

The Limits of the Norm of Racial Equality: Gender, Partisanship, and Support for Confederate Symbols

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Abstract

Most political scientists argue that explicit racial appeals are no longer effective in contemporary American politics. According to this view, such messages are rejected because they are perceived as violating the almost universally accepted norm of racial equality. We reexamine this question with an experimental design, embedded in a representative Internet survey of Georgia where, until recently, the state flag prominently featured the Confederate battle emblem. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, we argue that explicit racial appeals have not disappeared from the contemporary political scene nor are they necessarily counter-productive. In particular, we focus on the effects of explicit messages in two areas: the gender gap in support for Confederate symbols; and the partisan transformation of the South. Specifically, we consider the effects of framing the flag debate in either implicit or explicit racial terms. We hypothesize that White Democratic women will be most likely to abandon support for the battle flag after exposure to an explicit racial appeal. White men should be relatively unmoved by such messages. Further, framing this debate explicitly in terms of race should encourage White men, but not women, to abandon the Democratic Party in favor of the Republicans. Lastly, we hypothesize that support for the battle flag will be correlated with opposition to interracial marriage---especially for White men. Our results largely confirm each of these expectations.

Since the early part of the last century, Whites' racial attitudes have undergone a dramatic transformation, particularly in the South. Overtly racist views, once the norm, are now endorsed by only a small fraction of Americans and segregationist policies are almost universally repudiated (Firebaugh and Davis 1988; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan 1997; Taylor, Greeley, and Sheatsley 1978). Although there is little dispute about the over time change in racial attitudes (although see Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens 1997), scholars disagree as to whether racial appeals have also disappeared from contemporary American politics. Political scientists, and political pundits, generally offer two perspectives on the modern-day use of racial messages in elite communications. Some argue that politicians in the post Civil Rights era can still succeed in activating the voters' latent racial attitudes as long as their appeals are implicit and do not violate the norm of racial equality (Mendelberg 2001; Hurwitz and Peffley 2005; Valentino, Hutchings and White 2002). By "implicit," these scholars mean that the racial message is conveyed either through the use of ostensibly non-racial code words (Edsall and Edsall 1991; Gilens 1999; Hurwitz and Peffley 2005; Walton 1997) such as "welfare" "states rights" or "inner city," or through the exclusive use of visual race cues (Mendelberg 1997, 2001; Valentino et al. 2002).

Even in the South, the strategy of implicit racial appeals has become dominant. For example, Glaser (1996) writes that, "for the most part, southern Republicans have recognized that outright racist appeals are no longer socially acceptable (pg. 69)." Glaser does maintain that southern Republicans often make strategic use of unmistakably racial issues, such as civil rights or voting rights. However, with the exception of occasionally accusing Democrats of "buying Black votes" even Republicans running in racially divided southern districts steer clear of overtly racist appeals (pg. 68).

Others maintain that, in the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement, partisan racial appeals are invariably ineffective (Thernstrom 1987; Thernstrom and Thernstrom 1997). According to this view, these messages are either too subtle to influence the typical American or, although increasingly rare, they are too blunt and thus rejected by most voters. Proponents of this view also maintain that racially conservative appeals (either explicit or implicit) are in fact perceived as primarily about conservatism and not about race. Interestingly, while each side in this debate differs on the persuasiveness of implicit racial cues, they adopt remarkably similar views on the power of *explicit* racial appeals: the vast majority of Americans will reject them.¹

We submit that the influence of contemporary racial appeals may be more complex, and more influential, than either side of this debate has suggested. We argue that explicit racial appeals are not necessarily a thing of the past and, under some circumstances and with respect to some Americans, they can be remarkably persuasive. Previous researchers have failed to recognize this because they have not always looked in the right places or examined the right voters. As we explain in more detail below, we focus on White men and women in the South as we contend that the norm of racial equality varies considerably across these populations. As a result, some Whites in this region may be less offended by explicit racial appeals than is suggested by the extant literature. This paper revisits the debate on the persuasiveness of racial appeals in contemporary American politics by focusing on the controversy surrounding the Confederate battle emblem. Specifically, we examine the effects that alternate frames---explicitly

¹ Huber and Lapinski (N.d.) adopt a somewhat different view as they find that neither explicit nor implicit racial appeals succeed in priming the general population. However, among less educated and racially resentful individuals, such appeals are equally effective. Nevertheless, they agree that there are few electoral advantages in candidates adopting explicit racial appeals and they speculate that, "...there may be an electoral penalty with many Americans for simply using racial language (pg. 24)."

racial or non-racial---have on support for the flag among White men and women. Additionally, we explore how these frames influence partisan identification across gender lines.

Racial Cues, the Gender Gap, and the Partisan Transformation of the South

Prior to the advent of the modern Civil Rights Movement politicians, especially although not exclusively in the South, would regularly engage in race baiting to generate political support (Key 1949; Klinkner and Smith 1999; Mendelberg 2001; O'Reilly 1995; Williams 2004). For example, President Andrew Johnson proclaimed that, "this country is for White men and by God, as long as I am President, it shall be a government for White men (Williams 2004, pg 25)." One need not reach back into the nineteenth century to find such open appeals. As recently as 1946, Mississippi Senator Theodore Bilbo was quoted giving the following instructions on the campaign trail: "You and I know what's the best way to keep the [racial expletive for African American] from voting. You do it at night before the election. I don't have to tell you any more than that. Red-blooded men know what I mean (quoted in Mendelberg 2001, pg. 71)." Given that most Whites endorsed negative stereotypes about African Americans and most Blacks were disenfranchised following the demise of Reconstruction, there was little incentive to avoid such appeals. As support for biological racism began to fade, and as the political influence of African Americans grew, overt racist appeals became increasingly difficult to justify (Mendelberg 2001). However, although White Americans were becoming more racially tolerant in the second half of the twentieth century, many continued to embrace negative, albeit less crude, views about Black Americans (Kinder and Sears 1981; Kinder and Sanders 1996; McConahay 1986; Sears 1988; Sears and Henry 2003).

According to some scholars, contemporary political and media elites can activate these latent views if the racial content of their appeals are sufficiently understated such that the message is ostensibly non-racial (Gilens 1999; Hurwitz and Peffley 2005; Reeves 1997; Valentino et al. 2002). Mendelberg (2001) provides the most detailed description of this theory of “racial priming.” She argues, in the first of her four axioms, that contemporary Whites are *ambivalent* with respect to racial issues. Although they are genuinely committed to the norm of racial equality, many also view Black demands for racial justice as illegitimate and continue to harbor anti-Black stereotypes. Mendelberg also argues that modern-day racial appeals are effective precisely because they are *ambiguous*. That is, as long as the racial cue goes undetected, then it can successfully activate the latent racial resentment many Whites hold toward Blacks without appearing to violate the norm of racial equality. The third axiom in the theory of racial priming maintains that implicit racial appeals are effective because they make latent racial attitudes more *accessible* in memory. In short, implicit racial appeals are effective because they make it easier for Whites to access their racial views and apply them to their political decisions. The last axiom focuses on *awareness*. Both the supporters and critics of the effectiveness of implicit race cues agree that Whites will reject explicit racial appeals because they clearly represent a violation of the norm of racial equality. Thus, persuasive racial appeals must be implicit.

Contrary to the conventional wisdom, we suspect that explicit racial appeals may be more common and more effective than previously believed. We adopt this view for three reasons. First, previous research has been overly broad in the definition of explicitly racial appeals. Typically, explicit references to race have been equated with openly racist appeals. That is, researchers have assumed that open discussions of race necessarily represent a violation

of the norm of racial equality.² As we shall see, it is possible for elites to openly discuss race without violating this norm (Hutchings and Valentino 2003). One way this can occur is through the mention of racial group differences in public policy views. Given the incentive structure of the mainstream media, an emphasis on social group differences on matters of public policy is quite common (Gamson 1992). For example, Price (1989) argues that political news is, at root, a narrative about “who the sides are” on salient issue of the day. Additionally, Entman and Rojecki (2000) report that the media routinely highlight and exaggerate interracial differences. Thus, by emphasizing racial group differences in public opinion and with respect to various socio-economic outcomes the news media succeeds in generating a compelling story without simultaneously legitimating racial inequality.

A second reason for doubting the view that explicit appeals are ineffective has to do with nature of the evidence that scholars have relied on. For the most part, the evidence for this conclusion has been drawn from experimental subjects in the Midwest or the Northeast (Mendelberg 1997, 2001; Valentino et al. 2002). Even recent work by Huber and Lapinski (N.d.) focuses only on national level data and does not explore the possibility of regional effects. This is relevant because, even today, the racial climate in the non-South may differ dramatically from that of the South (Glaser and Gilens 1997; Kuklinski Cobb, and Gilens 1997; Steeh and Schuman 1992; Tuch and Martin 1997; Valentino and Sears 2005). It is conceivable that overtly racial appeals, and indeed potentially *racist* ones, may still resonate for some in this part of the

² Mendelberg (2001) defines the norm of racial equality as “...the prohibition against making racist statements in public ... (p.17),” personal repudiation of “...the sentiments that have come to be most closely associated with the ideology of White supremacy---the immutable inferiority of Blacks, the desirability of segregation, and the just nature of segregation in favor of Whites (p.19),” and commitment to “...basic racial equality in particular to equal opportunity (p. 18).”

country. To our knowledge, no one has explored the possibility that explicit racial appeals may still be effective among some in the White south.

