I. Introduction

Food is a fundamental aspect of our lives; we need it to stay alive certainly but it also serves a deeper, more cultural process. Food events and ideas seem to form the basis for most of our socialization as children and as adults. Our lives center on food; how food is prepared and procured, what we eat, and why we eat it. Food in the Southern United States plays an integral role in the lives and culture of its inhabitants. This is not to say that Americans who live or are from the Northern, Western, or Central states (or anywhere else for that matter) do not have an intimate relationship with food, because they probably do. Simply, this paper focuses on the Southern United States because that is what I call home.

I have been acculturated by the ways of the South for my entire life; the foods eaten and the food events of the region have played central roles in my own growth and development, socially and culturally. On a more personal level, it is easier for me to see the traditionality in food and foodways frankly because many of these traditions have become my own. I recognize that traditions and folklore have been passed down to me that deal with food like active traditions such as learning the best time to look for poke greens or how to recognize the bite of a fish on your hook. In a way, folklore can serve as a sort of guidebook or training manual to living and eating.

This paper cannot be completely positive and uplifting; food in the real world is not like that either. In many cases, if not most, the types of food that we decide to eat or to not eat convey deeper meanings that we can perceive either actively or passively. As members of a culture, we have been introduced to ideals and generalizations that are rooted in food choices. According to folklorist Roger Abrahams; food, sex, and talk are three exchanges between people that we hold at the top of their lists; we would not eat with people who we would not talk or have sex with *(Abrahams 1984)*. In this case, food gives us a way to categorize people with whom we may or may not interact.

Linked to this idea are the stereotypes and continuing, the stigmas placed on specific types of foods or people who consume specific types of food. In my experience as a southerner and as a consumer of popular culture, I have seen my fair share of stereotypes presented. However, I do not think I have felt the full wrath of food-related stigmas but I have heard of them and am sure they exist.

This paper serves as a study of foodways in the Southern United States, but more specifically the stigma and stereotypes that overlay onto food choices. Specifically, when I say 'food choices', I am referring to what animals we eat and what parts of animals are eaten. Cultures and regions around the world have some very specific food sources and ideas about what is and is not edible. The United States is a special place when it comes to food because we have many distinct regions within our large landmass. The South is a very distinct cultural region, although its boundaries and borders are highly debated.

Oftentimes, food is a marker between regions. Generally, it is said that people outside of the South do not drink sweet tea, eat fried pigskin, or consider fresh road kill an entrée option.

The South, being a distant area, also has distinct patterns of food categories. Of course, others, both insiders and outsiders to the Southern culture, do not always accept these patterns. In many ways, some specific food categories place ideals on groups of people; food can carry both stigma and stereotypes, which can be both covert and overt.

II. Stigma, Stereotype, and Foodways

How Foodways Relates

Foodways is an important facet of folk studies. Our foodways reflect and reify our traditions, values, and beliefs. In the case of food, the traditions could be vividly spoken traditions that thrive on narratives and dissemination while other traditions flourish with the unspoken lessons that depend on colors, textures, and time that are learned. The way we eat and what we decide to consume also play into the idea of foodways within folk studies.

Terminologies and Ideals

Stigma

Stigma originated as a Greek term that described a physical manifestation which use was to expose a problem that a person had, physical, or moral. A stigma was, and is a sort of advertisement for the negative qualities of a person.

Our conception of the word today focuses on the disgrace and not the actual physical markers. Most notably, Erving Goffman in his text Stigma has contemplated the concept of stigma. Here, Goffman likens the term to "spoiled identity" and puts humans into two major categories, "the normals" and "those who do not depart negatively from [the normal]" (1986: 5). A good visual example to understand this is the typical 1950s photo of a 'happy family' versus a family of clowns. Each are extremes of the spectrum, one end being typical, expected, and accepted as 'correct' and the other being the complete opposite end of the spectrum and being the opposite of the first. In a final category, Goffman discovers people known as "the wise". Here, those of this group are like bridges between the normal and the stigmatized; often both groups accept them.

