not only on such regimes of

internalized governance and conformity, but the prevailing cultural economy's own self-

expansion through the laissez-faire inventories of popular conscious, collective memory,

and mobilized ideology (Bell, 2003; Hutton, 1998; Rosenstone, 1995). As illustration, the

dialectic of neo-conservativism as framed by discourses of an idealized South has been

crassly articulated by Nationalist leader Richard Barrett (2005) in this way:

> plantation life was idyllic, compared to social-chaos of modern day, regarded by
>
> many as a model for 'race relations,' to hold a burgeoning Negro birthrate and

primitive mentality in tow. There were no gang-bangs, car-jackings, or 'wilding.'
There, certainly, were no voting districts drawn to install Negroes in office, no
'quotas' to place Negroes in schools and no 'affirmative action' to elevate
Negroes in the workplace. Negroes stayed 'in their place' and government,
property, constitutional-rights, family and society, itself, were all safe and secure.
In short, America was neither African nor Mexican nor alien, in any way. America
was American.

Rather than conceptualizing the Southerly shift of mainstream American cultural
economy as mass diffusion or intrusion, the South's increased relevance in the popular
sphere signals a return of hegemonic centrality to hetero-normative, white, masculine,
Christian conservativism. In the context of a highly contested state of warfare, a divided
public conscious of issues of abortion and social welfare, and a fracturing body politic in
the expanded global economy, the identity of the social agents, rationalistically
conceived under the 'interests' of the dominant faction, and the transparency of the
means of representation in relation to what is represented, are "the two conditions which
permit the exteriority of the hegemonic link to be established" (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, p.
55). The conflation of individual interests and the assimilative politics of the center and
'the lack'[149] thus give way to the rise of hegemony and, in the case of contemporary
America, the return to the traditional politics of the Old South. Paraphrasing Stuart Hall
(1984), the widening racial divide and the rise of the visible center is attributable to the
three-part reunion and re-emergence of: neo-liberal economic privilege, New American

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[149] The constant subjectification of the individual to the alienating forces of contemporary social
configurations.

solipsism, the recalcitrance of a disempowered white center, and the rise of a new cultural economy of racism.

The 'Monolithic Party' and the New Cultural [Economy of] Racism

Over the past twenty years, neo-liberal economics and anti-Socialist individualism have achieved imminent domain over an eminently national and vastly global frontier by symbolically reconciling two historical strains that are, in reality, marked by correspondent contradictions: "the social gospel of traditional values and the economic gospel of the free market" (Kintz, 2002, p. 735). For instance, in the election of 2004, the deciding factor for many 'swing voters' was the Right's ability to locate and articulate a populist platform built on the 'traditional America values' embodied by George W. Bush: familial patriarchy (and anti-women's rights); the end of 'reverse discrimination' (and the return to anti-affirmative action white reign); inherited egalitarianism (and the anti-socialist welfare for the disadvantaged); heteronormative closed-door sexuality (and focused attacks on American lesbian and gay communities); overpopulation regulation (and anti-immigration, anti-Latina/o laws); pro-'family'; pro-Judeo-Christian; and pro-police (pro-gun) statism—all of which were mobilized to interpellate the political sensibilities of the visible center and its expanded peripheries (Kincheloe, Steinberg, Rodriguez, & Chennault, 1998). The 'populist unity' (Hall, 1984) of the visible center became narrativized in the vernacular of a paranoid Christian Right, where prayer in schools became more important than the quality of education in those schools, the bio-power of anti-abortionists usurped the humanitarianism of social welfare for the dying poor, and social security became less a matter of ensuring

livelihood for the elderly, and more about securing the economic welfare of the wealthy and the corporate. Consequently, blackness became a counternarrative to the discursive machinations of the visible center; antithetical to 'traditional' conceptions of family, labor, asceticism, and faux meritocracy (Ware & Back, 2001). In securing the vote of the self-identified white middle-class, the Republican Party was able to secure majority power in the Senate and the House, connecting the technologies of the Right to the politics of the self for the dominant faction of voting Americans.

That paranoia of fleeting dominance is evidenced by the notion that white residents of the United States believe that 'whites' are a minority in the United States. In a 1996 poll, white respondents estimated that the white population of the Unites States was near 49.9 percent, while the accurate figure was 74 percent (Roediger, 2002, p. 10). This panic from the center has transcended the imperfect science of 'race,' as "white men (the future minority) are [now seen as] the new persecuted majority . . . women and people of color are perceived as *the* restraints on white men's realization of the American way of life" (Cole & Andrews, 2001, p. 111). And so in the face of a perceived transitory white male hegemony, the many civic and political institutions within the US and the West (and beyond) have come to *authorize* relevance, and relativize *citizenship*, around the normative center of conservative ideologies and performative whiteness. This notion of citizenship suggests that tension exists between the contradictory forces of representational ownership (entitlement of the subject and the subject position) and the contested boundaries of belonging, and according to Chantal Mouffe (1992), for the white majority 'there is no hope of a final reconciliation.' And thus the fragile nature of whiteness, and the political paranoias of the dominant

faction, make institutions and training grounds such as Ole Miss all the more imperative

for advancing the Right-ward shift of the new American cultural and political economies.

At the impasse of a North/South, black/white, Left/Right political and cultural

divide, and as the dominance of white masculinity in the political, corporate, cultural,

and religious spheres has recently been narrativized as 'dissipating,' the Right's call to

arms in the defense of 'core American principles' and a corrosive cultural economy

meant defending the moral majority from the threats of 'bleeding heart' liberalism and

'reverse racism' (Thandeka, 2002):

> today, white people—above all, white men—have been put on the defensive.
>
> What they have taken for granted as the fruits of hard work and virtue is now
>
> decried by others as the undeserved advantages of privilege born of racism and
>
> the correlative evils of sexism and class domination. Seeing their economic and
>
> political dominance challenged by forces over which they have no control—loss
>
> of jobs to foreign competition, depreciation of marketable skills and qualifications,
>
> and decline in wages, salaries, and benefits due to downsizing, the opening up of
>
> competitive labor markets, and so on—they feel more insecure than ever about
>
> their place in the world. . . . A less overtly racist (and sometimes nonracist)
>
> reaction is principled opposition to policies, such as immigration and affirmative
>
> action, that supposedly violate the rights of American workers in general and,
>
> more specifically, the rights of white men. (Ingram, 2005, pp. 248-249)

Popular discourses of individual wealth and intrinsic equality have thus been articulated

out of the fashionable 'dual unity' of neo-liberal capitalism and social conservativism.

The 'legitimacy' of the Right is further concretized by the ideological sway and

representative regimes of subjective/subjectivized political alienation. In other words,

the politics of the subject, and the subjective politics of the Right, became conjoined in

the collapsing power dictums of legitimated self-interest (of the white majority) during

the 'troubled times' of multi-cultural America (Laclau & Zac, 1994). As Ruth

Frankenberg (1997) suggests, "white people's conscious racialization of others does not

necessarily lead to a conscious racialization of the white self" (p. 5). Importantly, such

non-reflexive sensibilities of entitlement, coupled with what comedian Jon Stewart refers

to as the 'white Christian persecution complex,' inform not only the public discourse, the

national discourses of race, class, gender, and generationality.

Federal interventions which impeded the pursuit of individual wealth, and

particularly those which structurally reconciled the iniquitous history of a political

economy of racism such as equal opportunity and affirmative action measures,[150] have

been met with fanatical resistance from the white Right, and in the post-Reagan

insurgence of neo-liberal self-actualization, tormented the Left in the public discourse

and the popular electorate (Thandeka, 2002). To protect white power and white wealth,

the Right successfully interpellated the refractory sensibilities of the moral majority and

spread the new technologies of neo-conservativism:

> Many white middle-class Americans consider affirmative action as a policy to be
>
> unfair because it is alleged to rely on racially based preferences. Yet studies

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[150] In an editorial offered up by the *Daily Mississippian* Editorial Board in 2005, the student-authors condemned the scholarship opportunities reserved specifically for black students entering the UM law school, citing that such measures "should be cast aside [as they] cannot help in our progress toward a truly color-blind society" (Carrington, Shovel, & Salu, 2005, p. 2). They continued, "the money that funds these scholarships adds up pretty quickly, and could certainly be put to better use . . . Perhaps, though, one of the most negative impacts that these scholarships may have is that of diffusing incentive among black students who are aspiring to law school" (Carrington et al., 2005, p. 2). This ultra-conservative logic of the white center continues: "If you tell any group that they don't need to do anything in order to qualify for substantial scholarships, it will certainly decrease their incentive to perform to the full extent of their abilities in the undergraduate programs" (Carrington et al., 2005, p. 2)

demonstrate that this same group of Americans chooses to live in predominantly

white neighborhoods, work in racially segregated occupations, and, if given the

opportunity, hire white employees rather than African Americans. (Pierce, 2003,

p. 54)[151]

The new disciplinarity of idealized individual freedoms and the discourses of 'liberal

individualism' (Pierce, 2003) thus promise the demise of social welfarism and the

elimination of 'big government spending' on social programs for the poor and the

underserved, while simultaneous expanding the wealth of the white Right through

expansive military programs, a top-heavy 'trickle-down' economy, and diversion of

public subsidies to the private sector. The purging of economic constraints have

translated into the limitless, unchallenged expansion of economic and political

exigencies of the visible center and the rise of a new politics of individualism and

conservative pluralism. Ironically, the idiosyncratic nature of the most recent iterations of

the 'great moving Right show' features the inculcation of the (alienated) subject by way

of promising collectivity through atomism. In other words, the politics of the Right and

the subjectifying processes of the body politic intersect at the interpellative discourses of

the center: a spontaneous storyline which conjures up the presuppositions of whiteness

and centralized power through the veneer diffusion of individual freedom (Laclau & Zac,

1994).

    The autonomous ideologies and centralized governance of the Right has

increasing equated to the homogeneity of the cultural politics of red-state America. In

the collapsing condition of the post-nation, 'ethnonationalist' or transnational imagined

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[151] The body of research that Jennifer Pierce (2003) refers to includes work by Dovidio, Mann, and
Gaertner (1989); Drake and Holsworth (1996); Massey and Denton (1993); Tomascovic-Devey (1993);
and Wilson (1997).

community of ethnic commonality (Tambiah, 1996) has come to usurp the pluralistic ethnic nationalism(s) of the local. First, the striking correlations between contemporary red state political identities and the politics of antediluvian slave statists (see Figure 29) problematically links the segregationist Old South to the mainstream popular conservative agenda under the racially divisive tenets of power, exclusion, and superiority. In other words, while very few conservative white voters in red state America would support the re-institutionalization of slavery, the hierarchical system of oppression which has long operated in these regions (as well as most of their 'blue-state' counterparts) is no longer articulated in resistance to Federalism or discourses of white supremacy, but rather through the steadfast 'traditions' of a value-system which privileges the white, masculine, 'American' center. The appeal of George Bush, and the victories of both the 2000 and 2004 elections (or those victories of Reagan or the elder Bush), are thus not only indicative of the Rightward shift of American politics, but of the reign of an inward-looking self-interest polity of the visible center.

    In the summer of 2005, Democratic National Committee Chairperson Howard Dean criticized the disenfranchising politics of the conservative American bloc, telling a forum of journalists and minority leaders that the Republican Party is "not very friendly to different kinds of people, they are a pretty monolithic party . . . it's pretty much a white, Christian party" (qtd. In Marrinucci, 2005, p. A1). While Dean received a substantial amount of public criticism for his comments, he rightly identified the attractive nature of the 'W' brand and its luminaries to white red-state America, as well as the unalterable core of whiteness and the tantamount correlation between racialized polity and the 'values' of the Right (Thandeka, 2002). In recent years, the 'great moving

Right show' has successfully captured the attention (and votes) of an expanded

audience by 'operationalizing' the subjective liberties of laissez faire neo-liberalism and

the interpositions of multicultural social interdependencies (Rains, 1998). Second, the

fall of centralized governmental regimes in Eastern Europe and Asia and the cultural

and military colonization of an 'axis' of opposition has further given licensure to an

omnipresent, or integrated, spectacle of collective American exceptionalism and

[re]centralized social power in the form of individualized conservative politics. In other

words, economic, political, and cultural power is now organized around a collective

configuration of conservative, 'traditional' white masculinity, and the central nodes or

knowledges acting to reproduce this hegemonic order are found in new technologies of

media, military, and medicine.