Our final reason for reexamining the power of explicit racial appeals focuses on another source of variation in adoption of the norm of racial equality. One assumption among scholars has been that this norm has been internalized more or less equally throughout the population. However, recent work by Hutchings and his colleagues (2004) suggests that women are, on balance, more sympathetic than men to racially egalitarian political appeals. Their work is based on a broad range of scholarship that shows that boys and girls are socialized differently such that women are more apt to internalize a sense of responsibility for the most vulnerable in society whereas men are encouraged to focus on self-fulfillment (Bakan 1966; Choderow 1978; Frankenstein 1966; Giligan 1982; Lang-Takac, Esther and Zahava Osterweil 1992). These different tendencies do not just play out in the social arena but also have implications for policy preferences. For example, some researchers have found in a variety of cross-national studies that, compared to men, women are more inclined to endorse social group equality, express concern for the disadvantaged, self-identify as political liberals, and support structural explanations for racial inequality (Beutel and Marini 1995; Furnham 1985; Norrander 1999; Pratto, Stallworth and Sidanius 1997; Schuman et al. 1997; Sidanius and Ekehammar 1980; Tedin and Yap 1993).³

The impact of racial cues on the gender gap in political perceptions may be especially pronounced in the South. This is because overtime changes in party identification among White men and White women have been particularly distinctive in the South (Miller and Shanks 1996).

³ Of course, we speak here in terms of central tendencies and generalities. We do not assert, and indeed there is plenty of evidence to the contrary, that *all* women will adopt a more egalitarian stance when issues are framed in terms of disadvantaged groups (Sapiro 1983).

For example, in 1960 White non-southern women were about 7-percentage points *less* likely than White non-southern men to identify with the Democratic Party. By 2000, this figure had shifted to an 8-point Democratic advantage among women. By comparison, in 1960 White southern women were about 14-percentage points *less* likely to identify with the Democratic Party. However, by 2000 they were some 12-percentage points *more* likely to identify with the Democrats.⁴ Miller and Shanks (1996) comment on this distinctive trend.

Changes in party identification among Southern female voters after 1976 do not match the pattern of any other set of non-Black voters. This is striking because the other three groupings [i.e. non-southern men and women and male southerners] all reveal a shift to small Republican pluralities at the conclusion of the Reagan era in 1988, while White Southern women [voters] continuously exhibit a set of clearly pro-Democratic preferences throughout the 1980's. Their Democratic plurality in 1992 matches the figures from 1980, and in the meantime, non-Southern women voters have joined in contributing to the gender gap. *Why this should be so is not obvious* (p. 143, italics added).

The extent to which the partisan transformation of the South occurred because of attitudes on racial matters remains unresolved in the literature (see for example Abramowitz and Saunders 1998; Valentino and Sears 2005) but if race did play a significant role, then this gender dynamic suggests that women and men reacted quite differently to partisan race cues.⁵

One opportune arena to examine the effects of explicit racial appeals in contemporary southern politics is the debate regarding the Confederate flag. In this paper, we examine the effects that alternate frames---explicitly racial, explicitly racist, and non-racial---have on support for the flag among White men and women in the south. Additionally, we explore how these

⁴ These figures are drawn from the American National Election Studies. The South is defined as the Old Confederacy.

⁵ The work of Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens (1997) also suggests a profound gender gap in the South. They report that anti-Black attitudes, albeit disguised, among White southern males far outstrip levels of racial animosity expressed by White southern females.

frames influence partisan identification across gender lines. The Confederate flag controversy represents an excellent issue in which to study the effects of explicit racial cues because the role of race in this dispute is fiercely contested. Although opponents have consistently charged that the Rebel cross is racially offensive, proponents maintain that the symbol has nothing to do with race. Because of the contested meaning of this debate we can credibly frame the conflict in either racial or non-racial terms. Another advantage in studying this issue is that it can shed light on the debate regarding the partisan transformation of the South (Abramowitz and Saunders 1998; Black and Black 2002; Lublin 2004; Valentino and Sears 2005). Although historically associated with the Democratic Party, recently Republican political figures have become the staunchest defenders of the Confederate flag (Coski 2005; Lublin 2004; Goodman and Sawyer 2003). If race plays a role in the increasing popularity of the southern Republican Party, then injecting race into this increasingly partisan debate should prompt greater support for the GOP.

The Political Conflict over the Confederate Battle Emblem

Although political conflicts involving state-sanctioned displays of the Confederate battle emblem began as early as the mid-1960's, the most recent controversies emerged sometime in the late 1980's (Coski 2005). These battles were typically precipitated by the growing political strength of African Americans in the South. For example, in 1987 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) launched a legal campaign to remove the battle flag from the capital dome in Alabama. In 1993, the NAACP adopted a similar legal strategy in Mississippi with the goal of forcing state officials to remove the Confederate Battle emblem from the official state flag. In 1999, the NAACP initiated an economic boycott of South Carolina in order to force officials there to remove the battle flag from the atop the state house

dome. Invariably, local Black legislators allied themselves with the opponents of the flag even as most White officials---and most White voters---resisted such appeals. In the end, the courts, the legislature, or the voters ultimately resolved these disputes although never to the satisfaction of all parties.⁶

The most recent political battle involving this controversial symbol occurred in Georgia where, in 2004, voters officially approved a new state flag that did *not* feature the battle flag. Although seemingly ending the debate in this state, this referendum was the result of a lengthy and complicated struggle that produced more than a few political casualties. The association of the Confederate battle flag with the official state flag of Georgia began in 1956, when the legislature incorporated the Rebel Cross into the design of the new state flag (Davis 1998). As with similar efforts throughout the South, the motive for this change remains in dispute. Supporters of the 1956 flag claim the change merely coincided with the impending centennial celebration of the founding of the Confederacy. Critics charge that the change was a none-too-subtle signal of opposition to the growing Civil Rights Movement in the region (Coski 2005). Whatever the cause of the change, the 1956 flag has driven a wedge between Black and White Georgians almost from the beginning.⁷ Multiple efforts were launched to change the state flag, typically led by Blacks, with success finally appearing on the horizon in 1992. In May of that year, Governor Zell Miller publicly threw his support behind the long-standing campaign of the

⁶ In Alabama, a circuit court judge resolved the issue by ordering the flag's removal from the capitol dome. In South Carolina, a legislative compromise led to the transfer of the battle flag from the atop the state house dome to the grounds of the state capitol beside a Confederate monument. Finally, in Mississippi, the issue was placed before the voters in a referendum on April 17, 2001. Voters endorsed the current state flag---with the Confederate battle emblem---by 65% to 35% (Coski 2005; Orey 2004).

⁷ A Georgia State University survey in 2000 found that 65% of African American respondents in Georgia regarded the 1956 flag as a symbol of racial conflict and favored its removal. However, 66% of Whites in the survey viewed the flag as an expression of Georgia heritage and supported keeping the flag.

NACCP to remove the battle emblem from the state flag. Ultimately, however, the Georgia legislature failed to pass Miller's proposal and, facing a difficult reelection campaign, he pledged not to reintroduce the proposal again.

Miller's successor in the governor's office, Roy Barnes, also sought to change the state flag. In January 2001, Barnes and an African American state representative, Tyrone Brooks, orchestrated the speedy removal of the 1956 flag in favor of a new flag which substantially reduced the size of the battle emblem as it appeared on the flag and featured it alongside several other flags (including the American flag) against a blue background. Supporters of the 1956 flag, also known as "flaggers" were outraged. The following year, Barnes was upset in his reelection bid by newcomer Sonny Perdue. Perdue, the first Republican governor in Georgia since Reconstruction, opposed the new flag and ran on a platform of allowing the voters to decide the issue. Many political observers attribute Perdue's stunning victory to the support he received from the flaggers (Galloway 2004). Upon entering office Perdue introduced a bill that would have given the voters the option of restoring the 1956 flag. However, in a last-minute deal engineered by Black Democrats and Republicans, the 1956 version of the state flag was removed as an option for the voters. Instead, in a non-binding referendum, voters were presented with either the "Barnes" flag of 2001 or its successor, designed by Governor Perdue in 2003. On March 2, 2004 the voters approved the 2003 flag by a 3-to-1 margin.

Methods and Procedures

In order to address the hypotheses described above, we focus on the recent state flag controversy in Georgia. Our aim was to understand how White men and women reacted to this dispute when the conflict was framed in racial terms and when it was not. We rely on an

experimental design to test our hypothesis that framing the flag debate in explicit racial terms will lead to diminished support for the Rebel cross primarily among women. The virtue of the experimental method is that it allows the researcher to manipulate specific elements of the political appeal even as all other aspects of the message remain constant across conditions. When coupled with random assignment to treatment conditions, this method ensures that any differences uncovered across conditions can only be attributed to those elements altered by the researcher (Kinder and Palfrey 1993). Our study included 706 respondents drawn from a random sample of adult Georgians.⁸ Thus, our study combines the best elements of experiments (i.e. strong causal inference) with those of survey research (i.e. representativeness). Given the nature of our hypotheses, this paper will focus only on the 539 subjects who self-identify as White.

