

# **Concrete Implications? How Confederate Monument Removal Shapes Political Attitudes in the United States**

**Isabel Rudie**

**April 2021**

## **Abstract**

There is minimal existing research within the United States today that informs us on the significance of symbolic politics, and just how impactful physical symbols can be in terms of the shaping of history, interpretation of events, representation of government, and framing of a country's ideals. This paper hones in on Confederate monument removal to explore the effect such has on subsequent changes in Republican vote share and political attitudes of United States Citizens. Using a two-way fixed effects model with electoral and monument data, as well as an ordinary least square model with unique data collection via an online survey experiment, I find that the removal of Confederate monuments, on average, significantly decreases subsequent Republican vote share at the Presidential level, and caused United States citizens to be significantly more likely to support and believe in the validity of the Black Lives Matter movement. The effects are even more extreme when considering gender and support for Donald. J. Trump. These findings add to a hyper-relevant and quickly growing field of research and literature pertaining to symbolic politics and its connection to political and racial attitudes with the United States today.

## **Acknowledgements**

Throughout the entire research and writing process necessary for the completion of this thesis, I received invaluable support, insight, and encouragement. I would first like to thank Professor Pablo Querubin Borrero, whose advice and knowledge was instrumental to the development of my research question and empirical design. I would also like to thank my TA Rafael Chduran for his unwavering support and patience throughout the entire data collection, merging, and cleaning process. To Roxanne Rahnama, thank you for your inspiration and insight into the field of symbolic politics, and for your willingness to step in as a key mentor. And finally, a big thank you to my peers, parents, and friends for their guidance and comfort throughout the entire research process.

## 1. Introduction

It may be surprising to some just how often political conflicts are derived from contestation over physical spaces in a manner that has no concern for issues of territory and ownership. Rather, the issue at hand relates to the topic of ‘Symbolic Politics,’ which can be most succinctly described as, “political exploitation of symbols such as names of public spaces, monuments, and other types of historical, religious, or ideological iconography” [Rozenas and Vlasenko, 2020]. In recent years, conflicts of symbolic politics have exploded across the globe and within the United States, most often relating to issues of historical and racial representation, and power struggles dating back to the beginning stages of colonialism and wider-scale imperialist movements. Honing in on the case within the United States in the last decade, the issue of symbolic politics at hand has largely been related to systemic racism, police brutality, and Black Lives’ Matter protests that resulted in a concurrent surge of Confederate symbol removals, whether that be statues of Confederate generals from the Civil War, Confederate Flags on the steps of Southern courthouses, or renaming highways and schools that once memorialized historical Confederate figures.

The intention of this paper is to analyze the effect of Confederate monument removal on subsequent differences in Republican vote share and the political attitudes of U.S. citizens. Despite the pertinence of symbolic politics to racial relations, political sentiments of individuals as well as larger groups, and increasingly frequent media coverage within the United States, empirical research on the topic as it relates to political consequences and effects is rather limited: “At the most basic level, we still do not know whether political manipulation of symbols has any systematic, measurable political repercussions.” [Rozenas and Vlasenko, 2020]. Whilst Rozenas’ and Vlasenko’s empirical research contributed to the topic in the context of symbolic politics’ impacts on electoral outcomes in the case of Ukraine, this paper aims to progress this field of research further by investigating the same question in the case of the United States to shed light on how symbolic politics can impact political attitudes on the level of the individual United States citizen.

Recent developments within the United States such as the mass protests and disapproval of Confederate monuments following the police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis in Summer 2020, the November 2020 Presidential Election results, and the accelerating pace of Confederate monument removals on a state-by-state basis to this day present a unique and timely opportunity for a systematic empirical analysis of this ongoing spectacle. However, the debate over Confederate monument removal is by no means unique to the last decade; contestation over Confederate symbols at the state and local level dates back at least thirty years [Rahnama 2020, Leib and Webster, 2007].

Although, the debate over what exactly Confederate symbols stand to commemorate (the main arguments being Southern cultural heritage versus racial prejudice and slavery) as well as *nationwide* efforts for their removal most definitely accelerated at a never-before-seen pace in the last five to six years [Rahnama 2020]. This acceleration of the dispute over, and disapproval of, Confederate symbols is most widely connected to aftermath of the 2015 Emanuel AME Church massacre in Charleston, South Carolina, in which white supremacist Dylann Roof, intending to start a “race war,” murdered nine Black people at a bible study meeting [Alderman and Dwyer, 2004, Domby, 2020]. Several photos became publicly accessible that depicted Roof holding a gun as well as the Confederate flag. South Carolina officials responded by passing legislation to have the Confederate flag removed from State house grounds. The debate reignited once more in 2017 when the Unite the Right rally, which stood *against* the removal of a Confederate statue in Charlottesville, Virginia, resulted in a “self-described Neo-Nazi” driving his car into a crowd of counter-protestors, killing one individual. The leaders of several nearby towns responded by calling for local Confederate monument removal.

Following these events, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) assembled and continues to update a database mapping over 2,000 unique Confederate symbols in the U.S., with 702 monuments in total and 90 having been removed [Gunter et al., 2016].<sup>1</sup> I combine this dataset with United States Presidential Electoral outcome data sourced from Decision Desk HQ as well as the MIT Election Data

---

<sup>1</sup> These figures correspond to the last verified version of the database from December 2020. I do not incorporate any updates to the database or additional removals after December 2020 in the analysis.

and Science Lab that includes election years 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016, and 2020. Using this merged observational data, I define treatment as Confederate monument removal<sup>2</sup> that occurred between the 2000 and 2020 Presidential Elections. The outcome variable is the numerical change in Republican vote share between Presidential election years. The unit of analysis for this portion of my research falls at the county level, as this is the smallest-scope level of information gathering for the merged electoral and monument dataset. I employ a two-way fixed effects model for the analysis of this data, as this model accounts for the treatment of Confederate monument removal (or lack thereof, the control counties), county fixed effects, year fixed effects, and relevant controls. Variation in Confederate monument removal is both spatial and temporal [Rahnama 2020].

I augment my analysis with original data collection concerning political attitudes on the individual level via an online survey experiment. I define treatment as assignment to an article depicting Confederate monument removal that resulted following a Black Lives' Matter protest in Birmingham, Alabama. The outcome variable at hand is Political Attitude, measured in terms of opinion on the significance of monuments, support for BLM protests, belief in racial inequality throughout the U.S., and more indicators on the individual level relevant to the makeup of one's general political attitude. Naturally, the unit of analysis for this portion of my research falls at the individual level. I employ a randomized experimental design and analyze the results using an ordinary least squares cross-section regression model. This model is most fitting for my survey experiment because the treatment and outcome variables at hand at the level of the individual are associated with a single point in time. Further, the model can account for a vector of all relevant controls on individual characteristics for person  $i$ , and the randomized assignment to treatment balances the demographic characteristics I aim to control for.

The primary identification strategies utilized throughout this paper did not come without challenges. Regarding the observational data component, potential selection bias stems from a counties' *ability* to be treated given the differences in the status and number of monuments. To address the potential

---

<sup>2</sup> The SPLC dataset includes Confederate iconography beyond monuments, but I hone my analysis to focus only on physical monument iconography.

issue of the *number* of total Confederate monuments within a county affecting treatment and biasing results, I generate both “ratio removed” and “total monuments” variables so that the regression accounts for these differences between counties and in a sense, levels the comparison. In terms of my survey experiment, the identification strategy relied primarily on sampling schemes and the implementation of control-based questions within the survey. I will speak more to my methods of doing so below as well as within the Data/Empirical Design section.

Using a two-way fixed effects design for the observational data, I find that the removal of Confederate monuments, on average, decreases Republican vote share on the county-level. Because I am comparing the temporal changes in election outcomes relative to the changes in the presence of Confederate monuments within the same electoral county, these results cannot be driven by unobserved time-invariant characteristics of the locations where the Confederate monuments were removed. Robustness and placebo tests show that these results are unlikely to be affected by time-varying characteristics of the counties.

Using an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression for my online survey experiment conducted at the individual level, I find that exposure to the treatment article concerning recent Confederate monument removal, on average, caused respondents to be significantly more likely to support and believe in the validity of the Black Lives Matter movement. Further, all political attitude outcome indicators exhibited positive coefficients, implying that the treatment article had an overall liberalizing effect on respondents. A series of questions related to demographics and knowledge of the topic at hand were included within the survey to act as controls so as to not bias the results and cause any problems in the effort to truly identify the causal effect of Confederate monument removal on key political attitude indicator topics like the respondent’s views on racial inequality, the Black Lives Matter movement, reparations, the capitol insurrection, freedom of speech, and more. Further details on actions taken to preserve the robustness of the experiment’s results can be found in the Data/Empirical Design section.

This paper contributes to the existing research within American politics on Confederate symbols as well as the more global-scale topic of symbolic politics. The existing research concerning Confederate

symbols has primarily focused only on removals concerning the Confederate battle *flag* [Rahnama 2020, Cooper and Knotts, 2006, Grose and Peterson, 2020, Hutchings et al., 2010, Orey, 2004, Strother et al., 2017]. Of the few papers that have considered the broader subset of Confederate symbols—physical monuments, plaques, names of schools, military bases, and courthouse grounds, etc.— none have studied the post-effect of *actual* monument removal as it relates to vote share and political attitude changes to my knowledge [Gunter et al., 2016]. Other than the aforementioned research by Rozenas and Vlasenko, the closest study to mine is by Johnson, Tipler and Camarillo (2019). Their research consisted of an online survey experiment measuring how *deliberation* affects support for the removal of the Confederate memorials in the U.S. My study takes on a different angle within this topic in that I am interested in the effects of the actual *removal* of Confederate monuments (as opposed to informational priming on deliberation) on *both* the individual level and in terms of wider political outcomes.

---

## 2. Literature Review

It may be surprising to some that the majority of Confederate symbols and memorials built across the United States were not constructed in the direct aftermath of the American Civil War which ended in 1865. Rather, there were two distinct periods many years later that mark concentrated increases in the erection of Confederate symbols across the country; most notably, the 1890s–early 1900s that accompanied an extensive increase in Jim Crow laws, as well as the 1950s and 60s during the racially-charged civil rights movement [Rahnama 2020, Gunter et al., 2016].

The appalling events of Charleston, Charlottesville, Minneapolis, and countless others with less notable media coverage in the last decade have encouraged American researchers and historians to revisit the indisputable connection between lasting Confederate memorials and their effect on U.S. citizens’ impression and memory of the civil war. Competing narratives regarding what exactly Confederate symbols serve to represent is arguably the largest and longest ongoing reason behind their controversy. The two main frames of thought considered in empirical research on the topic are firstly, the idea that Confederate symbols represent the valiant “Lost Cause” of Southern states fighting for their rights, which

was spread and propelled by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) [Rahnama 2020, Cox, 2003, Domby, 2020]. And secondly, the argument advanced by Black civil rights leaders that views Confederate symbols as ongoing physical manifestations of racial prejudice and white supremacy [Rahnama 2020, Alderman and Dwyer, 2004, Moeschberger, 2014].