The proliferation of strategically-controlled, Western-, Anglo-, Christian-centric

regimes of cultural control have taken on a global capacity, as the struggle to attenuate

pluralism and confront the homogenizing shifts toward 'ethnocentric monoculturalism'

(Sue, 2004) in the modern and late, or post-modern, acumen is persistently modeled in

the order of social hierarchization and distributional power. Further, the war-mongering

exploits of first world nation-states has further lengthened the authority of the normative

center (and its belief system) over the marginalized religious, political, and economic

factions of periphery societies. The rise in genocidal practices and euthanasia

throughout non-developed countries (and developed countries, for that matter) and the

apathetic support garnered from the West in crises such as the tsunami in Southeast

Asia in the winter of 2004 and the earthquake in Pakistan in the fall of this year are

indicative of the focus of the empires bio-political focus. As the investment capital of

private medicine fuels the stock markets of developed nations and the savings accounts of white CEOs, the realities of late capitalist health and military industries force us to consider the problematic trajectory of public welfare and private warfare in the coming century.

When the Levee Breaks

> *I hate the way they portray us in the media. You see a black family, it says, 'They're looting.' You see a white family, it says, 'They're looking for food.' And, you know, it's been five days [waiting for federal help] because most of the people are black. . . . We already realize a lot of people that could help are at war right now, fighting another war—and they've given them permission to go down and shoot us! . . . George Bush doesn't care about black people!* – Kanye West (qtd. in Moraes, 2005, p. C01)

In conclusion, to understand the political weight of institutions of whiteness such as Ole Miss, and the complex social interplay between the visible center of whiteness and its marginalized ancillaries, perhaps we need look no further than the pages of our local and national print news-media. In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, the greatest natural disaster ever endured by American citizens, the universal hegemony of whiteness and the affect of American neo-conservativism reared itself in a number of complicated and problematic ways. As the news media institution used the hyperreal to make obvious the longitudinal disenfranchisement and impoverishment of poor, primarily black communities in New Orleans, and the nation collectively tuned into the 'third world' circumstances of an underserved community, the racial hierarchy of this Southern city surfaced in the bio-politics and cultural attitudes of assumptive privilege and recalcitrant rage. Images of elderly women wading through feces, mothers and

fathers unable to feed their starving children, and waterworn, bloated corpses floating down Canal Street told the story of a racially-determined crisis of underprivileged in the South. However, those images were soon replaced in the popular discourse with the recurring narrative of the 'greedy,' 'uncivilized,' 'deplorable' black looter. In the chaotic aftermath of the hurricane, and as Kanye West made clear during a hurricane relief program (see epigraph), the social and economic disparities of black and white America could not be made more clear than by the contextual intersection of war and disaster.

The political institutions which had already buried these many of these people in a submarine grave before the levees broke had already organized social life and spatial organization in the region under a unilateral order of class and racial difference—both for the purpose of a more perfect and for the creation of a more delineated binary (control crime, foster development, attract capital)—as the moral highlanders and their economies of privilege translated their race and class citizenship into an escape from the flood, the riots, and the problems of the black underclass. Black bodies, on the other hand, were left behind, left to wade through feces and frothy, disease-ridden sludge, while the city's wealthy white party took holiday and sipped frothy lattes and watched the demise of their neighbors. And thus, the debates were organized around the hyper-centralized logics of 'responsibility,' rather than the growing disparities of opportunities in New Orleans and beyond. In other words, in the post-9/11 moment, one where bumper stickers and lapel pins remind Americans of the sufferings of white America at the hands of the dark-bodied terrorist cell, equally grave tragedies suffered by those outside the center, and directly resultant from antihumane politics of a domestic, corrosive body politic, are quickly forgotten and the project of reclaiming white

dominance becomes refocused through Bush-like talking heads who point to the 'struggles ahead' in conquering 'those who oppose the American way of life.'

The intrusive fusion of conservative politics and 'traditional' conceptions of race were further publicized in a study reported by a number of television and print media platforms two weeks after Katrina. The study's findings promised, in the unsettling times of disaster, Americans' "longstanding assumptions on race, safety, and spending had shifted:

> After a crisis with indisputable elements of race and class—searing images of mostly poor, mostly black New Orleans residents huddled on rooftops or waiting in lines for buses—some Americans worry about strains in the nation's social fabric. ("AP poll: Katrina changed Americans' thinking," p. 1)

Unfortunately, these 'new' attitudes about race, social class, and impoverishment were nothing more than a return to the politics of white privilege and self-focus, as 55%of respondents said evacuees from Katrina have turned up in their cities or communities, thus "raising concerns about living conditions for the refugees, vanishing jobs for locals and—among one in four respondents—increased crime . . . and gang violence" ("AP poll: Katrina changed Americans' thinking," p. 1). These 'new' attitudes Americans have toward race, one which means that the threat of 'gang violence and crime' flowing out of New Orleans and into the suburbs of white America, threatens to disrupt the way of life for many within the visible center. Norman Denzin (1991) refers to the populist view of divided America as the "new cultural racism" (p. 7), as "symbolic articulations of the color white, Christian iconography, and the alleged benevolent superiority of white bodies are ubiquitous in North American popular culture" (McDonald, 2005, p. 246), and

thus black identities, and the cultural realities of poor black Americans, are pushed to the periphery.

In a survey reported in the pages of *USA Today* on September 12, 2005, when asked 'do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Republican Party?', 74% of black respondents chose 'unfavorable.' When asked if 'George W. Bush does-or does not- care about black people' (obviously in reference to the West indictment), 72% or black respondents answered 'no, he does not,' while only 26% of white respondents thought that the President 'does not care' about black Americans. Perhaps most tellingly, the convictions of many white Americans were unwavering in their support of Bush and his administration, as nearly 50% of white respondents thought the President did a 'good' or 'very good' job in immediately responding to the natural disaster, while only 15% of black respondents shared that sentiment. After a crisis with indisputable elements of race and class—searing images of mostly poor, mostly black New Orleans residents huddled on rooftops or waiting in lines for buses—some Americans worry about strains in the nation's social fabric.

As Benjamin Barber (1996) points out, "just beyond the horizon of current events lie two possible political futures—both bleak, neither democratic" (p. 7). He describes the two principal political forces of our post-modern society—tribalism and globalism— as opposite and antithetical in every way but one: they may both be threatening to democracy. With regard to the former, Barber characterizes the forces of 'retribalization'—the condition in national states in which "culture is pitted against culture, people against people, [and] tribe against tribe," or what he refers to as the *Jihad* principle. Counteractively, the pressures of cultural homogenization, or what he

calls the *McWorld* principle, are forged out of the conjunctural logics of post-industrial consumerism, monocultural identity politics, and discontented alienation of the disenchanted spectator. While *McWorld* promises prosperity, unity, and stability, but at the cost of independence, community and identity, *Jihad*, distributes a vibrant local identity and a sense of community, but guarantees a parochialism predicated on difference. The notion of Jihad, and Barber's own theorizing on contemporary society, is often used to refer to the 'insurgent,' vigilante-types of the Middle East. In the rise of the visible center, the parochialism of the South is woven into the discursive fabric of the nation and national identity politics. The Jihadism of the American conservative Right is symmetrically perfected through the homogenizing forces of unidirectional polity (the politics of hegemonic white individualism), through mass culture with a distinctively Southern feel, and through institutions which serve to normalize dominant formations of representation, and of the hypermasculine, hyper-white technologies of the self.

Therefore, in sum, the new American proto-fascism of the white Right manifests itself, and is further crystallized, through the new Jihadist devices of the white, Right McDixie (American South cultural politics as an active discursive formation of the white Right). And as long as institutions such as the University of Mississippi are discursively bound to an idealized past and a reified present, the re-tribalization of the Old South through the new technologies of the imagined collective will act to further delineate the anti-progressive politics of 'the double.' In other words, through the institutionally-divisive practices of surveillance and hyper-disciplinarity, the fetishization of a revisionist iconography, the respatialization of physical and ideological power, and the spectacular embodiments of the neo-Confederacy, whiteness and the cultural politics which give

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whiteness power are not only extracted, but *acted out* and reinvented within

contemporary Ole Miss. As that regime of normativity which actively locates the

privileges of citizenship, and marks off whiteness as a culturally empowered discursive

space, different forms of subjectivity become centralized or marginalized and the post-

Civil War battle lines are reinserted into the conjoining symbolic discourses of American

culture, economic hierarchy, political power, and representational divisiveness. Thus,

the center becomes the cultural locale by which hyper-masculine white supremacy is

channeled and articulated, whereby Ku Klux Klan marches at Ole Miss no longer evoke

the same affective response from the student subjects of Oxford, in part because the

ideologies they promote are already deeply affirmed by more popularized discursive

embodiments of Dixie South whiteness

Figure 1: Photograph of the Faculty of the University of Mississippi, circa 1850
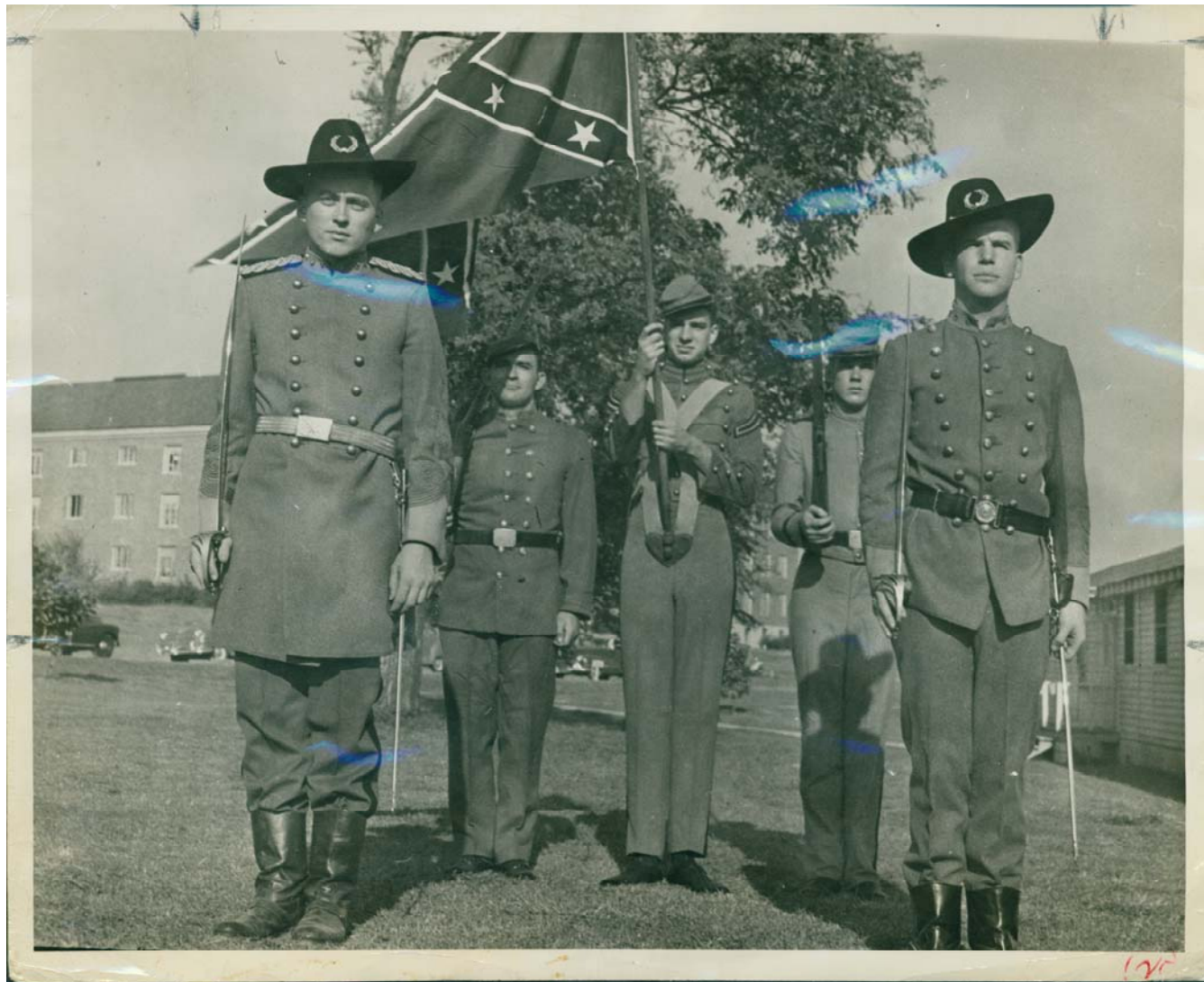
* The University of Mississippi Archives