Our experimental treatments consist of three different versions of an online *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* article on the Georgia state flag controversy.⁹ Subjects assigned to the control condition read an *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* article of comparable length about handheld electronic games for children. The treatment articles are based on a genuine news story about the state flag issue. In the first story, which we call the “heritage” version, the headline reads, “56 Flaggers Press On, In Defense of Georgia Heritage.” The news story is accompanied by a photograph of White Georgians holding signs featuring the Rebel Cross that read “Sonny

⁸ The survey was carried out by Knowledge Networks, over the Internet, with a field date beginning at 10/13/04 and ending 11/2/04. Of the 878 individuals initially contacted, 706 or 80% completed the survey.

⁹ The articles were designed to appear as authentic *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* stories. To this end, the masthead from the actual website of the online newspaper was imposed over each of the stories and the byline was attributed to a fictitious *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* reporter.

Lied.”¹⁰ The first line of the article, common to all three news stories, reads “Just because a cause is lost doesn’t mean the fight’s over. That’s the Confederate way.” The next sentence then notes that the aspirations of the supporters of the 1956 flag were “thwarted” by a last minute deal brokered by Democrats and Republicans that resulted in their preferred flag being removed as an option in the March referendum. The reader is then informed that supporters of the 1956 flag plan to “take another stab at putting the Rebel cross before voters over the next few months.” The article goes on to quote William Henderson of the “Southern Heritage Coalition” who opines that “The 1956 flag is an important part of Georgia history,” and that his group intends to extend the debate by another year. The fourth paragraph in the almost 400-word article provides some context on the controversy. It reminds readers that former Governor Barnes was responsible for replacing the 1956 flag, and that, “Politicians and some business groups regarded the flag as an obstacle to tourism.” The second half of the article---which is constant across each of the three different versions---recounts the emergence of the Perdue campaign, its emphasis on the flag controversy as a campaign tactic, and the outcome of the March referendum. All of the stories also provide photos of each of the three most recent Georgia flags. As should be clear by now, this version of the story makes no *explicit* written or visual reference to the racial controversy associated with the Confederate flag. However, the emphasis on southern “heritage” may very well strike some readers as a thinly veiled code-word for White Supremacy, in much the same way that “states rights” or other ostensibly race-neutral words have come to take on a racial meaning (Edsall and Edsall 1991; Hurwitz and Peffley 2005). Thus, this version of the story represents, at best, an implicit racial appeal.

¹⁰ The caption to the photograph reads “Above, Georgians show support for the 1956 flag.”

The second version of our story, which we call the “Black opposition” frame, adopts a similar theme as the heritage article except that instead of highlighting the support for the 1956 flag it emphasizes that most African Americans are opposed to this flag. For example, the headline in this version of the story reads, “56 Flaggers Press On, In Spite of Black Opposition.” The photograph attached to the story shows a crowd of Black demonstrators walking arm-in-arm. The caption reads, “Above, NAACP Sponsored Rally Against the 1956 Flag.” The text of the article opens in a fashion identical to the heritage frame, but the second paragraph notes that the goals of the flaggers were thwarted by a last-minute deal brokered by “Black Democrats,” rather than “Democrats and Republicans” as in the previous version. The paragraph goes on, as before, to note that the flag supporters will attempt to keep the issue alive one more year, although this version adds the phrase, “in spite of Black resistance.” William Henderson is also quoted in this story, although now he is spokesperson for the local NAACP and declares defiantly that “Blacks will oppose any effort to bring back the 1956 flag.” Finally, the following paragraph contains similar information about the context of the dispute, but instead of mentioning the rationale for opposition being the impact on tourism, the article notes that, “African Americans and others had long viewed the flag as a symbol of opposition to their struggle for civil rights.” The remaining 60% of the article is identical to the heritage frame described above. The goal with this frame was to make racial considerations salient without simultaneously depicting supporters of the flag as racially intolerant.¹¹ In this way, we make the racial message explicit without overtly violating the norm of racial equality.

¹¹ That is, race is made salient here by highlighting Black opposition, but not by characterizing supporter of the flag as motivated by racial animus. The article does note that Blacks view support for the Confederate flag as synonymous with hostility towards the Civil Rights Movement. However, a stance of racial conservatism is not necessarily equivalent to an endorsement of White supremacy.

The final version of our story, which we refer to as the “hate-groups” frame, is organized much like the previous two versions. This frame, however, highlights the association of the Confederate flag with racist hate-groups. For instance, the headline reads, “56 Flaggers Press On, In Spite of Ties to Racist Hate Groups.” In this version, the accompanying photograph shows a group of hooded Klansmen holding the Confederate flag while making what appears to be the Nazi hand salute.¹² As before, the first two sentences remain unchanged. The second paragraph reads as in the previous versions, except that it is “Democrats” who are identified as thwarting the goals of the flaggers. In the third paragraph, William Henderson is again quoted on this subject, but now he represents the “White Citizens Coalition,” which is identified in the article as one of several “white supremacist groups” working on behalf of this cause. Henderson is quoted as saying, “White people have a right to our own flag.” In keeping with the other two versions, the next paragraph provides some background information on the dispute, however now supporters of the flag are described as “the Ku Klux Klan and other racist hate-groups.” Our aim with the hate-group story was not merely to make racial considerations salient for the reader, as in the Black opposition frame, but also to characterize at least some supporters of the Confederate flag as unapologetically racist. In this frame, our subjects cannot help but recognize that some view support for the Confederate flag as synonymous with support for White supremacy. In short, in this condition, supporters of the flag are characterized as violating the norm of racial equality. If men and women respond differently to racial cues because the latter react, on balance, negatively to appeals to intolerance then this frame should produce the sharpest gender differences.

¹² The caption to this photograph reads, “Above, Members of KKK show support for Confederate Flag.”

Gender, Racial Frames, and Attitudes on the Georgia State Flags

Attitudes about the Georgia flag controversy are measured with the following item: “Which of these three Georgia state flags do you most prefer?” The designated response options include “the current flag that has three stripes and the state seal (the ‘Perdue flag’)” or “the blue flag adopted in 2001 during the Barnes administration (the ‘Barnes flag’)” or “the flag with the Confederate battle emblem that was the official flag from 1956-2001.” Respondents could also indicate that they preferred none of these flags. Across all 539 cases, the most popular flag is the “Perdue flag” with approximately 45% support among White Georgians. The next most popular flag is the 1956 flag, with slightly more than 41% support. The “Barnes flag” is considerably less popular among Whites, registering the support of only about seven percent of respondents.¹³ Interestingly, when examining the entire sample, there are no significant gender differences.

Our data suggest considerable, although less than majority, support for the 1956 Georgia state flag. However, the most critical tests of our hypotheses involve the variation in support of this flag across experimental conditions. Here we explore two questions: Do either the implicit or explicit appeals influence support for the flags? And does framing support for the battle flag in racial, or even racist, terms contribute to diverging support among men and women? These questions are addressed in table 1. Given the trichotomous nature of our dependent variable we rely on multinomial logistic regression analyses.¹⁴ Our primary independent variables are dummy variables representing each of the experimental treatments.¹⁵ In model 1, we focus primarily on these variables whereas in model 2, the treatments are interacted with gender (1=female), thereby allowing us to determine if men and women respond differently to the

¹³ About six percent reject all of the available options.

¹⁴ Given the relatively small number of cases, we do not include respondents who indicate a preference for none of the three flags.

¹⁵ The control condition represents the excluded category.

various frames. Additionally, to guard against the possibility that differences in the distribution of socio-political variables across cells of the design might account for our results, we have included controls for education, income, age, partisanship, and a sample weight.¹⁶

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

In model 1, we examine whether racial cues, implicit or otherwise, succeed in affecting support for the various versions of the Georgia state flag. In the first column, we find that none of the experimental frames has an effect on support for the “Barnes flag” relative to the “Perdue flag.” Although all of the variables are positive, indicating somewhat greater support for the “Barnes flag” in the treatment groups, the standard errors are all larger than the respective coefficients. In the second column of model 1, where we examine support for the 1956 flag, we uncover similar results. Here the coefficients are negative, but again they fall well short of statistical significance. As conventional wisdom would expect, explicit racial appeals do seem to undermine support for this flag, but the effects are decidedly mild and indistinguishable from zero.

In model 2, we explore a second possibility. That is, the research cited above on the uneven diffusion of the norm of racial equality across gender suggests that differing reactions to

¹⁶ The sample weight ranges from .21 to 5.9 and is designed to compensate for the deviations from representativeness that occurred in the drawing of the Internet sample. We also examined whether there were significant interaction effects between the treatments and these other demographic indicators. With one exception, these interactions did not achieve conventional levels of statistical significance. Consistent with the work of Huber and Lapinski (forthcoming) the effects of the treatment conditions were significant among the low educated such that they were less supportive of the 1956 flag. This was only true of the two explicitly racial conditions. However, when the interactions for gender were entered into the model, the effects for education became insignificant whereas the gender interactions were unaffected.

explicit racial appeals among White men and women might obscure the effects in model 1. The second set of columns in table 1 examines this possibility. As with model 1, we find that although women are somewhat more likely than men to prefer the “Barnes flag,” the experimental treatments and their interactions all fall short of statistical significance. It would seem that neither the heritage frame nor the different race frames play any important role in structuring attitudes on the set of options which were presented to the voters in the March, 2004 referendum.