Following the aforementioned Charleston shooting in 2015, CNN conducted a national poll that found an insignificant change in citizens' take on the meaning of the Confederate flag in comparison to results of the same poll given in the year 2000; 57% viewed the flag as a symbol of Southern heritage, and 43% viewed it as a symbol of racism [Roper Center, 2020]. This naturally raises the question, is the difference in perceived meaning of Confederate symbols the only reason for the controversy surrounding their removals? A survey experiment conducted in 2019 tested whether the mode of decision making affects public attitudes, testing the effects of a decision made by public referendum versus by a city council [Johnson et al., 2019]. Using a 2x2 design with four treatment groups, the researchers found that, "respondents view decisions made by referendum to be fairer and more legitimate and allow multiple perspectives to be heard. These results hold even for respondents who oppose the referendum's outcome" [Johnson et al., 2019]. These findings contribute to the field of research surrounding symbolic politics by advancing the conclusion that "direct participation in decision making can enhance satisfaction with a decision," offering a modal approach for cities across the country that are actively dealing with the controversy around Confederate symbols within their area of jurisdiction [Johnson et al., 2019]. This paper aims to contribute a different, additional modal approach for municipality leaders, by offering evidence that demonstrates the political implications of how they choose to deal with existing Confederate symbols.

In a more similar line of approach to this paper, a recent study by Benjamin et al. (2020) incorporated the strengths of both (1) case studies of Southern municipalities that currently have or once had Confederate symbols, and (2) polling reports of people's attitudes about these symbols in order to gain insights as to "why some monuments have been dismantled and others remain in place" [Benjamin et al., 2020]. Using a logistics regression design, the paper found that, "the size of the black population, the



presence of a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People chapter, and the percentage of Democrats in a county in which a monument exists—as well as whether the monument exists in a state that constrains removal by legislative decree—best predict whether a Confederate monument will be taken down” [Benjamin et al., 2020]. My hope is that in a similar fashion, this paper too “elucidates the interplay of race, partisanship, and local and statewide politics as it relates to the dismantling of Confederate monuments” [Benjamin et al., 2020]. The key component that differentiates this paper’s contribution from that of Benjamin et al.’s is the scope of study as it relates to monument status; this paper focuses directly on the *post*-removal effects as they relate to voting and political attitude changes and/or patterns on both the county and individual levels.

Similarly to the aforementioned literature, researchers Christian R. Grose and Jordan Carr Peterson set out to study the *pre*-removal effects that economic concerns have on Southerners’ likelihood to support Confederate monument removal and hence, “liberalize their racial attitudes” [Grose and Peterson, 2020]. Using three separate groups of Southern political elites and voters, the study conducted three separate survey experiments and used a simple OLS regression to analyze their findings. They found that overall, “Southerners were far more likely to support removing the flag from public property when told it would hurt the local economy.” On a more specific level of their respondents, elected officials and voters went from “somewhat likely” to favor removal, to “very likely”, and county elected officials moved from “neither likely nor unlikely” to support removal toward “somewhat likely” when told it would hurt the local economy [Grose and Peterson, 2020]. Their findings pose a unique contribution to the field of research relating to Confederate symbols by introducing novel data collection that can point future officials dealing with Confederate monument concerns in their areas of jurisdiction to concrete evidence that economic threats “change the minds of both Southern elected officials and voters” [Grose and Peterson, 2020].

Once again, this paper fits in and contributes to the active research on Confederate symbols in a unique fashion different from that of Grose and Peterson and the previously discussed literature in that it focuses on the less often studied *post*-removal indicators and effects on political attitudes and voting. In a

time of increasingly rapid Confederate symbol removals, with over 50 removed in 2020 alone (compared to just 5 in 2019), it is of the utmost importance that empirical research begins to consider the subsequent effects of said Confederate symbol removal; not just the widely discussed pre-removal effects and mechanisms relating to solely the Confederate flag, racial attitudes, and modes of decision-making [Gunter et al., 2016].

Further, the inclusion of *both* unique data collection on the individual level as it relates to post-removal effects on political and racial attitudes *and* larger-scale observational data that considers electoral shifts (the first to do so concerning Confederate monuments in the United States, to the best of my knowledge) is a weighty and significant research package worthy of note. I next outline the theoretical basis for why Confederate monument removal may shift Republican vote share up or down, as well as spur changes in individual political and racial attitudes in different directions.

---

### 3. Theoretical Expectations

The primary goal of this paper is to test how the removal of Confederate monuments after the 2000 U.S. Presidential election affected subsequent Republican vote share in the following Presidential Elections through year 2020, as well as how removals affect a range of political attitude outcomes related to racial inequality, the Black Lives Matter movement, and more. Relevant literature demonstrates the important role that physical symbols play in the political sphere; one paper argues that far more political scientists should treat “rhetoric and symbols as central rather than epiphenomenal to politics” [Wedeen, 1999].

Whilst theory has been published on symbols’ linkage to mass mobilization, group identity, and social conflict, as well as their use as modes of belief-forming and decision-making, there is little that points to a direct hypothesis concerning voters’ reactions to manipulation of public symbols, and more specifically, their removal [Rahnama 2020, Brown and Ellithorp, 1970, Cobb and Elder, 1973].

It is important to clearly note that the supporters of Confederate symbols in current times are predominantly associated with the Republican party. With that assumption, there are various theoretical grounds that support the hypothesis that removal of Confederate monuments hurt the associated party, the

Republican party, at the polls. According to Rozenas and Vlasenko, “symbols are short-cuts to complex ideologies and political platforms” [Gill, 2008]. In turn, Confederate monuments serve as supporting, propagative resources for sects of the Republican party, especially in deep-Southern states that were prior members of the Confederacy. In the context of communism in East Central Europe, political scientist Anna Grzymala-Busse found that, “legacy parties often benefit from the infrastructural and organizational capital they inherit from the past” [Grzymala-Busse, 2006, Rozenas and Vlasenko, 2020]. In a sense, Confederate monuments can be viewed as a “capital stock” for the far right, hence the removal of said capital would make the success of their associated party, the Republican party, more difficult at the polls [Rozenas and Vlasenko, 2020].

However, there are also legitimate reasons to hypothesize that the removal of Confederate monuments *helped* the Republican party at the ballot boxes. Rozenas and Vlasenko used the theoretical argument that, “voters may punish the incumbent if they believe that he uses symbolic politics to divert attention from the lack of progress on real issues like income, jobs, crime, or national security” to support the hypothesis that removal of Soviet monuments helped the election results for Soviet legacy parties, and the same can be said of Confederate monument removal and the Republican Party’s recent election results [Rozenas and Vlasenko, 2020, Solt, 2011]. Further, Republicans and supporters of Donald J. Trump may have been mobilized by the rapid increase in Confederate monument removals in recent years, helping the Republican party at the subsequent 2020 Presidential election. The backlash effect leading to mobilization of perturbed voters has been seen in other studies of symbolic politics, like the repercussions that ensued following the movement of the grave of Francisco Franco, the former Caudillo of Spain [Rozenas and Vlasenko, 2020, Rubin, 2018]. According to Rozenas and Vlasenko, “the logic of the backlash effect is similar to the status threat mechanism: when a group perceives a threat to its social, economic, or political status, it can provoke a defensive reaction that shows up in voting behavior” [Petersen, 2002, Bustikova, 2014].

The available data for the observational, vote share angle of my research is not susceptible to complete disentanglement of competing characteristics that have potentially significant interaction effects

with Confederate monument removal. However, I am able to provide evidence for the nature of operation of these interactions via my survey experiment's individual-level data. I am also able to hypothesize the modes in which certain interactions will be more likely to have an effect.

Using the two primary frames of meaning for Confederate monuments mentioned in the introduction, my first interaction-related hypothesis is that Southern respondents and voters are more likely to experience feelings of loss and aversion when witnessing removal. This subgroup is most likely concentrated in the 11 former Confederate states [Rahnama 2020, Alderman and Dwyer, 2004, Dombey, 2020]. I hypothesize that this sub-population, Southern white respondents, are more likely to take part in the backlash effects of Confederate monument removal, resulting in sparked antagonistic attitudes towards Black Lives Matter protests and racial equality-related topics. I expect these outcomes to be further affected by gender. The predominant role of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in upholding and spreading the physical symbols and memories of the Confederacy is suggestive of expecting a larger effect among Southern white women than that of Southern white men [Rahnama 2020, Dombey, 2020, Gulley, 1993]. Further, a 2019 study revealed that, "relative to white men, who do not show strong inclination to adopt a racial identity, 57% of white women scored high in racial identity scores" [Rahnama 2020, Jardina, 2019]. With this in mind, I expect to find, on average, a larger spark in antagonistic attitudes towards Black Lives Matter protests and racial equality-related topics for white women compared to white men.

When considering respondents and voters that think Confederate monuments are racist and glorify slavery, most likely liberals, northerners, and Blacks, the hypothesis that removal of Confederate monuments will *lower* antagonistic attitudes towards Black Lives Matter protests and racial equality-related topics is possible. This sub-population is more likely to view removals as, "a claim to space and gain in symbolic capital within the broader movements for reparative justice and racial reconciliation" [Rahnama 2020, Balfour, 2003, Harvey, 2010]. It is likely that those that fall into this frame of perspective on Confederate monuments view their removal as physical manifestations of a shift in societal norms towards confrontation and further disapproval of legacies upholding slavery and racism, causing

some witnesses of removal to lower their racially charged antagonism [Rahnama 2020, Bursztyn et al., 2019, Getachew, 2020].

If Confederate monument removal decreased subsequent Republican vote share, it would indicate support for the hypothesis that Confederate monuments can be viewed as a “capital stock” for the far right of the Republican party. If removal increased Republican vote share, it would indicate support for the idea that the backlash effect led to mobilization of perturbed Republicans. When considering individual United States’ citizens, I expect Southern white respondents to be more likely to experience sparked antagonistic attitudes towards Black Lives Matter protests and racial equality-related topics when prompted with Confederate monument removal, and an even greater level of this amongst white women relative to white men. Finally, for those that view Confederate monuments as symbols of white supremacy, racial prejudice, and slavery-glorifying, I expect removal to cause a decrease in antagonistic attitudes towards Black Lives Matter protests and racial equality-related topics.

---

#### **4. Data and Empirical Design: Observational Study**

The relevant unit of analysis for the electoral, observational component of my research is the county-year. A county level analysis is most fitting given that the treatment at hand, Confederate monument removal, is best categorized and observed at the county level<sup>3</sup>. Further, United States Presidential electoral data gathers votes at county level. Variation at the county level will come from several factors: time trends and changes, confounding variables like local politics, leaders, demographics, and external events like protests and recent police brutality. I am most interested in the variation in Republican vote share across time on the county level.

