

Effects of Confederate Monuments on Political Attitudes and Behavior

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“Tell About the South”

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“Statues, monuments, and the like contribute to a climate of opinion that is injurious to members of the group singled out. They are enduring. Words disappear as soon as they are spoken. They may resonate in the mind of the victim, causing him or her to recall them over and over again. But a flag [or a] monument...is always there to remind members of the group it spotlights of its unsolicited message.”

Jeremy Waldron, *The Harm in Hate Speech*, 72



“While some have driven by these monuments every day and either revered their beauty or failed to see them at all, many of our neighbors and fellow Americans see them very clearly. **Many are painfully aware of the long shadows their presence casts; not only literally but figuratively...** Earlier this week, as the cult of the lost cause statue of P.G.T. Beauregard came down, world renowned musician Terence Blanchard stood watch... [He] had to pass by this monument to a man who fought to deny him his humanity. He said, **‘I’ve never looked at them as a source of pride... It’s always made me feel as if they were put there by people who don’t respect us.** This is something I never thought I’d see in my lifetime. It’s a sign that the world is changing.’ Yes, Terence, it is and it is long overdue.”
New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu, May 23, 2017

Background

- At least 1,740 symbols of the Confederacy in the U.S., including over 700 statues on public property
- Painful reminders of (racial) injustice
- Lost Cause, Southern heritage, states' rights, preserving the memory of the Confederacy



Background

Racialized debates

- Race and racial attitudes shown by previous scholarship to explain variations in attitudes toward Confederate symbols

Our project moves beyond measuring what predicts support for Confederate symbols and asks 1) what individuals think they mean and 2) how the symbols influence individuals' political attitudes and behavior



Aims of the Study

Study 1 - To ascertain whether factors like race, racial attitudes, and region impact how individuals view Confederate statues

- “Social meaning” - what are the statues really about?

Study 2 - To analyze the impact of government endorsement or protection of Confederate statues on individuals' political attitudes and beliefs

- Belonging
- Political efficacy
- Political participation

Study 1: Social Meaning of Confederate Monuments

Social meaning - what do Americans think Confederate statues really mean?

- Racial injustice or slavery
- Lost Cause
- Southern heritage
- History that taking monuments down won't change
- History to learn from/cautionary tale
- "History"
- Confederate rebels as traitors to the Union