The results for support for the 1956 flag, relative to the “Perdue flag,” as shown in the last column of table 1, provide strong confirmation for our primary hypothesis. Here we find that the hate-group frame significantly diminishes support for the 1956 flag among women, relative to the control group.¹⁷ The effects among men are not significant in any of the experimental conditions, although, in the hate group condition they move marginally in the opposite direction from women. There is some evidence that this gender gap also begins to emerge after exposure to the explicit message contained in the Black opposition frame, although the interaction in this case falls just short of statistical significance ($p = .069$, one-tailed test). These results suggest that explicit racial appeals do not necessarily disturb all Whites, even when they clearly represent a violation of the norm of racial equality. Although women become far less supportive of the Confederate battle flag when its supporters are depicted as White supremacists, men are on balance unaffected.¹⁸

¹⁷ The effects in the hate-group frame are also statistically significant relative to the heritage frame, although the effects in the two explicit racial frames are indistinguishable.

¹⁸ We get comparable results with related survey items. For example, on a question asking if “...the Confederate battle flag reminds them of white supremacy and racial conflict...[or]...a symbol of Southern heritage and pride” we find that only our hate-group frame produces a significant gender gap ($p \leq .03$) with women more likely to view the flag as racist and men unmoved. Similarly, when asked “...how do you feel about the

[FIGURES 1 & 2 ABOUT HERE]

As the magnitudes of the multinomial logistic coefficients are difficult to interpret, we have converted the results into predicted probabilities, as shown in figure 1.¹⁹ The first set of bars represent the probability of support for the 1956 flag among men and women in the control condition. In this condition, the probability of support for the flag featuring the Rebel Cross is some 17-points greater for women compared to men. This is striking given the long-standing association of the flag with racial intolerance. Of course, the battle flag also has several other traditions and it is possible that for many southern women, the default symbolism of the Confederate flag is *not* racial. This interpretation is consistent with the results in the treatment conditions. When the racial content to the flag debate is only hinted at, as in the heritage frame, support does decline for men and women but not significantly. However, when race is explicitly introduced, as in the Black opposition frame, gender differences disappear completely. This occurs because the probability of support among women declines by almost twenty-points, relative to the control, whereas men are scarcely affected at all. This suggests that, for men, the introduction of racial considerations do not significantly alter their default view of this debate. For women, however, forcing them to consider the racial implications of the 1956 flag leads to a substantial decline in support. This is especially apparent in the hate-group condition. In this frame, the probability of support for the 1956 flag among women declines by almost 50%

newest Georgia state flag--the one that won in the referendum...” women become significantly more supportive of the Perdue flag in both the Black opposition frame ($p \leq .02$) and the hate-group frame ($p \leq .01$) whereas men, in both explicit racial frames, become marginally less supportive ($p \leq .06$) of this flag. As in table 1, the implicit racial frame (i.e. the heritage frame) has no effect.

¹⁹ The results in figure 1 are obtained by varying the treatment and gender of a hypothetical subject, after holding all other variables in the model constant at their mean or median.

relative to the control group. Remarkably, men move in the opposite direction, although not significantly, even though flag supporters are painted in a particularly unflattering light. As a result, the 17-point female advantage in support for this flag in the control condition is transformed into a 16-point deficit, when flag supporters are characterized as unambiguous racists.²⁰

The impact of our race frames on support for the Perdue flag are almost as large as the effects for the 1956 flag, as shown in figure 2. In the control condition, men are far more likely than women to prefer the most recent Georgia flag. However, as the racial implications of the flag debate are made increasingly salient, women become more approving of the Perdue flag. Clearly, for many women, this flag is seen as a more preferable alternative to the 1956 flag as the latter becomes tainted by its association with racist hate groups. Interestingly, this support does not shift to the Barnes flag.²¹

The Intersection of Partisanship and Gender

In the previous section, we learned that explicit racial cues have differential effects on White men and women's support for Confederate symbols. It is possible that these messages might also affect partisan support. This hypothesis is derived from a considerable body of research linking growth in Republican support, nationally and especially in the South, with the party's increasingly vocal and conservative views on race over the last several decades (Black

²⁰ Consistent with our larger argument, those women most affected by the hate-group frame are Democrats. That is, Democratic women and to a somewhat lesser extent, independent women, are far more likely than Republicans to reject the 1956 flag after exposure to the hate-group frame.

²¹ The Barnes flag was not universally despised. Among the African Americans in our sample, 37% preferred this flag compared to 39% who preferred the Perdue flag. Thus, at least some White women might also have selected this flag when support for the 1956 flag was characterized as indefensible. That this outcome did not occur indicates just how unpopular Barnes' decision to remove the flag was to both White women and White men.

and Black 1987; Carmines and Stimson 1989; Edsall and Edsall 1991; Giles and Hertz 1994; Huckfeldt and Kohfeld 1989; Valentino and Sears 2005). This view is, however, contested by scholars who maintain that non-racial considerations---such as religious conservatism and attitudes on national defense---play a much larger role in the partisanship of contemporary White southerners (Abramowitz and Saunders 1998; Carmines and Stanley 1990; Petrocik 1987).

One way to help resolve this debate is to examine the effects of implicit and explicit racial cues. That is, to our knowledge, none of the previous work in the literature on partisan realignment has examined the *direct* effect of racial appeals on partisan support. For example, in their examination of changes in aggregate party identification, Giles and Hertz (1994) speculate that “events” may increase the salience of race thereby leading to an expansion in the number of self-identified Republicans, but they find little support for this in their data. This may be due to their use of the Jesse Jackson presidential candidacy of 1984 and 1988 as a measure of racial salience. Although intuitive, we argue that this measure is too blunt and imprecise to capture the effects of racial salience and that the experimental approach adopted in this paper represents a more straightforward test of the power of elite racial appeals. Moreover, unlike previous work in this literature, we also consider the role that gender plays in moderating the effects of racial cues.

Table 2 presents our analyses of the effects of implicit and explicit racial frames on party identification.²² In this table, our analyses are structured as they were in table 1, except that here we employ an ordered logistic model and our dependent variable is partisan support in Georgia. In model 1, we examine the main effects of our treatment conditions on partisanship. Giles and

²² Party identification was measured after the stimulus with the following question: “Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?” Responses are re-coded on a 0-1 scale with Democrats representing “1.” Due to space considerations on the survey, we were not able to follow up with a question measuring the strength of ones identification.

Hertz (1994) argue that Republican gains in the South may have been precipitated by concerns with either growing Black political power or simply overt racism among southern Whites. These concerns are reflected in our Black opposition frame and racist hate-group frame, respectively. If the conventional wisdom about racial appeals is correct, then the explicitly racial (i.e. Black opposition) and not the explicitly *racist* (i.e. hate-group) frame should be most successful in persuading southern Whites to identify with the Republican Party. We find, however, that it is the racist appeal that is most effective. Although the coefficients on all of the treatment variables are negative, indicating greater support for the Republicans relative to the control group, only the hate-group variable is statistically significant. Substantively, the effects are not trivial. The coefficient of $-.48$ translates into an increase of 12 percentage points for the Republicans in the hate-group condition relative to the control.

In model 2, we examine whether the effects of implicit and explicit racial appeals vary for White men and women. If our expectations are confirmed, then the main effects for our explicit race frames should remain negative, indicating less support for the Democratic Party among White men, but the treatment by gender interactions should run in the opposite direction. In general, this is exactly what we find as shown in the last column of table 2. Again, all of the treatment conditions have a negative effect on support for the Democratic Party, but now only in the racialized conditions do these results reach conventional levels of statistical significance. Interestingly, the effects in the Black opposition frame are comparable in size to that of the hate-group frame. Clearly, the null effects in model 1 were due to the divergent effects of the opposition frame on White men and women. Moreover, the gender-by treatment interactions are

all positive and, in the case of the Black opposition frame, statistically significant.²³ As expected, then, explicit racial appeals do generate greater support among White men, but not White women.

[TABLE 2 & FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Clearly, when race is made salient, the White men in our Georgia sample are much more likely to embrace the Republican Party. The size of this effect is illustrated in figure 3. In the control condition, Republicans enjoy a 16-point advantage over Democrats and a 6-point advantage over Independents. However, in the Black opposition frame, this advantage grows to 43-points and 28-points, respectively. We uncover similar results for the hate-group frame.

Our results here do not resolve the debate about the role of racial factors in the secular realignment of the South, if only because our data are restricted to a single state and year. Still, the results in figure 3 are consistent with the argument that racial concerns continue to play an important role in the partisan transformation of the South.