My treatment variable is the ratio of Confederate monuments removed to those still standing within each county, via data gathered by the Southern Poverty Law Center. It is important that the *ratio* removed be my primary treatment rather than a simple integer-based ‘removed’ variable so that

---

<sup>3</sup> Confederate symbol data provided by the Southern Poverty Law Center is given at both the city and county level.

differences in treatment given the number of total monuments within each county is accounted for. The ratio removed treatment variable is easy and feasible to track, record, and calculate. I do not believe there is any non-classical measurement error to be concerned with for the ratio removed functioning as the independent variable, as the data source captures *all* monuments that experience removal.

My outcome variable is Republican vote share. This is measured empirically on the county level from Presidential election years 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016, and 2020. The election data is derived from Decision Desk HQ as well as the MIT Election Data and Science Lab. Republican vote share is the ratio of Republican Presidential candidate votes to total votes within each United States county. I am interested in the *difference* in Republican vote share over time within counties that were treated (experienced Confederate monument removal). The benefit of this measure is that it is easy and feasible to track, record, and calculate. I do not believe there is any non-classical measurement error to be concerned with for Republican vote share functioning as the dependent variable, as the data sources are well respected outlets for United States election data at several contextual levels.

Further, I have included a variable that identifies the total number of Confederate monuments within each county. This variable had the potential to act as a control if the simple integer-based ‘removed’ variable functioned as the treatment rather than the ratio removed. However, through generating and using the *ratio* removed variable as the treatment, the same function and purpose is served as would ‘total monuments’ as a control.

Using Census Data gathered from 2016 and 2019, I was able to generate and merge in demographic make-up related variables that aided the study of potential interaction effects as well as functioned as a potential control. In terms of racial makeup, share White and share Hispanic variables made it possible to study the interaction effects between the racial makeup of a county’s population and Confederate monument removal, as seen in [Table 2](#). The inclusion of a population size variable functions as a potential control variable. Please find the correlating [descriptive statistics](#) table for the observational study in the appendix below.

The main identification problem my research suffers from is isolating the true, lone effect of Confederate monument removal on changes in Republican vote share. There are several potential confounders and sources of bias that may prevent me from estimating the true causal effect of Confederate monument removal on Republican vote share. For example, external events like police brutality, Black Lives' Matter protests, and counter protests that occur in counties where Confederate monument removal also occurred may be affecting and/or skewing the changes in Republican vote share at the county level. Furthermore, the demographic makeup of counties may also affect the changes in Republican vote share over time. This is a difficult topic to study mostly because these potential, and likely, confounders are not easy to eliminate in the form of quantitative controls. Yes, I can compare the changes in Republican vote share across counties that experienced Confederate monument removal and those that did not, but there is not a confident quantitative measure I can take to isolate the effect of Confederate monument removal from that of BLM protests or police brutality, as the three are so intricately interwoven, especially in our current political climate.

The empirical strategy I employed to demonstrate the effect of Confederate monument removal on Republican vote share is a two-way Fixed Effects Model. This model limits the identification problems mentioned above via the inclusion of county fixed effects so as to make isolating the effect of monument removal on republican vote share clearer. This model also allows for the inclusion of time-varying controls, which I investigated via the census-given population variable<sup>4</sup>. The corresponding regression model is as follows:

$$Y_{it} = \gamma_c + \gamma_t + \beta(C_{it}) + \mathbf{X}_{it}\phi + \epsilon_{it}$$

where  $Y_{it}$  is the Republican vote share outcome in county  $i$  at year  $t$ ,  $\gamma_c$  represents the county fixed effects,  $\gamma_t$  represents year fixed effects; “The inclusion of unit and time fixed effects accounts for both unit-specific (but time-invariant) and time-specific (but unit-invariant) unobserved confounders in a flexible manner” [Imai et. al, 2020].  $C_{it}$  is an indicator of the presence, or absence of treatment of

---

<sup>4</sup> See results section below for further detail regarding the inclusion of this control.

Confederate monument removal in county  $i$  in year  $t$ . More specifically,  $C_{it}$  is the ratio of monuments removed in relation to the total number of Confederate monuments in a county. The value of  $C_{it}$  for each Presidential election year corresponds to the share of monuments removed in the last four-year administration period. For example, the value of  $C_{it}$  for year 2020 corresponds to the share of monuments removed between 2016 and 2020.  $\mathbf{X}_{it}$  represents a vector of county-level controls, and  $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}_{it}$  represents the standard errors, which are clustered around the unit of analysis, the county  $i$ .

---

### 5. Results: Observational Component

I estimate the average effect of Confederate monument removal on Republican vote share using the merged SPLC and Electoral data and a two-way fixed effects empirical design. The results are shown on the county level across time, specifically presidential election years spanning from 2000 - 2020. In terms of breaking down treatment and control, if at least one Confederate monument within a county is removed, the county is considered as treated. If there are no removals of Confederate monuments within a county, it functions as a control. However, the use of the *ratio* removed as the treatment variable makes it so that treatment within the regression functions in a manner that accounts for the number of total Confederate monuments within a given county, so that a county with 2 total monuments and 1 removed is not assumed to have been treated in the same manner as that of a county with 16 total monuments and 1 removed, for example. Standard errors are clustered at the level of treatment, the county. These results are shown in [Table 1](#) below.

Column one regards the *ratio* of Confederate monuments removed as the treatment variable, whilst Column two regards the *sum* of removed Confederate monuments in a given county to be the treatment variable. Column three uses a removed binary variable, taking values of either 1 or 0, as the treatment variable. My primary analysis concerns the regression and results of column one, as I consider the ratio removed to be the principal treatment, and the two-way fixed effects model diminishes the need for a population size control.



**Table 1: Effect of Confederate Monument Removals on Republican Vote Share**

**Dependent Variable: Republican Vote Share**

	(1) Intensive Full	(2) Total Count Removed	(3) Extensive Full
<b>Ratio Removed</b>	<b>-0.061***</b> (0.008)		
<b>Removed (sum)</b>		<b>-0.031***</b> (0.005)	
<b>Removed Binary</b>			<b>-0.058***</b> (0.007)
<b>Total Monuments</b>	0.035 (0.022)	0.013 (0.018)	0.012 (0.018)
<b>Observations</b>	3510	3533	3533
<b>R-squared</b>	0.901	0.900	0.900
<b>Controls</b>	NO	NO	NO
<b>Fixed Effects</b>	YES	YES	YES

This table shows Two-Way Fixed Effects estimates for the effect of Confederate monument removal on subsequent Republican vote share using Presidential electoral data from Decision Desk HQ and the MIT Election Data and Science Lab as well as monument data provided by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Results are presented at the county contextual level, whereby a county that experienced Confederate monument removal is considered to be treated, and counties with Confederate monuments that did *not* experience removal function as the control group. Clustered standard errors at the county level are reported with the following significance levels: \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

In [Table 1](#), the direction of the effect on Republican vote share is negative for all three columns with differing specifications of the treatment variable. The primary regression results, that of column one in [Table 1](#), indicate that as the ratio of Confederate monument removal within a county goes from zero to one, we see a subsequent 6.1 percent decrease in Republican vote share. This effect is statistically significant and of a rather large magnitude, as the coefficient is approximately a tenth of the mean. This result is significant to the 1% level. Column two's results indicate that for every additional increase in Confederate monument removal within a county, we see a subsequent 3.1 percent decrease in Republican vote share. This effect is statistically significant to the 1% level and of a rather large magnitude. Column three's results indicate that for counties where *any* Confederate monuments were removed, we see a

subsequent 5.8 percent decrease in Republican vote share. This effect is also statistically significant to the 1% level and of a rather large magnitude.

I chose to exclude my total monuments control from this main regression when using the ratio removed as the treatment variable because the two inherently affect the regression in the same way by accounting for both the number of monuments removed, and still standing, within each county. These results support the hypothesis discussed in the prior theory section that the removal of Confederate monuments hurt the Republican party in subsequent elections.

A noteworthy concern with the previous analysis may be the criteria for inclusion (the purposeful focus on Confederate monuments, rather than all Confederate symbols). For that reason, a secondary test was run that included *all* Confederate symbol types the Southern Poverty Law Center had within their dataset, instead of just the physical monuments. The intention of running this secondary test focusing on the symbol type, all other factors held constant in the regression, is to prove the robustness of the main regression results using only Confederate *monuments*, and further signify the impact these physical symbols have on politics and voting behavior. The results of the secondary test (see [Table 11](#) in the Appendix) are as follows; there is a significant effect of all three variations of the removed monument treatment variable (ratio removed, total count removed, and binary removed) on subsequent Republican vote share—this speaks to the legitimate effect of *all* Confederate symbols. However, all three coefficients exhibit a decrease in comparison to that of the primary analysis concerning just Confederate monuments. This speaks to the aforementioned theory that symbolic politics regarding large physical symbols that transform spaces have a pronounced effect on the political views of those in the local area.

As mentioned above, census data made it possible to explore the interaction effects between race and Confederate monument removal. As seen in [Table 2](#) below, there are no significant effects of interacting the share of a population that is White with the number of Confederate monuments removed. However, interestingly enough, when there is a larger share of Hispanics in a given county that experienced Confederate monument removal, a marginal increase in Confederate monument removal results in a subsequent 7.7 percent decrease in Republican vote share. Furthermore, this interaction result

demonstrates that the racial makeup of a county holds leverage upon the effect Confederate monument removal will have on subsequent Republican vote share.

**Table 2: Race and Monument Removal Interaction Effects**

<b><u>Dependent Variable: Republican Vote Share</u></b>	(1) <b>White Intensive Full</b>	(2) <b>Hispanic Intensive Full</b>
<b>Ratio Removed</b>	-0.003 (0.045)	0.020 (0.012)
<b>Removed (sum)</b>		
<b>Share White</b>	1.651*** (0.554)	
<b>Ratio Removed x Share White</b>	<b>0.001</b> (0.057)	
<b>Share Hispanic</b>		-0.488 (0.334)
<b>Ratio Removed x Share Hispanic</b>		<b>-0.097***</b> (0.032)
<b>Constant</b>	-0.520 (0.389)	0.645*** (0.004)
<b>Observations</b>	1165	1165
<b>R-squared</b>	0.993	0.992
<b>Controls</b>	NO	NO
<b>County &amp; Year Fixed Effects</b>	YES	YES
<b>Tot. Int.</b>	<b>-0.0017</b>	<b>-0.0770</b>
<b>p-value(Tot.Int.)</b>	0.9133	0.0014

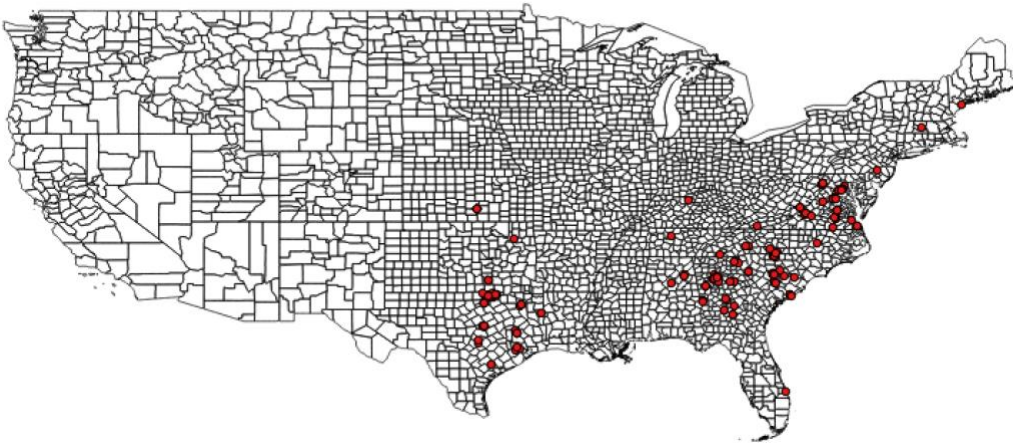
This table shows Two-Way Fixed Effects estimates for the effect of Confederate monument removal on subsequent Republican vote share using interaction effects with Census-sourced racial-makeup data. Results are presented at the county contextual level. Clustered standard errors at the county level are reported with the following significance levels: \* p < 0.10, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01.