Each of these groups of people with degrees of stigma become represented in foodways. There are those who exist at the furthest end of the stigma-spectrum and who partake in highly stigmatized foodstuffs and those who are the complete opposite and would not even think to consume any food with a stigma. In the middle, you can find people who go between the two ends and are accepted by both categories. I place myself in this middle or bridge category because I have the ability to switch back and forth between food consumption groups when the need arises; a sort of code-switching with food.

My informants for this project fit into this spectrum neatly; my father and some of his co-workers fit into the furthest and most stigmatized end where as others that I have talked with, such as my sister fit into the opposite end of the

spectrum. I have friends who fit into the middle category and lean more towards to non-stigmatized end. These topics will be discussed later in the analysis section of this paper.

To continue with stigma, Goffman, who I rely on heavily for the understanding of stigma, tells us that there are three types of stigma: physical deformities, blemishes of character, and tribal stigmas of race, nation, and religion (1963: 4). In the case of foodways, any of these three types could apply at some time to food stigmas. Stigmas are deeply set into our minds and culture; we judge people immediately when we see them using stigmas (1986) that our culture has fed us in some way. Essentially, stigmas stand with unanticipated differences from what we had mind. When we judge someone with a stigma, we, at least partially believe that the stigmatized are not quiet human, or not quite like us. We then try to explain this to ourselves by developing stigma-theories, which can account for the unanticipated difference or the danger of the stigmatized (Goffman 1986: 5).

Stigma is not a permanent category, as people can be born into a non-stigmatized status and move into a stigmatized category. This is an important concept to think about as well because food is a strong categorical marker of stigma, especially those related to the race and region. In a sense, seeing the changes in what one eats is a kin to a visual marker of one moving between stigmatized statuses. I need to make clear however, that food is not the only or even most visible marker of stigma and stigma movement. In her 2012 article, Ann Ferrell discusses the topic of stigma in conjunction with tobacco farming

(Ferrell 2014). While reading and thinking on her work, it became clear to me that stigmatized substances are those that are liminal; often they have moved categories over the years. Placing a stigma on tobacco or strange food gives us a way to identify it as different or dangerous.

On the topic of stigma, I found the idea of *stigmatized vernacular* very insightful when thinking about foodways of the South. In the May 2012 issue of The Journal of Folklore Research, the idea of stigmatized vernacular was discussed using several articles from prominent scholars of the field. As defined in the opening article of this issue, stigmatized vernacular is intended to cover "the emic experience of stigmatization [and] also the contagion of stigma" (Goldstein and Shuman 2012: 116).

For me, this concept played an integral role in the way that I looked at the fieldwork I was conducting on foodways and the ways that I understood the stigma. Interestingly enough, when I talked with my father, a central informant to this research, his words, and actions really opened up the way that I understood this topic. I see him as a common human, and so in a sense vernacular in his own thoughts and understandings. Although he never used the exact term *vernacular*, I could ascertain that his thoughts were vernacular when it came to what we has eaten/eats and the way people view him and his practices. At one moment during an interview, I asked him about what people thought of the things he eats or ate in the past and his response really stuck out to me. He said, "No one really made fun of me or anything like that". I asked why he thought that had never happened, and he responded, "they didn't know

what I was eating" (Pinkston 2014). I will come back to this conclusion later in this text.

Stereotype

The widely accepted definition of stereotype is usually an amalgam of distinct concepts and ideas. Historical accounts state that the first definition of stereotype referred to "the typical picture that comes to mind when thinking about a particular social group" (Dovidio 7: 2013) (Lippman 1922). However, today the concept of stereotypes are not this one sided or simplistic, rather, stereotypes tell us a lot of details about people we do not know and about ourselves. "Stereotypes are cognitive schemas used by social perceivers to process information about others" and "stereotypes imply a substantial amount of information about people beyond their immediately apparent surface qualities and generate expectations about group members' anticipated behaviors in new situations" (Dovidio 7: 2013). In sum, stereotypes represent a set of perceived qualities of a group, which in many cases are not backed up by substantial facts or reason.