Racial Attitudes, Southern Identity, and Support for the Confederate Battle Flag

Thus far, our results have shown that explicitly racial discussions of the debate on the Confederate battle flag succeed in diminishing support for this symbol among White women, but not White men. Our interpretation of this result is that racial considerations do not figure as prominently in attitudes about the battle flag among women as they do among men. Although this conclusion is plausible, it is by no means inevitable. That is, perhaps women react negatively to the hate-group frame because they are more sensitive than men to the appearance

²³ When the analyses are run separately for men and women, the two race frames remain statistically significant, and negative, for men and well short of significant for women.

of openly supporting racist hate groups. In table 3 we seek to ascertain with greater confidence whether the linkage between racial considerations and support for the Confederate flag are more salient among men than among women. In this analysis, we focus less on the effects of our experimental treatments and more on the impact of particular attitudes. Specifically, we identify measures for the two most prominent explanations of support for Confederate symbols: southern group identity and racial prejudice. Southern group identity is measured with the following question: “Do you think that what happens generally to Southerners in this country will affect what happens in your life...a lot, some, or not very much at all?”²⁴ This particular concept of linked fate has been shown to figure prominently in levels of group identification across multiple social groups (Conover 1988; Dawson 1994; Gurin, Hatchet, and Jackson 1988).²⁵ Our measure of racial prejudice is derived from a single item typically used to gauge levels of “old-fashioned racism.” In this case, our respondents were asked: “Do you approve or disapprove of marriage between Blacks and Whites?” The three response options were “Approve,” “Disapprove,” and “Depends.”²⁶ We specifically opted for this measure, in spite of the likelihood of underestimating this sentiment (Berinsky 2004), over more modern indicators of racial prejudice

²⁴ Most Whites expressed some support for this measure, with 27% indicating they felt a sense of linked fate “a lot,” “43%” indicating “some” support, 23% indicating “not very much at all,” and 7% responding that they “don’t know.” These four responses were arrayed on a 0-3 scale, with higher values indicating greater support. In alternative specifications (results not shown) we also combined the “don’t know” and “not very much at all” categories. Our results were not substantively affected by this alteration.

²⁵ Ideally, we would have measured this concept with a battery of items tapping, for example, a sense of closeness and levels of affect for the group. Space considerations, however, prevented the inclusion of these items on the survey.

²⁶ About 36% of Whites approved of interracial marriage whereas 36% disapproved and 28% indicated that it “depends.” There were no statistically significant differences between men and women. The relatively high levels of opposition to interracial marriage likely derive from the self-administered nature of the questionnaire. Some research suggests that social desirability effects are diminished with this format (Couper and Rowe 1996).

because the interpretation of the latter remains in dispute in the literature (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Sears and Henry 2004; Sniderman, Crosby, and Howell 2000; Hutchings and Valentino 2004). Whatever the resolution of this debate, all parties would agree that opposition, in principle, to interracial marriage between Blacks and Whites represents an unambiguous indicator of racial intolerance.

[TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

The second column of table 3 presents the results of our analysis on the effects of southern identity and attitudes on interracial marriage on support for the Barnes flag, relative to the Perdue flag. We also include an interaction for gender by attitudes about interracial marriage, with the expectation that these views will figure more prominently among men than among women.²⁷ In the case of these two alternatives, we find that neither attitudes on interracial marriage nor identification with other southerners emerge as significant predictors. By far, the most important variable here is party identification with Democrats far more likely than Republicans to endorse the flag introduced by former governor, and fellow Democrat, Roy Barnes.

Results for the 1956 flag, as shown in the final column of table 3, yield a much larger group of significant predictors. For example, Democrats are once again more likely than Republicans to reject the 1956 flag, as are respondents with higher levels of education, income, and, surprisingly, older Georgians. Most importantly, we find that *both* southern identity and

²⁷ We also examined the effects of a gender by southern identity interaction (results not shown). This variable fell well short of statistical significance and so was removed from the analyses.

opposition to interracial marriage are significantly associated with support for the Confederate battle flag. However, the main effect of racial attitudes is much greater than are the effects for southern identity, and the former are a much more important determinant of support for the battle flag among men relative to women, as indicated by the statistically significant interaction term.

[FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE]

The results from table 3 are converted into predicted probabilities, as shown in figure 4. We find that support for the 1956 flag rises steadily, among both men and women, as one becomes increasingly skeptical of interracial marriage between Blacks and Whites. When the average respondent supports such unions, support ranges from .27 (for men) to .39 (for women). Among men, the probability of support for this flag grows substantially to .75 when an average respondent indicates opposition to interracial marriages. The corresponding probability for women is .68. Thus, as anticipated, the impact of old-fashioned racist attitudes on support for the Confederate battle flag is about 40% greater for White men than for White women.²⁸

Conclusion

Our examination of the controversy surrounding the Confederate battle flag has revealed several things regarding the influence of explicit racial appeals, the gender gap, and the partisan transformation of the South. First, contrary to conventional wisdom, explicit racial appeals have not disappeared from the contemporary political scene nor are they necessarily counter-

²⁸ We also examined the predicted probability of support for the 1956 flag by levels of support for southern pride (results not shown). We found that support increased by about 18-points for both men and women as identification rises from “don’t know” to “a lot.”

productive. We have shown that explicit racial appeals can be fashioned so as not to (obviously) violate the norm of racial equality. This can occur simply by highlighting racial differences on salient public policy disputes. Similarly, even blatantly racist political appeals need not inspire revulsion in all Americans. This can occur we hypothesized because the norm of racial equality has been adopted unevenly across the South. Specifically, we argued that White women have, on average, internalized this norm more completely than White men. Of course, this conclusion should not be overstated. White women are still about as likely as White men in our sample to oppose interracial marriage and, even in the hate-group frame women do not embrace the flag least encumbered by Confederate symbolism (i.e. the Barnes flag). Still, our argument is less about gender differences in the distribution of racial attitudes than it is about the weight that men and women give to racial inclusiveness when fashioning their policy preferences, candidate support, and party identification. We argue that women prioritize this value more highly than men and thus are less receptive to messages that violate the norm of racial equality.

Consequently we expect that explicit racial appeals, even on the incendiary issue of the Confederate battle flag, should diminish support for this symbol primarily among White women but not White men. To test these ideas, we exposed a random sample of Georgian adults to one of three similar, yet distinct, versions of a news article on the recent Georgia state flag controversy. In the heritage frame, we highlighted the argument that supporters of the Confederate battle flag were only motivated by affection for southern historical traditions. Arguably, racial cues were present in this frame but they were implicit at best. In the Black opposition frame, we emphasized the open hostility most African Americans feel for the battle flag, although supporters of the flag were not depicted as ardent segregationists. Finally, in the racist hate-groups frame, we stressed the long-standing association of the Confederate flag with

organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan thereby clearly violating the norm of racial equality. The explicit racial frames did diminish support for the Rebel Cross prominently emblazoned on the 1956 Georgia state flag but, as anticipated, this occurred only among White women.

A number of concerns might be raised about this finding. One is that the association, both photographic and textual, of the Confederate battle flag with the Ku Klux Klan represents an extreme characterization unlikely to find its way into mainstream media coverage of the flag debate. We concede that such a linkage is a disquieting one for many Americans, particularly some White southerners. Still, there is considerable historic support for this connection dating back at least to the time of the 1950's and 1960's (Coski 2005). Although the Rebel Cross has never been the exclusive property of avowed racists, many Whites wishing to express their opposition to the goals of the Civil Rights Movement have adopted it as their symbol. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of Black leaders and ordinary African Americans continue to view the battle flag as a symbol of White supremacy.²⁹ In the words of John Coski, "Civil Rights leaders came to view the Confederate battle flag as a symbol of racism because they encountered it in situations in which [W]hite people *intended* it as a symbol of racism (p.135, italics in original)."

Another potential concern with our hate-group frame is that what is most salient about this version of the story is not necessarily the racial views of the Klan so much as their reputation for lawlessness and violence. It is possible that it is this image that is responsible for our sizeable gender gap rather than the unadorned message of White supremacy. This is a reasonable concern as a number of researchers have documented that women are more apt than

²⁹ Of the African Americans in our 2004 Georgia study, fully 82% endorsed the idea that the Confederate battle emblem represents "white supremacy and racial conflict" rather than "southern pride and heritage."

men to reject use-of-force policies in the domestic and international arena (Conover and Sapiro 1993; Frankovic 1982; Gilens 1988; Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999). Still, there are also reasons to believe that, in the context of southern culture, women are *not* more likely than men to object to the use of violence. Nisbett and Cohen (1996) argue that, for a variety of cultural reasons, White southerners are more prone to violence and more likely to regard it as acceptable than either Blacks or non-southern Whites. Most relevant for our study, however, they report that this “culture of honor” applies to women as well as men. In light of this work, and the fact that our Black opposition frame often produces similar results to our hate-groups frame without any reference to the violent history of the Klan, we feel that our interpretation is the most parsimonious explanation for our findings.

The results of this paper also shed further light on the antecedents of the gender gap in political preferences. Consistent with other recent work (Hutchings, Valentino, Philpot, and White 2004), we found that an effective way to produce a gender gap in support for Confederate symbols was to ratchet up the racial content in news stories concentrating on this issue. Thus, our findings extend the work of Hutchings and his colleagues beyond presidential candidate preferences and provide more detailed information as to what types of cues are most persuasive and which women are most susceptible to racial appeals (see note # 20).

