



# ELON POLL

## **Confederate Monuments and Symbols**

Survey of North Carolina Residents

November 4<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup>, 2019

### **Table of Contents**

Key Findings .....	1
Topline Results .....	2
Confederate Monuments .....	2
Confederate Flags and Symbols.....	5
Knowledge about the Civil War .....	6
Related Attitudes.....	7
Demographics .....	9
Crosstabulations .....	11
Methodological Information .....	13
Weighting Information.....	14
Frequently Asked Questions .....	15
The Elon University Poll Team .....	16

## Key Findings

The Elon University Poll conducted an online survey of 1,467 North Carolina residents. The purpose of the survey was to understand how North Carolinians think about Confederate monuments, flags, and symbols.

Most North Carolina residents (65%) believe Confederate monuments should remain on public, government-owned property. A minority (35%) believe they should be removed. 25% believe removing monuments helps race relations in the state, while 36% believe removing Confederate monuments from government property hurts race relations. 40% believe it makes no difference.

Black residents were more likely to say Confederate monuments should be removed from public property (73%), as were those who have a negative reaction to the Confederate flag (73%). NC residents who believe the legacy of slavery affects African Americans today “a great deal” were more likely to say the monuments should be removed (63%). 64% of Democrats believe monuments on public property should be removed.

Those who believe Confederate symbols do not disturb African Americans today were more likely to say the monuments should remain on public, government-owned property (92%), as were NC residents who believe the legacy of slavery does not have much of an effect on African Americans today (92%) and, those who believe whites and blacks are treated equally in today’s society (90%). 91% of Republicans believe the monuments should remain on public property.

Although most NC residents believe monuments should remain in place, 73% believe adding plaques that provide historical context is a good idea. And, a majority of NC residents are open to moving these monuments. 65% believe moving them to history museums is a good idea, and 55% believe moving them to Confederate cemeteries or memorials is a good idea. Support for replacing Confederate monuments with monuments to honor Southerners who fought to end slavery is lower, though still substantial with 37% saying this is a good idea.

75% of NC residents at least somewhat agree with the statement that Confederate monuments “help people understand an important chapter in American history.” 76% at least somewhat agree with the statement that Confederate monuments “honor Confederate soldiers who passed away in the Civil War.” Black residents, and those with a negative reaction to the Confederate flag, were less likely to agree with either of these statements.

49% of NC residents at least somewhat agree that Confederate monuments “glorify what the Confederacy fought for.” Those who have a positive reaction to the Confederate flag were more likely to agree with this statement (66%). NC residents who believe the legacy of slavery affects African Americans today “a great deal” were more likely to agree with this statement (64%).

The Confederate flag is a common sight in North Carolina. 18% report seeing it on display often, and 46% say they see it sometimes. Only 5% report that they never see it on display. 36% of NC residents have a negative reaction when they see the flag on display and 20% have a positive reaction. 44% said they have neither reaction.

## Topline Results

### Confederate Monuments

Recently there has been some controversy about what to do with Confederate monuments on public, government-owned property (e.g. parks, city squares, court houses). Which of the following statements comes closest to your view?

	Percent	N
<i>Confederate monuments should remain in public spaces.</i>	65.3	955
<i>Confederate monuments should be removed from public spaces.</i>	34.7	507
Total	100.0	1462

---

Do you think removing Confederate monuments from government property mostly helps or mostly hurts race relations, or does it not make much of a difference?

	Percent	N
<i>Mostly helps</i>	24.6	361
<i>Mostly hurts</i>	35.5	520
<i>Does not make much of a difference</i>	39.9	585
Total	100.0	1466

---

Below you'll find a list of things that could be done with Confederate monuments on public, government-owned property (e.g. parks, city squares, court houses). For each one, indicate whether you think it is a good or bad idea:

Install plaques beside them that provide historical context

	Percent	N
<i>Good idea</i>	72.7	1061
<i>Bad idea</i>	15.8	231
<i>No opinion</i>	11.5	168
Total	100.0	1461