In summation, as the ratio of Confederate monument removal within a county goes from zero to one, we see a subsequent 6.1 percent decrease in Republican vote share. This effect is statistically significant and of a large magnitude. Furthermore, we also see significant results when removal is interacted with the share Hispanic of a given county's population, a marginal increase in Confederate monument removal results in a subsequent 7.7 percent decrease in Republican vote share, demonstrating the legitimate and noteworthy effect that Confederate monument removal and a county's racial makeup has on subsequent voting in Presidential elections.

## 6. Data and Empirical Design: Survey Experiment

The relevant unit of analysis for the survey experiment component of my research is the individual. The goal of this survey is to analyze the political attitude outcomes of individual United States citizens, hence the fitting individual-level unit of study. Variation naturally arises from differences in the individual respondents that participated in the survey. All respondents are located in one of four former Confederate states: Texas, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia. The map below depicts the locations of respondents when taking the survey.

### Map: Respondent Distribution



\*Respondents located outside of the four southern states mentioned above were used only within the pilot test and not counted within the final analysis.

Respondents were chosen from zip codes that currently had standing Confederate monuments, and none removed, to the best of my knowledge given data from the Southern Poverty Law Center. This sampling method limits the potential of outside treatment<sup>5</sup> via witnessing nearby Confederate monument removal. Variation amongst the individual participants may arise from differences in ideology, income, race, education, gender, and other factors that can largely affect opinions related to one's overarching

---

<sup>5</sup> By the term 'outside treatment,' I mean survey participants receiving something close to the survey experiment's treatment via witnessing nearby Confederate monument removal. My hope is that by limiting respondents to zip codes where removal had not yet occurred, this 'outside treatment' did not occur, and I received a more accurate separation between the treatment and control groups.

political attitude. Naturally, the controls utilized in my analysis included ideology, income, race, education, and gender, balanced via quotas Qualtrics utilized for the survey.

My treatment variable is assignment to one of two articles. Respondents were randomly assigned to either the treatment article, which was a CNN article titled, “Protesters tried to remove a Confederate monument in Birmingham. The mayor told them he would finish the job,” while the other half of respondents were randomly assigned to the control article, which was a CNN article titled, “Hollywood changed this year. Some things will never go back to the way they were.” Both articles were followed by three corresponding reading comprehension questions. In order to be included in the final count of the 207 respondents analyzed, the respondent must have correctly answered all three questions, ensuring proper treatment via a complete understanding of the article assigned to them.

The dependent outcome variables examined were the following:

1. *Racial Inequality*, measured based on response to the following question: “Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Racial Inequality is an ongoing issue within the United States that must be addressed.”
2. *Reparations*, measured based on response to the following question: “Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Reparations are necessary in order to account for disadvantages that African-Americans face due to the United States' past of slavery.”
3. *BLM Validity*, measured based on response to the following question: “Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The Black Lives Matter movement is a valid-response by the African-American community to ongoing racism in the United States.”
4. *Removal Strategy*, measured based on response to the following question: “Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? BLM Protests that call for local politicians to enact Confederate Monument Removal are more effective than those that attempt physical monument removal.”
5. *Support BLM*, measured based on response to the following question: “Rate your level of support for Black Lives Matter Protesters.”

6. *Participate BLM*, measured based on response to the following question: “How likely are you to participate in a Black Lives Matter protest?”
7. *Capitol Effect BLM*, measured based on response to the following question: “How do the recent events in the Capitol affect your opinion of the Black Lives Matter movement?”
8. *Capitol Effect Rights*, measured based on response to the following question: “How do the recent events in the Capitol affect your opinion on freedom of speech and assembly?”

I do not believe there is any non-classical measurement error to be concerned with for these dependent variables, as the responses analyzed are gathered from secure, unique data collection via Qualtrics.

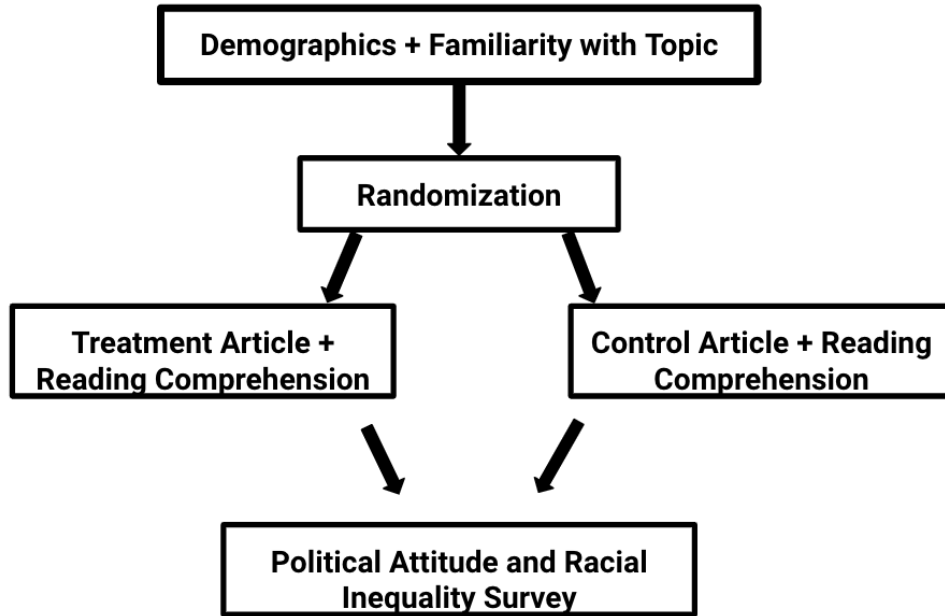
Other important variables to consider are those which served as modes of interaction studies with the assignment to treatment (or control). The following variables were used within interaction regressions:

1. *Freedom of Speech*, measured based on response to the following question: “How much value do you place on your right to freedom of speech?”
2. *Ideology*, measured based on response to the following question: “Where would you place yourself on this scale? Extremely Conservative, Conservative, Slightly Conservative, Slightly Liberal, Liberal, Extremely Liberal.”
3. *Trump Dummy*, measured based on response to the following question: “Who did you vote for in the 2020 Presidential Election?”
4. *Gender*, measured by respondents’ self-classification as either male or female.
5. *Race*, measured by respondents’ self-classification as Black, White, or other.

The results of the interaction regression analysis can be seen in Tables 5-9, and will be further discussed in the survey experiment’s results section below.

Below is a diagram of the order of the survey experiment, as given to the respondent.

## Survey Flow



A link to the survey in full can be found below in the appendix and linked [here](#).

The main identification problem my research suffers from is isolating the true, lone effect of the treatment article concerning a BLM protest that resulted in an attempted Confederate monument removal on respondents' political attitude outcomes concerning racial inequality, reparations, and the Black Lives Matter movement. There are several potential confounders and sources of bias that may prevent me from estimating the true causal effect<sup>6</sup>. Demographic and ideological differences between respondents are intended to be controlled via the aforementioned control variables, but it is impossible to account for all other factors related to what shapes one's political attitude. This is a difficult topic to study mostly because these potential, and likely, confounders are not easy to eliminate in the form of quantitative controls. Yes, I can compare the political attitude outcomes of those that received the treatment article and those that did not, but there is not a confident quantitative measure I can take to confirm that control respondents were not affected by nearby or televised news of Confederate monument removal. Further, as

---

<sup>6</sup> More detail into identification problems is further discussed in Section 4, the Data/Empirical Design of my observational research.

mentioned in section 4, it is difficult to isolate the effect of such from that of BLM protests or police brutality, as the three are so intricately interwoven, especially in our current political climate. However, random assignment to treatment is precisely how I address the aforementioned identification problem.

Given these concerns, in order to isolate true causal effects, it was necessary to establish a balance between the observable covariates between the treatment and control groups, which was expected given the random assignment of treatment. I demonstrate the balance in controlled characteristics of the respondents in the balance table [below](#).

**Table 3: Survey Experiment Balance Table**

<b>Factor</b>	<b>Level</b>	<b>Control Assignment</b>	<b>Treatment Assignment</b>
<b>N</b>		107	100
<b>Female</b>		73 (68.2%)	74 (74.0%)
<b>Race</b>	White	79 (73.8%)	77 (77.0%)
	Black	23 (21.5%)	16 (16.0%)
	Other	5 (4.7%)	7 (7.0%)
<b>Ideology, mean (SD)</b>		3.22(1.39)	3.39(1.35)
<b>Education</b>	Less than HS	1 (0.9%)	2 (2.0%)
	High School	47 (43.9%)	51 (51.0%)
	Associates Degree	20 (18.7%)	16 (16.0%)
	Bachelor's Degree	25 (23.4%)	24 (24.0%)
	Post Graduate Degree	14 (13.1%)	7 (7.0%)
<b>Income</b>	\$0-\$50,000	66 (61.7%)	45 (45.0%)
	\$50,000-\$100,000	30 (28.0%)	42 (42.0%)
	\$100,000-\$150,000	9 (8.4%)	9 (9.0%)
	\$150,000 or more	2 (1.9%)	4 (4.0%)

---

The empirical strategy I employed to demonstrate the effect of the treatment article concerning Confederate monument removal and a BLM protest on several indicators of a respondent's political



attitude is a simple Ordinary Least Squares Regression model. This model and the randomized assignment to treatment and control groups in my online survey experiment via Qualtrics limits the identification problems and potential biases of the respondents that could potentially skew the results. The corresponding regression model is as follows:

$$\text{Political Attitude}_i = \alpha_i + \beta(\text{Treatment Article}_i) + \mathbf{X}_i\gamma + \varepsilon_i$$

where  $\text{Political Attitude}_i$  is the outcome variable related to one's political attitude—their take on BLM Validity, Racial Inequality, Reparations, Support for BLM, Participation in BLM, or the Capitol Insurrection's effect on their view of BLM—in individual respondent  $i$ .  $\alpha_i$  represents the political attitude of respondent  $i$  when they did *not* receive treatment, hence this is represented by members of the control group in the survey.  $\text{Treatment Article}_i$  represents the respondent  $i$ 's assignment to treatment, whether that be the treatment article concerning BLM and Confederate monument removal, or the control article concerning movie success during the pandemic.  $\mathbf{X}_i$  represents a vector containing all the controls on individual characteristics for person  $i$ , which are balanced via random assignment to treatment, and  $\varepsilon_i$  represents the standard errors, which are clustered at the unit of analysis, the individual respondent  $i$ .