Our results also show that explicit racial appeals have implications for contemporary partisan allegiance as well as attitudes on Confederate symbols. Specifically, the literature on the partisan transformation of the South remains divided as to the role that race played in the growing popularity of the Republican Party (see for example Abramowitz and Saunders 1998; Valentino and Sears 2005). Some scholars have argued that, in the aftermath of the successes of the Civil Rights Movement, the Republican Party has attracted Whites by sending subtle and not-

so-subtle cues about their racially conservative platform. Although there is circumstantial support for this claim no one has examined directly whether racial appeals lead to greater support for the GOP. Further, researchers have not explored whether such appeals might resonate more with White men rather than White women (although see Kaufmann 2002 for evidence that men's partisanship has become increasingly linked to their racial attitudes). If race is one of the reasons that southern Republicans have gained at the expense of southern Democrats, then we should also find that highlighting race, via explicit racial appeals, produces an increase in support for the GOP, particularly among White men. This hypothesis was confirmed with both our explicitly racial frame and our explicitly racist frame.

Lastly, we hypothesized that racial intolerance, as exemplified by opposition to interracial marriage, should represent a more important predictor of support for the Confederate battle flag among men than among women. This is because---even though there are no significant gender differences in levels of opposition to interracial marriage---we anticipated that men would be more likely than women to apply their racial prejudice to their views on public policy. Additionally, we expected that racial intolerance would represent a more powerful predictor of support for Confederate symbols than the alternative explanation of identification with southern heritage. We found support for both explanations in our analyses, but as anticipated, the effects of racial intolerance were much greater---especially for southern White men.

Although we believe this study represents the first demonstration of the complex relationship between explicit racial appeals, gender and partisanship we must also acknowledge its limitations. Perhaps the most important of these shortcomings is that we only examine data from the state of Georgia, and it is conceivable that results in other southern states might differ

from what we present here. Additionally, our data are cross-sectional and were collected only in 2004. Race is clearly implicated in attitudes about the Confederate battle flag in present-day Georgia, but we cannot definitively address whether this linkage was present in earlier times. Finally, our findings regarding the connection between race and partisanship, although consistent with some earlier work, cannot speak to all the various factors that might also have contributed to the partisan transformation of the South over the past several decades. These caveats notwithstanding, however, we believe there are four conclusions one can cautiously draw from our results. First, consistent with the work of Hutchings and his colleagues (2004), racial cues represent a powerful trigger for the familiar gender gap in recent American politics. Second, all Americans do not respond with aversion to explicit racial appeals and politicians are not necessarily ill advised to rely upon them. Indeed, in some cases such appeals can successfully attract supporters rather than discourage them (also see Huber and Lapinski N.d.). Third, racial considerations are deeply implicated in contemporary southern partisanship. And, lastly, whatever else Confederate symbols represent, for many southerners they are inextricably linked to the politics of race.

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**Figure 1. Support for the 1956 Georgia State Fl
by Frame and Gender**

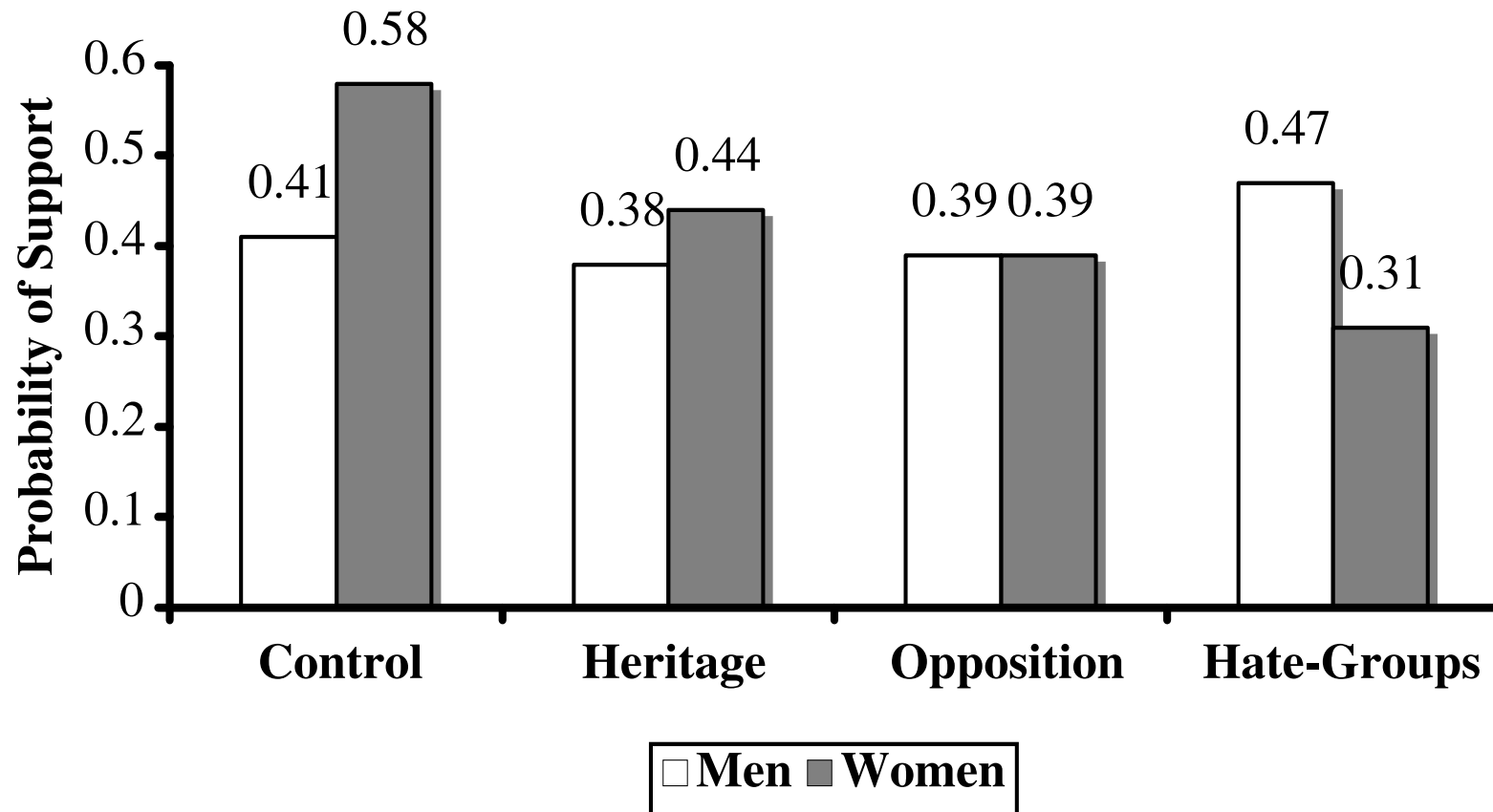
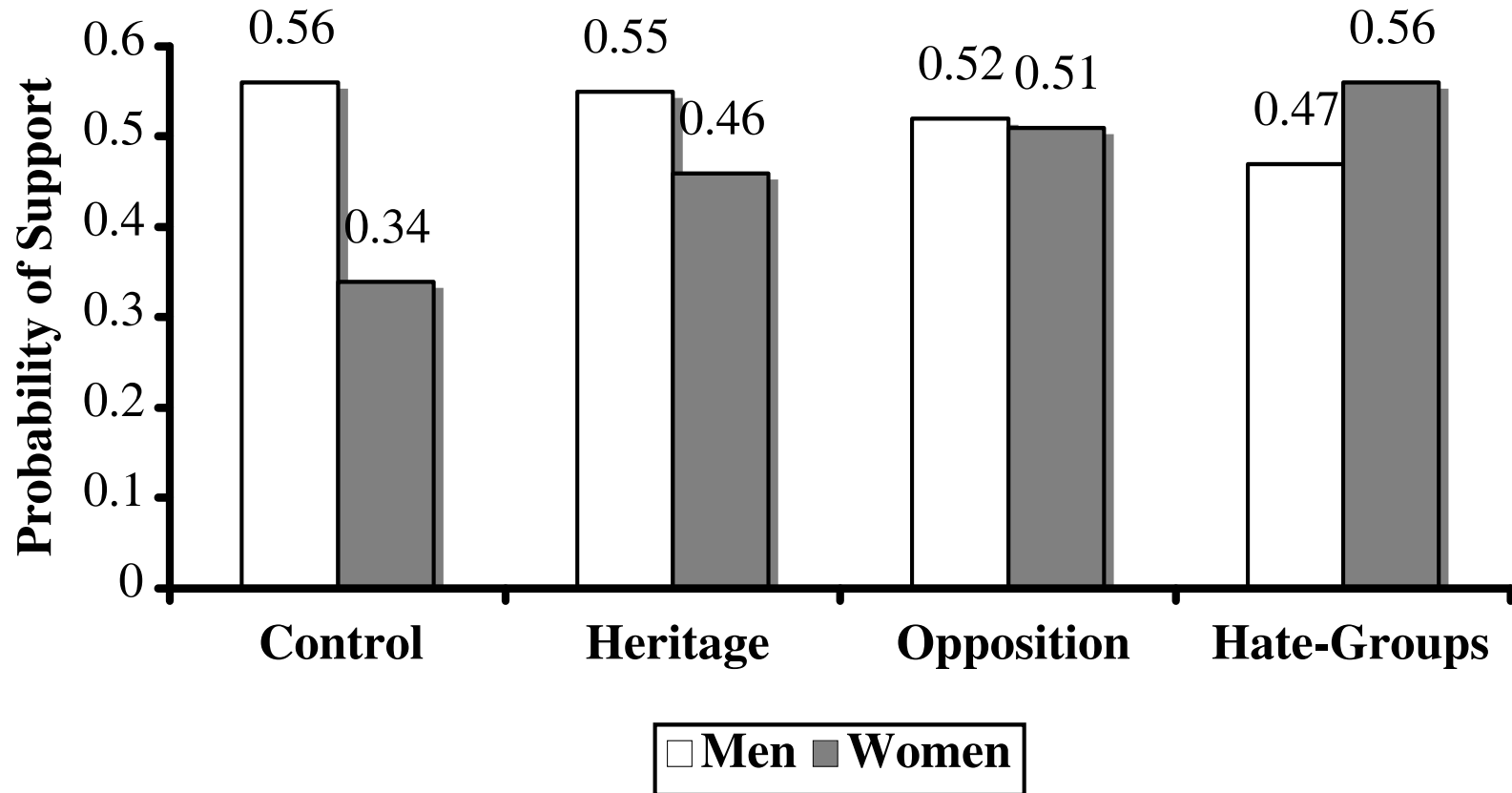
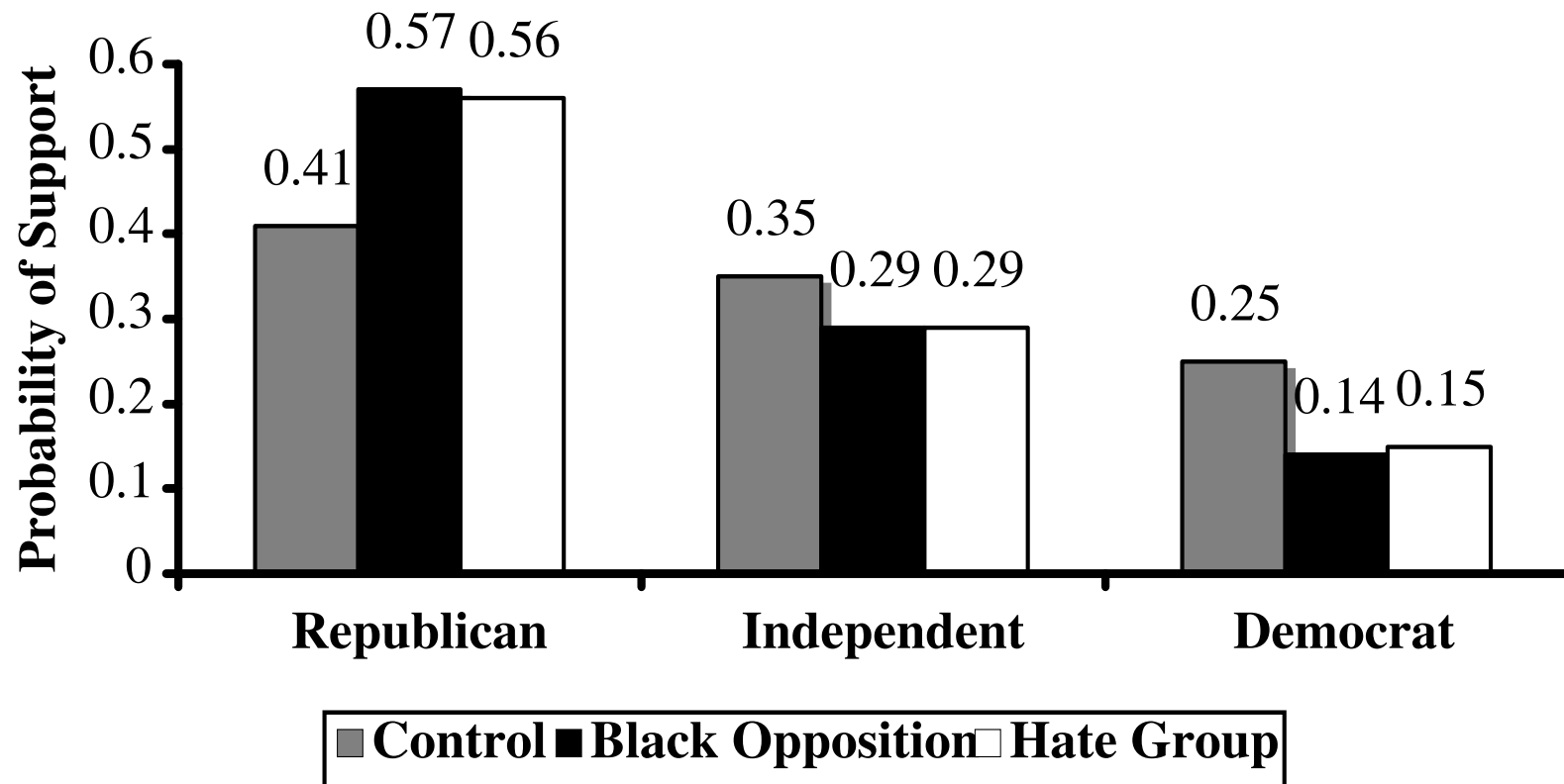


