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Confederate Statues in University Opinion Newspaper Articles: An Analysis of Themes and Attachment

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An Analysis of Themes and Attachment

by

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Abstract

Many have asked for Confederate monuments' removal while others argue that they should remain or be recontextualized. I analyzed themes found in Southern university student newspapers on the monument issue and how the statues related to community attachment. Using thematic analysis, I identified six themes across the articles, and found that both removal and recontextualization arguments refer to the ideology behind the statues and the impacts this can have on students. Instances of attachment were used in both removal and recontextualization articles.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The momentum of the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States has brought many changes, both social and physical, to our modern society. One specific goal of the movement has been the removal of statues, monuments, and plaques that commemorate key leaders in the Confederate Army. These statues represent the cultural and economic institutions of slavery, the Civil War, Jim Crow laws, and the reign of the Klu Klux Klan (KKK)[1]. The call for the removal of the statues has led to a conflict regarding what should be done with them due to different understandings and interpretations of the Civil War. Some believe the Civil War was not about slavery and view Confederate soldiers as heroes while others believe that the war was a battle to free Black Americans from slavery with the goal of equal rights.

My research focuses on the three different arguments regarding the fate of the statues. The first argument suggests that the statues should be removed because they reflect and glorify racism, slavery, and white power. This perspective comes from the lived experiences and stories of Black individuals in the South. Secondly, some argue that the statues should be recontextualized to educate people on the true history behind them or transform them to memorialize others. This view is informed by the idea of historical recurrence, which states that history will be repeated if we do not learn from our mistakes. The third perspective comes from the argument that the statues should stay untouched

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[1] The original KKK organization was founded in 1865 by Confederate veterans in Tennessee. The organization's name derived from the word kuklos or circle, and included activities such as whipping and violent assaults against Black individuals (Cook, 2004)

because the figures depicted are American heroes and an important part of history. This belief mainly comes from the whitewashing of history through stories, books, textbooks, propaganda, and much more leading to an ideological understanding of the Confederacy's role in the Civil War, often referred to as the "Lost Cause." The Lost Cause myth is the notion that the Civil War was about secession, protecting states' rights, and saving the Southern way of life. This myth glorifies Confederate soldiers as fighting for a just cause in an epic battle against an army that was much larger than its own.

Confederate monuments and the history they represent are prominent aspects of Southern communities. Due to the prominence of statues, many community members reside near them or walk past them daily, especially on university grounds.

According to prominent community attachment scholars, such statues can have a major influence on how individuals feel about their community and can have many negative psychological impacts. One's process of community attachment is a complex phenomenon that is influenced by the length of residency, culture, heritage, and identification with people and objects. Community attachment theories and research can help us understand how physical and nonphysical aspects of one's community can influence one's social identity. Specifically, attachment research on identity, heritage, culture and the importance of community planning highlights how individuals may feel alienated due to the physical aspects of a community.

The Confederate statues represent a history that at times memorializes the Civil War and the KKK. Thus, the goal of this research is to understand the influence of these statues by first looking into the historical meanings of the statues and the conflicting viewpoints raised in the Black Lives Matter movement. I am interested in how university students feel about the statues: how students think and talk about the statues and their meanings. From this interest, I examined attitudes and experiences reflected in student opinion articles in newspapers at Southern universities regarding Confederate monuments. Altogether I ask three research questions about what themes opinion writers use in their arguments for managing Confederate monuments and whether community attachment is used in the text:

> RQ1: What are the primary and secondary themes in the articles from the removal perspective?
>
> RQ2: What are the primary and secondary themes in the articles from the recontextualization perspective?
>
> RQ3: In what ways do the writers refer to community attachment in the articles?

Chapter 2: Historical Overview

With the inherent relationship between Confederate statutes and the Civil War, a brief historical overview is important to understand community attachment. The differing stances regarding the legal status of slavery were discussed from the time of the Constitutional Convention[2] (1787) up to Civil War times. As a result, the various states' representation outlined in the Constitutional Convention led to many subsequent policies regarding the limiting, abolishing, or preserving of slavery: states were primarily divided on whether slavery should be allowed to expand as the U.S. grew—and voting power for those decisions was important for the blueprint of national politics. Such policies as the Great Compromise[3], the Three-Fifths Compromise[4], the Slave Trade Compromise[5], and the Fugitive Slave Clause[6] were among the most defining (The Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2020; Robertson, 2020).

