## Civil War at 150: Still Relevant, Still Divisive

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## Civil War at 150: Still Relevant, Still Divisive

As the $150^{\text {th }}$ anniversary of the start of the Civil War approaches, most Americans say the war between the North and South is still relevant to American politics and public life today.

More than half of Americans (56\%) say the Civil War is still relevant, according to the latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press, conducted March 30April 3 among 1,507 adults. Nearly four-in-ten (39\%) say the Civil War is important historically but has little current relevance.

In a nation that has long endured deep racial divisions, the history of that era still elicits some strong reactions. Nearly half of the public (49\%) says it is inappropriate for today's public officials to praise the leaders of the Confederate states during the war; $36 \%$ say such statements are appropriate.

Nonetheless, a majority (58\%) say they have no particular reaction to the Confederate flag, the symbol of the South. Among those who have a reaction to the flag, more than three times as many say they have a negative reaction as a positive reaction (30\% to 9\%).

| Mixed Views of Civil War's Legacy |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Mar 30Apr 3 |
| Do you think Civil War is... | \% |
| Still relevant to American politics and political life | 56 |
| Important historically, but has little relevance today | 39 |
| Don't know.) | 5 |
|  | 100 |
| Is it appropriate for public officials today to praise Confederate leaders? |  |
| Appropriate | 36 |
| Inappropriate | 49 |
| Don't know | 15 |
|  | 100 |
| Your reaction when you see the Confederate flag displayed? |  |
| Positive reaction | 9 |
| Negative reaction | 30 |
| Neither | 58 |
| Don't know | $\underline{2}$ |
|  | 100 |
| Your impression of the main cause of the Civil War? |  |
| Mainly about states' rights | 48 |
| Mainly about slavery | 38 |
| Both equally (Vol.) | 9 |
| Neither/Don't know | $\underline{6}$ |
|  | 100 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Mar. 30-Apr. 3, 2011. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding. |  |

There is no consensus among the public about the primary cause of the Civil War, but more (48\%) say that the war was mainly about states' rights than say it was mainly about slavery (38\%). Another $9 \%$ volunteer that it was about both equally.

Young people are more likely than older Americans to say that the war's main cause was states' rights $-60 \%$ of those younger than 30 express this view, the highest percentage of
any age group. Those 65 and older are the only age group in which more say that slavery, rather than states' rights, was the main cause of the Civil War (by $50 \%$ to $34 \%$ ). While $48 \%$ of whites view states' rights was the war's main cause, so too do $39 \%$ of African Americans.

## Sense of Southern Identity

On some, but not all, issues relating to the Civil War, the views of whites who identify as Southerners differ significantly from those who do not.

About a quarter of all whites (24\%) consider themselves Southerners; 75\% do not.

Nearly half of self-described Southern whites (49\%) see states' rights as the

| Consider Yourself a Southerner? |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Yes | No | DK |
|  | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ |
| Total | 25 | 73 | $2=100$ |
| White | 24 | 75 | $1=100$ |
| Black | 43 | 54 | $2=100$ |
| Among whites: |  |  |  |
| Living in confederate states | 64 | 35 | $1=100$ |
| Living in non-confederate | 9 | 90 | $1=100$ |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Mar. 30-Apr. 3, 2011. Q73.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding. war's main cause; among whites who do not consider themselves Southerners, a comparable percentage (48\%) also says states' rights was the war's main cause. However, self-described Southern whites are more likely than other whites to view praise by politicians for Confederate leaders as appropriate and to have a positive reaction to displays of the Confederate flag.

## Less Positive View of Politicians Praising Confederates

The public expresses a less positive view of politicians praising Confederate leaders than it did a decade ago. In a January 2001 Gallup survey, 50\% said they thought it was appropriate for public officials to praise the leaders of the Confederate states in the Civil War; $40 \%$ said such praise was inappropriate.

In the new survey, more think that politicians' statements praising Confederate leaders are inappropriate rather than appropriate (by $49 \%$ to $36 \%$ ).