Figure 2. Support for the 2003 "Perdue" Georgia State Flag by Frame and Gender



**Figure 3. Effects of Black Opposition Frame & H
Group Frame on Estimated Party Identification
(White Men)**



**Figure 4. Support for the 1956 Georgia State Flag b
Attitudes on Interracial Marriage & Gender**

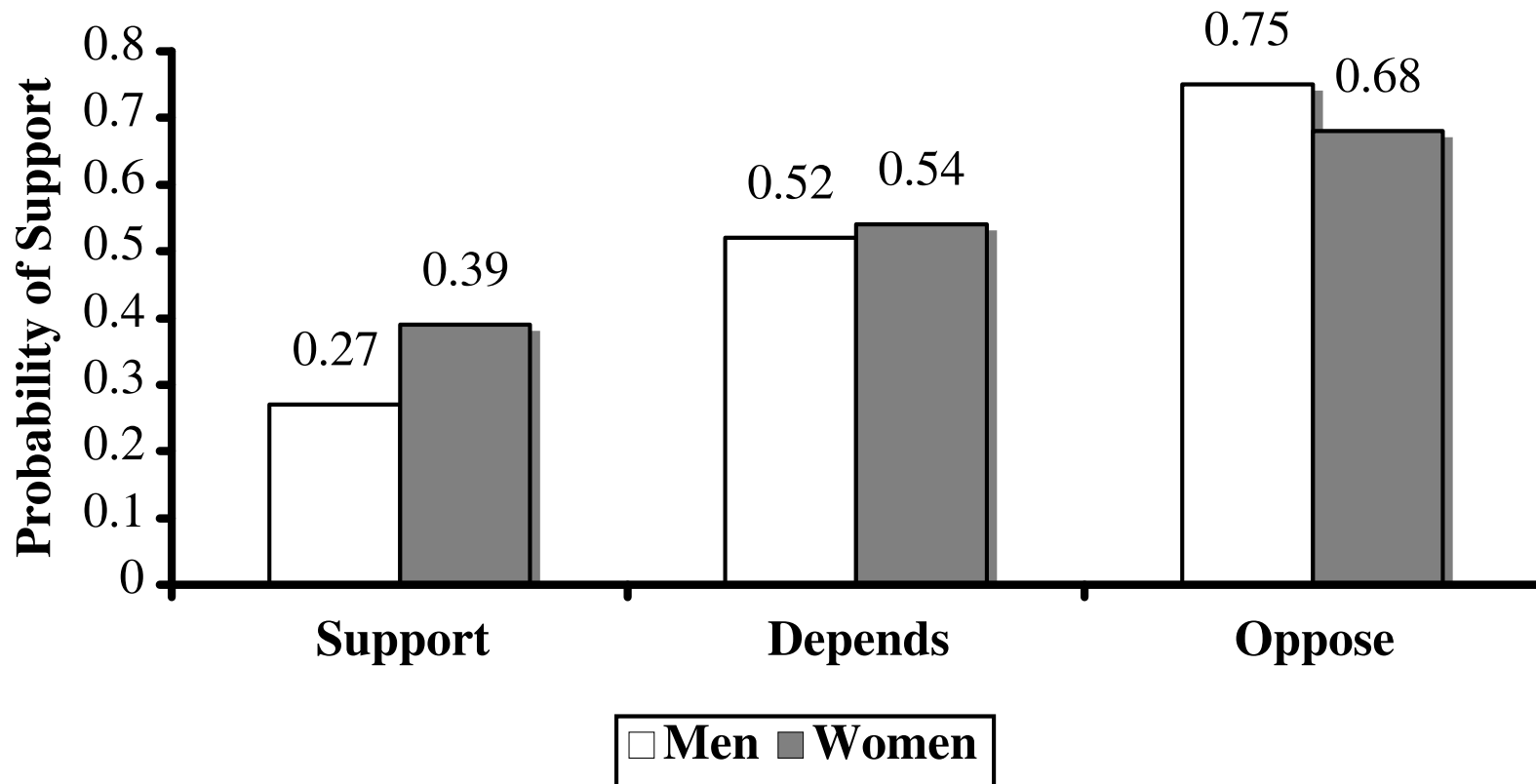


Table 1. Multinomial Logit of The Effects of Implicit & Explicit Racial Cues on Levels of Support for Various State Flags Among Whites