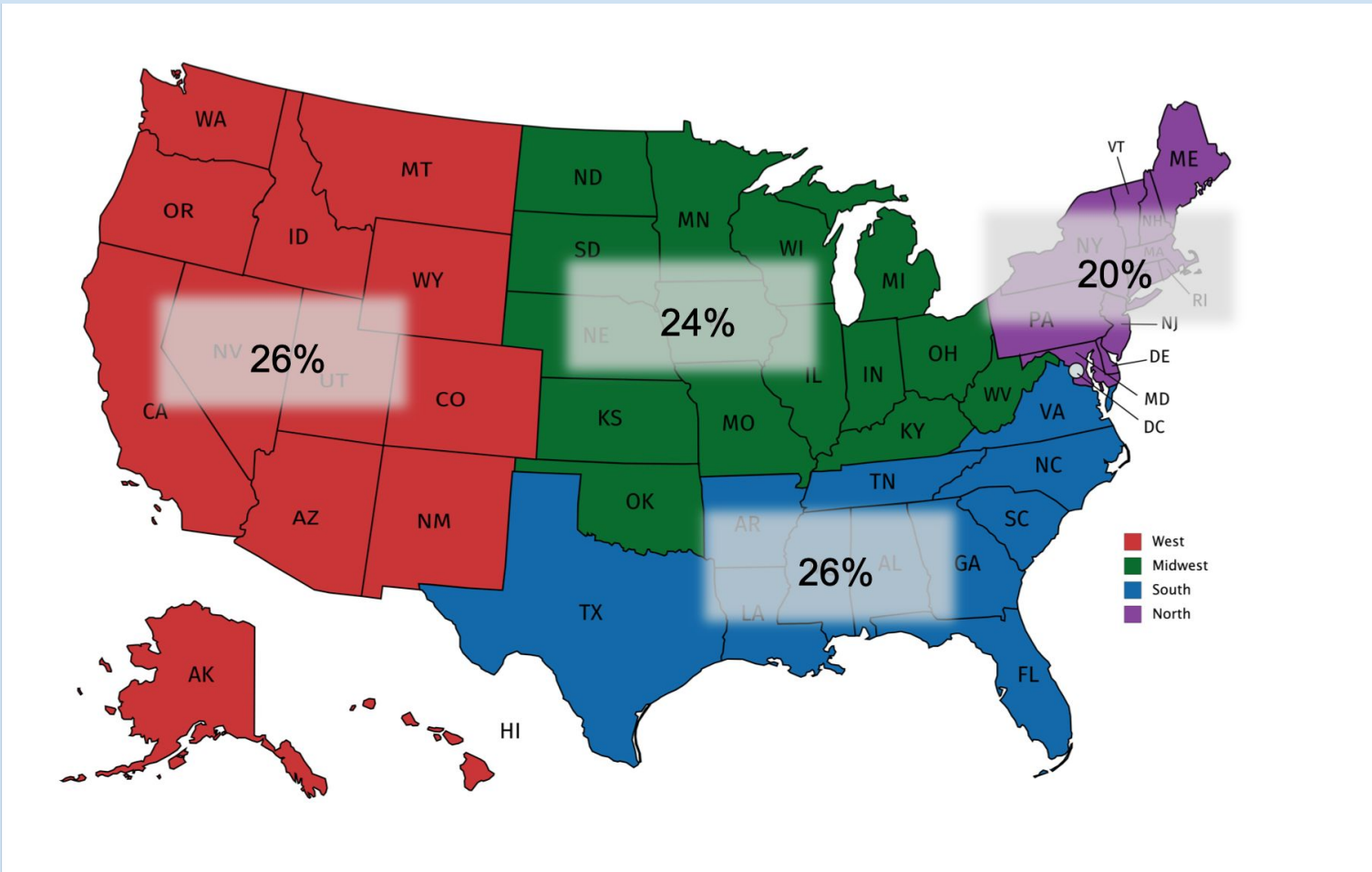


Study 1: Survey Design

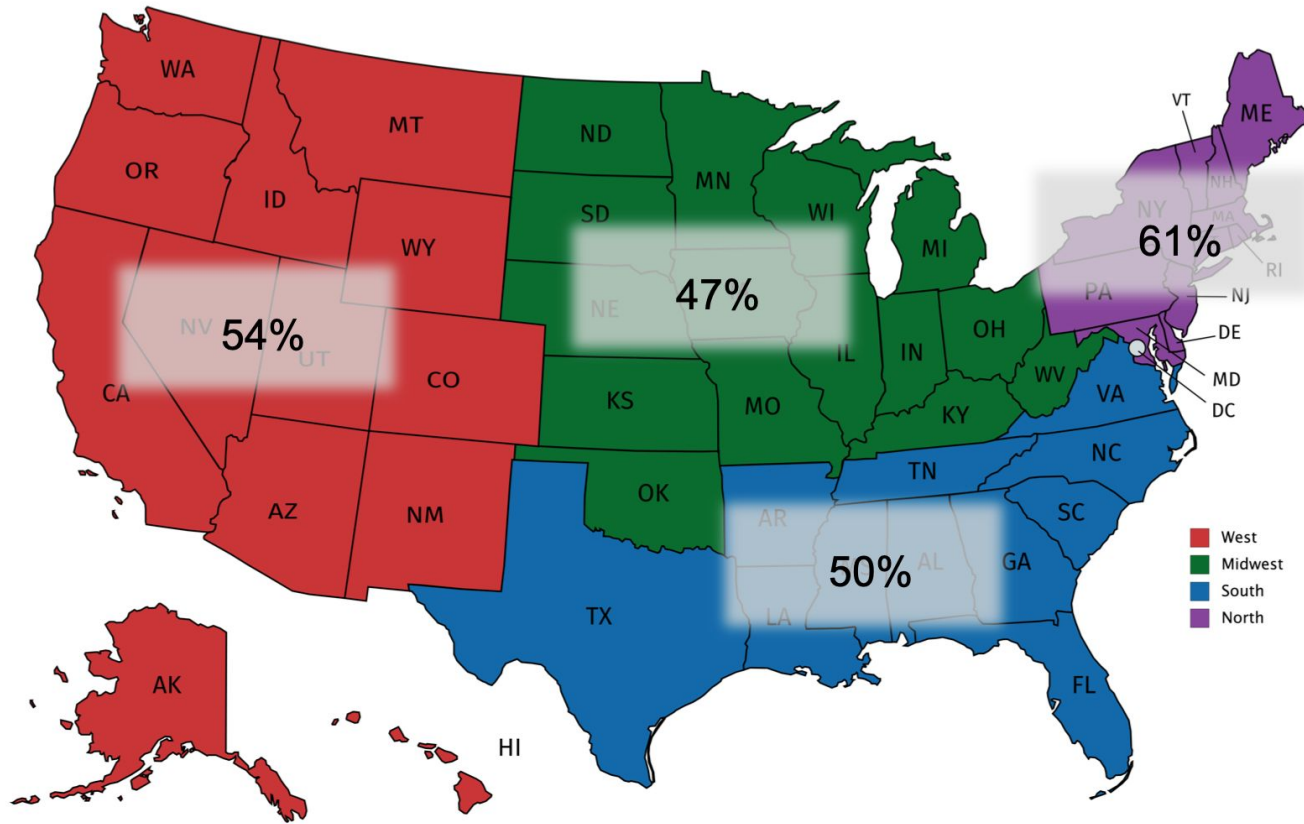
- Online Qualtrics panel survey
- 1,300 U.S.-residing respondents
- 509 Southern U.S. respondents
- Open-ended question/dependent variable:
 - “There has been a lot of talk recently about Confederate monuments or memorials in the United States. What do you think Confederate monuments or memorials symbolize? That is, what do you think they are really about?”
- Other independent variables: race, education, ideology, age, party identification
- Logistic regressions for each social meaning

Study 1 Findings

	South	North	Midwest	West
Change	4%	1%	2%	1%
Heritage	2%	3%	5%	3%
History	50%	61%	47%	54%
Injustice	26%	20%	24%	26%
Learn	4%	4%	7%	5%
Lost Cause	8%	6%	8%	6%
South	4%	3%	4%	2%
Treason	1%	1%	1%	2%



Percentage of respondents who said monuments were about racial injustice or slavery