Whites who consider themselves Southerners are the only group in which substantially more view public officials' praise for Confederate leaders as appropriate rather than inappropriate

## Appropriate for Politicians Today to Praise Confederate Leaders?

|  | Yes | No | DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| Total | 36 | 49 | $15=100$ |
| White | 36 | 49 | $14=100$ |
| Black | 33 | 60 | $7=100$ |
| Among whites: |  |  |  |
| See self as Southerner | 52 | 32 | $16=100$ |
| Not a Southerner | 32 | 55 | $14=100$ |
| Among public: |  |  |  |
| College grad+ | 30 | 59 | $11=100$ |
| Some college | 33 | 53 | $14=100$ |
| H.S. or less | 42 | 41 | $17=100$ |
| Republican | 41 | 42 | $17=100$ |
| Democrat | 30 | 61 | $9=100$ |
| Independent | 41 | 47 | $13=100$ |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Mar. 30-Apr. 3, 2011. Q68.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. ( $52 \%$ to $32 \%$ ). A plurality of all whites (49\%) - and a clear majority of African Americans (60\%) - say it is inappropriate for public officials to praise Confederate leaders.

About six-in-ten (59\%) among those with at least a college degree also say praising leaders of the former Confederate states is inappropriate, while $30 \%$ say they do not have a problem with that. Those with a high school diploma or less are divided ( $42 \%$ appropriate, $41 \%$ inappropriate).

## Racial Differences in Reactions to Confederate Flag

Only a small number of Americans say they display the Confederate flag, but that symbol of the Southern cause elicits more negative reactions from some groups - especially African Americans, Democrats and the highly educated. Nevertheless, most Americans say they do not react positively or negatively when they see the Confederate flag.

Fewer than one-in-ten (8\%) say they display the Confederate flag in places such as their home or office, on their car or on their clothing; 91\% say they do not. The number that displays the Confederate flag is just a small fraction of the $75 \%$ who say they display the American flag in their homes or offices, on their cars or their clothing.

| Reactions to The Confederate Flag |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Reaction when you see the Confederate | Positive | Negative | Neither | DK |
| flag displayed? | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Total | 9 | 30 | 58 | $2=100$ |
| White | 8 | 29 | 61 | $2=100$ |
| Black | 10 | 41 | 45 | $3=100$ |
| Among whites: |  |  |  |  |
| See self as Southerner | 22 | 13 | 64 | $1=100$ |
| Not a Southerner | 4 | 35 | 59 | $2=100$ |
| Among public: |  |  |  |  |
| College grad+ | 5 | 46 | 47 | $2=100$ |
| Some college | 5 | 33 | 61 | $1=100$ |
| H.S. or less | 14 | 18 | 65 | $3=100$ |
| Republican | 15 | 21 | 62 | $2=100$ |
| Democrat | 7 | 44 | 46 | $3=100$ |
| Independent | 8 | 27 | 63 | $2=100$ |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER Mar. 31-Apr. 3, 2011. Q72. <br> Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. |  |  |  |  |

Far more African Americans than whites have a negative reaction to the Confederate flag (41\% to 29\%). Still, about as many blacks have no reaction (45\%) as a negative reaction to the Confederate flag. Among whites, $61 \%$ have no reaction.

Whites who consider themselves Southerners have a more positive reaction to the Confederate flag than do other whites: $\mathbf{2 2 \%}$ say they react positively when they see the Confederate flag displayed, compared with $8 \%$ of all whites and just $4 \%$ of whites who do not consider themselves Southerners.

Nearly half of those with at least a college degree (46\%) say they have a negative reaction to the display of the Confederate flag, compared with a third (33\%) of those with some college experience and just $18 \%$ of those with a high school diploma or less.

There also are partisan differences in reactions to the flag: about twice as many Democrats (44\%) as Republicans (21\%) react negatively to displays of the Confederate flag. And Republicans are more likely than Democrats to have a positive reaction to the flag ( $15 \%$ vs. $7 \%$ ).