---

## 7. Results: Survey Experiment

I estimate the average effect of the treatment article concerning a Black Lives Matter protest that resulted in Confederate monument removal on several political attitude indicators concerning views on racial inequality in the United States, reparations, the Black Lives Matter movement, monument removal strategies, and the Capitol insurrection that occurred on January 6, 2021. The results are shown on the individual level. The 207 respondents that participated in the online survey experiment were equally and randomly assigned to either the treatment or control articles. Respondents' demographic and personal characteristics relating to age, gender, race, income, location, etc. were balanced (see [Table 3](#)) across the treatment and control groups so as to eliminate the need for control variables in my regression analysis. Standard errors are clustered at the level of treatment, the individual. These results are shown in [Table 4](#) below.

**Table 4: Effect of Treatment Article on Political Attitude Outcomes**

<b>Regressions:</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<b>Dependent Variables→</b>	<b>Racial Inequality</b>	<b>Reparations</b>	<b>BLM Validity</b>	<b>Removal Strategy</b>	<b>Support BLM</b>	<b>Participate BLM</b>	<b>Capitol Effect BLM</b>	<b>Capitol Effect Rights</b>
<b>Treatment Assignment</b>	0.047 (0.051)	0.056 (0.068)	<b>0.111*</b> (0.066)	0.014 (0.067)	<b>0.396*</b> (0.204)	0.126 (0.174)	0.095 (0.088)	0.049 (0.082)
<b>Constant</b>	0.813*** (0.038)	0.364*** (0.047)	0.589*** (0.048)	0.626*** (0.047)	2.664*** (0.145)	2.084*** (0.117)	2.075*** (0.065)	1.981*** (0.058)
<b>Observations</b>	207	207	207	207	207	207	207	207
<b>R-squared</b>	0.004	0.003	0.013	0.000	0.018	0.003	0.006	0.002

This table shows ordinary least squares estimates for the effect of the treatment article on several political attitude outcome variables using unique data collected from an online survey experiment conducted via Qualtrics. Results are presented at the individual contextual level, whereby an individual that received the treatment article and correctly answered all corresponding reading comprehension questions is considered to be treated, and individuals that received the control article and answered all corresponding reading comprehension questions correctly function as the control group. Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

In [Table 4](#) above, the coefficients on all eight political attitude outcomes are positive, indicating that the treatment article had a relatively consistent effect on respondents. The first significant finding can be seen in column three, and concerns the outcome variable of BLM Validity, in which respondents were asked ““Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The Black Lives Matter movement is a valid-response by the African-American community to ongoing racism in the United States.” The coefficient for *BLM Validity* indicates that treated respondents that read about a BLM protest and subsequent Confederate monument removal were 11.1 percent more likely to view the BLM movement as valid. This effect is statistically significant to the 10% level and of a rather large magnitude as the coefficient is nearly a fifth of the mean response. The second significant finding concerns support for BLM as seen in column five; respondents were asked to, “rate your level of support for Black Lives Matter Protesters.” The coefficient for *BLM Support* indicates that treated respondents were 39.6 percent more likely to exhibit a high level of support for Black Lives Matter protesters. This effect is statistically significant to the 10% level and of rather larger magnitude as the coefficient is over a tenth of the mean reply.

The robustness of this analysis can be largely attributed to the variation in outcomes considered within the overarching concept of one's political attitude. The inclusion of questions relating to racial relations, reparations, the Black Lives matters movement not only in terms of support but also regarding its validity and likelihood to participate, as well as examinations of respondent's takeaways from the Capitol insurrection and their views on monument removal strategy all support a multifaceted, complex, and comprehensive exploration of what views and relevant events affect and shape a respondent's political attitude.

As mentioned above, other important variables played a crucial role for exploring what other views and qualities affect one's political attitude. The following variables were used within interaction regressions:<sup>7</sup> *Freedom of Speech, Ideology, Trump Dummy, Gender, and Race*<sup>8</sup>. There are little to no significant effects of interacting the value a respondent places on freedom of speech with the treatment article (see [Table 8](#)). This indicates that a respondent's value placed on freedom of speech and their assignment to either the treatment or control article did not affect their political attitude outcomes. There are also no significant effects of interacting a respondent's ideology (spanning from extremely conservative to extremely liberal) with the treatment article (see [Table 5](#)). This indicates that a respondent's ideology and their assignment to either the treatment or control article did not affect their political attitude outcomes.

When interacting the 2020 Presidential voting decision (simplified to either Donald J. Trump (1) or Joseph Biden(0)) of a respondent with the treatment, we see significant effects on the following variables (see [Table 6](#) below): respondents that voted for Trump in 2020 and received the treatment were 16.7% more likely to support reparations; this effect is significant to the 10% level. Treated Trump supporters were also 55.9% more likely to support BLM and after witnessing the events of the capitol insurrection, 30.9% more likely to support BLM; these effects are significant to the 5% level.

---

<sup>7</sup> More details on the questions relating to these variables can be found in the prior empirical design section for the survey experiment.

<sup>8</sup> Interaction results concerning key factors such as value placed on freedom of speech and race are in the Appendix.

Furthermore, treated Trump supporters were 43.1% more likely to participate in a BLM protest, these effects are significant to the 1% level. This interaction result demonstrates that the treatment article holds leverage upon the political attitude outcomes of past supporters of Donald J. Trump.

**Table 6: Interaction of Trump Dummy and Treatment on Political Attitude Outcomes**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dependent Variables→	Racial Inequality	Reparations	BLM Validity	Removal Strategy	Support BLM	Participate BLM	Capitol Effect BLM	Capitol Effect Rights
Treatment Assignment	0.022 (0.041)	0.002 (0.110)	0.091 (0.063)	0.033 (0.102)	0.036 (0.252)	-0.126 (0.273)	-0.048 (0.130)	0.088 (0.128)
Trump Dummy	-0.395*** (0.092)	-0.476*** (0.087)	-0.655*** (0.088)	-0.057 (0.111)	-2.303*** (0.222)	-1.789*** (0.185)	- 0.982*** (0.125)	0.421** * (0.137)
Treatment x Trump Dummy	0.096 (0.128)	0.165 (0.140)	0.058 (0.129)	-0.134 (0.161)	0.523 (0.359)	0.557* (0.314)	0.358* (0.182)	-0.130 (0.191)
Constant	0.953*** (0.033)	0.535*** (0.077)	0.860*** (0.054)	0.674*** (0.072)	3.744*** (0.177)	2.907*** (0.176)	2.512*** (0.091)	1.814** * (0.090)
Observations	149	149	149	149	149	149	149	149
R-squared	0.207	0.181	0.432	0.021	0.479	0.371	0.361	0.091
Tot. Int.	0.1186	<b>0.1670</b>	0.1490	-0.1015	<b>0.5588</b>	<b>0.4307</b>	<b>0.3093</b>	-0.0417
p-value(Tot.Int.)	0.3295	0.0553	0.1854	0.4149	0.0302	0.0063	0.0166	0.7695

This table shows ordinary least squares estimates for the effect of the treatment article interacted with a respondent's 2020 voting decision on several political attitude outcome variables using unique data collected from an online survey experiment conducted via Qualtrics. Results are presented at the individual contextual level. Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

The interaction results concerning the race of respondents and treatment come as no surprise; non-white respondents were more like to believe in racial inequality, support reparations, and uphold the validity of BLM. This supports my original hypothesis that white respondents were more likely to experience sparked antagonistic attitudes towards Black Lives Matter protests and racial equality-related topics when treated (see [Table 9](#) in the Appendix). However, the results of the interaction between treatment and gender provided far more surprising results (see [Table 7](#) below). Disproving my hypothesis that white women would experience a larger spark in antagonistic attitudes towards Black Lives Matter protests and racial equality-related topics, the gender-treatment interaction regressions showed that treated female respondents were actually *more* likely to support and believe in the validity of BLM in relation to

men. As noted by the total interaction effects, treated females were 14% more likely to think the BLM movement is valid (significant to the 10% level), and 40.8% more likely to support the BLM movement as a whole (significant to the 10% level). This interaction result demonstrates that gender possesses significant leverage upon the effect the treatment article will have on a respondent’s all-encompassing political attitude.

**Table 7: Interaction of Gender and Treatment on Political Attitude Outcomes**

Dependent Variables→	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Racial Inequality	Reparations	BLM Validity	Removal Strategy	Support BLM	Participate BLM	Capitol Effect BLM	Capitol Effect Rights
<b>Treatment Assignment</b>	-0.043	0.023	0.009	0.095	0.253	-0.210	0.095	-0.011
	(0.119)	(0.124)	(0.131)	(0.128)	(0.389)	(0.311)	(0.177)	(0.171)
<b>Female</b>	0.114	0.060	0.087	0.099	0.498	0.210	0.023	-0.157
	(0.087)	(0.099)	(0.104)	(0.103)	(0.306)	(0.247)	(0.142)	(0.126)
<b>Treatment x Female</b>	0.113	0.040	0.131	-0.117	0.154	0.438	-0.002	0.093
	(0.130)	(0.149)	(0.152)	(0.150)	(0.456)	(0.373)	(0.204)	(0.194)
<b>Constant</b>	0.735***	0.324***	0.529***	0.559***	2.324***	1.941***	2.059***	2.088***
	(0.076)	(0.081)	(0.086)	(0.086)	(0.251)	(0.201)	(0.118)	(0.106)
<b>Observations</b>	207	207	207	207	207	207	207	207
<b>R-squared</b>	0.049	0.009	0.036	0.005	0.049	0.031	0.006	0.011
<b>Tot. Int.</b>	0.0696	0.0624	<b>0.1403</b>	-0.0224	<b>0.4078</b>	0.2277	0.0935	0.0820
<b>p-value(Tot.Int.)</b>	0.1910	0.4471	0.0678	0.7787	0.0882	0.2722	0.3657	0.3783

This table shows ordinary least squares estimates for the effect of the treatment article interacted with a respondent’s gender on several political attitude outcome variables using unique data collected from an online survey experiment conducted via Qualtrics. Results are presented at the individual contextual level. Significance levels: \* p < 0.10, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01.