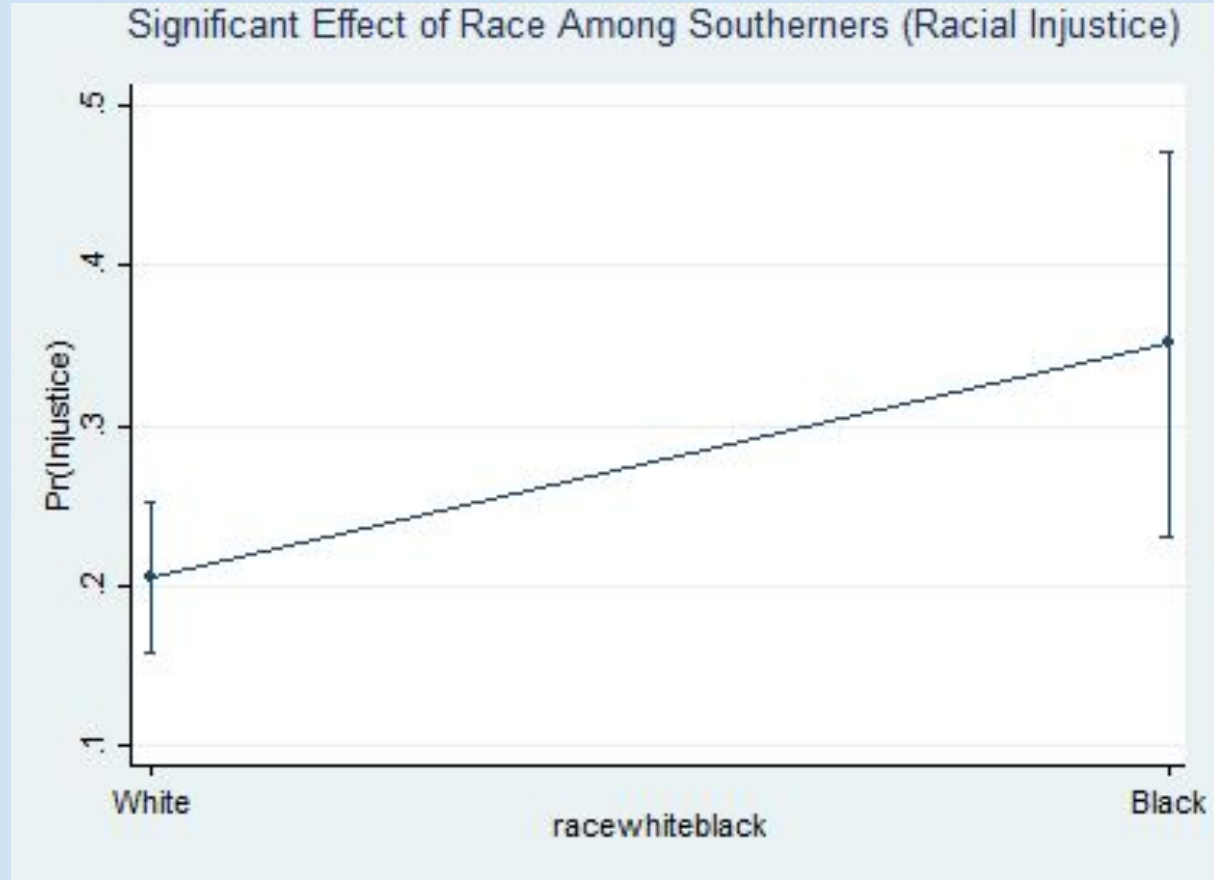


Percentage of respondents who said monuments were about “history”

Study 1 Findings

Among white and Black Southerners:

- Race *does not* significantly predict likelihood of saying Confederate monuments were about **Southern heritage, a Lost Cause, or history**
- Race *does* significantly predict likelihood of saying Confederate monuments were about **racial injustice/slavery**



Study 1 Discussion

- High percentage of respondents thought social meaning was “history”
 - It appears half of respondents don't have a polarized social meaning for Confederate monuments
- Racial injustice the next-most common social meaning
- Effects by race
- Some regional variations

Study 2: Monument Preservation Laws

- Seven out of 11 Southern states have monument protection laws
 - Including five that have passed since 2000 and two since 2015
- Monuments reflect past and present power structures
- How do these state laws shape individuals':
 - 1) sense of belonging?
 - 2) political efficacy?
 - 3) likelihood of political participation?