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[2] The convention was held in the state of Pennsylvania from May 25 to September 17, 1787, and was created to resolve the conflict between the thirteen original colonies regarding the issue of voter representation: that is, larger states had more say when voting due to population size (Odesser-Torpey, 2013; Rossiter, 1987).

[3] *The Great Compromise* allowed for the number of seats in the House of Representatives to be based on a state's population and gave each state two Senate seats regardless of population. This created a more balanced representation for smaller states and increased their voting power (Yazawa, 2016).

[4] *The Three-Fifths Compromise* stated that each white person would be counted as one individual, while Black slaves would count as three-fifths of a person in regards to voter representation (Finkelman, 2013). The Three-fifths Compromise increased the South's political power by heightening White voter percentages and extending the slave trade past the 1800s, thus bringing many more enslaved individuals into America (The Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2020).

[5] According to the National Constitution Center (2022), *The Slave Trade Clause* prohibited the federal government from limiting "imported" individuals (i.e., enslaved Black individuals). This was a compromise between the Southern states (where slavery was integral to their economy) and the states where the abolition of slavery had been accomplished or was contemplated.

[6] *The Escaped Slave Clause* allowed escaped slaves from Southern states to be captured in the North and returned. Lastly, while the Constitutional Convention brought temporary unity between the North and the South, it delayed the issue of slavery.

Policies, politics, and societal tensions over slavery culminated in the 1860 presidential election. Abraham Lincoln was vocally antislavery and opposed its expansion to new territories. He became president in 1861 and left Southern states concerned about their national power, particularly as it related to slavery. Consequently, some Southern states[7] seceded from the United States to create the Confederate States, and the Civil War began on April 12, 1861, between the Union (Northern states) and the Confederacy (Southern states) (McPherson, 2007).

The Civil War's Societal Impact

The Union held advantages from the start, including a much larger army. However, Confederate soldiers and allies believed that the Confederates were noble heroes despite their treason which led to the development of the "Lost Cause" mythological ideology, which relied on the belief that slavery was moral as a result of its economic benefit (McPherson, 2007; Pohl, 2020; Watts, 2009). Ideology[8] here refers to the cultural beliefs used to justify social arrangements through a view of the world excusing issues such as inequality (Macionis, 2010).

In addition to the Lost Cause mythos, the South believed the Civil War was not about slavery but rather about states' rights and the fear that

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[7] South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas initially seceded and were eventually joined by Tennessee, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Virginia.

[8] Ideology can be seen within groups and between individuals—it shapes thoughts, actions, and what occurs in society and becomes dominant as it passes through social institutions, media, family, and education (Witt, 2017). These dominant groups set cultural beliefs to maintain social power over non-dominant groups, which can create a social hierarchy where some social identities are viewed more superiorly than others.

industrialization would change the "old South[9]". According to Byrd (1988),

officials from the South have long used states' rights as a barricade against the

central government, and in the past Southern senators have used the threat of

secession to encourage the Northern states to compromise. Furthermore,

individuals who defended the Confederacy argued that the sudden end to the slave

economy and the implementation of industrialization would kill the Southern

economy (Majewski, 2011).

However, while many argue that the Civil War was about states' rights,

the war was, at its core, about slavery. Alexander Hamilton Stephens, vice

president of the Confederate State of America, gave a speech on March 21, 1861,

that stated: "Our new government['s]...foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests,

upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery

subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition." Simply,

Stephens defended slavery as a fundamentally just outcome due to the inferiority

of the Black race and explained this ideological difference as the primary cause of

secession.

The war ended in 1865 with the Confederacy's surrender and the

assassination of President Lincoln, which elevated Vice President Andrew

Johnson.[10] In 1867, the Reconstruction Acts were passed with the goal of re-

admitting the Southern States into the Union and liberating all Black Americans

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[9] The North supported the implementation of industrialization while the South relied on (and preferred) agriculture and the slavery-based plantation economy (McPhearson, 2007).

[10] Johnson had owned slaves himself, was committed to white supremacy, and denounced liberal antislavery ideology (McPherson & Hogue, 2010).

from imprisonment and slavery. This was done, in part, with the first Civil Rights Bill, which declared most people who were born in the United States as citizens and stated that equality comes before the law.[11] President Johnson attempted to veto the first Civil Rights Bill, but it became law in 1866 after a two-thirds majority vote in Congress (McPherson & Hogue, 2010).