Figure 2: The 1948 Reenactment of the University Greys' Charge on Manassas

* University of Mississippi Archives

Figure 3: Students and Non-Student Dixie Southerners Protest the Arrival of James Meredith to the Ole Miss Campus

* University of Mississippi Archives

Figure 4: James Meredith Waits Inside Federal Transport while the Hostile Ole Miss Campus is Secured for His Entry

* University of Mississippi Archives

Figure 5: Minstrel Performance by Members of the Ole Miss Student Body during 'Stunt Night, '64'

* The University of Mississippi Archives

Figure 6: Portrait of Colonel Reb and Miss Ole Miss taken from 1976 *Ole Miss* yearbook

* The University of Mississippi Archives

Figure 7: Amidst a 'Sea of Confederate Flags'

* University of Mississippi Archives

Figure 8: Ole Miss Students Honoring the University Greys in 1983

* University of Mississippi Archives

Figure 9: The 'Ole Miss Logo' the Signature 'M' ®

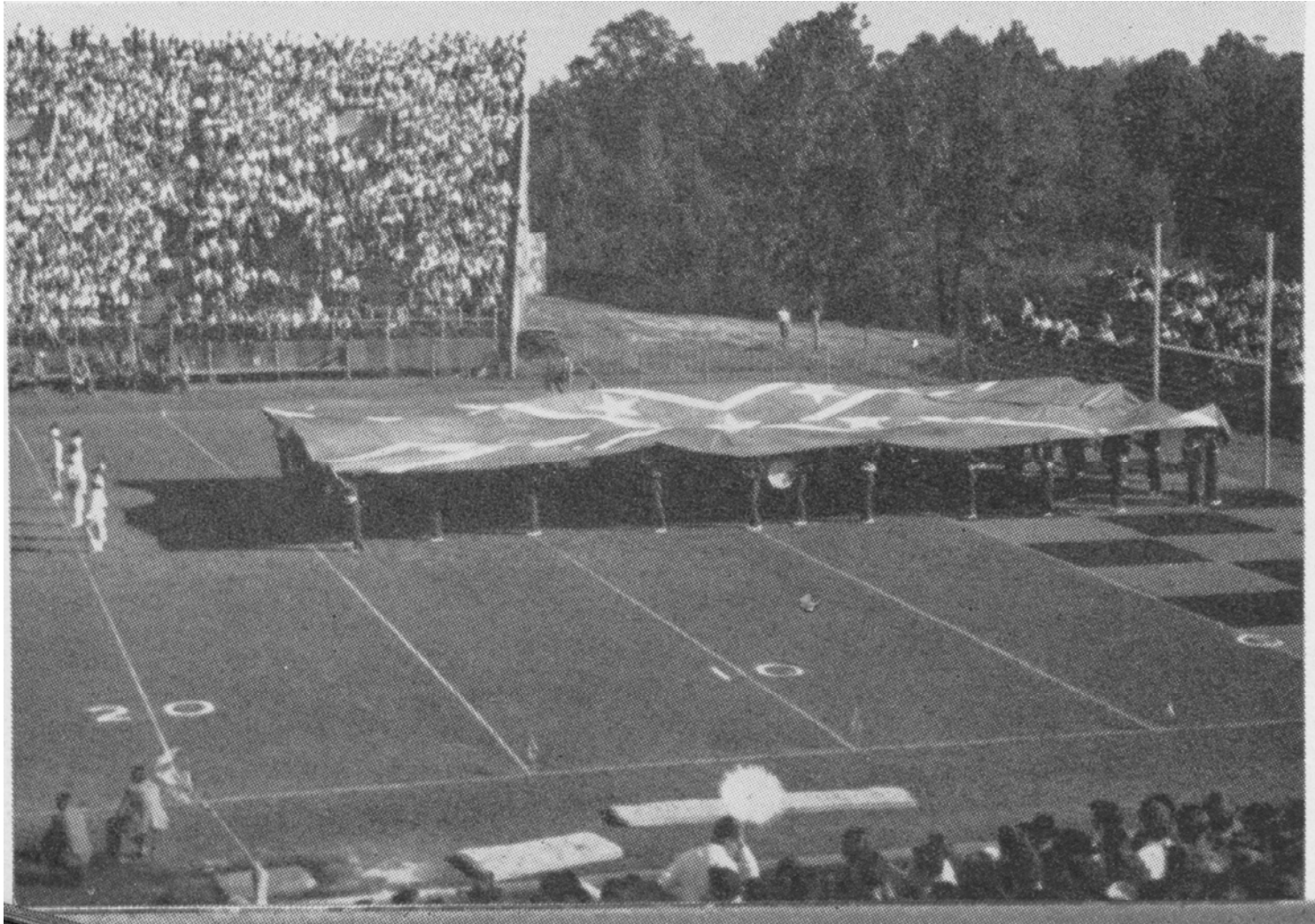* Reprinted with Permission from the University of Mississippi

Figure 10: The Unfurling of the 'World's Largest Confederate Flag' in 1948
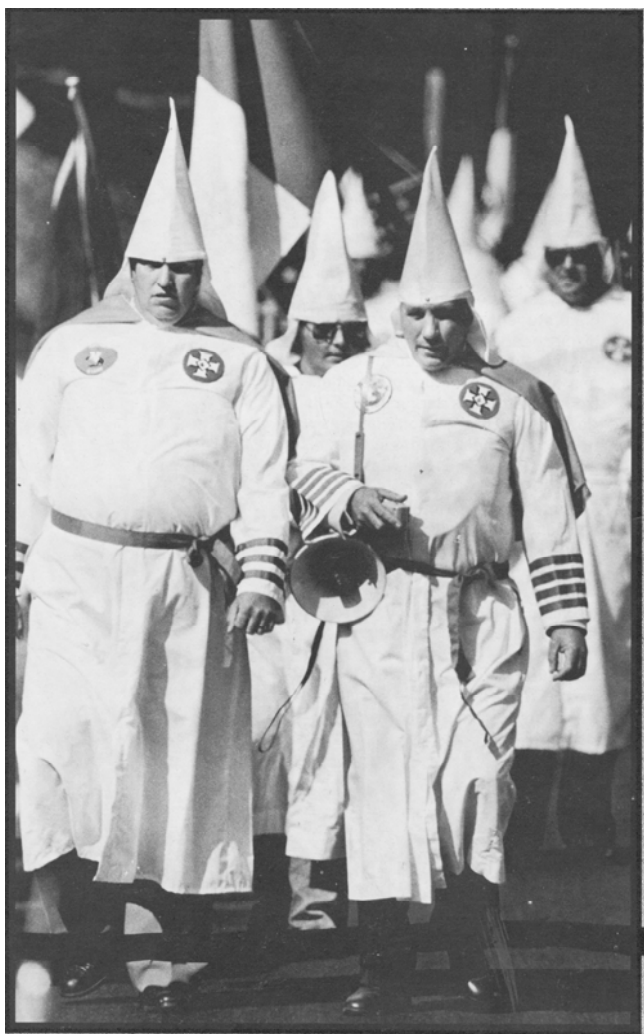
* University of Mississippi Archives

Figure 11: Photographs of the Ku Klux Klan Rally in Oxford which were Featured in the 1983 *Ole Miss* Yearbook

* The University of Mississippi Archives

Figure 12: The University of Mississippi's Sporting Mascot, 'Colonel Rebel'®

* Reprinted with Permission from the University of Mississippi

Figure 13: The Nationalists' 'New Ole Miss Mascot'

* Nationalist Movement Web Page

(http://www.nationalist.org/docs/cartoons/2003/mascot.html)

Figure 14: A Triumphant Colonel Reb, Too Prior to an Ole Miss Home Game in 2004

* Colonel Reb Foundation Web Site (http://www.saveolemiss.com/)

Figure 15: The Lyceum

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 16: The Ole Miss Student Union, Bishop Hall, and Guess Hall

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 17: Ventress Hall Window

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 18: Archie's Number as Speed Limit

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 19: Memorial Statue Honoring the Confederate

Dead in the Center of the Ole Miss Campus

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 20: Class of '86: 'Preserving Our Heritage' Statue and Civil War Grave Marker

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 21: Overhead Map of the Ole Miss Campus

* The University of Mississippi

Figure 22: Exclusively White Fraternity and Sorority Houses

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 23: Traditionally Black Fraternity and Sorority Houses (aka 'The Slave Quarters')

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 24: The Grove Spectacle

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 25: Tailgating in the Grove

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 26: Confederate Imagery in the Grove

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 27: Confederate Memorial Day Parade

* Joshua I. Newman

Figure 28: Confederate Memorial Service on the Ole Miss Campus

* Joshua I. Newman

2004 US Presidential Election Results

Updated 11:49 p.m. ET

Kerry ■Bush □Undeclared

Pre-Civil War Free vs. Slave States

- FREE STATES AND TERRITORIES
- SLAVE STATES
- TERRITORIES OPEN TO SLAVERY

Figure 29: Coloring America, Now and Then

* http://sensoryoverload.typepad.com/photos/

Appendix: Doing Cultural Studies of the American South

Perhaps the first question which must be addressed, and one which seems to be under constant debate, is: what is cultural studies? Some have argued that it is a paradigm, while others have posited that it is the theoretical lens by which those in the field do research, and yet others have argued that the two are inextricably linked (cf. Slack, 1996), whereby theory and method can not be delineated in cultural studies. And there is also a case to be made that cultural studies is the epistemological[152] infrastructure by which to frame contemporary sociological thought and interrogation—and finally even some who would argue that cultural studies is essentially a fundamental ontology.[153] If we are to take up Guba's (1990) definition of a *paradigm* as a "basic set of beliefs that guides action" (p. 17), then cultural studies can be considered one such interpretive formation. However, adopting this position can be dangerous in that paradigmatic typologies are often moored in the logics of modern sociological theory (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). However, if we are to take up Silk's (2005) definition of epistemology, whereby he suggests that "given our stance on understanding humans," epistemology is "how we actually gain knowledge" (p. ?), then I would argue that theoretically diverse and empirically-driven cultural studies could be considered one such formulation. Again, however, conventional sociological thought would have us locate aspects of cultural studies within the traditions of

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[152] I will borrow from Guba's definition of "epistemology," which, in short, she defines as "the relationship between the inquirer and the known" (1990, p. 18)

[153] Again, borrowing from Guba, "ontology" can be defined by questions such as: "what kind of being is the human being?" and "what is the nature of reality?" (1990, p. 18).

interpretivism, hermeneutics, and social constructionism (Schwandt, 2000)—
again delimiting and constraining the possibilities of what cultural studies *is*.
Cultural studies, and specifically the cultural studies of Raymond Williams and
Stuart Hall which emerged in the latter part of the twentieth century at the Centre
for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham, is rigidly defined and yet
widely eclectic in its engagement with the empirical world (Frow & Morris, 2000).
However, cultural studies eclecticism does not mean that it is open-ended—that
all contemporary cultural work can be labeled the cultural studies of the CCCS
tradition (Andrews, 2002).