Stereotypes also give us a way to predict behavior that is built upon what we perceive as true about a social group. For example, according to a common stereotype that says people in the South, especially those who live in rural communities subsist on animals that most do not find clean or acceptable or that have been killed in a non-clean fashion, such as opossum and road kill.

Using this stereotype as a way to predict behavior, we have the expectation to be served opossum or road kill as a main dish if we associate the servers with the type of people detailed in the stereotype. To eat dinner with this 'sort of people' and not be served what we expect would possibly surprise us and question the motives of the people or even create narratives that involve deception or trickery.

Scholarship centered on stereotypes is common in many disciplines, including folk studies. Folklorist Roger Abrahams introduced the idea of the 'Deep Stereotype' in a book chapter written in a collection focusing on regional foodways and the performance of identity. Deep stereotypes exist at the deepest level of our conceptualization of others. In some cases, deep stereotypes provide us a way to put people into groups of 'others' not like 'us'; the 'others' are not as civilized us 'us'. Deep stereotypes are used as ways to think and talk about strangers and enemies and often highlight things that are strange or abnormal to people (people being the dominant group not part of the deep stereotype) (Abrahams 1984).

I would be cautious to suggest that many of our food related stereotypes are rooted in strong deep stereotypes about social and racial groups. As with many aspects of our culture, changing these ideas that are so deep rooted is extremely difficult. In fact, maybe the food stereotypes that we see and accept are actually persisting problems in the social matrix of foodways and regionalism.

Representation in Foodways

Food is a primary vehicle for stereotypes, often because what we eat or enjoy eating is based on our regional, racial, or cultural affiliations. Our culture includes our foodways. Often, foods included in our foodways are not things that we enjoy eating, but are expected to eat. Included with this are cases where people eat strange things because it is all that is available either in the natural world or economically and socially. The South is not exempt from this basis. In fact, most of the food common to the South falls almost directly into at least one of those categories.

Stigmas and stereotypes are possibly equally represented in foodways, however I believe that people see the stereotype more commonly than the stigma. For me, stigma and stereotype go hand in hand; the stigma seems to be the deeper aspect of the stereotype and is often the shame and negativity that comes with a stereotype. This conceptualization helps me understand how food works in this circumstance.

At this point, I would like to turn directly to stereotypes and stigma of people and food in the South. I think that all of us have heard, at some point, specific stereotypes that deal with food or people of the South. These stereotypes are not just proliferated in speech, but also literature and film too. I would argue that most of what is seen as common stereotypes of southerners is actually pulled from visual representations from film and television. In the same way, the stigma that comes with specific stereotypes and that is felt and

shared is also proliferated not just by speech practices and actual occurrences, but rather by what we see and hear in media. It is difficult to figure out what is real and what is false, but more specifically, what is based in fear of the outsider or the 'non-normal' person. Perhaps, the South is stereotyped and stigmatized in its foodways as 'backwards' because at the base of this belief, the people of the South are 'backwards' or not civilized?

It is interesting to me that stereotypes and stigma are still persistent, especially since a large majority of the food that is central to these negativities are foods that were traditionally eaten. In the South, especially the Old South, it was common for people to eat squirrel and rabbit. Rather, wild game was central to many dinners and parties. Raccoon and opossum were hunted, as well as robins (Taylor 1982).

From my own personal experience and with things that I have been exposed to, I have pulled out three common stereotypes that follow Southerners and foodways.