From 1877 through 1950, states enacted Jim Crow laws [12] designed to segregate and disenfranchise Black Americans (Parks, 2017). American Historical Association executive director James Grossman is quoted in a National Public Radio online article, saying "These statues were meant to create legitimate garb for White supremacy. Why would you put a statue of Robert E. Lee or Stonewall Jackson in 1948 in Baltimore?" (Parks, 2017). During this time states, cities, and schools erected Confederate statues to forward Jim Crow laws and white supremacist ideologies, which increased fear in Black communities and also perpetuated the Lost Cause ideology. Jim Crow era laws lasted until the Civil Rights Movement began in the 1950s and culminated in greater civil rights in the 1960s, although systemic and institutionalized racial and prejudice continued well beyond.

Historical and Post-war Societal Relevance to Monuments

During and post-Reconstruction, Confederate monuments were established as public displays and symbols of the Confederacy while social and

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[11] The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments were passed to amend the Constitution and give rights and freedoms to formerly enslaved persons. Respectively, they abolished slavery, gave citizenship to those born in the country, including enslaved individuals, and gave Black men the right to vote (National Archives, 1865; National Archives, 1866; National Archives, 1868).

[12] Jim Crow laws were state and local laws enforcing racial segregation in the Southern United States

legislative practices were implemented to continue previous practices (McPherson & Hogue, 2010). Formerly enslaved individuals were given land and housing, some on their former plantations and some on specified new land, to grow their own crops and sell them. Sharecropping often failed, however, with it operating much the same as the previous slavery model as the individuals and families had to loan or buy tools and supplies from the landowner and repay them with significant portions of their crops. This continuation of previous practices as well as the building of monuments served to further Confederate ideology and sentiments. Monuments of Confederate leaders and soldiers were placed in remembrance, with many of the early monuments erected because of Southern women's lobbying efforts. Over 85,000 Confederate soldiers were dead, leaving about the same number of women widowed and 200,000 fatherless children (McPherson & Hogue, 2010). Monuments of the generals included items such as statues, flags, holidays, and the naming of schools, roads, parks, bridges, buildings, counties, cities, lakes, dams, military bases, and other public structures (Gunter et al., 2016). Numerous Confederate generals were not given a formal burial, and recently widowed women called on soldiers to return to the battlefield to collect and bring home the remains of the fallen for proper burial (McPherson & Hogue, 2010). This time of grief and sorrow marked the rising Lost Cause mentality—prompting Southerners to fight against Reconstruction and create myths of the Old South.

The Southern use of the Lost Cause ideology is obvious during the Jim Crow era (1865-1968) and the Civil Rights Movement (1954-1968). Such

conspicuous ideological practices include constructing Confederate monuments and biased writings of history textbooks to highlight the Southern view of the "true" Civil War (Blight, 2001). Hollywood also caught on to this dominant narrative, and in 1915 the Lost Cause version of the Civil War was turned into a film called *Birth of the Nation* by D.W. Griffith. According to Bynum (2016), the film glorifies the KKK as heroic by portraying Black individuals as beasts— legitimizing racial control through activities such as lynching and segregation. The 1939 production of *Gone With the Wind,* based on Margaret Michell's book, further exemplifies this ideology: it depicts the Civil War through men of honor, Southern belles, and romanticized versions of plantations with happy, loyal slaves (Bynum, 2016). The perpetuation and repetition of this Lost Cause ideology are particularly harmful in the controversy of the removal of Confederate monuments because it conceals the white supremacist ideals of the Confederacy and its generals during and after the Civil War.

Chapter 3: Sides of the Conflict

Within the Confederate monument debate are three perspectives: 1) those in favor of total removal, 2) those in favor of recontextualization, and 3) those in favor of the monuments remaining as they are. Within my own data, however, the latter did not occur naturally—that is, I did not manipulate, isolate, or otherwise engineer only pro-removal and recontextualization student articles for collection—but is an important piece to include regardless.