In attempting to frame my understanding of cultural studies as interpretive
project, I want to start by describing the relationship between social theory
(theorizing the empirical) and cultural method (empiricizing the theoretical).
Cultural studies' theoretical eclecticism and methodological diversity extend
beyond the scientific conventions of the structural functionalisms of Talcott
Parsons or Robert Merton and the methodological positivism of Garfinkle's
ethnomethodology (Ritzer, 2000). Rather, researchers in cultural studies
synthesize complex and diverse theory with rigorous method to help better
understand the empirical world (Andrews, 2002; Frow & Morris, 2000). As Gee
(1999) noted, in cultural studies:

> method always goes with a theory. Method and theory
> cannot be separated, despite the fact that methods are often taught
> as if they could stand alone. Any method of research is a way to
> investigate some particular domain. . . . There can be no sensible

method to study a domain, unless one also has a theory of what the

domain is.

This convergence of theory and method—the intersection of critical engagement

and social politics—is central to cultural studies. As such, there is no basic or

fundamental theoretical paradigm by which all cultural studies scholars adhere

to, but rather a shared fundamental praxis of how to engage and conceptualize

the empirical world. In my estimation, and realizing that taking up such

delineating logics in some ways contradicts the fluid nature of cultural studies, I

offer six central canons of a broader cultural studies interpretive praxis, each

traversing paradigmatic boundaries of "theory" and "method," and the positivistic

epistemological conventions which often set out to delineate the two.

On Contextualism

At its most fundamental level, cultural studies is a *radically contextual*

interpretive framework used to engage the empirical world. As Lawrence

Grossberg (1997b) suggests, "Cultural studies attempts to construct political and

contextual theories of the relations between cultural alliances and contexts. . . it

is a theory of how contexts are made, unmade, and remade" (p. 260-261).

Radically contextual British cultural studies was born out of the debates and

theorizing of Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, EP Thompson, Richard Johnson

and numerous others in an attempt to problematize the ways in which ideology

acted upon the everyday experiences of the English working class during the

mid-to-late Twentieth Century (Johnson, 1987). In the face of a historically-

specific shift toward political conservatism amongst the English working class during the latter part of the Twentieth Century, 'two paradigms' (Hall, 1980a) for understanding these social conditions emerged. First, the structuralism of social theorists such as Louis Althusser and Ferdinand de Saussure informed the earlier cultural studies projects of the mid-to-late twentieth century (Benton, 1998; Hall, 1985). For those at the CCCS, the turn to structuralism was in many ways a return to Marxism, to rediscovering the broader social forces which act upon the human experience (Johnson, 1987). In particular, Althusser's (1969; 1971) re-conceptualization of Marxist notions of ideology, concomitant to a revisiting of Saussurian linguistics (Harris, 1987; Saussure, 1986), contributed to the central thrust of early cultural studies work. Working from this paradigm, much of the early CCCS literature focused on how structural forces complicated working class existence, and reproduced dominant/subordinate social relationships.

In the early part of the 1960s, however, a second paradigm emerged out of the work at the CCCS in the work of Raymond Williams and E.P. Thompson, who rejected the over-determining nature of ideology posited by their theoretical predecessors. Feeling modern sociological theory's enchantment with positivism and subsequent disregard for history were unable to explain what they were witnessing in Britain, and in contrast to structuralists tendencies to disregard human agency, Williams (1977; 1981) and Thompson (1963/1966) instead postulated that the human agent was an active participant in the creation of her/his own lived experience. Williams and Thompson further suggested that structuralism overlooked, or denied, the role of diachronic social activity in

shaping modern social praxis—and thus challenging the possibilities of individuals making their own histories but not under conditions of their choosing (Marx, 1973). However, in turning structuralism on its head, the culturalism of Williams and Thompson perhaps afforded too much agency to the human subject, almost granting a separate autonomy to the human agent (Hall, 1985).

Thus the mission of formulating the cultural studies project was undertaken by Stuart Hall, the eventual figurehead of the CCCS, who proposed a workable, yet highly sophisticated interpretive positionality for cultural studies. In seeking to avoid the ahistorical 'determinism of structuralism' and the romanticized 'humanism of culturalism,' Hall (1986b) proposed a 'grafting' of the two interpretive paradigms. The result was what Grossberg (1986a) has often referred to as a 'structural-conjuncturalist cultural studies,' a re-appropriation of [neo]marxist theory which avoided the prescriptiveness of economic and ideological determinacy, and instead realized that while structure and ideology shape social life, they do not 'guarantee' social effects (Hall, 1986b). Hall recognized the need to "implicate the human subject as an active participant in the creation of its own experience" (Andrews & Loy, 1993, p. 267). As Hall (1996c) suggests,[154] there is no necessary correspondence among individual practices and ideology. In other words, there is no "false consciousness" (cf. Eagleton, 1991, p. 89) which acts upon, and determines action within, various social groups. Conversely, and this is essential to Hall's argument, there is no necessary non-correspondence between ideology and action either (Hall,

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[154] Echoing Laclau, Hall's interpretations of articulation deal in the abstraction of ideology and practice.

1986b). Thus, it is not the case that ideology can *always* or *never* mobilize and shape human action. In his theorizing of social activity, Hall (1986b) thus offers a 'marxism without final guarantees,' whereby he borrows from the best of Marx's insights on the lived experience (e.g., the role of ideology in the formation of power), and the power structures therein, but rejects the unidirectionality of Marx's economic determinism.

While Hall (1985) often problematized the privileging of the structure in Louis Althusser's theorizing, his re-reading of Althusser (and particularly his interpretations of the function of ideology) in concert with his appropriation of Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci's[155] notion of "hegemony" offered an interesting synthesis which resulted in a non-reductionist conceptualization of the relations in and between power, representation, and ideology. For Hall (1986a), Gramsci's work presented the potential for cultural resistance and transformation,[156] while at the same time outlining the ways in which ideological power functions by way of complicity from the human agent. Hall (1986b) states, "ideas only become effective if they, in the end, connect with a particular constellation of social forces" (p. 42). For cultural studies, the question of ideology (i.e., the "problem of ideology") is one that is not set in stone, not transferable over time and space (Grossberg, 1992). Rather, ideological categories are generated out of the material world with historical specificity (Grossberg & Slack, 1985). In doing cultural studies, we seek to identify the 'constellation,' and more importantly, its

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[155] Prior to Hall's resurrection of Gramsci's work, the Italian Marxist's publication of his prison notebooks (Gramsci, 1999) had received very little attention from Western scholars.
[156] While he was a social critic, Hall was an optimist as well.

particularities, in order to better understand the social context that we are

investigating. To such an end, cultural studies has been labeled a 'theory of

contexts' which approaches and explores the social world with a radically

contextual epistemology (Grossberg, 1986a). Thus, when considering the

relationship between epistemology and cultural studies, it could be argued that

cultural studies' basic and fundamental premise is one of contextuality, for, as

Grossberg (1997b) suggests, in cultural studies "context is everything and

everything is contextual" (p. 255).

On Articulation

A second foundational principle, and one which is quite related to the

contextualism of cultural studies, is Stuart Hall's notion of *articulation*.

'Articulation' is Hall's reconciliation with the relationship between contextual

forces and human activity. Perhaps the quote which best describes Hall's notion

of articulation is put forth by Grossberg (1997), who states:

> For cultural studies, articulation is a model—not only of the social
>
> formations of power, but of its own practice or method. Articulation
>
> is the methodological face of a radically contextualist theory. It
>
> describes a nonlinear expansive practice of drawing lines, of
>
> mapping connections (p. 260)

In other words, articulation is the process of context-building by way of

understanding the complexities of the human condition in relation to the broader

dimensions of power. Put in different terms, the cultural studies project, perhaps unlike some other sociological endeavors, is bound by the logic that to better elucidate the lived experience, the researcher must better understand the historical context by illuminating the articulations which act on everyday practice and the research projects which investigate it. Hall's notion of articulation is borne out his reading of Earnest Laclau (1990; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985), who developed his own theory of articulation in response to, and rejection of, Marxist class reductionism (Slack, 1996, p. 118). Laclau (1990; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) identified a problem which has long existed in social theory; one in which social effects are too frequently reduced to the hierarchization of collective configurations such as race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality. The concept of articulation is Hall's attempt to "rethink the dialectic of determination as struggle" (Grossberg, 1986a, p. 63)—to re-map our understanding of social relationships in theories of ideological and discursive power.

In the era when Parsonsian structural functionalism dominated much of western sociology, Hall grafted a Gramscian-influenced theory which asked "how an ideology discovers its subject rather than how the subject thinks the necessary and inevitable thoughts which belong to it" (Hall, 1996b, p. 53). Rather than attempting to predict social action based on social environments, or conjuring up grand narratives of the social world by way of local empirical phenomena, articulation calls for "both deconstruction and reconstruction; it places the analyst-critic into the ongoing war of positions fought out through the various apparatuses and practices of articulation" (Grossberg, 1997, p. 261).

Paraphrasing Slack (1996), articulation is not just a connection, but the process of generating connections within a historically-specific context. As such, Hall's notion of articulation is both radically contextual, and discursively-oriented. The resonance of structuralist linguistics which influenced cultural studies from the outset informed Hall's concept of articulation (Berrett, 1998). The project of articulation is thus "to conceptualize all practices as nothing but discourses, and all historical agents as discursively constituted subjectivities, to talk about positionalities but never positions, and only to look at the way concrete individualities can be interpellated in different subject positionalities" (Hall, 1986, p. 56). As such, Hall's radically contextual cultural studies was an original, critically informed approach to understanding the discursive nature of human relations, and the material consequences which develop therein (Grossberg, 1986b).

In his formulation of the concept of 'articulation,' Hall begins with the notion of 'ideology.' For it was the concept of ideology, and the ways in which ideological power were being exercised on the British working class, which served as a catalyst for the political intervention by stewards of the New Left (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978). In particular, Hall sought to better understand how the politics of the British Right had gained favor with the working class (Hall et al., 1978). For Hall, ideology presented problems for its ability to 'grip' the minds of the masses and thus become a 'material force' (cf. Hall, 1986b). Hall took up the Laclauian and Althusserian departure from Marx in positing that the ideological position of a social class does not always correspond

with a position within the social relations of production (Grossberg & Slack, 1985; Hall, 1985). So for Hall (1985), ideologies are frames of reference for thinking about the social world. Ideologies are the ideas people use to "figure out how the social world works, what their place is in it and what they ought to do" (Hall, 1985, p. 99).

Importantly, Hall (again following Althusser) argued that ideologies are 'systems of representation,' and are thus both discursive and semiotic in character. Whilst such 'ideological chains' (Hall, 1985) act upon the material world with practical outcomes, they act within the realm of discourse (Mills, 2004). All meaning is understood through the languages of discourse (cf. Foucault, 1982a), but the semiotic nature of discourse suggests that without ideology embedded in discourse, discourse would be without meaning (and thus power). In an interview on postmodernism and articulation (Hall, 1996b), Stuart Hall takes issue with those intellectuals that grant power to discourse. For Hall, discourse does not convey power without the distribution of knowledge or ideology (cf. Foucault, 2001). Thus for Hall, discourse is that which is articulated between the real world and formations of ideology—producing what he refers to as an 'ideological effect' (Hall, 1996b). For example, various discourses act upon the human subject in the formation of identity, but for the subject to be hailed, or "interpellated" (to use an Althusserian term), by a subject positionality, there has to be a connection between the signified text (meaningful discourse) and the

'decoded' reading of the text (Hall, 1980b).[157] Or perhaps put a better way, Hall

(1980b) suggests that meanings decoded from the referent system of the sign

are not always 'fixed,' and there can be multiple readings of the same discursive

text. Thus discourse is encoded with particular 'preferred' meanings, but power is

derived from the ways in which that discourse affects (connects to) the human

subjective experience. In this relationship, as Grossberg (1986a) rightly

concludes, experience is inherently a product of power. These discursive

formations (often referred to as 'dimensions of power') of identity within the

ideological field are often limited to classificatory delineations of collective

configurations such as race, ethnicity, gender, generationality, regionality (or

nationality), [dis]ability, and sexuality. In other words, these categories are often

mobilized in academic (and popular) discourse to comprise the economy of

political identity.