1. Southerners (poor and rural) eat road kill and other 'dirty' meats and food sources
2. Southerners are poor, lazy, dirty, disgusting (subhuman?)
3. Southerners are uncivilized; do not know what 'real' food is

With these ideas, come very specific names and modifiers that are applied to people who are stereotyped. Commonly, names such as "'hillbillies', 'tar heels', 'clay-eaters', and 'rednecks' " (Carr 1996: 3) are used. Commonly these people are poor, white, and do not live in the towns and cities. Already, they

are stereotyped as outsiders and others unlike the cityfolk. They are prime receives of food stereotypes as well. I am sure that most have heard the saying 'you are what you eat' and this plays into the stereotypes and later stigmas that come along with food and the South. Poor white southerners are reduced to eating animals not considered fit for human consumption, such as opossum are also reduced in terms of who or what they are. Because they consume a lower-rung animal that eats garbage, they themselves are being moved into a class of lower-rung humans who in turn eat garbage as well (Rappaport 2003).

At a young age, we are taught to eat only the 'good parts of food' and only clean food…so why as adults should be we eat food that has been taught to us as dirty or wrong? This is often the case with offal; offal is seen as garbage and useless animal product and so if this is the case why would be eat it? Today, offal is still seen as food source for the poor, even though nutritionally, offal is higher in protein and many vitamins than muscle meat (MacClancy 1992).

Along with the three common stereotypes that I provided, I also thought about stigmas that I found to be commonly associated with the South and foodways.

1. Stigma placed on inferior meats or food sources (opossum, raccoon, squirrel, weeds)
2. Stigma placed on how food is procured
3. Stigma placed on the closeness of food and nature versus food and culture

I was able to explore each of these stereotypes and stigmas more in depth when I began to question people about their eating habits and what they felt others would say about them or what they would say about them. As of now, all of the proposed stereotypes and stigma either wholly or partially represented the idea of rural southerners as being un- or less civilized that others. This takes the form of social civilization, cleanliness, and even the closeness of food to nature rather than culture, which is seen as more clean.

An interesting turning point was when informants realized that they were forming ideas on groups of people that were not based in much first hand fact, but rather second hand ideas. I will discuss this aspect of my research more in depth n the following section that outlines my methodologies and gives examples from my research and fieldwork.

III. Examples and Fieldwork

To begin, I would actually like to start with a brief look at other sources that I used to examine stereotypes and stigma, specifically written examples such as books and visual examples such as current television shows. In the second half of this section, I will discuss my methodology and the actual human interactions that I had as part of my fieldwork and research for this project.

Currently, food writing is a popular genre; it goes along well with video documentaries that chronicle food journeys. It seems as if we love to read about or watch someone eat strange food and describe to us what it is like.

Maybe we watch and read these things to put ourselves close to these strange things or to keep our distance. During my research, I used one book and one television series as anchors for my study.

Textual and Visual Representations and Examples of Foodways Related to Stereotypes and Stigma

To begin with my textual example, the book *Fierce Food: The Intrepid Diner's Guide to the Unusual, Exotic, and Downright Bizarre* (Weil 2006) focuses on exotic and strange eats from all over the world. I specifically used this example because it gives a no-holds-back look at strange food and features both plants and animals. While it is not specifically discussing only the South, it does include animals and plants that are specific to the South, to the correlation makes sense.

Specifically recognizable foodstuffs here included frog legs, cattails, honeysuckle, and snapping turtle. Interestingly enough, Weil presents the strange foodstuffs mostly without stereotypes and stigma. In her discussion on frog legs, she writes to raise it to a traditional art; she questions the loss of traditional turtle soup to the majority of regions in the United States. I included this book because it demonstrates a way to view foodways that may not be our own or may be culturally unacceptable in a way that can be read and appreciated.