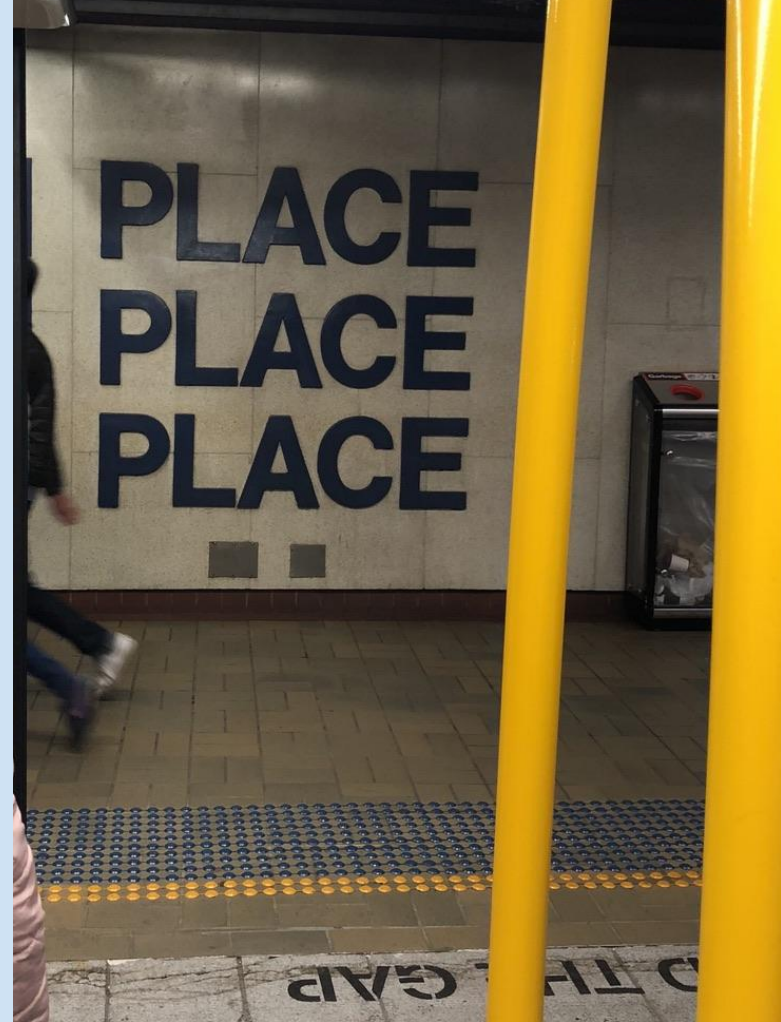
Study 2: Belonging

- Chair of the Carolina Black Caucus, O.J. McGhee, argued that Silent Sam “**was erected purposefully to remind all who walked in its shadow, that no matter our advancements as a people, we would always be viewed as not equal and unwelcome.**”



Study 2: What is Belonging?

- Belonging: how much do individuals feel they belong in their political communities?
- As a visual means of communication, the physical environment conveys boundaries by (re)producing notions about inclusion and exclusion (Migdal, 2004)
- Belonging is not a mere attachment to a place, but an attachment to the socio-political context of that place and the feeling that one fits into or is included in the place



Study 2: Belonging & Confederate Monuments

- State monument preservation laws dictate boundaries of belonging
- Confederate monuments, by symbolizing who is included (Whites) and who is excluded (Blacks), signal groups' belonging
- Thus, we expect that the passage of Confederate monument preservation laws will decrease feelings of belonging among Black Southerners

Study 2: Belonging & Confederate Monuments

- Not only are racially resentful whites more likely to support such symbols, but these symbols actually commemorate and honor resentful whites.
- Confederate monuments signal inclusion and belonging to white Southerners, especially resentment white Southerners
- We expect state protection of Confederate monuments to *increase* a sense of belonging among racially resentful white Southerners

Study 2: Political Efficacy

- Laws protecting Confederate monuments also sends a message to citizens about whose voice shapes politics and whose does not.
- Political efficacy has two primary dimensions
 - Internal efficacy
 - External efficacy
- Government oppression of certain groups or failure to be responsive to groups can decrease group members' efficacy (Bandura, 2000; Drury and Reicher, 2005)



Study 2: Political Efficacy & Confederate Monuments



- Monument protection laws should decrease Black Southerners' political efficacy because individuals who feel that leaders of their political communities are actively excluding them should feel more disconnected from and not heard by those in power

Study 2: Political Efficacy & Confederate Monuments

- We expect opposite effects for resentful whites
 - Resentful whites are more likely to support Confederate symbols
 - They should view states' protection and preservation of monuments as a sign of governmental responsiveness to their own interests
- We expect state protection of Confederate symbols to increase political efficacy among racially resentful whites

Study 2: Political Participation

Political participation is important for a democracy: citizens have to be engaged in the process of politics and public life for a representative and engaged democracy

Political participation:

- Voting
- Running for office
- Donating to a campaign

Study 2: Political Participation & Confederate Monuments

- Monument preservation laws should lead Black people to associate the government and politics with exclusion and racial subjugation
- Thus, we expect state protection of Confederate symbols to decrease likelihood of political participation among Black Southerners.