Move them to history museums

	Percent	N
<i>Good idea</i>	65.2	952
<i>Bad idea</i>	22.6	329
<i>No opinion</i>	12.2	178
Total	100.0	1459

Move them to Confederate cemeteries or memorials

	Percent	N
<i>Good idea</i>	54.9	799
<i>Bad idea</i>	28.4	414
<i>No opinion</i>	16.7	244
Total	100.0	1456

Replace them with monuments to honor Southerners who fought to end slavery

	Percent	N
<i>Good idea</i>	37.1	542
<i>Bad idea</i>	35.0	511
<i>No opinion</i>	27.9	408
Total	100.0	1461

To what extent do you agree with each of the following statements about Confederate monuments:

They help people understand an important chapter in American history.

	Percent	N
<i>Strongly agree</i>	51.5	754
<i>Somewhat agree</i>	24.0	351
<i>Neither</i>	11.2	164
<i>Somewhat disagree</i>	7.7	113
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	5.7	83
Total	100.0	1465

They honor Confederate soldiers who passed away in the civil war.

	Percent	N
<i>Strongly agree</i>	48.0	703
<i>Somewhat agree</i>	27.6	404
<i>Neither</i>	14.7	215
<i>Somewhat disagree</i>	5.1	74
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	4.7	69
Total	100.0	1465

 **ELON** POLL

They glorify what the Confederacy fought for.

	Percent	N
<i>Strongly agree</i>	29.7	435
<i>Somewhat agree</i>	19.0	279
<i>Neither</i>	22.4	327
<i>Somewhat disagree</i>	16.9	248
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	12.0	175
Total	100.0	1464

---

What is your impression of the cause of the Civil War?

	Percent	N
<i>Mainly about slavery</i>	44.4	652
<i>Mainly about states' rights</i>	48.9	717
<i>Other</i>	6.7	98
Total	100.0	1467

---

When do you think most Confederate monuments were put into place? If you're not sure, just take your best guess.

	Percent	N
<i>10-20 years after the Civil War, during Reconstruction</i>	38.4	563
<i>Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, during the era of Jim Crow laws</i>	48.1	705
<i>Mid 20<sup>th</sup> Century, during the Civil Rights Movement</i>	13.5	197
	100.0	1465

### Confederate Flags and Symbols

How frequently do you see the Confederate flag on display (e.g. on cars, homes, businesses, flagpoles, or elsewhere)?

	Percent	N
<i>Never</i>	4.5	66
<i>Rarely</i>	31.6	463
<i>Sometimes</i>	46.1	675
<i>Often</i>	17.9	263
Total	100.0	1467

---

When you see the Confederate flag, do you have a positive or a negative reaction?

	Percent	N
<i>Positive</i>	20.3	297
<i>Negative</i>	35.8	524
<i>Neither</i>	44.0	644
Total	100.0	1465

---

In the past, do you think Confederate symbols disturbed freed slaves and their descendants?

	Percent	N
<i>Yes</i>	59.8	875
<i>No</i>	40.2	588
Total	100.0	1463

---

Do you think Confederate symbols disturb African Americans living in the United States today?

	Percent	N
<i>Yes</i>	67.9	994
<i>No</i>	32.1	470
Total	100.0	1464

---

**Knowledge about the Civil War**

True or False: More men died fighting in the Civil War than in any other American war.  
(True)

	Percent	N
<i>Incorrect</i>	22.5	329
<i>Correct</i>	77.5	1134
Total	100.0	1463

---

True or False: Andrew Jackson was president during the Civil War.  
(False)

	Percent	N
<i>Incorrect</i>	36.4	534
<i>Correct</i>	63.6	931
Total	100.0	1465

---

True or False: Ulysses S. Grant was a general for the confederacy.  
(False)

	Percent	N
<i>Incorrect</i>	54.3	793
<i>Correct</i>	45.7	669
Total	100.0	1462

---

Number of the above answered correctly:

	Percent	N
0	7.6	111
1	29.0	423
2	32.1	468
3	31.2	454
Total	100.0	1456

---

### Related Attitudes

For people like you, would you say life in the United States today is better, worse, or about the same as it was fifty years ago?