The visual example that I wanted to use is the television series *Bizarre Foods with Andrew Zimmern* (Travel Channel 2014) and a second version of this

television show that focuses on the United States only, *Bizarre Food America with Andrew Zimmern* (Travel Channel 2014). In this television show, in the case that you are not a regular viewer, the host Andrew Zimmern travels the world and the United States, in search of and consuming some of the strangest and most exotic fares. This television show alone would be an excellent topic of a folkloric study on its own, so including it in this project means that I cannot include it in its entirety or with the amount of study it deserves. I do however; think that these television shows provide a strong perspective of popular culture, which for these topics is an important facet to consider.

In these programs, Zimmern usually tackles the stereotypes upfront, often giving the viewers a behind the scenes view of what is going on in the kitchens of people who eat stigmatized and stereotyped food. We are able to see how animals are hunted, collected, or found and the care and work that goes into preparing them. Often, most stereotypes revolve around the idea of uncleanliness either of the animal or the conditions. One aspect of this television show that I enjoy is that viewers can see that conditions are not unclean and the animal is also not unclean or treated poorly.

A second stereotype that I often hear with the food itself relates to the disguising factor of it. Why would someone each an animal as ugly as opossum or how could something as ugly as a turtle become anything edible? In the television show, this is combatted; Zimmern allows us to see the finished product of exotic eats and for most, this is allowable because they are still far enough away from it to pick up any stigma from the food in question. Viewing

the cooking of opossum on television is safe because it is mediated by culture; the stigma can leak onto you.

Fieldwork-Based Human Examples of Foodways Related to Stereotypes and Stigma

At the heart of any folkloric work is fieldwork. Even though I use visual and written examples as part of my body of evidence, I also used fieldwork to back up my evidence and to provide further venues for analysis. My range of communication varied, I talked to my father and had a phone conversation with my sister who live in the south-central Kentucky area, had an online conversation with a friend and her husband who live in Eastern Kentucky, a quick and short online conversation with a friend who lives up East, and some partially second-hand/in person conversations with co-workers and friends of my father's. In all, I feel as though I covered the basis when it comes to forms of communication. A fault that I noticed in my work however, was that I did not reach out as far as I could have, especially since I know more people in other regions that could have provided more and possibly more telling data and information for this research.

The person that was at the heart of this project and was the person I immediately thought of was my father (I call him 'Dad', and will do so for the remained of this paper). The topic of strange food and the South is something that is very close to me; I am an eater of the strange…but not as much as my Dad. He taught me all the things that I know about food procurement in the

wild, but also special ways to cook or preserve foodstuffs. He grew up in a large family and very poor, so I always knew that his food habits were not only because of frugality but also poverty. There is a difference between the two and I feel like these two topics are often confused and used interchangeably when it comes to stereotypes and stigma of foods in the South. One can eat cheap cuts of beef and ration out bread when being frugal; one cannot afford to buy meat or bread when poor. The common stereotype, which is probably actually based in some fact is that Southerners (remember, rural) are poor, dirt poor actually, as this is why they resort to eating other animals society does not deem 'food'. They have to; it is a necessity.

I do not disagree with this or whole-heartedly align myself with this belief. When I asked my Dad why he ate the things that he ate, he said, "I had to. We didn't have the money to buy things. Hunting is free." I was curious about his current thoughts on this, so I asked him whether he would rather buy good meat in the stores or hunt it and he answered, "hunt it. Why would I pay for something that doesn't taste good?" (Pinkston 2014).

During our interview, I specifically asked my Dad to list all the weird stuff he had eaten, and he did. There were a couple of foods/animals that surprised me. His list includes:

Hog brains
Hog oysters
Turtle
Groundhog
Opossum
Raccoon
Alligator
Robin
Dove
Goose Eggs
Gar
Cow organs: heart, liver, tongue
Pig Skin

Fish tails, fins, and eggs
Frog
Wild Turkey
Pigeon
Quail
Duck eggs
Deer
Turkey eggs
Poke
Wild Burdock
Wild Mushrooms

I was excited to hear him talk about this because I knew that food was a central aspect of our family; my mother was a great cook and I grew up eating whatever we had. Often this was whatever my dad killed (in season of course). I think that my exposure to eating strange things is a core of my being. Opposite this, my exposure to non-traditional culture foodstuffs has made me able to spot the food and South stereotypes and stigma in settings outside of my family and home.