However, Hall (1986b) argues that it is wrong to consider ideology as

"autonomous." Ideology is not 'free floating,' nor is it divorced from the material

world. On the contrary, there are no social practices outside of ideology (Hall,

1985). In contrast to earlier structuralist theory, Raymond Williams (1981) posits

that human practice assumes an organic authenticity of experience; while for

Althusser (1971), both consciousness and praxis are a product of ideological

positioning (cf. Grossberg & Slack, 1985). As is typically the case, Hall sides with

both and neither at the same time. The human subject, for Hall, operates in

ideology, but not all human activity can be considered ideology (Hall, 1985).

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[157] Hall's notion of 'encoding/decoding' is an extension of Saussurean linguistics and the refutation of linear models of communication. For Hall (Hall, 1980b), these 'moments' complete a circuit of culture by which meaning is transferred.

Rather, the subject, in the process of identification, is positioned at the intersection of formations of discourse and ideology, but does so through various layers of contestation and negotiation (Hall, 1992c). Grossberg (1997b) neatly summarizes the relations of ideology and practice by suggesting that the raw materials (signifiers) are sutured with both a 'web of connotation' (signification) and 'real social practices and subject positions' (representation). As such, ideology and experience are non-necessarily linked through signifiers, whereby all forms of experience are connected to ideology through representation and signification. Representation includes the practices of signifying/symbolic systems through which meanings are encoded, and perhaps, more importantly, which locate the individual in the discursive sphere (Hall, 1992c, 1996a). The process of signification thus entails the inscription or encoding of meaning to the material world. The two processes, working both together and against one another all in the same instance, create a non-necessary correspondence between ideology and practice, and thus the articulated discourses of identity (Hall, 1992c).

On Poststructuralism

A third essential tenet of my understanding of cultural studies is its seemingly *symbiotic relationship with poststructuralist social theory* (Andrews, 2000, 2002; Bratich et al., 2003). Both in the formation of theoretical positions created under the auspices of cultural studies, and the foundational dependence of the theoretical influences of Western social critics, cultural studies is

undeniably theoretically-driven. As Lawrence Grossberg suggests, "cultural studies uses theory as a resource, something that will help you gain better knowledge about a particular (politically defined) question" (qtd. in Wright & Grossberg, 2001, p. 134). From the outset, cultural studies' engagement with theory was primarily one of furthering the research project; using theory as a resource to better understand or further problematize the empirical phenomenon at hand. As Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest, "The central task of a theory is to make sense out of a local situation" (p. 15). Such a sentiment is reinforced by Grossberg, who states, "cultural studies is not about applying theory, and it is not about the purity of theoretical positions. It is about struggling to make whatever theoretical resources one has say something useful about it is one is investigating" (qtd. in Wright & Grossberg, 2001, p. 134). To such an end, cultural studies is in many ways an departure from the positivism and essentialism of modern sociological theory (Andrews, 2000), whereby its pundits are often tasked with testing and proving social theories by way of scientific mechanisms and treatments (Kuhn, 1962/1996). Stuart Hall (1992a) uses the metaphor of "wrestling with angels" to describe cultural studies' engagement with social theory. Theorizing, for Hall, is about struggling with a theoretical position to make it useful for that which one is studying. Hall (1992a) famously suggested, "the only theory worth having is that which you have to fight off, not that which you speak with profound fluency" (p. 280).

Historically, those doing work in cultural studies often rely on an eclectic, and sometimes inconsistent, body of theoretical work to inform their research

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project. Cultural studies, according to one-time CCCS director Richard Johnson

(1987), is inherently a revival of Marxist sensibilities in relation to labor, ideology,

and social relationships. To such an end, as I have suggested earlier, perhaps

the foundation theoretical legacies which shaped early British cultural studies

were the works of neo-Marxist structuralist such as Althusser, Saussure, and

Gramsci, and poststructuralist thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Jacque Derrida,

Ernest Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, Jean Baudrillard, Gilles Deleauze and Felix

Guattari, Jacques Lacan, Jean-François Lyotard, and Guy Debord. And if, as

many have suggested, identity is now the overarching problematic which shapes

the politics of cultural studies work (Frow & Morris, 2000; Grossberg, 1996; Hall,

1992c), then perhaps one could position Derrida and Foucault above other

poststructuralists as theoretical luminaries whom guide the qualitative

development of contemporary cultural studies. In particular, Derrida's notion of

"différance" offers an interpretive outline for conceptualizing the object of 'Other'

by way of deferment—the structure of presence constituted by difference and the

play between presence and absence (cf. Spivak, 1974). In the moment of

increased relevance of identity theory within cultural studies, the Derridian notion

of différance is quite useful in identifying the "nonfull, non-simple, structured and

differentiating origins of difference" (Derrida, 2000, p. 89). Likewise, Foucault's

concepts of discourse and power (and the relationship between the two) are

central to understanding how cultural representation is encoded and mobilized to

reproduce social hierarchies. Foucault (1976) posits that in contemporary

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society, the centrifuge of power lies in the way it is exercised within, and over, discourse:

> I am supposing that in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and danger, to cope with the chance events, to evade ponderous, awesome materiality (p. 216)

In addition to différance, discourse, and power, Foucault and Derrida also offer stratagems for interpretation, in the forms of deconstructionism and genealogy, each of which I will discuss later.

While there are no doubt many diverse theoretical contributions which inform the corpus any researcher brings to an empirical research project, those practicing under the auspices of cultural studies are likely to utilize their eclectic theoretical toolboxes in a somewhat unfamiliar order of those in the social sciences. Rather than "apply" or test a theory to a particular set of social circumstances, cultural studies researchers use theory in both the first instance (upon entering the field) and the last (in the analysis of the empirical world) (Miller, 2001b). For cultural studies, theory holds a luminous function—theory serves to help us better illuminate[158] and complicate that which we a studying. Again paraphrasing Grossberg (Wright & Grossberg, 2001), theory has to be engaged, but always in response to an empirical question. Grossberg goes on to

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[158] I use this term cautiously, as Derrida (1982) is quite critical of the 'heliocentricism' of modern formations of knowledge.

suggest, "I theorize first and foremost because I have an empirical, political issue that I'm trying to understand, and my understanding requires both empirical and theoretical (and the dialogue between them)" (qtd. in Wright & Grossberg, 2001, p. 136).

On Method

To properly examine the ways in which ideas "organize human masses and create the terrain on which men (sic) move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc." (Hall, 1986b, p. 40), analysts in cultural studies strive to address political struggle, and how ideology operates on the lived experience. Over the past few decades, many researchers in the field[159] have gone to great lengths to theorize notions of signification, representation, and identification as they relate to the human experience. However, it is important that cultural studies researchers do not "let theory let research off the hook" (Grossberg, 1997b, p. 262). In other words, theory is most useful when sutured with empirical research built on rigorous methods (Grossberg, 1997b). The empirical is the entrée into mapping the context, to mapping the ideologies and practices which bring that context into focus. Through our understanding of those structures and forces which work against us, and the ways the subject is mobilized in those efforts, we can get back to the interventionist and political purposes of cultural studies (Giroux, 2001). Instead of being bogged down in "endless theorizing" (Grossberg, qtd. in Wright & Grossberg, 2001, p. 150), theory and theorizing must be that

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[159] Bourdieu's (1993) 'field,' not necessarily the anthological 'field'

"detour on our way to something more important" (Hall, 1992b, p. 42), rather than the end product of our project. As such, a fourth, perhaps most important, dimension of cultural studies is the *commitment to a better understanding of the lived experience in the empirical world*. In cultural studies, we theorize, but in response to the "profoundly and deeply antihumane" (Hall, 1992, p. 18) nature of contemporary social relationships.

Cultural studies researchers utilize a vast array of methods[160] for 'situating' the objects of analysis within discursive constellations of iniquitous contemporary social relations (Hebdige, 1988). From the outset, academics and social critics doing work in cultural studies have relied heavily on qualitative approaches to gathering information about the empirical world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Frow & Morris, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In contrast to modernist scientific approaches, which often reduce social patterns and nuanced relationships to suggestive tendencies within numeric data by which generalizable outputs are rendered, qualitative research designs, as Clifford Geertz (1973) suggests, afford the ability to render a "thick description" of the cultural phenomenon under investigation. And while in recent years there has been an increased presence of quantitative analytical methods within cultural studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), these strategies are principally used in an

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[160] I want to make the distinction between my use of the terms 'method' (as procedure), approach (or strategy), and 'methodology' (as the conceptual grounds for research). "Methods" as empirical procedures (in terms of the research *process*) are "always contextually defined" (Grossberg, 1997b, p. 253), and thus emerge out of the phenomenon under investigation. Because "culture, power, and the relations between them are always changing" (Grossberg, 1997, p. 252), "method" is more of an "open" category: method serves the aims of the research, and, as such, and as Grossberg has noted (in Wright, 2001), should be flexible and adaptable to the research project. An approach could be considered the methodological posture from which the interpretive project is formulated.

ancillary, descriptive function to cultural studies' principally qualitative forms of inquiry. As a means to a critical approach to understanding cultural phenomena, qualitative research designs allow for more flexibility, interdisciplinarity, and sensitivity to fluctuating political, economic, and social conditions under investigation (S. J. King, 2005). To properly do empirically-driven cultural studies is a matter of reconstructing and reconceptualizing the genealogical articulations which construct, and are constructed by, synchronic and diachronic contextual relationships. In other words, the empirical context-building of cultural studies in both the first and last instance is concerned with the project of doing contextual analysis—understanding and critically engaging the intersections of contextual, historical, and experiential discourses.

Through framing identity within the poststructuralist notion of *discourse*, and discursive economies of cultural and social inter-relationality, contextual analysts can undergo the interpretive project of articulating human agency in relation to such structural forces (Mills, 2004). As Derrida (1974) famously suggests, "there is nothing outside the text" (p. 158), and thus interpretive engagements with the social and cultural empirical are ultimately discursively-driven endeavors. As Stuart Hall (1980b) postulates, "we must recognize that the discursive form of the message has a privileged position in the communication exchange" (p. 129). Consequently, understanding the invariable contestation of mediated discourses emanating from institutional structures and the localized discursive process[ing] of culture is the central thrust of the thick empirical method of analysis used in cultural studies (Searle, 2001). As such, a number of

distinctive qualitative research strategies have been mobilized by cultural

analysts to locate and illuminate the articulated manifestations of the political,

cultural, and economic forces which act upon the human experience (Frow &

Morris, 2000). To understand the politics of Dixie South identity as expressed in

and through the cultural economy of Ole Miss, I use a multi-method approach to

reconstruct a holistic "bricolage"[161] (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 4) of the

circumstances and discourses acting upon, and reinforced by, the empirical

phenomenon under investigation. Whilst any effort to categorize or delineate

differing qualitative 'methods' can often lead to oversimplification and

generalization, as well as undermine some of the rudiments of debates around

representation,[162] purpose,[163] and approach (Miller, 2001b), I find it useful to

locate the research strategies of this project within Samantha King's (2005)

framework of "central and recognizable" elements of contextual cultural studies

research, namely: ethnography, media studies, contextual historiography, and

interviewing. Utilizing an array of qualitative empirical tools presents the cultural

studies researcher with a means to better understand the nuanced rather than

the general, discover the cultural possibilities as well as social trends, and

identify observable specificities in the construction of social praxis (Denzin &

Lincoln, 2000). Following Douglas Kellner (1995), I contend that such a

'multiperspectival cultural studies,' drawing from numerous textual and critical

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[161] Denzin and Lincoln (2000) refer to the "bricolage" as "a pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation" (p. 4).
[162] For instance, the feminist critique of the modern anthological origins of many of the research 'methods' listed below (cf. Probyn, 1996).
[163] Whose interpretive voice is writing the history under investigation (more on this later)?

interpretive strategies is perhaps the best way to 'do' empirically-driven cultural studies of the Dixie South.