	Percent	N
<i>Better</i>	48.7	714
<i>Worse</i>	29.5	433
<i>About the same</i>	16.7	245
<i>Don't know</i>	5.0	73
<i>Total</i>	100.0	1465

---

In general, would you say that today...

	Percent	N
<i>White people are treated less fairly than Black people.</i>	17.3	253
<i>Black people are treated less fairly than white people.</i>	50.6	742
<i>Black and white people are treated equally.</i>	32.1	471
<i>Total</i>	100.0	1466

---

How much do you think the legacy of slavery affects the position of Black people in American society today?

	Percent	N
<i>Not at all</i>	14.1	207
<i>Not much</i>	22.5	330
<i>A fair amount</i>	34.9	511
<i>A great deal</i>	28.5	418
<i>Total</i>	100.0	1466

---



 **ELON** POLL

How important is your race to how you think about yourself?

	Percent	N
<i>Not at all important</i>	29.1	426
<i>Slightly important</i>	10.5	153
<i>Moderately important</i>	18.0	263
<i>Very important</i>	17.0	248
<i>Extremely important</i>	22.9	335
<i>Don't know</i>	2.6	38
Total	100.0	1463

---

Do you consider yourself a native North Carolinian?

	Percent	N
<i>Yes</i>	53.6	786
<i>No</i>	46.4	680
Total	100.0	1466

---

Do you consider yourself a Southerner?

	Percent	N
<i>Yes</i>	68.1	998
<i>No</i>	31.9	468
Total	100.0	1466

---

## Demographics

### Age

	Percent	N
<i>18 to 34</i>	29.4	431
<i>35 to 49</i>	24.7	362
<i>50 to 64</i>	25.1	368
<i>65 or older</i>	20.8	305
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1467</b>

---

### Gender

	Percent	N
<i>Male</i>	48.6	713
<i>Female</i>	51.4	754
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1467</b>

---

### Race

	Percent	N
<i>White only selected</i>	70.6	1036
<i>Black only selected</i>	22.2	326
<i>Multiple races selected or Other race selected</i>	7.2	106
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1467</b>

---

### Party identification (self-placement)

	Percent	N
<i>Democrat or leans Democrat</i>	42.6	624
<i>Republican or leans Republican</i>	39.8	584
<i>Independent or Something else</i>	17.6	258
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1466</b>

---

### Highest level of education (self-reported)

	Percent	N
<i>Less than high school</i>	2.4	35
<i>High school diploma or GED</i>	22.6	332
<i>Some college</i>	27.5	404
<i>Associate degree or another certification</i>	18.5	271
<i>Bachelor's degree</i>	19.5	286

 **ELON** POLL

<i>Graduate degree</i>	9.5	140
Total	100.0	1467

---

## Household income (self-reported)

		Percent	N
<i>Less than \$23k</i>	0-20 <sup>th</sup> percentile	20.0	293
<i>\$23-41.9k</i>	20-40 <sup>th</sup> percentile	20.0	293
<i>\$42-66.9k</i>	40-60 <sup>th</sup> percentile	20.0	293
<i>\$67-108.9k</i>	60-80 <sup>th</sup> percentile	20.0	293
<i>\$109+</i>	80-100 <sup>th</sup> percentile	20.0	293
Total		100.0	1467