Study 2: Political Participation & Confederate Monuments

- Racially resentful whites might be encouraged to participate in the political system more when they see Confederate symbols protected by the government

Study 2: Survey Experiment

- Survey experiment in the summer of 2018
- Amazon Mechanical Turk
- Subjects identified as either Black or White
- Experiment only conducted among Southern residents
 - 11 states that seceded from the Union to form the Confederacy: VA, NC, SC, MS, FL, AL, GA, LA, TX, AR, and TN



Study 2: Explanatory Variables

- Gender, race, political ideology and partisan affiliation, racial resentment, and Southern identity
- Southern identity: “Do you consider yourself to be a Southerner?”
 - Responses were scored on a 5-point scale from “definitely yes” to “definitely not”

Study 2: Survey Experiment

- Subjects were asked to read a short news article from their state
- Randomly assigned to one of two conditions
- **Treatment:** Confederacy
- **Control:** War of 1812

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Preservation Act**

By TAYLOR WILLIAMS

MONTGOMERY, AL — The Alabama State Legislature has passed a Memorial Preservation Act that would forbid the "removal, alteration, renaming, or disturbance" of any monument to the Confederacy. CONTINUES on A3

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Study 2: Dependent Variables

- After reading the article, subjects were asked a series of questions intended to gauge their sense of belonging, political efficacy, and intention to participate politically.
- List of statements subjects rated from “strongly agree” (7) to “strongly disagree” (1)
- To create index, scores were averaged across items

Study 2: Belonging Index

Measured sense of agreement with:

- I feel as though people like me don't really fit in to my state
- I'm sometimes ashamed to admit that I'm from my state
- I feel like I am a part of my state

Study 2: Political Efficacy Index

Measured sense of agreement with:

- Elections are a good way of making my state government pay attention
- State officials care about what people like me think
- People like me don't have any say about what the state government does
- I am able to influence those in power in state government and make my voice heard

Study 2: Participation (Intent to Participate) Index

- I plan to vote in my state's next local election
- I plan to donate to a political campaign in an upcoming state election
- One day I would like to run for public office



Study 2: Analysis

- N = 463 subjects
- 36% identified as Black, 64% as White
- 41.0% Democrats, 28.5% Independents, 21.2% Republicans
- Used difference of means tests and ordinary least squares regression (OLS) to analyze data
- Higher values of “belonging,” “efficacy,” and “participation” indicate a subject feels they belong more, have more influence on the government, or are more likely to participate

Study 2: Findings - Black Southerners

- **Belonging:** Black Southern respondents in the experimental condition felt significantly *less* like they belonged than those in the control
- **Political efficacy and participation:** there were no significant differences between experiment and control for efficacy or participation

Table 1: Comparison of Treatment and Control Groups Among Southern Blacks

Dependent Variable	Control Group	Treatment Group	t-value	p-value
	Mean	Mean		
Belonging	4.38	3.87	1.73	0.08*
Efficacy	3.41	3.42	-0.02	0.98
Participation	2.83	2.77	0.29	0.78

Results of Welch Two Sample t-test. N=167. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Study 2: Findings - The Effect of Racial Resentment Among White Southerners

- **Participation:**

- In contrast to our expectations, when informed that their state passed a law protecting Confederate monuments, **less racially resentful Southerners are *more* likely to want to participate**
- While **more racially resentful white Southerners feel *less* desire to participate**

- **Political efficacy and belonging:**

- Also in contrast to expectations, **racial resentment did not moderate the effect of the treatment for white Southerners for political efficacy or belonging**

Study 2: Surprising Results Among White Southerners

- We did not find the results we expected among white Southerners
- Traditional conservatism? Southern identity?
- We run the same analyses but use conservatism and southern identity instead of racial resentment
- Neither **ideology** nor **southern attachment** significantly shape the effect that learning about one's state's Confederate monument protection laws has on white Southerners' feelings of belonging, sense of political efficacy or intention to participate

Study 2: Conclusions

How do state laws protecting Confederate monuments affect Black and white Southerners differently?