Ethnography

Although the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, qualitative research and ethnography are slightly different in both form and level of engagement. Put simply, while ethnography is one form of qualitative inquiry (and thus all ethnography is qualitative), not all qualitative research is considered ethnography (cf. Berg, 2001). Ethnographies, according to Goetz and LeCompte (1984), "are analytic descriptions or reconstructions of intact cultural scenes and groups . . . [that] recreate for the reader the shared beliefs, artifacts, folk knowledge, and behaviors of some groups of people" (p. 2). While this basic, if not banal, description of ethnography is instructive with regards to the nature of ethnographic inquiry, it echoes the positivism of early modern sociology and anthropology. Perhaps a more useful, and contemporary, understanding of ethnography is located in Silk's (2002) contention that ethnographic research is a "practical activity that involves the ethnographer participating in people's lives, watching what happens, listening to what is said and asking questions" (p. 780; cf. Silk & Amis, 2000). This approach is known as "writing culture" (Clifford & Marcus, 1986), whereby the researcher is immersed in the empirical dynamics of local social action, and develops an interpretive cartography of mediated discourses therein (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). Borrowing from a variety of interpretive perspectives (Atkinson et al., 1999), the ethnographic interpretations

I yielded from my experiences at Ole Miss were articulated with broader

formations of power (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Within this research

project, I was constantly returning to the radically-contextual cultural studies

diktat, which was to connect ethnographic interpretations of the Ole Miss

empirical to wider social, economic, and political processes and structures

(Angrosino & Perez, 2000; Frow & Morris, 2000).

In more pragmatic terms, throughout this project my primary means of

accumulating the empirical discourse of spectacular practices and spaces at Ole

Miss was by way of participant observation within the "field" (Spradley, 1980). In

participant observation, the observer maintains a "fly on the wall" approach: while

not hiding the fact that he or she is present and taking notes or recording social

activity, the researcher prefers to remain in the background of what occurs (Adler

& Adler, 1994; Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Denzin, 1989). Furthermore,

participant observation does not entail singling out any particular individual at the

event or asking individuals at the events to behave in any matter different than

they would if the observer was not present (Angrosino & Perez, 2000; Denzin,

2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Fine et al., 2000; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973;

Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Tedlock, 2000). The strength of participant observation

comes from observing individuals in a natural setting (Jorgensen, 1989);

consequently, this type of participant observation endeavors not to interfere with

how individuals act in that setting (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Jorgensen,

1989; Spradley, 1980). During the collection of empirical 'data,' I strategically

positioned myself in spaces such as the campus Grove (prior to home football

and basketball games), public meetings, and other public displays where observable practices of spectacular whiteness could be documented. I then recorded my observations in one of three ways: through written fieldnotes, voice recorded observations, and post-event retrospective notes. Throughout this project, I tried to remain vigilant in reflecting upon how my actions, physical presence, and researcher biography might influence the social activities I was observing. I strived to be non-obtrusive while in the 'field.'

Adler and Adler (1987) define three membership roles for the researcher: the complete-member-researcher; the active-member-researcher; and the peripheral-member-researcher. My involvement with much of the empirical ethnography during the Ole Miss project entailed a level of engagement which oscillated between the latter two typologies. To identify and interpret the "vectors" (Atkinson et al., 1999) of social discourse active within the carnivalesque spectacle of the Grove, for example, I used a type of ethnographic participant observation which the Situationist International might refer to as ocular "derive" (Debord, 1981f)—while taking note of that which I observed, I abandoned a geographic or spatial agenda in favor of 'drifting' in and toward the attractions of the social terrain found within the Grove. In other aspects of ethnographic engagement with Ole Miss, such as attending public meetings or acting as a 'flaneur' (Benjamin, 1999), strolling across campus, I assumed a more "active" membership, 'playing' an ambiguous role of student researcher[164] while

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[164] In this instance, my outward appearance as a 28 year-old white male might afford both access to dominant social relationships and provide for more 'natural' conduct therein, as my presence likely does not threaten nor disrupt the normative behaviors of the dominant faction of Ole Miss agents.

recording university-related processions. In either instance, I experienced

uninhibited access to the forays of cultural exchange I aimed to study, and often

used various observation opportunities to gain entrée into other aspects of the

study or identify key "gatekeepers"[165] (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992; Lindlof, 1995a)

whose role in mediated, constructing, and narrating Ole Miss discourse is equally

relevant to the study.

Media Studies

If ethnography is the strategy which best illuminates the social dynamics

of the local, then perhaps critical discourse analysis of the mass media best

elucidates the impetuses and impediments created by cultural intermediaries

within the public sphere. Media imagery and rhetoric substantiate an important

role in shaping ideological discourse, and thus any study of identity would profit

from a critical examination of the mediated texts which shape localized

representation and signification (Gee, 1999; Hall, 1981). As Gruneau, Whitson,

and Cantelon (1988) postulate, mass media practices "are important sites in the

production and reproduction of social order; and in our view it is precisely this

'naturalization'—of a cluster of meanings and practices which are integral to a

class society and to masculine hegemony" (p. 265). As such, the mass media

plays an integral function in the processes of representation, identification,

production, consumption, and regulation of identity discourse—create a sense of

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[165] A gatekeeper can be an individual who grants access to information or processes of mediation, or someone who can offer a 'lead' to guide the research project (Adler & Adler, 1994).

naturalness, and confusing the nature of human experience "at every turn" (Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 11). Within such "circuit of culture" (du Gay et al., 1997, p. 3) inextricably linked to the mass media, wherein identities are shaped in and through the discourses of consumer culture, the interpretation of the media text is central to an understanding of local identity politics.

In reading the mediated text, the researcher is in essence [re]articulating the aural and audile forms of the media product with the structural processes that shape, and are shape by, such discursive formations. However, the media text is not the end product of the semiotic process within media discourse (Frow & Morris, 2000). Rather, the media text is a product and producer of the practical, political, and social relations surrounding its creation (Hartley, 1998). To study the mediated discourse means acknowledging the context in which the text was produced, and the interpretive posture from which the researcher is operating. This type of research stratagem often entails the project of poststructuralist 'deconstruction' of contextually-specific mass mediated discourse. The term "deconstruction" is informed by a post-structuralist edict for critical engagement with discourses of popular culture (Best & Kellner, 1997; cf. Denzin, 1994; Derrida, 1974). In particular, the work of French social theorist Jacques Derrida (1974) is illustrative in this, as he insists that the political action of interpretation is best served in the act of 'prying loose' the marginal text from its signifiers. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1974), in the introduction to Derrida's (1974) *Of Grammatology*, defines deconstruction as the effort to locate "the promising marginal text, to disclose the undecidable moment, to pry it loose with the

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positive lever of the signifier; to reverse the resident hierarchy, only to displace it;

to dismantle in order to reconstitute what is already inscribed" (p. lxxvii). Derrida

calls for the dismantling of discourse in order to locate the pervasive hierarchies

transposed on and through the text by cultural intermediaries (cf. Spivak, 1974).

Deconstruction lends itself to reconstruction, whereby the contextual analyst and

cultural critic can begin to reformulate a historically contextual public pedagogy

based around the acknowledgement of such 'antihumane' aspects of the 'public

sphere'[166] (Andrews, 1996a; Denzin, 1994; Hall, 1980b, 1985, 1992e). As Stuart

Hall (1981) notes, the task of undermining the hegemonic norms within popular

discourse, both in terms of representation and signification, is central to an

interventionist cultural studies.

By complicating the taken-for-granted signifiers of the Ole Miss mediated

text, I aim to begin to understand the interchangeability of the signifier (i.e. the

hegemonic Delta South bodily aesthetic) with the signified (i.e. those individuals

functioning under the normalizing gaze therein). In this study, I examine a

number of different media platforms—such as local and regional newspaper

coverage, national televised sporting events and news reports, and historical

media forms—to gain an 'intertextual'[167] reading of the active discursive

formations operating on the Ole Miss subject. For example, in Chapter Five

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[166] Borrowing from Habermas (1991), I loosely use the term 'public sphere' to refer to the possibilities of a contested mass culture where critical interventionism not only exists, but is central to the public debates around the structure and mobility of communicative action. . .Such a space, which by my estimation, does not exist.

[167] Bennett and Woollacott (1988) define "intertextuality" as "the social organization of the relations between texts within specific conditions of reading" (p. 45). In other words, the mediated text can only be understood in the context of competing discourses of local expressions and other media sources.

relating to Archie and Eli Manning, and the celebration of the Delta South [white] sporting body, I scan an array of media forms and examine the representational discourses of the archetypal Ole Miss sporting star. A further example is the analysis of news reports concerning Ole Miss sport and non-sport related activities. This type of interpretation, augmented by interviews of relevant cultural intermediaries who shape the monosemic popular representations of Ole Miss's creation of Dixie South identity, is central throughout the following analysis.

Contextual Historiography

Contextual histories focus on the subjective and objectivizing discursive experiences (and the documentation processes therein) as expressed in marginalized and dominant cultures. As Raymond Williams (1977) suggests, contextual historiography is more concerned with contextually-specific products of culture, dynamics of change, and politics of representation over time than the traditional reporting of dates, events, and people. Discursive contextual historiography, then, is akin to Foucault's notion of genealogy—a rejection of the linearity which plagues most historical interpretation; as well as a turn toward the power relations encoded in the process of historical documentation (Foucault, 1984a). Foucault refers to his project as a "genealogy of the modern subject": "an attempt to locate historically and analyze the strands of discourse and practices dealing with the subject, knowledge, and power" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 7). In the spirit of Marxist historical materialism, Foucault critically examines the historical

power relations which shape the contemporary conditions of subjectification and objectification:

By 'genealogy' Foucault refers to an attitude based on a rejection of an immanent direction to history and society. Following Nietzsche it places much emphasis on the struggle for power by different forces and on the lack of a necessary order inherent in this. The methodological consequence of this attitude is that the historian should try to uncover the contingent and violent course that society has historically taken. Genealogists do not look for grand evolutionary laws or deep meanings that can provide a key to the direction of history because they do not think that such an overarching direction exists. Instead, they trace developments from the surfaces of the events. . . [by] uncovering and tracing the power shifts and plays of domination inscribed in societal regimes (Barth, 1998, p. 253)

Therefore, Foucault's genealogy is inscribed and immersed in disrupting the 'continuities' of historical power by disrupting dominant discourses—at one point conjecturing: "for whom does discourse serve?" (Foucault, 1984c, p. 57). Foucauldian genealogy is not a project bent on 'reporting' history, but rather a complex reading and critique of historical events, and the discourses which reported and shaped those events, as well as thorough consideration for the context from which those events emerged (Visker, 1995). Foucault's Nietzschean-inspired genealogy is about discovering the moments, as well as the continuities, of discursive power, and undermining those structures which

make iniquitous social relationships possible (Mahon, 1992). And, as historian

David Sansing suggests, if the trajectory of identity politics found in the discursive

formations of an Ole Miss 'Southern ethic' can be described in one word, that

word is "continuity" (Sansing, 1999, p. 313).

While Western sociology and anthropology have long privileged the

spoken word over the written or oral (Derrida, 1977), a recent striation of

literature in critical cultural studies has reconceptualized the interpretation of

historical documents, material culture, and artifacts (Hodder, 1994). This new

strand of research operates within the framework of Derridian deconstructionism

to interpret and 'read' the historically-grounded discourses of political identity

(Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983a; Mahon, 1992). Somewhat metaphorically, Foucault

describes such a genealogy as "gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary. It

operates on a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that

have been scratched over and recopied many times" (Foucault, 1984a, p. 76).

Following Foucault's metaphor, the practical implementation of genealogical

research strategies entails the critical examination of historical discourses—

typically in the form of popular and local representations. The challenge for the

contextual historiographer is to distinguish among spectacular events and the

spectacular society[168] which encompass them (Visker, 1995). Such a process

involves the layering of discourses and the creation of articulated linkages based

on "relations of force, strategic developments, and tactics" (Foucault, 1984c, p.