Coming back to a point I made earlier about stigma and what people said about my Dad because of what he ate/eats, it is important to revisit is response because I think it tells a lot about stigma in the South related to food. As a quick recount, my Dad told me that no one made fun of him or called him names in relation to what he ate, because no one knew what he ate. While his words were simple and straightforward, there is an underlying concept of stigma and eventually stereotype as well in this statement. He implied that if people did know what he consumed, they would have imposed the traditional cultural stigma upon him and eventually he would have been subjected to the stereotypes. This stigma is a latent stigma that is imbedded in the actions and thoughts of my Dad. He probably purposefully did not talk about what he was

eating for dinner at night as a way to avoid having the negative stigma placed upon him.

As I think about this one statement increasingly, I feel that there is some sort of coding embedded deep within it too. Maybe it is class or status coding. Alternatively, possibly, this statement and the withholding of information is a form of agency in a society where he would have no voice if exposed or a weapon of the weak to fight against the cultural norms of the time.

As a comparison to my Dad, and me I wanted to interview my sister. She did not share in the same love of strange things like my dad and me and was not as active in the food scene with my Dad as I was, so it was interesting to see where she stood on the matter. The first thing that I asked her was what the strangest thing she had eaten was. Her response was "I've ate octopus before, it was canned, and it was disgusting and rubbery lol," she then proceeded to state that "I'm [Brittany] pretty normal with food though. As far as I'll go is sushi. No turtle, rabbit, squirrel, frog legs, opossum...nothing like that lol" (Fulkerson 2014). What sparked my interest with this comment was that she listed very specific animals that fall into a very specific stereotype without any help from me. The animals she listed were not things that she had grown up eating and they normally are not used with stereotypes of foodways of other regions, usually only the South. I asked her to go more in-depth with what she was saying and I specifically asked her to think about what people would say about her if she were eating fried squirrel in New York. Her response was "I'm not sure. I know the high-end restaurants serve duck and all that. So I'm not really

sure, it may be normal up north in New York" (Fulkerson 2014). I asked her the same question but changed the location to California and her response changed as well, "They'd probably be disgusted of it & the thought, and they'd probably think I'm weird and from Kentucky lol. They'd think I was too poor to go to the store and buy steak or pork chops. I think they'd be mean, and call me poor, freak, idiot, crazy." (Fulkerson 2014).

What was interesting to me about this section of our conversation was that she associated exotic food with high-class dining in New York that was free of the stigma and stereotypes, but when it was moved to California the high-class idea was gone and all that flourished were the stereotypes and stigma associated. I wanted to get a more general sense of where she thought acceptance in foodways lied, so I asked here which region of the United States would be more accepting to eating fried squirrel, and her response was the South. I moved on to road kill and if she would eat it. She vehemently said no, but said that she had seen people on television eat road kill and usually they were rednecks and hillbillies. Intrigued, I asked her to describe what that would be and she explained that "[hillbillies and rednecks] have Run down clothing, bad teeth, not good hygiene lol, got a southern accent kinda I guess. Education, I am not sure if they finished school or not" (Fulkerson 2014).

With this section of our conversation, I assume that in her mind she has the stereotype reserved for the food of hillbillies and rednecks in her mind and that was probably what she was thinking of the entire time we talked. I would

assume that the same stereotype was also what my Dad had in his mind when he did not tell his friends what we ate for dinner.

With my Dad (willing to eat anything) and my sister (will not eat turtle because they are cute but has no problem with eating a pig because it is ugly) being my two central informants representing the opposite poles of the Southern food stereotype and stigma idea, I also spoke and chatted with others who were in the range between these two. My Dad works with two other men on the farm. They grew up very similar to him, in poor farming families and so their experiences were very similar. While Ronnie's family had more money than my Dad and Jay, Ronnie was not a shy eater. However, neither man had eaten some of the things that my Dad had. From the comparison of the three came a sort of idealized or 'normal' non-culturally traditional list of foods, such as deer, turtle, and cow organs.