- Black Southerners feel like they are less likely to belong, while white Southerners overall are unaffected
 - Black Southerners did not show significant effects for political efficacy or participation
- Racially resentful whites are less likely to engage politically, while whites who are not racially resentful intend to participate more
- Southern identity and conservatism do not help to explain how whites respond to Confederate preservation laws

Limitations and Future Directions

1. Traditional or “normative” political participation (voting, campaigning, donating) vs. “non-normative” political participation (protesting, political violence, etc.)
2. Which political community? State vs. city/town/county vs. country
3. Repeated exposure to monuments
4. Other racial and ethnic groups

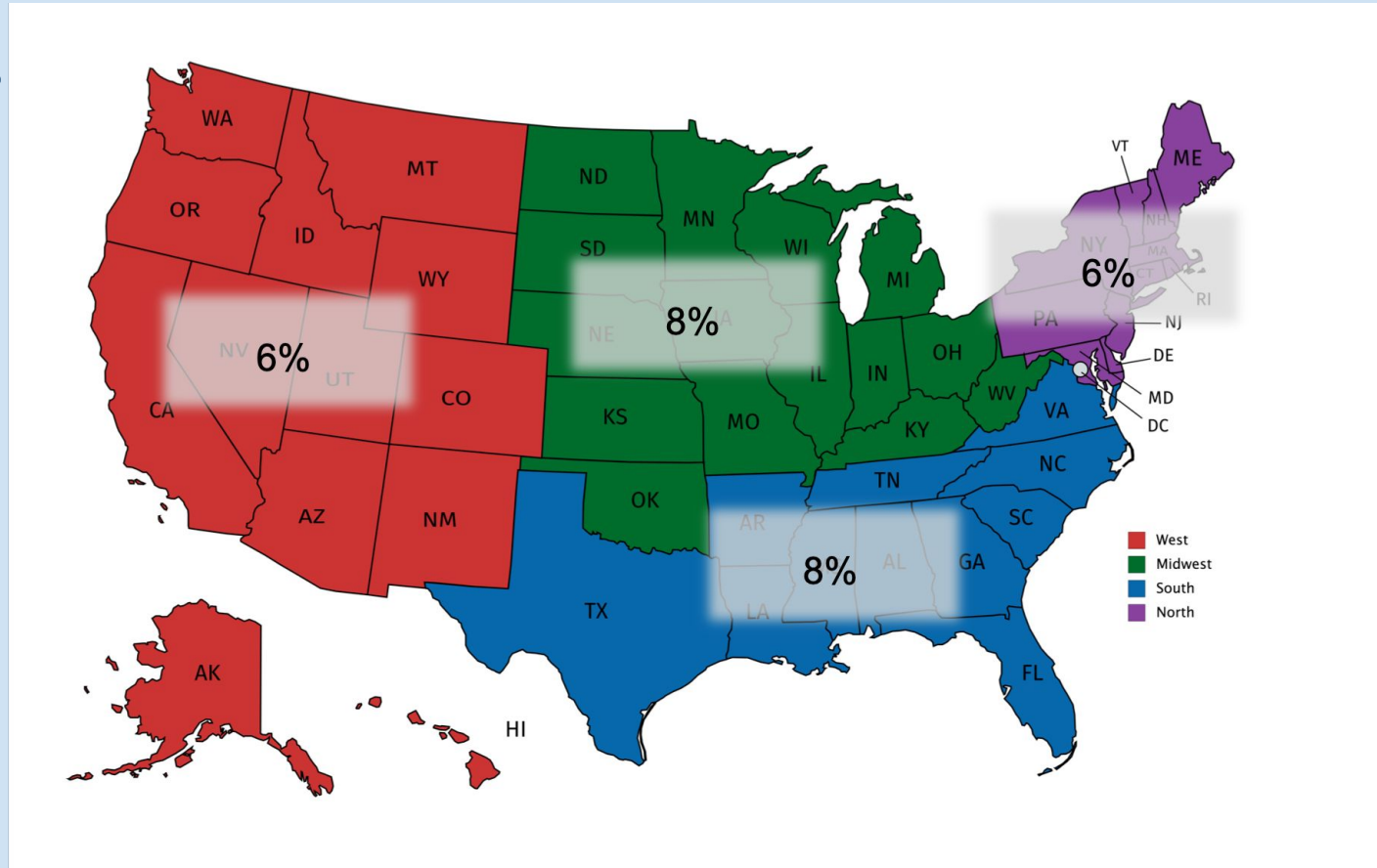
Implications

Race and politics

Historically contentious political symbols inside and beyond the U.S.