---

## Crosstabulations

	Monuments on government property should...		Monuments help people understand history		Monuments honor Confederates who died		Monuments glorify what the Confederacy fought for	
	Remain	Be removed	Agree	Don't agree	Agree	Don't agree	Agree	Don't agree
<b>Age</b>								
18 to 34	56	44	72	28	73	27	56	44
35 to 49	66	34	77	23	76	24	55	45
50 to 64	68	32	77	22	74	26	40	60
65+	75	25	76	24	81	19	41	59
<b>Gender</b>								
Male	62	38	73	27	74	26	48	52
Female	68	32	78	22	77	23	49	51
<b>Race</b>								
White	77	23	83	17	84	16	45	55
Black	27	73	50	50	49	52	59	41
<b>Education</b>								
Less than BA's	68	32	77	23	76	25	50	50
BA or more	59	41	72	28	76	24	46	54
<b>Income</b>								
< \$23k	62	38	69	31	69	31	53	47
\$23-41.9k	65	35	74	26	74	26	53	47
\$42-66.9k	65	35	80	20	74	26	52	48
\$67-108.9k	74	26	82	18	83	17	40	60
> \$109k	60	40	72	28	77	23	46	54
<b>Party Identification</b>								
Democrat	36	64	57	43	62	38	59	41
Republican	91	9	93	7	90	10	38	62
Independent	77	23	79	21	76	24	47	53
<b>County Type</b>								
Rural	72	28	81	19	82	18	46	54
Suburban	69	31	79	21	78	22	53	47
Urban	54	46	66	34	66	34	48	52
<b>Overall</b>	65	35	75	25	76	24	49	51

	Monuments on government property should...		Monuments help people understand history		Monuments honor Confederates who died		Monuments glorify what the Confederacy fought for	
	Remain	Be removed	Agree	Don't agree	Agree	Don't agree	Agree	Don't agree
<b>NC native</b>								
No	66	34	76	24	75	25	45	55
Yes	65	35	75	25	76	24	52	48
<b>Knowledge of Civil War history on True/False questions</b>								
1 or fewer	66	34	77	23	76	24	55	45
2 out of 3	66	34	76	24	75	25	48	52
All 3 correct	65	35	73	27	75	25	42	58
<b>Main cause of the Civil War</b>								
Slavery	45	55	63	37	66	34	56	44
States' rights	83	17	86	14	85	15	44	56
<b>Confederate flag reaction</b>								
Positive	86	14	92	8	95	5	66	34
Negative	27	73	49	51	54	46	60	40
Neither	87	13	89	11	84	16	31	69
<b>Do Confederate symbols disturb AA's today?</b>								
No	92	8	90	10	87	13	42	58
Yes	52	48	68	32	70	30	52	48
<b>Today, who is treated less fairly?</b>								
Whites	89	11	94	6	93	7	50	50
Blacks	42	58	59	41	62	38	55	45
Treated equally	90	10	91	9	88	12	38	62
<b>How much does the legacy of slavery affect African Americans today?</b>								
Not at all/much	92	8	91	9	90	10	32	68
A fair amount	61	39	73	27	72	28	54	46
A great deal	37	63	59	41	62	38	64	36
<b>Overall</b>	65	35	75	25	76	24	49	51

## Methodological Information

Mode:	Online
Population:	NC residents, age 18+
Dates in the field:	November 4-6, 2019
Sample size:	1467
Weighting variables:	Age, Gender, Race, Education, Income Percentile, County Type
Credibility interval:	+/- 2.8 %

### *Procedure*

For this survey, the Elon University Poll used an online opt-in sample provided by Lucid, LLC. Respondents were recruited for this sample from many sample providers in the Lucid marketplace. Respondents received small amounts of compensation in exchange for their opinions. More information about the Lucid marketplace and quality tests are available [here](#).

Our sample was designed to represent North Carolina residents over the age of 18. The survey software, Qualtrics, screened respondents out of the sample if they reported living outside of the state.

This survey used both quotas prior to data collection and weights after data collection to match sample demographics to population demographics. A raking algorithm in Stata generated weights.

### *Credibility Interval*

Unlike a traditional random digit-dial telephone survey, online opt-in surveys do not have traditional margin of errors because they do not adhere to assumptions of random selection. To account for uncertainty inherent in any sample-based research design, we provide credibility intervals. More information about this technique can be found [here](#). The credibility interval was calculated by inflating traditional confidence intervals by design effects means. In this survey, the interval was calculated as follows:  $(1.09 * 2.56) = 2.8$

### *Support for Transparency*

The Elon University Poll supports transparency in survey research and is a charter member of the American Association for Public Opinion Research Transparency Initiative, which is a program promoting openness and transparency about survey research methods and operations among survey research professionals and the industry. All information about the Elon University Poll that we release to the public conforms to reporting conventions recommended by the American Association for Public Opinion Research and the National Council on Public Polls.