In summation, treated respondents that read about a BLM protest and subsequent Confederate monument removal were 11.1 percent more likely to view the BLM movement as valid, and 39.6 percent more likely to exhibit a high level of support for Black Lives Matter protesters. These effects are statistically significant and of a large magnitude. Furthermore, all coefficients on the eight political attitude outcomes considered are positive, indicating that the treatment article had a relatively consistent effect on respondents. When considering the interaction explorations, we saw further significant effects when considering the gender and the 2020 voting decision of treated respondents.

## 8. Conclusion

American author Susan Jacoby wrote, “the forgetting of the history of marginalized groups is both a cause and effect of their marginalization.” I would add that the forgetting *and* the warping of history to benefit a certain groups’ remembrance, culture, and ongoing political power is an issue that is certainly present within the topic of symbolic politics in the United States, more specifically that of standing Confederate monuments and symbols. It is of the utmost importance that we understand how standing Confederate monuments in the 21st century affect United States citizens views and interpretation of the American Civil War, slavery, and race relations. This naturally raises the question, what exactly do monuments and physical symbols serve to do and represent for society, especially when they stand to represent a party and group that upheld ideas like racial prejudice, slavery, and white supremacy? Despite the rapid increase in protests, discussions, and media coverage relating to symbolic politics in recent years in the U.S. and across the globe, empirical research on the topic as it relates to political consequences and effects remains sparse. This paper set out to explore the effect of Confederate monument removal on subsequent differences in Republican vote share and the political attitudes of United States citizens.

Using a two-way fixed effects model to analyze data concerning Confederate monuments that are both standing and removed as well as Presidential election results spanning from 2000 – 2020, I find that the removal of Confederate monuments, on average, significantly decreases subsequent Republican vote share on the county-level. I supplement my analysis with unique data collection on the individual level, conducted through an online survey experiment via Qualtrics. Using an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression, I find that exposure to the treatment article concerning recent Confederate monument removal, on average, caused respondents to be significantly more likely to support and believe in the validity of the Black Lives Matter movement. Further, all political attitude outcome indicators exhibited positive coefficients, implying that the treatment article had an overall liberalizing effect on respondents. Respondents felt liberalized and mobilized by the treatment article concerning a BLM protest and calls for Confederate monument removal, which may serve to explain why we see decreases in Republican vote share following Confederate monument removal in the observational study of my research; United

States citizens are encouraged and mobilized to express their liberal views at the polls after witnessing the movement of Confederate monument removal.

Further, I find that in response to the treatment, females are significantly more likely to think the BLM movement is valid and support the movement as a whole in comparison to male respondents. Additionally, treated respondents that identified as Trump supporters were significantly more likely to support and/or participate in a BLM protest than untreated respondents that identified as having voted for Trump in 2020.

While this paper contributes unique ideas to the existing research within American politics on Confederate symbols as well as the more global-scale topic of symbolic politics, there is far more to be explored concerning the connection between symbolic politics and voting patterns. Once additional Confederate monuments have been removed, increased variation in the removals across time will allow for further analysis concerning differences in vote share between specific election years and presidential administrations. Whilst the survey component of my research revealed liberalizing effects of the treatment that were further increased by gender, ideology, and support or lack thereof for Trump, the sample size of 207 is rather small in scale, and the field of study would most definitely benefit from a larger-scale exploration of United States citizens' political attitudes after witnessing further development of the Black Lives Matter movement and increased Confederate monument removal. Other natural supplementations to this project may include studies related to changes in hate crimes, state-to-state migration, and political donations patterns after removal of Confederate monuments and other symbols.

Notwithstanding the limited nature of this project, the joint findings of this observational and experimental study call attention to the intensifying relevance of symbolic politics in the United States and the necessity of further empirical research on the topic. As we continue to witness the ever-increasing scale of Confederate monument removal and enter the new presidential administration of Joseph R. Biden, there will undoubtedly be compelling discussions and questions lying ahead concerning how physical monuments are interpreted and what exactly they serve to represent.

## Appendix

### Observational Study

#### Descriptive Statistics at the County-Year Level

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Vote Share Republican	3,533	0.5787	0.1425	0.0409	0.9136
Ratio Removed	3,510	0.0173	0.1242	0	1
Removed Binary	3,533	0.0221	0.1469	0	1
Removed	3,533	0.0303	0.2595	0	9
Total Monuments	3,533	1.3784	1.3346	0	21

**Table 1: Effect of Confederate Monument Removals on Republican Vote Share**

#### Dependent Variable: Republican Vote Share

	(1) Intensive Full (Clustered)	(2) Total Count Removed (Clustered)	(3) Extensive Full (Clustered)
Ratio Removed	<b>-0.061***</b> (0.008)		
Removed (sum)		<b>-0.031***</b> (0.005)	
Removed Binary			<b>-0.058***</b> (0.007)
Total Monuments	0.035 (0.022)	0.013 (0.018)	0.012 (0.018)
Observations	3510	3533	3533
R-squared	0.901	0.900	0.900
Controls	NO	NO	NO
Fixed Effects	YES	YES	YES

---

This table shows Two-Way Fixed Effects estimates for the effect of Confederate monument removal on subsequent Republican vote share using Presidential electoral data from Decision Desk HQ and the MIT Election Data and Science Lab as well as monument data provided by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Results are presented at the county contextual level, whereby a county that experienced Confederate monument removal is considered to be treated, and counties with Confederate monuments that did *not* experience removal function as the control group. Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .



**Effect of Confederate Monument Removals on Republican Vote Share with Logged Population as a Control**

**Dependent Variable: Republican Vote Share**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Intensive Full (Clustered)	Intensive Full (Clustered) with Pop	Total Count Removed (Clustered)	Total Count Removed (Clustered) with Pop	Extensive Full (Clustered)	Extensive Full (Clustered) with Pop
Ratio Removed	-0.061*** (0.008)	0.002 (0.010)				
(sum) Removed			-0.031*** (0.005)	-0.018 (0.019)		
Removed Binary					-0.058*** (0.007)	-0.002 (0.013)
Total Monuments	0.035 (0.022)	0.000 (.)	0.013 (0.018)	0.000 (.)	0.012 (0.018)	0.000 (.)
Observations	3510	1165	3533	1165	3533	1165
R-squared	0.901	0.992	0.900	0.993	0.900	0.992
Controls	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
County & Year Fixed Effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

\*Columns 1 and 2 regard the *ratio* of Confederate monuments removed as the treatment variable, whilst Columns 3 and 4 regard the *sum* of removed Confederate monuments in a given county to be the treatment variable. Columns 5 and 6 use a removed binary variable, taking values of either 1 or 0, as the treatment variable. Columns 2, 4, and 6 utilize population size as a control variable. All 6 regressions present clustered standard errors at the county level. My primary analysis concerns the regression and results of column 1, as I consider the ratio removed to be the principal treatment, and the two-way fixed effects model diminishes the need for a population size control.

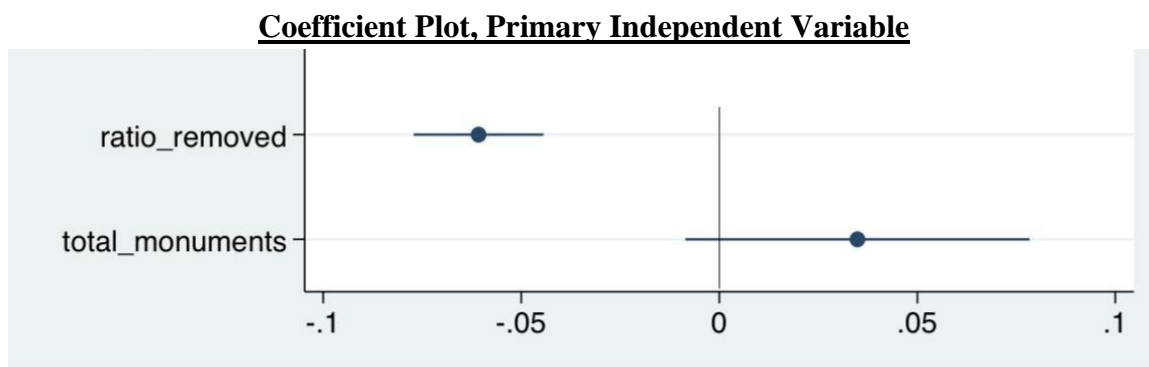
**Table 2: Race and Monument Removal Interaction Effects**

**Dependent Variable: Republican Vote Share**

	(1) White Intensive Full (Clustered)	(2) Hispanic Intensive Full (Clustered)
Ratio Removed	-0.003 (0.045)	0.020 (0.012)
Removed (sum)		
Share White	1.651*** (0.554)	
Ratio Removed x Share White	0.001 (0.057)	
Share Hispanic		-0.488 (0.334)
Ratio Removed x Share Hispanic		-0.097*** (0.032)
Constant	-0.520 (0.389)	0.645*** (0.004)
Observations	1165	1165
R-squared	0.993	0.992
Controls	NO	NO

County & Year Fixed Effects	YES	YES
Tot. Int.	-0.0017	-0.0770
p-value(Tot.Int.)	0.9133	0.0014

This table shows Two-Way Fixed Effects estimates for the effect of Confederate monument removal on subsequent Republican vote share using interaction effects with Census-sourced racial-makeup data. Results are presented at the county contextual level. Significance levels: \* p < 0.10, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01.



\*Ratio Removed is the primary independent variable used for analysis. Total monuments function as a control. The locations of their plots indicate significance or lack thereof, as seen by the inclusion (or lack of) of zero.