## About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted March 30-April 3, 2011 among a national sample of 1,507 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States ( 1,001 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 506 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 215 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see http://people-
press.org/methodology/
The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2010 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2010 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the $95 \%$ level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

| Group | Sample Size | Plus or minus ... |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Total sample | 1,507 | 3.5 percentage points |
|  |  |  |
| White non-Hispanic | 1124 | 4.0 percentage points |
| Black non-Hispanic | 174 | 9.0 percentage points |

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.
In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

## About the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press

The Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press is an independent opinion research group that studies attitudes toward the press, politics and public policy issues. We are sponsored by The Pew Charitable Trusts and are one of seven projects that make up the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

The Center's purpose is to serve as a forum for ideas on the media and public policy through public opinion research. In this role it serves as an important information resource for political leaders, journalists, scholars, and public interest organizations. All of our current survey results are made available free of charge.

All of the Center's research and reports are collaborative products based on the input and analysis of the entire Center staff consisting of:

Andrew Kohut, Director<br>Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research<br>Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors<br>Michael Remez, Senior Writer<br>Leah Christian and Jocelyn Kiley, Senior Researchers<br>Robert Suls, Shawn Neidorf, and Alec Tyson, Research Associates<br>Jacob Poushter, Research Analyst<br>Danielle Gewurz, Research Assistant

## PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE \& THE PRESS

 APRIL 2011 POLITICAL SURVEYFINAL TOPLINE
March 30-April 3, 2011
$\mathrm{N}=1507$

## QUESTIONS 1-9 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

## NO QUESTIONS 10-12

## QUESTIONS 13-59 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

## NO QUESTIONS 60-65

## ASK ALL:

Q. 66 As you may know, this April will be the 150th anniversary of the start of the American Civil War. Do you think [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

## Mar 30-Apr 3

$\underline{2011}$
The Civil War was important historically, but has little
39 relevance to American politics and public life today
56 The Civil War is still relevant to American politics and public life today
5 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
ASK ALL:
Q. 67 What's your impression of the main cause of the Civil War? Was the Civil War [READ AND
RANDOMIZE]?

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$\underline{2011}$
38 Mainly about slavery
48 Mainly about states' rights
$9 \quad$ Both equally (VOL.)
2 Neither/Other (VOL.)
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
ASK ALL:
Q. 68 Do you generally think it is appropriate or inappropriate for public officials today to praise the leaders of the Confederate States during the Civil War?

| Mar 30-Apr 3 | Gallup/CNN/USA Today |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| $\frac{\text { 2011 }}{36}$ | Appropriate | $\frac{\text { Jan 2001 }}{50}$ |
| 49 | Inappropriate | 40 |
| 15 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 10 |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 69 Do you display the American flag, in places such as at your home or office, or on your car or clothing, or not?

| Mar 30-Apr 3 |  |
| :---: | :--- |
| $\frac{2011}{75}$ | Yes |
| 25 | No |
| $*$ | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## NO QUESTION 70

## ASK ALL:

Q. 71 Do you display the Confederate flag, in places such as at your home or office, or on your car or clothing, or not?

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$\underline{2011}$

| 8 | Yes |
| :---: | :--- |
| 91 | No |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

ASK ALL:
Q. 72 When you see the Confederate flag displayed, do you have [RANDOMIZE: a positive reaction, a negative reaction] or neither?

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| $\frac{2011}{9}$ | Positive reaction |
| :---: | :--- |
| 30 | Negative reaction |
| 58 | Neither |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