## Weighting Information

Population parameters for NC residents, age 18 or older, were calculated based on demographic information provided by the U.S. Census in the 2017 American Community Survey. Weights were generated in Stata using iterative proportional fitting, also known as raking. In addition to the demographic variables listed below, we weighted on the type of county respondents live in. Each county was labeled as rural, suburban or urban based on [this map](#) from the NC Rural Center.

	Unweighted	Weighted
<b>Age</b>		
18-34	30.8%	29.4%
35-49	26.9%	24.7%
50-64	27.4%	25.1%
65+	14.8%	20.8%
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	45.1%	48.7%
Female	54.9%	51.3%
<b>Race</b>		
White	70.5%	70.6%
Black	21.3%	22.2%
Other	8.2%	7.2%
<b>Education</b>		
Less than BA's	63.4%	71.0%
BA's or more	36.6%	29.0%
<b>Income</b>		
<\$23k	18.6%	20.0%
\$23-41.9k	22.5%	20.0%
\$42-66.9k	25.3%	20.0%
\$67-\$108.9k	20.6%	20.0%
>\$109k	13.0%	20.0%
<b>County Type</b>		
Rural	40.1%	41.0%
Suburban	27.4%	25.0%
Urban	32.5%	34.0%

## Frequently Asked Questions

### 1. Who pays for the Elon University Poll?

Elon University fully funds the Elon University Poll. The poll operates under the auspices of the College of Arts and Sciences at Elon University, led by Dean Gabie Smith. The Elon University administration, led by Dr. Connie Ledoux Book, president of the university, fully supports the Elon University Poll as part of its service to the community. Because of this generous support, the Elon University Poll does not engage in any contract work. This permits the Elon University Poll to operate as a neutral, non-biased, non-partisan resource.

### 2. Does the Elon University Poll favor a certain party?

The Elon University Poll is an academic, non-partisan survey research organization. We do not engage or work with any political candidates or parties. We employ best practices to ensure the results are not biased.

### 3. Did you randomize response options?

Not in this survey.

### 4. Did you weight the data?

Yes. We apply weights to the data. For this survey, we generated results using raking based on Census data. For more details, see the Weighting Information above.

### 5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of online opt-in surveys over traditional random digit dial surveys?

Traditional telephone surveys have a clear advantage over online surveys such as this in that assumptions of equal probability of selection are more appropriate. Furthermore, online surveys do not capture opinions of respondents who lack internet access. However, our opinion is that [declining telephone response rates](#) and the growth in online sample pool sizes have narrowed quality differences between the two modes. Additional information about opt-in surveys in general is available from AAPOR and the [Pew Research Center](#).



## The Elon University Poll Team



[Dr. Jason Husser](#) is Director of the Elon University Poll and Associate Professor of Political Science & Policy Studies at Elon University. Dr. Husser holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Vanderbilt University. He researches American political behavior and survey methodology.



[Dr. Kaye Usry](#) is Assistant Director of the Elon University Poll and Assistant Professor of Political Science & Policy Studies at Elon University. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her research interests are in American politics and political psychology.



[Owen Covington](#) is Director of the Elon University News Bureau. A native North Carolinian, Owen Covington joined the staff of Elon University in 2016 after spending 17 years in the field of journalism as a reporter and editor for daily and weekly news outlets in North Carolina and Kentucky. As director of the Elon University News Bureau, Covington oversees the promotion of Elon and its students, faculty and staff both through stories told across Elon's media channels as well as through interactions with state, national and international media. He is involved in media relations, including responding to requests from print, digital and broadcast media outlets, and works to promote content generated by a variety of Elon news sources.

For more information on the Elon University Poll visit [elon.edu/elonpoll](http://elon.edu/elonpoll) or contact:  
Jason A. Husser, Ph.D.  
Director of the Elon University Poll  
[jhusser@elon.edu](mailto:jhusser@elon.edu)  
(336) 278-5239

Follow us on Twitter:  
[@elonpoll](https://twitter.com/elonpoll)