**Table 11: Placebo Test—Effect of Confederate Symbol Removal on Republican Vote Share**

**Dependent Variable: Republican Vote Share**

	(1) Intensive Full (Clustered)	(2) Total Count Removed (Clustered)	(3) Extensive Full (Clustered)
Ratio Removed	-0.050** (0.025)		
Removed (sum)		-0.042* (0.023)	
Removed Binary			-0.045** (0.022)
Total Monuments	0.019*** (0.003)	0.021*** (0.004)	0.020*** (0.003)
Observations	2275	2281	2281
R-squared	0.905	0.906	0.905
Controls	NO	NO	NO
County & Year Fixed Effects	YES	YES	YES

This table shows Two-Way Fixed Effects estimates for the effect of all Confederate symbol removals (excluding monuments) on subsequent Republican vote share using Presidential electoral data from Decision Desk HQ and the MIT Election Data and Science Lab as well as monument data provided by the Southern Poverty Law Center. Results are presented at the county contextual level, whereby a county that experienced Confederate monument removal is considered to be treated, and counties with Confederate monuments that did *not* experience removal function as the control group. Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

## Survey Experiment

### Full Survey + Treatment and Control Articles

**Table 3: Survey Experiment Balance Table**

<b>Factor</b>	<b>Level</b>	<b>Control Assignment</b>	<b>Treatment Assignment</b>
<b>N</b>		107	100
<b>Female</b>		73 (68.2%)	74 (74.0%)
<b>Race</b>	White	79 (73.8%)	77 (77.0%)
	Black	23 (21.5%)	16 (16.0%)
	Other	5 (4.7%)	7 (7.0%)
<b>Ideology, mean (SD)</b>		3.22(1.39)	3.39(1.35)
<b>Education</b>	Less than HS	1 (0.9%)	2 (2.0%)
	High School	47 (43.9%)	51 (51.0%)
	Associates Degree	20 (18.7%)	16 (16.0%)
	Bachelor's Degree	25 (23.4%)	24 (24.0%)
	Post Graduate Degree	14 (13.1%)	7 (7.0%)
<b>Income</b>	\$0-\$50,000	66 (61.7%)	45 (45.0%)
	\$50,000-\$100,000	30 (28.0%)	42 (42.0%)
	\$100,000-\$150,000	9 (8.4%)	9 (9.0%)
	\$150,000 or more	2 (1.9%)	4 (4.0%)

**Table 4: Effect of Treatment Article on Political Attitude Outcomes**

Regressions:                      (1)                      (2)                      (3)                      (4)                      (5)                      (6)                      (7)                      (8)

Dependent Variables→	Racial Inequality	Reparations	BLM Validity	Removal Strategy	Support BLM	Participate BLM	Capitol Effect BLM	Capitol Effect Rights
Treatment Assignment	0.047 (0.051)	0.056 (0.068)	<b>0.111*</b> (0.066)	0.014 (0.067)	<b>0.396*</b> (0.204)	0.126 (0.174)	0.095 (0.088)	0.049 (0.082)
Constant	0.813*** (0.038)	0.364*** (0.047)	0.589*** (0.048)	0.626*** (0.047)	2.664*** (0.145)	2.084*** (0.117)	2.075*** (0.065)	1.981*** (0.058)
Observations	207	207	207	207	207	207	207	207
R-squared	0.004	0.003	0.013	0.000	0.018	0.003	0.006	0.002

This table shows ordinary least squares estimates for the effect of the treatment article on several political attitude outcome variables using unique data collected from an online survey experiment conducted via Qualtrics. Results are presented at the individual contextual level, whereby an individual that received the treatment article and correctly answered all corresponding reading comprehension questions is considered to be treated, and individuals that received the control article and answered all corresponding reading comprehension questions correctly function as the control group. Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table 5: Interaction of Ideology and Treatment on Political Attitude Outcomes**

Dependent Variables→	(1) Racial Inequality	(2) Reparations	(3) BLM Validity	(4) Removal Strategy	(5) Support BLM	(6) Participate BLM	(7) Capitol Effect BLM	(8) Capitol Effect Rights
Treatment Assignment	0.028 (0.153)	0.007 (0.153)	-0.008 (0.160)	-0.134 (0.182)	0.045 (0.461)	0.146 (0.384)	0.059 (0.214)	0.149 (0.233)
Ideology	0.085*** (0.025)	0.137*** (0.030)	0.154*** (0.028)	-0.015 (0.036)	0.480*** (0.092)	0.421*** (0.073)	0.204*** (0.041)	-0.051 (0.038)
Treatment x Ideology	0.001 (0.036)	0.007 (0.042)	0.027 (0.038)	0.044 (0.051)	0.079 (0.127)	-0.028 (0.120)	0.000 (0.059)	-0.027 (0.058)
Constant	0.540*** (0.105)	-0.076 (0.107)	0.091 (0.109)	0.673*** (0.124)	1.117*** (0.307)	0.727*** (0.227)	1.416*** (0.147)	2.146*** (0.155)
Observations	207	207	207	207	207	207	207	207
R-squared	0.103	0.158	0.243	0.004	0.249	0.205	0.199	0.025
Tot. Int.	0.0294	0.0142	0.0191	-0.0900	0.1232	0.1181	0.0590	0.1224
P-value (Tot.Int.)	0.8045	0.9031	0.8782	0.5109	0.7233	0.6706	0.7148	0.4948

This table shows ordinary least squares estimates for the effect of the treatment article interacted with ideology on several political attitude outcome variables using unique data collected from an online survey experiment conducted via Qualtrics. Results are presented at the individual contextual level. Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table 6: Interaction of Trump Dummy and Treatment on Political Attitude Outcomes**

Dependent Variables→	(1) Racial Inequality	(2) Reparations	(3) BLM Validity	(4) Removal Strategy	(5) Support BLM	(6) Participate BLM	(7) Capitol Effect BLM	(8) Capitol Effect Rights
----------------------	--------------------------	--------------------	---------------------	-------------------------	--------------------	------------------------	---------------------------	------------------------------

<b>Treatment Assignment</b>	0.022 (0.041)	0.002 (0.110)	0.091 (0.063)	0.033 (0.102)	0.036 (0.252)	-0.126 (0.273)	-0.048 (0.130)	0.088 (0.128)
<b>Trump Dummy</b>	-0.395*** (0.092)	-0.476*** (0.087)	-0.655*** (0.088)	-0.057 (0.111)	-2.303*** (0.222)	-1.789*** (0.185)	- 0.982*** (0.125)	0.421** * (0.137)
<b>Treatment x Trump Dummy</b>	0.096 (0.128)	0.165 (0.140)	0.058 (0.129)	-0.134 (0.161)	0.523 (0.359)	0.557* (0.314)	0.358* (0.182)	-0.130 (0.191)
<b>Constant</b>	0.953*** (0.033)	0.535*** (0.077)	0.860*** (0.054)	0.674*** (0.072)	3.744*** (0.177)	2.907*** (0.176)	2.512*** (0.091)	1.814** * (0.090)
<b>Observations</b>	149	149	149	149	149	149	149	149
<b>R-squared</b>	0.207	0.181	0.432	0.021	0.479	0.371	0.361	0.091
<b>Tot. Int.</b>	0.1186	<b>0.1670</b>	0.1490	-0.1015	<b>0.5588</b>	<b>0.4307</b>	<b>0.3093</b>	-0.0417
<b>p-value(Tot.Int.)</b>	0.3295	0.0553	0.1854	0.4149	0.0302	0.0063	0.0166	0.7695

This table shows ordinary least squares estimates for the effect of the treatment article interacted with a respondent's 2020 voting decision on several political attitude outcome variables using unique data collected from an online survey experiment conducted via Qualtrics. Results are presented at the individual contextual level. Significance levels: \* p < 0.10, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01.

**Table 7: Interaction of Gender and Treatment on Political Attitude Outcomes**

Dependent Variables→	(1) Racial Inequality	(2) Reparations	(3) BLM Validity	(4) Removal Strategy	(5) Support BLM	(6) Participate BLM	(7) Capitol Effect BLM	(8) Capitol Effect Rights
<b>Treatment Assignment</b>	-0.043 (0.119)	0.023 (0.124)	0.009 (0.131)	0.095 (0.128)	0.253 (0.389)	-0.210 (0.311)	0.095 (0.177)	-0.011 (0.171)
<b>Female</b>	0.114 (0.087)	0.060 (0.099)	0.087 (0.104)	0.099 (0.103)	0.498 (0.306)	0.210 (0.247)	0.023 (0.142)	-0.157 (0.126)
<b>Treatment x Female</b>	0.113 (0.130)	0.040 (0.149)	0.131 (0.152)	-0.117 (0.150)	0.154 (0.456)	0.438 (0.373)	-0.002 (0.204)	0.093 (0.194)
<b>Constant</b>	0.735*** (0.076)	0.324*** (0.081)	0.529*** (0.086)	0.559*** (0.086)	2.324*** (0.251)	1.941*** (0.201)	2.059*** (0.118)	2.088*** (0.106)
<b>Observations</b>	207	207	207	207	207	207	207	207
<b>R-squared</b>	0.049	0.009	0.036	0.005	0.049	0.031	0.006	0.011
<b>Tot. Int.</b>	0.0696	0.0624	<b>0.1403</b>	-0.0224	<b>0.4078</b>	0.2277	0.0935	0.0820
<b>p-value(Tot.Int.)</b>	0.1910	0.4471	0.0678	0.7787	0.0882	0.2722	0.3657	0.3783

This table shows ordinary least squares estimates for the effect of the treatment article interacted with a respondent's gender on several political attitude outcome variables using unique data collected from an online survey experiment conducted via Qualtrics. Results are presented at the individual contextual level. Significance levels: \* p < 0.10, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01.

**Table 8: Interaction of Freedom of Speech and Treatment on Political Attitude Outcomes**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dependent Variables→	Racial Inequality	Reparations	BLM Validity	Removal Strategy	Support BLM	Participate BLM	Capitol Effect BLM	Capitol Effect Rights
Treatment Assignment	0.016 (0.078)	0.062 (0.128)	0.079 (0.117)	-0.092 (0.128)	0.096 (0.351)	-0.179 (0.278)	0.003 (0.165)	0.123 (0.123)
Freedom of Speech	-0.108 (0.075)	-0.038 (0.108)	-0.122 (0.105)	0.026 (0.108)	-0.407 (0.314)	-0.128 (0.248)	-0.141 (0.138)	0.265** (0.117)
Treatment x Freedom of Speech	0.035 (0.102)	-0.013 (0.152)	0.036 (0.142)	0.161 (0.150)	0.406 (0.432)	0.441 (0.354)	0.123 (0.195)	-0.084 (0.160)
Constant	0.893*** (0.059)	0.393*** (0.093)	0.679*** (0.089)	0.607*** (0.093)	2.964*** (0.262)	2.179*** (0.204)	2.179*** (0.115)	1.786*** (0.093)
Observations	207	207	207	207	207	207	207	207
R-squared	0.017	0.005	0.023	0.016	0.026	0.010	0.011	0.032
Tot. Int.	0.0510	0.0486	0.1147	0.0686	<b>0.5027</b>	0.2628	0.1262	0.0389
p-value(Tot.Int.)	0.4358	0.5512	0.1578	0.3843	0.0469	0.2325	0.2269	0.7065

This table shows ordinary least squares estimates for the effect of the treatment article interacted with a respondent's value placed on freedom of speech on several political attitude outcome variables using unique data collected from an online survey experiment conducted via Qualtrics. Results are presented at the individual contextual level. Significance levels: \* p < 0.10, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01.