While talking to my own friends, degrees of strangeness exist with them too. My high school friend Ashley told me that she did not eat strange food, but has eaten strange substances that are not 'food', namely baby powder and dirt. Her husband, when I asked if he ate strange food said that he did not, but he had eaten squirrel and rabbit before (Sparks 2014) (Sparks 2014). Obviously, David does not see those two animals as strange even though in the minds of most they would be considered so.

It became apparent that degrees of strangeness exist. I would assume with this that degrees of stereotypes and stigmas exists as well; if one eats deer it is not as stereotypes or even stigmatized as someone who eats raccoon. An

interesting way to look at this would be to look at animal categories and ideas associated with them. While this is much larger than the scope of this paper, it is interesting to think about the fundamental differences that exist between birds, such as robins and chickens and other animals such as cow and deer.

IV. Conclusion

This paper has taken a sort of long-winded approach to look at stereotypes and stigma found in food in the South. In my whirlwind tour, we have looked at stigma and stereotype as distinct cultural phenomena, within written and televised cultural materials, and in the spoken word of people. I think it becomes clear that food is never just food; it is layered and embedded with messages and meanings, both positive and negative.

Folk studies is integral to the study of foodways (especially since foodways is technically a field of study within folk studies), but more so because folk studies provides and outlet to study the more human aspects of culture. Through the study of foodways, we are able to take a step back and look at culture and our habits in relation to larger pictures. This is especially true when it comes to controversial topics like stereotypes and stigma; folk studies and concepts discussed within it help us to make sense of the world and its cultures.

Bibliography

Abrahams, Roger. 1984. Equal Opportunity Eating. In *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*. Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennesse Press.

Bizarre Foods America. 2014. Produced by The Travel Channel. Performed by Andrew Zimmern.

Bizarre Foods with Andrew Zimmern. 2014. Produced by The Travel Channel. Performed by Andrew Zimmern.

Carr, Duane. 1996. *Acquisition of Class: The Redneck Stereotype in Southern Fiction.* Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State Universtiy Popular Press.

Dovidio, John F., Miles Hewstone, Peter Glick, and Victoria M. Essess. 2013. *Prejudice, Stereotypes and Discrimination: Theorethical and Empirical Overview.* Washington D.C.: SAGE Publications

Ferrell, Ann K. 2014. "It's Really Hard to Tell the True Story of Tobacco": Stigma, Tellability, and Reflexive Scholarship. *Journal of Folklore Research,* 49(2): 127-152.

Fulkerson, Brittany, interview by Renee Pinkston. (April 17, 2014).

Goffman, Erving. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Goldstein, Diane E. and Amy Shuman. 2012. The Stigmatized Vernacular: Where Reflexivity Meets Untellability. *Journal of Folklore Research,* 49(2): 113-126.

Lippman, W. 1922. *Public Opinion.* New York: Harcourt-Brace.

MacClancy, Jeremy. 1992. *Consuming Culture: Why You Eat what You Eat.* New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Pinkston, Roger, interview by Renee Pinkston. (April 18, 2014).

Rappaport, Leon. 2003. *How We Eat: Appetite, Culture, and the Psychology of Food.* Ontario: ECW Press.

Sparks, Ashley, interview by Renee Pinkston. (April 10, 2014).

Sparks, David, interview by Renee Pinkston. (April 10, 2014).

Taylor, Joe Gray. 1982. *Eating, Drinking, and Visiting in the South: An Informal History.* Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press.

Weil, Christa. 2006. *Fierce Food: The Intrepid Diner's Guide to The Unusual, Exotic, and Downright Bizarre.* New York: Penguin Group.