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[168] Here I am evoking Debord's (1994) theory of the society of the spectacle, where by the singular spectacle is merely a manifestation and reproductive mechanism for contemporary structures of domination and ideological control (cf. Linder, 2001).

56). While my ethnographic research agenda entails the analysis of 'performed' discourse, and the media research I marshal is effectively the examination mass-mediated discourse, the contextual historiography aspect of this broader research project concerns the investigation of mediated discourse over time. Such a genealogy of power relations encoded within the discourses of Ole Miss culture are abundant, as the university has in many ways been the model of racialized politics of identity throughout its existence. To ascertain more specific nuances of Ole Miss history, I deconstruct the discursive regimes of power operating within a distinctive historical contexts. Through a thorough investigation of numerous forms of historical documentation, relics of material culture, and artifacts of contextually-transient importance, I offer a Derridian deconstruction of 'plays of domination' encoded in the discourses of the past.

Interviews

Interviews, particularly when used in conjunction with other forms of qualitative inquiry such as ethnographies, offer a rich conduit for understanding the discursive phenomenon under investigation (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Over time, qualitative interviewing has changed from a landscape dominated by the positivistic conventions of social science to a more dynamic, yet lucid, investigatory practice (Fontana & Frey, 2000). This transformation is in large part due to the developments of the late 1960s toward a more interpretive approach to qualitative inquiry, namely in the work of Berger and Luckman (1967). More recent developments in the field of interviewing, particularly those brought on my

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feminist critical social researchers (cf. Rubin & Rubin, 1995) and postmodernists (cf. Rosenau, 1992) have resulted in an exploratory strategy which no longer abides by inhibiting scientific conventions of sample size, axial or open coding, and thematics.[169] As such, qualitative interviewing styles and implementations used by cultural studies researchers in contemporary social analysis are more conversational or dialogic in tone,[170] more liquid in design, and more pointed in intent (Janesick, 2000; Moerman, 1988). In my own research, and particularly in the research relating to the development of this dissertation, I use a type of interviewing technique known as 'ethnographic interviewing.' Ethnographic interviews, also known as "informal conversational interviews" (Patton, 1990, p. 281-282), are organized to be very casual, spontaneous, and conversational (Lindlof, 1995b). These types of 'conversational' interviews are often conducted under a semi-structured protocol, whereby the questions are prepared in advance, but the direction of the interview is often dictated by the interviewee as much as the interviewer (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Lindlof, 1995b). These interviews do not strictly follow a predetermined format of questions and answers. Rather, sets of main questions are used to act as guides, and to ease the recording of tactics, strategies, and relevant information. This is a widely used and accepted qualitative research strategy in which only a number of main questions are formulated ahead of time, which allows the interviews to be conversational and reflexive in nature, open-ended (Patton, 1990; Potter, 1996).

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[169] As such arbitrary mechanisms were created in the tradition of an oftentimes elitist, Amerocentric, patriarchal institution of modern social science (hooks, 1989).

[170] See Lincoln and Denzin's (2003) *Turning Points in Qualitative Research* or Rubin and Rubin's (1995) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* for more developed treatises on the rhetoric of transcription and modes of interpreting interview dialogue.

In researching Ole Miss, I identified a number of key gatekeepers to information which might inform this project, and in turn contacted each of them and attempt to schedule an interview at their convenience. However, unlike much of the interviewing done in communications research involving large samples to gain generalizable 'data' which is purported and reported to be representative of consumer or audience opinions, responses, or emotions, the unstructured interviews of this analysis offered a greater breadth, and positioned the interviewee as a source for points of entrée into new and unexplored aspects of the circuits of representation (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Thus, in the case of this research, interviewing was exploratory, complimentary, and effectively formless–guiding me to the Ole Miss empirical, reinforcing interpretations therein, and creating new tangents of inquiry.

Rigor and Representation

The task of the multimethod, interdisciplinary cultural studies 'bricoleur,'[171] to borrow from Lincoln and Denzin (2000), is to produce a complex interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation, using a variety of strategies for engagement and levels of inquiry. The quality of such a qualitative research project is evaluated by "the extent to which it recapitulates the cultural scene as was witnessed by the researcher" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 2). In these type of analyses, 'validity' is not gauged by some computation or statistical

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[171] A 'bricoleur,' in the most basic sense, is a handyman or handywoman "who makes use of the tools available to complete a task" (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 680)

significance, but rather in terms of credibility, trustworthiness, and rigor, as the researcher recognizes her or his role in the research project, and strives to obtain the richest data available without unjustly or inaccurately representing the population under investigation (Kvale, 1995). While some might envisage qualitative approaches such as interviewing or participant observation as 'loose' means of data collection, if done properly each can be painstaking and at the same time produce a wealth of empirical data for the researcher (Van Manaan, 1988). Rubin and Rubin (1995) argue that the credibility of qualitative work should be judged on its "transparency, consistency/coherence, and communicability" (p. 85). By "transparency," the authors are suggesting that the researcher should strive to produce a report in which the reader is easily able to identify the basic processes of data collection. In terms of consistency and coherence, Rubin and Rubin (1995) posit that the research project should have a central theme by which the reader can identify, and by which the fieldwork is organized. And with regard to communicability, Rubin and Rubin (1995) argue that the finished research project should communicate the process and standards of inquiry, as well as the research climate in which the research was conducted. In sum, at the genesis of the interpretive qualitative bricolage—the very essence of a complex analytical research product—is the need to foster a "synergy" that rigorously and credibly infuses the different empirical strategies and theoretical paradigms (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 686). Through "judicious self-disclosure" (Harrison et al., 2001, p. 323), and the review of fieldnotes, interview transcripts, and other forms of qualitative data by informants, researchers can

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"work to empower the researched" (Harrison et al., 2001, p. 323) and establish

dialogical trustworthiness within the research project. 'Trustworthiness,'

according to Harrison, MacGibbon, and Morton (2001), refers to the extent to

which the researcher strives to meet the criteria of "credibility and believability . . .

as assessed by the academy, our communities, and our participants" (p. 324). A

synergistic model of analysis, grounded in the introspective logics of

transparency, rigor, and trustworthiness, can guide the researcher and the

research project toward a more reasonable qualitative study of the empirical

world.

Closely linked to methodological rigor in critical cultural studies is the

fairness of representation through written discourse. As Jean-Francois Lyotard

(1984) accurately surmised, the death of the grand narrative and the fracturing of

personal politics brought about by postmodernity created a context whereby

meaning—both the inscription and decoding of—was thrown into a state of

fluidity (rather than fixity). Due to the much needed interjections of feminist theory

and critical race theory, authors of analytic texts now recognize that the universal

truths and rhetorical assumptions of modern social science have been (and must

be) displaced in favor of more pensive, self-critical representative discourse

(hooks, 1989). In the first instance, social researchers have begun to recognize

the role of the researcher in interpretation—whereby the encoded text of the

empirical world is thus interpreted and re-encoded by the arbiters of academe.

As Laurel Richardson (2000) postulates, "writing is a way of 'knowing'—a method

of discovery and analysis . . . [to such an extent that] . . . form and content are

inseparable" (p. 923). Up to this point I have argued that cultural studies

researchers are in the business of deconstructing the power relations embedded

in contextually-specific discursive formations. However, I would be remiss if I fail

to acknowledge that the construction of knowledge, and our understanding of

knowledge, is inseparable from such formations. If we are in the business of

interpreting discourse (and specifically the discourse of human action), then we

must acknowledge and interpret the discourse we produce through that process.

In other words, "all knowledge is socially constructed. Writing is not simply a

'true' representation of an objective 'reality'; instead, language creates a

particular view of reality" (Richardson, 1995, p. 199). Writing as a method of

inquiry is thus an exercise in objectification, of representing and redistributing

human experience through interpretive prose. As such, just as the researcher

must be vigilant in conducting research, the practice and care invested in the

'writing of culture' is equally, if not more, critical. In qualitative research, the

researcher is the instrument: the authorial voice inscriber of meaning on the

empirical *tabula rasa* (Clough, 2001). Hence, the critical cultural studies

scholar/researcher, in order to adequately do justice to social phenomena, must

be mindful that the final text is fairly and accurately representative of the object(s)

under investigation (Richardson, 1997). We must, as Zygmunt Bauman (2002)

suggests, "piece together the walls of the obvious and the self-evident" (p. 359)

to formulate a theoretically cohesive, yet methodologically rigorous

representation of the empirical world. The concurrent challenge, thus, is to

engage not only the object of analysis in a self critical and reflexive way, but to

produce a text which will accurately reflect the phenomenon and interpellate the reader into the cyclical process of: lived experience, social analysis, social justice within the lived experience through pedagogical dialogue.

On Reflexivity and Reciprocity

The firth element which I find critical to any cultural studies research project is the commitment on the part of the researcher to remain *constantly reflexive* in acknowledging the role of the interpretation, biography, and personal bias in engagement with and reporting of the empirical world. Pierre Bourdieu calls for reflexivity in the practice of theory, and inversely in the theory of practice (Barnard, 1990). Bourdieu posits that sociologists should be "continually reflexive as they are doing their sociological analyses. They should reflect on what they are doing, and especially how it might limit the amount of 'symbolic violence' against the subjects of the study" (cf. Ritzer, 2001, p. 31). For any form of social or cultural research, the relationship between the social activities of everyday life should not be removed from the practice of sociology. Perhaps in contrast to conventional communications or anthropological designs, "cultural studies tends to incorporate in its object of study a critical account of its own motivating questions—and thus of the institutional frameworks and the disciplinary rules by which its research imperatives are formed" (Frow & Morris, 2000, p. 327). Thus, for Bourdieu, reflexive sociology is the practice of constantly considering and reconsidering the location of sociological work[er] within its broader academic and social context (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Furthermore,

as Berger (1989) states, "The constant reflexivity of Bourdieu's style is a permanently reactivated reminder to the readers that he is subjected to the same relations between position, disposition, and predisposition as anybody else" (p. 190). Bourdieu (1977) envisaged that a shift toward reflexive sociology would force sociologists to confront the 'intellectual biases' existing in contemporary sociologically thought (Seidman, 1998). Interestingly, those same biases have contributed to the failures of the political Left to engage a broader consumership, and thus enact political change through the labors of their research. Intellectual posturing—and the McDonaldization of academic life, whereby the prevailing impetus is to publish with a disengaging vernacular in highly-rationalized forums—has led to the diminution of the intellectualism in the public sphere.

To limit these biases, Lincoln (1995) suggests that along with researcher reflexivity, and the constant return to thinking and rethinking the role of the researcher in the research project, there should be 'relational' measures such as reciprocity to guide empiricizing. By reciprocity, Lincoln (1995) is referring to the synthesis of what I have heretofore described as trustworthiness (and the 'value of the research') and 'giving back' to the community, group, or individual under investigation. Through "collaborative theorizing with the participants" (Harrison et al., 2001, p. 324), some forms of reciprocity can lead to an empowerment or emancipation of the researched (Lather, 1991). The notion of reciprocity used in feminist research is developed from a colonial model of oppressor/oppressed, and the research done under this notion privileges the oppressed (Lather, 1991). Such a philanthropic carriage can provide promise for the escape of oppression,

but overlooks the possibilities of researching the oppressor. In other words, while

Harrison, MacGibbon, and Morton (2001) offer excellent examples of how to

reciprocate positive knowledge to repressed informants (i.e. how the oppressed

can activate social justice), they fail to proscribe a measure of reciprocity for

research which theorizes and conceptualizes the social construction of

oppressive discourse. In this project, my intention is to create reciprocity through

an intensive research dialogue, in which gatekeepers and intermediaries of Ole

Miss whiteness and oppressive discourse are fully aware of my research, and

how they reflexively inform the contents therein. In other words, the advocates of

a discourse which promotes a culture of segregation and hierarchy are both the

object of my research, and the subjects by which that discourse can be changed.