**Table 9: Interaction of Race and Treatment on Political Attitude Outcomes**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dependent Variables→	Racial Inequality	Reparations	BLM Validity	Removal Strategy	Support BLM	Participate BLM	Capitol Effect BLM	Capitol Effect Rights
Treatment Assignment	0.211* (0.123)	0.372** (0.177)	0.273* (0.161)	-0.271 (0.169)	0.870 (0.530)	0.678 (0.420)	0.455** (0.212)	0.101 (0.194)
Race	0.188*** (0.040)	0.395*** (0.094)	0.322*** (0.078)	-0.081 (0.086)	0.765** (0.308)	0.555*** (0.209)	0.443*** (0.116)	-0.042 (0.080)
Treatment x Race	-0.125* (0.069)	-0.241* (0.133)	-0.122 (0.101)	0.218* (0.116)	-0.359 (0.387)	-0.421 (0.307)	-0.274* (0.148)	-0.041 (0.132)
Constant	0.567*** (0.086)	-0.153 (0.123)	0.167 (0.121)	0.732*** (0.121)	1.663*** (0.400)	1.358*** (0.286)	1.495*** (0.164)	2.036*** (0.131)
Observations	207	207	207	207	207	207	207	207
R-squared	0.050	0.124	0.114	0.018	0.073	0.036	0.094	0.006
Tot. Int.	0.0860	0.1311	0.1505	-0.0523	0.5106	0.2568	0.1812	0.0606
p-value(Tot.Int.)	0.1782	<b>0.0673</b>	<b>0.0539</b>	0.4997	<b>0.0239</b>	0.1719	<b>0.0627</b>	0.5157

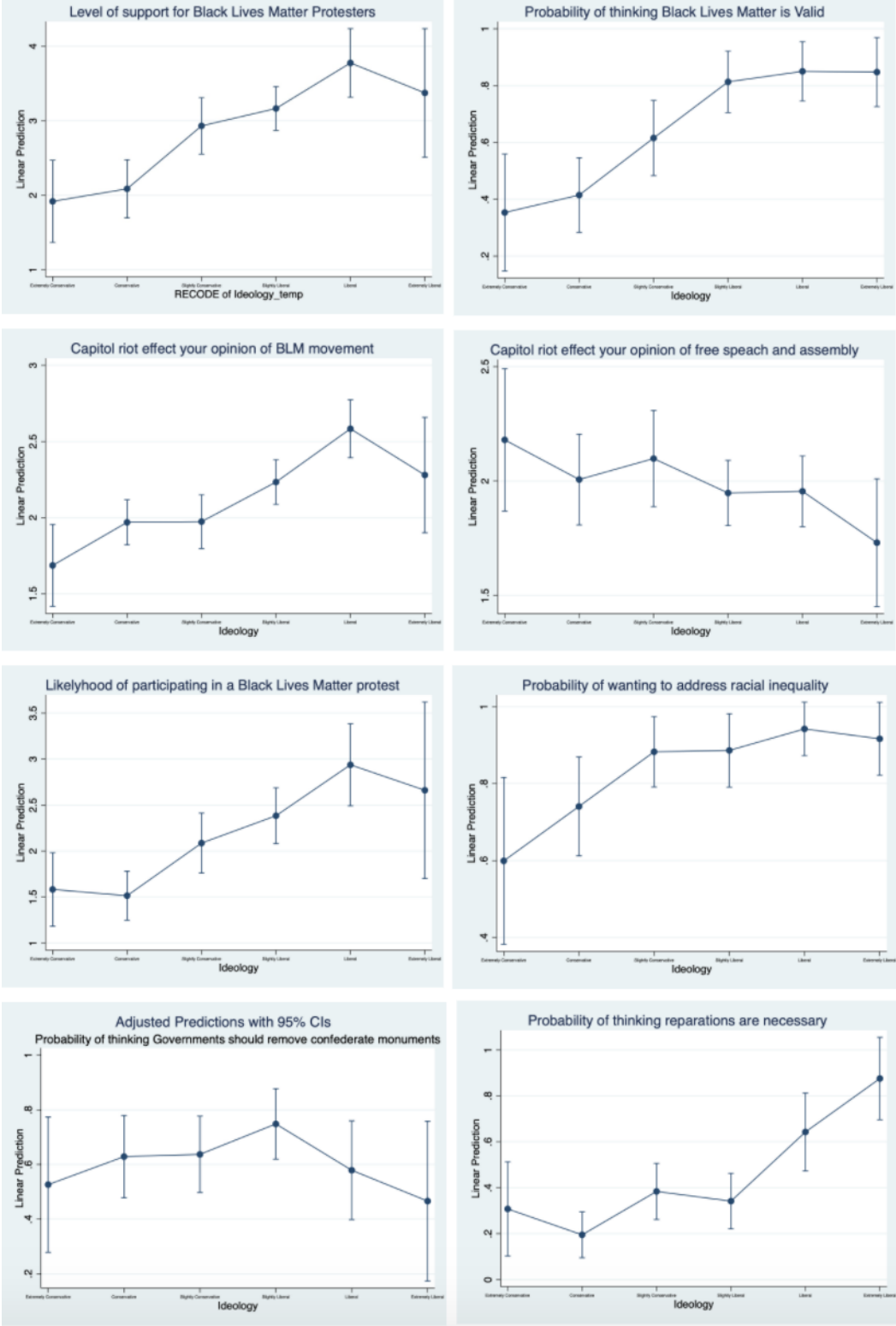
This table shows ordinary least squares estimates for the effect of the treatment article interacted with a respondent's race on several political attitude outcome variables using unique data collected from an online survey experiment conducted

via Qualtrics. Results are presented at the individual contextual level. Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table 10: Survey Experiment Summary Statistics**

<b>Group</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>Control</b>	<b>Treatment</b>
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
<b>Assignment</b>	0.48 (0.50)	0.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)
<b>Female</b>	0.71 (0.45)	0.68 (0.47)	0.74 (0.44)
<b>Ideology</b>	3.31 (1.38)	3.22 (1.40)	3.40 (1.36)
<b>Racial Inequality</b>	0.84 (0.37)	0.81 (0.39)	0.86 (0.35)
<b>Reparations</b>	0.39 (0.49)	0.36 (0.48)	0.42 (0.50)
<b>BLM Validity</b>	0.64 (0.48)	0.59 (0.49)	0.70 (0.46)
<b>Removal Strategy</b>	0.63 (0.48)	0.63 (0.49)	0.64 (0.48)
<b>BLM Support</b>	2.86 (1.48)	2.66 (1.50)	3.06 (1.44)
<b>Participate BLM</b>	2.14 (1.25)	2.08 (1.21)	2.21 (1.29)
<b>Capitol Effect BLM</b>	2.12 (0.64)	2.07 (0.67)	2.17 (0.60)
<b>Capitol Effect Rights</b>	2.00 (0.59)	1.98 (0.60)	2.03 (0.58)

**Survey Experiment Margins Plots: Political Attitude Indicators by Ideology**



\*Ideology is presented on a scale spanning from extremely conservative (left) to extremely liberal (right)



## References

- Derek Alderman and Owen J Dwyer. Putting memory in its place: The politics of commemoration in the American South. In *WorldMinds: Geographical Perspectives on 100 Problems*, pages 55–60. Springer, 2004.
- Lawrie Balfour. Unreconstructed democracy: WEB Du Bois and the case for reparations. *American Political Science Review*, pages 33–44, 2003.
- Andrea Benjamin, Ray Block, Jared Clemons, Chryl Laird, and Julian Wamble. Set in Stone? Predicting Confederate Monument Removal. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 53(2):237–242, 2020.
- Lenka Bustikova. “Revenge of the radical right.” *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12):1738–1765, 2014
- Leonardo Bursztyrn, Georgy Egorov, and Stefano Fiorin. From extreme to mainstream: The erosion of social norms. *University of Chicago mimeo*, 2019.
- Steven R Brown and John D Ellithorp. Emotional experiences in political groups: The case of the McCarthy phenomenon. *American Political Science Review*, 64(2):349–366, 1970.
- Roger W Cobb and Charles D Elder. The political uses of symbolism. *American Politics Quarterly*, 1(3):305–338, 1973.
- Christopher A Cooper and H Gibbs Knotts. Region, race, and support for the South Carolina Confederate flag. *Social Science Quarterly*, 87(1):142–154, 2006.
- Karen L Cox. *Dixie’s Daughters: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. University Press of Florida, 2003.
- Adam H Domby. *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory*. University of Virginia Press, 2020.
- Adom Getachew. Colonialism Made the Modern World. Let’s Remake It. *The New York Times*, July 2020. URL <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/27/opinion/sunday/decolonization-statues.html>.

- Graeme Gill. “‘Lenin Lives’: Or Does He? Symbols the Transition from Socialism.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 60(2):173 – 196, 2008.
- Christian R Grose and Jordan Carr Peterson. Economic Interests Cause Elected Officials to Liberalize their Racial Attitudes. *Political Research Quarterly*, page 1065912919899725, 2020.
- Anna Grzymala-Busse. “Authoritarian determinants of democratic party competition: The communist successor parties in East Central Europe.” *Party Politics* 12(3):415–437, 2006.
- Harold E Gulley. Women and the lost cause: Preserving a confederate identity in the american deep south. *Journal of historical geography*, 19(2):125–141, 1993.
- Booth Gunter, Jamie Kizzire, and Cindy Kent. *Whose Heritage?: Public Symbols of the Confederacy*. 2016.
- David Harvey. *Social justice and the city*, volume 1. University of Georgia Press, 2010.
- Ashley Jardina. *White identity politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Vincent L Hutchings, Hanes Walton Jr, and Andrea Benjamin. The impact of explicit racial cues on gender differences in support for Confederate symbols and partisanship. *The Journal of Politics*, 72(4):1175–1188, 2010.
- Tyler Johnson, Kathleen Tipler, and Tyler Camarillo. Monumental Decisions: How Direct Democracy Shapes Attitudes in the Conflict over Confederate memorials. *Political Science & Politics*, 52(4):620–624, 2019.
- Jonathan Leib and Gerald Webster. *Rebel with (out) a cause? 2007), Flag, Nation and Symbolism in Europe and America*, New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Scott L Moeschberger. Heritage or Hatred: The Confederate Battle Flag and Current Race Relations in the USA. In *Symbols that Bind, Symbols that Divide*, pages 207–218. Springer, 2014.

Byron DaAndra Orey. White Racial Attitudes and Support for the Mississippi State Flag. *American Politics Research*, 32(1):102–116, 2004.

Roger D Petersen. *Understanding ethnic violence: Fear, hatred, and resentment in twentieth-century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Roxanne Rahnama. Working Paper. PhD Student NYU Politics, 2020.

Arturas Rozenas and Anastasiia Vlasenko. The Real Consequences of Symbolic Politics: Breaking the Soviet Past in Ukraine. *Available at SSRN*, 2020.

Roper Center. Public Opinion on the Confederate Flag and the Civil War. 2020.

Logan Strother, Spencer Piston, and Thomas Ogorzalek. Pride or prejudice?: Racial prejudice, Southern heritage, and white support for the Confederate battle flag. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 14(1):295–323, 2017.

Jonah S Rubin. “How Francisco Franco governs from beyond the grave: An infrastructural approach to memory politics in contemporary Spain.” *American Ethnologist* 45(2):214–227, 2018.

Frederick Solt. “Diversionary nationalism: Economic inequality and the formation of national pride.” *The Journal of Politics* 73(3):821–830, 2011

L Wedeen. *Ambiguities of domination: politics, rhetoric, and symbols in contemporary Syria*. University of Chicago press, 1999.