	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>	
	Perdue Flag vs. Barnes Flag	Perdue Flag vs. 1956 Flag	Perdue Flag vs. Barnes Flag	Perdue Flag vs. 1956 Flag
Intercept	-2.40 (1.61)	4.07*** (.89)	-2.80 (1.69)	3.86*** (.91)
Southern Heritage Frame	.30 (.54)	-.30 (.29)	.86 (.91)	-.07 (.42)
Black Opposition Frame	.36 (.51)	-.39 (.27)	1.13 (.88)	.01 (.39)
Racist Hate-Group Frame	.44 (.53)	-.43 (.41)	.95 (.96)	.30 (.41)
Female	.59* (.36)	.13 (.19)	1.48* (.89)	.83* (.42)
Heritage Frame * Female	-----	-----	-.97 (1.15)	-.49 (.59)
Black Opposition Frame * Female	-----	-----	-1.32 (1.10)	-.82 (.55)
Racist Frame * Female	-----	-----	-.96 (1.16)	-1.43** (.58)
Education	.11 (.28)	-.54*** (.15)	.09 (.28)	-.56*** (.15)
Income	-.00 (.05)	-.07** (.03)	-.00 (.05)	-.07** (.03)
Age	-.02* (.01)	-.02*** (.01)	-.02* (.01)	-.02** (.01)
Party Identification	1.32*** (.44)	-.90*** (.27)	1.36** (.45)	-.89*** (.27)
Sample Weight	.11 (.27)	-.01 (.15)	.09 (.27)	-.03 (.15)
Log likelihood	-422.96		-419.19	
N	504		504	

Notes: * p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001 for one-tailed test, except for constant.

Table 2. Ordered Logit of The Effects of Implicit & Explicit Racial Cues on Party Identification Among Whites

	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>
Southern Heritage Frame	-.19 (.24)	-.35 (.35)
Black Opposition Frame	-.18 (.22)	-.65* (.32)
Racist Hate-Group Frame	-.48* (.24)	-.62* (.35)
Female	.10 (.16)	-.33 (.35)
Heritage Frame * Female	-----	.33 (.49)
Black Opposition Frame * Female	-----	.93* (.46)
Racist Frame * Female	-----	.30 (.48)
Education	.04 (.12)	.06 (.12)
Income	-.04* (.02)	-.04* (.02)
Age	.00 (.01)	.00 (.01)
Sample Weight	.15 (.11)	-.18 (.12)
Cut 1	-.36 (.68)	-.49 (.69)
Cut 2	1.13 (.68)	1.01 (.70)
Log likelihood	-554.09	-551.80
N	539	539

Notes: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$ for one-tailed test, except for constant.

Table 3. Multinomial Logit of Effects of Georgia Flag Frames, Attitudes on Interracial Marriage & Gender on Party Identification Among Whites

	“Perdue Flag” versus “Barnes Flag”	“Perdue Flag” versus “1956 Flag”
Constant	-2.23 (1.67)	3.05** (.97)
Southern Heritage Frame	.38 (.54)	-.46 (.30)
Black Opposition Frame	.41 (.52)	-.58* (.29)
Racist Hate-Group Frame	.44 (.54)	-.62* (.30)
Southern Identification	-.43 (.64)	.63* (.36)
Opposition to Interracial Marriage	-.55 (.82)	2.03*** (.39)
Female	.75* (.46)	.60* (.34)
Interracial Marriage * Female	-.24 (.97)	-.91* (.50)
Education	.08 (.29)	-.45** (.17)
Income	.00 (.05)	-.07** (.03)
Age	-.02 (.01)	-.04*** (.01)
Party Identification	1.23** (.45)	-.72** (.28)
Sample Weight	.17 (.28)	-.01 (.15)
Log likelihood	-396.56	
N	504	

Notes: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$ for one-tailed test, except for constant

Stimulus Materials (follow):

Southern Heritage, Black Opposition, Hate Groups

'56 Flaggers Press on, in Defense of Georgia Heritage

By Jim Gallowy-Staff
The Atlanta Journal Constitution
Monday, September 20, 2004

Atlanta - Just because a cause is lost doesn't mean the fight's over. That's the Confederate way.

Thwarted in the final moments of last year's session of the Legislature by a last-minute deal brokered by Democrats and Republicans, supporters of Georgia's 1956 state flag will take another stab at putting the Rebel cross before voters over the next few months.

"The 1956 flag is an important part of Georgia history," said William Henderson of Paulding County, Leader of the Southern Heritage Coalition, one of several groups that want to extend the debate on the state's most volatile political issue by one more year.

What has groups such as the Southern Heritage Coalition so angry? In January 2001, Gov. Roy Barnes suddenly and speedily pushed through a bill that hauled down the 1956 flag, dominated by the huge "X" of the Confederate battle emblem. Politicians and some business groups regarded the flag as an obstacle to tourism.

The following year, supporters of the '56 flag allied themselves against Barnes' re-election effort and got behind Sonny Perdue, a Middle Georgia

agribusinessman. Perdue had opposed Barnes' flag-changing efforts and promised a vote on the topic--- though he never specified the terms or content of the vote. Supporters of the '56 flag played a critical role in Perdue's victory.

In a non-binding referendum on the state flag on March 2, the voters registered their support for the current flag by a 3-to-1 ratio. However, only two candidates were listed: the blue 2001 flag raised by Barnes, and the newest "Stars and Bars" flag signed into law by Gov. Perdue last spring, modeled on the first national flag of the Confederacy.

In the state House, the Democratic leadership opposes any revival of the flag issue. More importantly, neither Perdue nor other key Republicans wants the Great Flag Debate, Part III. "We've got a huge budget crisis, education problems and child safety issues. I don't believe this will be on the priority list," said Don Balfour (R-Snellville), chairman of the Senate Rules Committee.

Supporters of the 1956 flag, also known as "flaggers," call for an additional referendum that would add their beloved Rebel emblem to the choices offered voters.



Above, Georgians show support for the 1956 Flag



Above, 1956-2001 Flag



Above, 2001-2003 Flag



Above, 2003 Flag

'56 Flaggers Press on, in

By Jim Gallowy-Staff
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Monday, September 20, 2004

Atlanta - Just because a cause is lost doesn't mean the fight's over. That's the Confederate way.

Thwarted in the final moments of last year's session of the Legislature by a last-minute deal brokered by black Democrats, supporters of Georgia's 1956 state flag will take another stab at putting the Rebel cross before voters over the next few months, in spite of black resistance.

"Blacks will oppose any effort to bring back the 1956 flag," said William Henderson of Paulding County, Leader of the local branch of the NAACP, one of several groups seeking to bring an end to the debate on the state's most volatile political issue.

What has groups such as the NAACP so determined? In January 2001, Gov. Roy Barnes suddenly and speedily pushed through a bill that hauled down the 1956 flag, dominated by the huge "X" of the Confederate battle emblem. African Americans and others had long viewed the flag as a symbol of opposition to their struggle for civil rights.

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In the state House, the Democratic leadership opposes any revival of the flag issue. More importantly, neither Perdue nor other key Republicans wants the Great Flag Debate, Part III. "We've got a huge budget crisis, education problems and child safety issues. I don't believe this will be on the priority list," said Don Balfour (R-Snellville), chairman of the Senate Rules Committee.

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Above, NAACP Sponsored Rally Against the 1956 Flag.



Above, 1956-2001 Flag



Above, 2001-2003 Flag



Above, 2003 Flag

'56 Flaggers Press on, in Spite of Ties to Racist Hate Groups

By Jim Gallowy-Staff
The Atlanta Journal Constitution
Monday, September 20, 2004

Atlanta - Just because a cause is lost doesn't mean the fight's over. That's the Confederate way.

Thwarted in the final moments of last year's session of the Legislature by a last-minute deal brokered by Democrats, supporters of Georgia's 1956 state flag will take another stab at putting the Rebel cross before voters over the next few months.

"White people have a right to our own flag," said William Henderson of Paulding County, Leader of the White Citizens Coalition, one of several white supremacist groups that also want to extend debate on the state's most volatile political issue by one more year.

What has groups such as the White Citizens Coalition so angry? In January 2001, Gov. Roy Barnes suddenly and speedily pushed through a bill that hauled down the 1956 flag, dominated by the huge "X" of the Confederate battle emblem. Opponents of the Confederate flag had long viewed it as a symbol for the Ku Klux Klan and other racist hate-groups.

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Above, Members of KKK show support for Confederate Flag



Above, 1956-2001 Flag



Above, 2001-2003 Flag



Above, 2003 Flag