This incarnation of my research, in the form of a dissertation, engages the

expected language of an academic audience. However, through a civic, almost

journalistic style—one which will hopefully prove more accessible to those

subjects of Dixie South discourse—later, more public versions of this manuscript

will take on a much more accessible vernacular. It is my hope that as a political

project, the reciprocal measure of this dissertation's merits is in the impact that it

might carry on the lives of Dixie Southerners.

The Politics of Public Pedagogy

This leads me to the sixth and final element of my epistemological

understanding of cultural studies: the *interventionist nature and performative*

politics of cultural studies. In the spirit of the Stuart Hall's New Left and his efforts

to combat Thatcherism, cultural studies evolved into a politically-driven formulation directed at interventionist public pedagogy (Greenwood & Levin, 2000). By way of critical theorizing and thorough empiricism, cultural studies researchers can discover the marginal texts of society, and reformulate a politics of existence which subvert those marginalizing forces. As Grossberg (1997b) posits, "I think cultural studies is about the integration of rigorous theory, empirical research and political commitment" (qtd. in Wright & Grossberg, 2001, p. 144). Framed around the notion of 'social justice,' such a politically-driven cultural studies is borne of the urge, if not the impetus, to implode the iniquitous social relations which are allowed to remain pervasive throughout society. This type of interventionist polity is reflected in Henry Giroux's (2001) notion of a 'performative pedagogy.' Giroux (2001) argues:

> As a performative act, cultural studies involves using theory as a resource to think and act, learning how to situate texts within historical and institutional contexts, and creating conditions for collective struggles over resources and power . . . such a gesture not only affirms the social function of oppositional cultural work (especially within the university) but offers opportunities to mobilize instances of collective outrage, if not collective action. (p. 11)

As such, cultural studies is "fundamentally concerned with understanding, with a view to transforming, people's lived realities" (Howell et al., 2002, p. 154)— "always at some level marked . . .by a discourse of social involvement" (Frow & Morris, 2000, p. 327). Fundamentally, cultural studies activist/researchers break

from the prevailing notion that social research is, and always has to be, value

laden. Acknowledging that cultural phenomena "can be interpreted in any

number of equally valid ways because there is no one correct interpretation"

(Flaherty, 2002, p. 481), researchers in the cultural studies vein disregard static,

formulaic, and objective positivism of modern social science. Hall, Grossberg,

and their contemporaries reject Max Weber's "value free sociology" (Lewis,

1975), instead fashioning a philosophical bent that those who have the chance to

devote themselves to the study of the social world "cannot stay neutral,

indifferent, and away from the struggles whose stakes are the future of the world"

(Mesny, 2002, p. 63). As Norman Denzin (2002) submits, "there is no possibility

of theory- or value-free knowledge" (p. 484), rather, in doing social research we

immerse ourselves in the social world, and as social beings, cannot divorce

ourselves as researchers from the activities we are analyzing. In spite of the

Durkheimian/Weberian traditions of modern sociology, the interventions of

postmodernism and poststructuralism have reintroduced the authorial politics into

the intellectual text. Whereas social scientists of the modernist tradition are in the

business of reifying, categorizing, and (to some extent) commodifying ideologies,

discourse, and practices, following Bourdieu, cultural studies scholars tend to

distance themselves from a traditionalist sociology throttled by "*escapism of

Wertfreiheit*" (Bourdieu, 1998b, p. 15)—which is essentially the notion of being

free from value. As Frow and Morris (2000) suggest, "cultural studies has

generally been less concerned with debating the pros and cons of essentialism

as a philosophical stance than with examining the political conflicts at stake, in

concrete contexts and for particular groups of people" (p. 318). Cultural studies, in the first and last instances, emanates from the political Left, and as such our project is to "demonstrate how particular commodities or cultural objects negatively affect the lives of specific people" (Denzin, 2002, p. 486).

A prevailing critique of the vanishing activist Left in the academy is the "crisis in representation" (Marcus & Fischer, 1986, p. 7) imbedded in the nature of critical analysis of discourse. As a product of poststructuralism, a great deal of cultural studies research interprets and formulates responses to discourse and discursive formations. And as Denzin queries: "How is it possible to effect change in the world, if society is only and always a text?" (Denzin, 2002, p. 483). The debates around public intervention, reciprocity, and activist research create a bit of a conundrum: when interpreting discourse, and particularly in the practice of Derridian deconstructionism, scholar/researchers are saddled within the challenge of separating language, text, rhetoric, physicality, and other forms of signification from the human action which they dialectally engage. As such, often structuralist cultural studies researchers identify, 'pry loose,' and critically assault the prevailing oppressive discourses within a specific context. However, while these circuits of representation offer insight into the ideological regimes acting upon human experience, researchers often fail to articulate the connections between discourse, ideology, and the lived experience. As such, the space for social change becomes liminal, and the reciprocal benefits of the researcher/researched relationship are nullified. These various postulations emanating from the cultural studies camp have increasingly failed to engage a

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progressive, political-activist charge in the tradition of the New Left. Henry Giroux

(2004) has argued that in recent years, the public sphere is increasingly marked

by "a poverty of critical public discourse, thus making it more difficult for young

people and adults to appropriate a critical language outside of the market that

would allow them to translate private problems into public concerns or to relate

public issues to private considerations" (p. 207). In 'taking sides' with the

oppressed, scholar/researchers must articulate, in language which is accessible

to a broader readership, the problematic nature of social relationships. Moreover,

they must "make an appeal to a participatory, feminist, communitarian ethic and

its dialogic conceptions of care, love, beauty, and empowerment" (Denzin, 2002,

p. 486).

At this point there are two competing trajectories of thought: the first is that

no substantive social change can take place from poststructuralist

deconstructionism, as discourse is amorphous and thus disconnected from

human justice. However, the second trajectory, and the one which I described in

the preceding pages (see discussions on articulation, context-building, and

discourse), suggests that not only is discourse relevant, but understanding the

complex and oppressive formations of discourse which shape, and are shaped

by, human activity is crucial to any type of contemporary sociological analysis.

Interpretive analysis of the qualitative text "seeks to understand how power and

ideology operate through and across systems of discourse, cultural commodities,

and cultural texts" (Denzin, 2002, p. 484). The study of discourse is the first and

last step in a poststructuralist analysis of the social world. By deconstructing the

taken-for-granted nature of power relations encoded in practices of signification, representation, and mediation, researchers can show "members of the underclass how to find their own cultural homes within the shifting oppressive structures of global and local capitalism" (Denzin, 2002, p. 487). Rather than the *fin de siecle* of the sociological research moment, or the death of social science, interpretive investigation of social discourse through symmetric qualitative analysis presents an opportunity to reclaim the impact of our craft—recover that lost space of public intellectualism within mass discourse of Western society in the French traditions of Pierre Bourdieu and Jacques Lacan (Garnham, 1993). Released from the bindings of foundational and positivistic social science, many contemporary cultural studies researchers of the academy and beyond are now exploring the limits and social effects of performance-based ethnographic research and interventionist texts (Denzin, 2000). The challenge for these researchers is to create a reflective dialogue between researcher as political informant and the prevailing modalities of public discourse. In other words, progressive scholar/researchers "need a language of critique and possibility, one that connects diverse struggles, uses theory as a resource, and defines politics as not merely critical but also as an intervention into public life" (Giroux, 2004, p. 208). To 'discover the marginal text,' and perhaps more importantly, to identify the normative discursive formations which create marginality, is surely the first step toward disrupting existing regimes of power in society. To get somewhere 'better,' we must understand the social construction of discourse, and the politics written into that discourse.

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In this research project, sanctioned by a personal politics described above, I take aim at the incessant discursive formations which are allowed to produce power relationships affect the lives of those operating outside the norms of Dixie South society. So who is this research for, and why do it? Paraphrasing James Silver, author of 1964's controversial *Mississippi: The Closed Society*, a scathing doctrine of white supremacy in Mississippi, it is my intention that the reader—and I am mainly concerned with the reader from the American South— will look upon this manuscript with an open mind and will be willing to consider the implications proposed within not as an attack on their way of life, but as a cultural history of the iniquitous present, and as a proposal toward something better. The strident traditionalists of Mississippi's old guard identity politics will likely read the accompanying manuscript and dismiss it as another contribution to the emerging 'vast left-wing conspiracy' (York, 2005). Left-leaning liberals of the Dixie South will probably point to the empirical discourse of *Corporealities of a Confederacy* as obvious, and that which they have been fighting against for decades. If this manuscript is to influence the lives of Dixie Southerners, then it will start at the resonance it has with those individuals operating within the borderland between the two poles. Those students, faculty members, supporters, and broader constituents of Ole Miss who see themselves in the discourses of race-based inequities, and who have, for far too long, let the practices of racism permeate their social lives without challenge or change. This interjection is for those who have chuckled off with flippancy another's evocation of "nigger." This is for those who do not wave Confederate flags at Ole Miss football games, but

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yell 'Hotty Toddy' with the vigor of those segregationists trying to keep James Meredith out of Ole Miss. This is for those who are aware of the clandestine practices of racism in the Deep South documented in this manuscript, and fully knowledgeable of the wealth of racist practices which evade these pages, and choose to let them be. My aim is to 'make visible' the material and discursive manifestations of white supremacy at Ole Miss. I am from the South, from a social climate very similar to that of Ole Miss. Writing as a part of this society, rather than some enlightened outsider, I understand and celebrate the beauty of Southern culture. And yet, it is the definition of beauty, of heritage, and of the 'Southern Ethic' which I aim to scrutinize, disrupt, and implode throughout these pages.

'The Past is Never Past'

I have arrived at position in my development as a social critic and critical cultural studies researcher illustrative of the synthesis of my biographic past and my epistemological present and future. Having in recent years thought that I was devoting myself to shedding my cultural history, I now see that as a scholar-researcher, such an emancipatory endeavor is futile. As Mississippian William Faulkner wrote, "The past is never dead. It's not even the past." Rather, my aim now is to deconstruct that past (Old South discourses of power and privilege) to build it back up again through a 'performative politics' in the tradition of critical cultural studies. In other words, I have distanced myself from the racist and sexist assumptions of my youth, and instead tried to better understand "race" and "sex"

as a modern discourse which acts upon the everyday lives of American Southerners. Furthermore, I have begun to problematize my own actions as researcher, and how they affect those I study. I have dismissed the positivism of the social sciences which I not too long ago held with esteem. In sum, when people ask what it is that I do, and what I plan to study in the near future, my response is this: Borrowing generously from Frow and Morris (Frow & Morris, 2000), I describe my approach to studying expressions of identity and representations of Southern culture as: (1) a discussion on the different, oftentimes competing economic discourses operating in the South; using both technical evaluations and economic models, as well as discussions of the commodity exchange therein; (2) an "aesthetic discourse," one which interrogates the strategic use of architecture, aural and audile stimulants and signifiers, and the social and economic circumstances which shape the aesthetic experience in the various spatialities of Southern identity; (3) a "discourse of politics," both in the typical nodes of analysis such as public policy and governance, and in a more nuanced investigation of the politics of bodies operating in space. At the core of the notion of physical culture is the dynamic between the political body and its relation to social and physical structures. My approach to understand corporeality and the politics of Southern identity almost implicitly draws on Foucauldian theorizing of discipline and governance of the political body; (4) a discourse of gender, one which critically engages the underlying assumptions about the gendered hierarchy of sport, leisure, and the active bodies of the South. Informed by the feminist interventions of the mid-to-

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late Twentieth Century and beyond, I aim to disrupt the objectifying nature of Southern gendered discursive formations; (5) an "ethnographic discourse," capable of investigating the particularities of the southern lived experience; (6) a radically contextual, inherently diachronic discourse, capable of offering a historical context within which to locate the contemporary Southern subjectivity—a sociology of the context of Southern physicality as an expression and manifestation of social formations in the region. One which will openly rely on a neo-Marxist rearticulation of the institutions, formations, and forces which continue to shape everyday Southern existence; and (7) a poststructuralist discourse, whereby the linguistic turn informs my understanding of the textual nature of contemporary social relationships.

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