ASK ALL:
PARTY
In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?
ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):
PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | (VOL.) <br> No preference | (VOL.) Other party | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Lean } \\ & \text { Rep } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Lean } \\ & \text { Dem } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 | 25 | 32 | 37 | 3 | * | 3 | 17 | 16 |
| Mar 8-14, 2011 | 24 | 33 | 38 | 3 | * | 2 | 17 | 15 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 24 | 33 | 37 | 3 | * | 3 | 15 | 16 |
| Feb 2-7, 2011 | 24 | 31 | 39 | 3 | * | 2 | 16 | 16 |
| Jan 5-9, 2011 | 27 | 32 | 35 | 4 | * | 2 | 15 | 14 |
| Dec 1-5, 2010 | 25 | 33 | 34 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 13 | 14 |
| Nov 4-7, 2010 | 26 | 30 | 37 | 4 | * | 2 | 17 | 13 |
| Oct 27-30, 2010 | 25 | 34 | 31 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 13 | 11 |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 | 25 | 31 | 36 | 4 | * | 3 | 16 | 13 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 24 | 32 | 39 | 2 | * | 2 | 15 | 17 |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 26 | 33 | 34 | 4 | * | 3 | 14 | 14 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 27 | 34 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 15 |
| Apr 21-26, 2010 | 26 | 33 | 36 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 16 | 13 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 28 | 34 | 32 | 3 | * | 3 | 13 | 12 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 22 | 33 | 37 | 6 | * | 3 | 14 | 13 |
| Yearly Totals |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2010 | 25.2 | 32.7 | 35.2 | 3.6 | . 4 | 2.8 | 14.5 | 14.1 |
| 2009 | 23.9 | 34.4 | 35.1 | 3.4 | . 4 | 2.8 | 13.1 | 15.7 |
| 2008 | 25.7 | 36.0 | 31.5 | 3.6 | . 3 | 3.0 | 10.6 | 15.2 |
| 2007 | 25.3 | 32.9 | 34.1 | 4.3 | . 4 | 2.9 | 10.9 | 17.0 |
| 2006 | 27.8 | 33.1 | 30.9 | 4.4 | . 3 | 3.4 | 10.5 | 15.1 |
| 2005 | 29.3 | 32.8 | 30.2 | 4.5 | . 3 | 2.8 | 10.3 | 14.9 |
| 2004 | 30.0 | 33.5 | 29.5 | 3.8 | . 4 | 3.0 | 11.7 | 13.4 |
| 2003 | 30.3 | 31.5 | 30.5 | 4.8 | . 5 | 2.5 | 12.0 | 12.6 |
| 2002 | 30.4 | 31.4 | 29.8 | 5.0 | . 7 | 2.7 | 12.4 | 11.6 |
| 2001 | 29.0 | 33.2 | 29.5 | 5.2 | . 6 | 2.6 | 11.9 | 11.6 |
| 2001 Post-Sept 11 | 30.9 | 31.8 | 27.9 | 5.2 | . 6 | 3.6 | 11.7 | 9.4 |
| 2001 Pre-Sept 11 | 27.3 | 34.4 | 30.9 | 5.1 | . 6 | 1.7 | 12.1 | 13.5 |
| 2000 | 28.0 | 33.4 | 29.1 | 5.5 | . 5 | 3.6 | 11.6 | 11.7 |
| 1999 | 26.6 | 33.5 | 33.7 | 3.9 | . 5 | 1.9 | 13.0 | 14.5 |
| 1998 | 27.9 | 33.7 | 31.1 | 4.6 | . 4 | 2.3 | 11.6 | 13.1 |
| 1997 | 28.0 | 33.4 | 32.0 | 4.0 | . 4 | 2.3 | 12.2 | 14.1 |

## PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

|  |  |  |  | (VOL.) No | (VOL.) Other | (VOL.) | Lean | Lean |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | preference | party | DK/Ref | Rep | Dem |
| 1996 | 28.9 | 33.9 | 31.8 | 3.0 | . 4 | 2.0 | 12.1 | 14.9 |
| 1995 | 31.6 | 30.0 | 33.7 | 2.4 | . 6 | 1.3 | 15.1 | 13.5 |
| 1994 | 30.1 | 31.5 | 33.5 | 1.3 | -- | 3.6 | 13.7 | 12.2 |
| 1993 | 27.4 | 33.6 | 34.2 | 4.4 | 1.5 | 2.9 | 11.5 | 14.9 |
| 1992 | 27.6 | 33.7 | 34.7 | 1.5 | 0 | 2.5 | 12.6 | 16.5 |
| 1991 | 30.9 | 31.4 | 33.2 | 0 | 1.4 | 3.0 | 14.7 | 10.8 |
| 1990 | 30.9 | 33.2 | 29.3 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 12.4 | 11.3 |
| 1989 | 33 | 33 | 34 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1987 | 26 | 35 | 39 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 73 Do you consider yourself a Southerner, or not?

| Mar 30-Apr 3 |  |
| :---: | :--- |
| $\frac{2011}{25}$ | Yes |
| 73 | No |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