Political effects of the government's endorsement of certain historical narratives

Appendices



Percentage of Respondents Assigning a Meaning of "Lost Cause"

Appendices

Table 3: The Effect of State Protection of Confederate Monuments and Racial Resentment among Southern Whites

	Model 1 Belonging	Model 2 Efficacy	Model 3 Participate
(Intercept)	3.39** (0.34)	3.35** (0.27)	2.71** (0.25)
Treatment	-0.15 (0.47)	-0.03 (0.37)	0.66* (0.35)
Racial resentment	0.28** (0.07)	0.04 (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)
Treatment x Resentment	0.01 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.23** (0.08)
R ²	0.10	0.02	0.05
Adj. R ²	0.09	0.01	0.04
Num. obs.	281	281	281
RMSE	1.83	1.45	1.35

** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Appendices

```
Logistic regression                               Number of obs   =       443
                                                    LR chi2(5)      =       7.48
                                                    Prob > chi2     =       0.1876
Log likelihood = -303.31594                       Pseudo R2      =       0.0122
```

history	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
racewhiteblack	1.050574	.277088	0.19	0.852	.6265025	1.761693
age	.9921055	.0059453	-1.32	0.186	.9805211	1.003827
education	.9467744	.0546606	-0.95	0.343	.8454806	1.060204
ideology	1.023791	.051414	0.47	0.640	.9278217	1.129686
partyid	1.207272	.1489419	1.53	0.127	.9479639	1.537511
_cons	1.300263	.6609233	0.52	0.605	.480138	3.521249

Logistic Regression Results: “History”

Appendices

Logistic regression

Number of obs = 443

LR chi2(5) = 19.00

Prob > chi2 = 0.0019

Log likelihood = -105.40667

Pseudo R2 = 0.0827

lost	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
racewhiteblack	.2098301	.2186214	-1.50	0.134	.0272272	1.617083
age	1.027918	.0131562	2.15	0.031	1.002453	1.05403
education	1.154725	.1433592	1.16	0.247	.9053191	1.472839
ideology	1.188994	.1279001	1.61	0.108	.9629774	1.468059
partyid	.978377	.2537878	-0.08	0.933	.588447	1.626691
_cons	.0032192	.0039085	-4.73	0.000	.0002981	.0347695

Logistic Regression Results: “Lost Cause”

Appendices

Logistic regression

Log likelihood = -238.75229

Number of obs = 443

LR chi2(5) = 21.27

Prob > chi2 = 0.0007

Pseudo R2 = 0.0427

injustice	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
racewhiteblack	2.026471	.5691102	2.51	0.012	1.168666	3.513906
age	.9943023	.0068818	-0.83	0.409	.9809053	1.007882
education	1.093543	.0742895	1.32	0.188	.9572153	1.249286
ideology	.8904714	.0523772	-1.97	0.049	.7935104	.9992802
partyid	.8069599	.1180618	-1.47	0.143	.6057835	1.074946
_cons	.5389162	.3173223	-1.05	0.294	.1699497	1.708921

Logistic Regression Results: “Racial Injustice”

Appendices

Using the sliding scale, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly agree			
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel as though people like me don't really fit in to my state	<input type="range"/>							
I'm sometimes ashamed to admit that I'm from my state	<input type="range"/>							
I feel like I am a part of my state	<input type="range"/>							

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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Elections are a good way of making my state government pay attention	<input type="range"/>							
State officials care about what people like me think	<input type="range"/>							
People like me don't have any say about what the state government does	<input type="range"/>							
I am able to influence those in power in state government and make my voice heard	<input type="range"/>							

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	Strongly Disagree							Strongly agree
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I plan to vote in my state's next election	<input type="range"/>							
I plan to donate to a political campaign in an upcoming state election	<input type="range"/>							
One day I would like to run for public office in my state	<input type="range"/>							
Please select "3" for this question	<input type="range" value="3"/>							