Opponents of Removal

Individuals who are *opponents of removing* the statues (in favor of leaving memorabilia as is) argue that the Civil War was not about slavery but about state's rights, industrialization, and keeping the old South (Shapiro, 2017). In line with this argument, some Civil War historians and supporters of the monuments argue that the monuments are not a Jim Crow signal and that the current movement of removing the monuments is an "age of idiocy" (Robertson, 2018). Some historians also believe that the motivation to destroy the monuments comes from the urge to erase the unity that generations of Americans have painfully built—although that unity has often overlooked or dismissed systemic issues (Robertson, 2018). These notions stem from the ideological practices from the Lost Cause mythos and perpetuate the "nobility" of the war, the inhumanity of slavery, and the continued pain slavery, Jim Crow laws, and racism have on Black communities.

Supporters of Removal

Confederate statues are especially problematic following recent years' protests[13]— they represent the continued racist mistreatment of Black communities, causing an increase in requests from many Black individuals and allies for their removal. These protests and calls for removal brought the conversation to greater focus in the nation.

According to the American Historical Association (2017), the statues were "…intended, in part, to obscure the terrorism required to overthrow the Reconstruction era, to intimidate African Americans politically, and isolate them from the mainstream of public life" (p. 3). In light of this argument, the existence of the monuments today shows that there is still disagreement over the abolishment of slavery and the role of Confederate leaders to perpetuate racism in communities today. Consequently, the statues continue to uphold their legacy to alienate and intimidate Black communities. Moreover, many Confederate generals were treasonous oath violators, slave owners before the Civil War, and KKK leaders after the Civil War (Cook, 2004).

The *Smithsonian Magazine* describes the monuments and their role outside of "markers of historic events and people" as "memorials…created and funded by Jim Crow governments to pay homage to a slave-owning society and to serve as blunt assertions of dominance over African-Americans" (Palmer &

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[13] The Black Lives Matter protests brought these issues to the forefront of social discourse and increased following George Floyd's police-related death in 2020. These events unfolded on news and social media I follow and are further discussed in the article titled: *Black Lives Matter Protests shift public discourse* by Dunivin; Yan; Ince, & Rojas (2022).

Wessler, 2018, p. 2). Therefore, the erection of Confederate monuments during Jim Crow and the Civil Rights Movement were signals of the intentional and continual brutality towards Black individuals in the South as reminders of slavery and white power dynamics. These blunt representations of white supremacy have many negative impacts on Black communities, as described in a 2020 *New York Times* opinion piece by author and academic Caroline Randall Williams:

> I have rape-colored skin. My light-brown-blackness is a living testament to the rules, the practices, the causes of the Old South. If there are those who want to remember the legacy of the Confederacy, if they want monuments, well then my body is the monument. My skin is a monument (p. 1).

Monuments are a constant reminder of white power—the rape, slavery, segregation, and brutality inflicted upon Black people. Furthermore, the Black community argues that the monuments are not a representation of history. Rather, it is a representation of a half-true history— a romanticized version of the Old South created and forwarded through Lost Cause ideologies (Williams, 2020). Those in favor of removing Confederate statues argue that the history the statues represent is based on white supremacist ideologies. Furthermore, supporters of removal believe the statues are meant to alienate and disregard the feelings of Black communities, while also legitimizing and celebrating the treason of Southern Confederates.

Supporters of Recontextualization

Many individuals believe that removing the statues is not the correct solution and claim their removal will lead to more misunderstandings about their complicated and racist history. There are three different arguments regarding recontextualization: adding information to the statues, moving the statues to museums, and transforming the statues to memorialize others.

Deric Childress Jr., a third-year college student at the University of Virginia and President of the Black Student Alliance, states that:

> The biggest thing with knowing things about University of
>
> Virginia and the history of racism and inequality here is educating,
>
> and a lot of people aren't educated on the memorials or the statues
>
> the University of Virginia has posted up within this community
>
> (Childress, as quoted in Kim, 2021 p. 3).

Not understanding the significance of memorabilia that permeate across communities furthers the apathy to the feelings Black people have toward them. Landrieu (2018) explains how he used to pass statues every day without actually understanding the meaning behind them. In his book about confronting slavery as a white Southerner, Landrieu argues that his new knowledge of the structures— why they were built and who built them—made it clear for the first time that the statues were not honoring heroes and were created as political weapons in an attempt to hide the true history of the Civil War. This suggests that education can change one's perspective on Confederate statues and the Civil War by having a historically accurate understanding of their origins. Those in favor of moving the

statues to designated places want to save historical monuments for educational purposes while simultaneously noting their erections were done in line with racist practices rather than strictly honoring individuals. The last argument—monuments should be transformed—comes from the idea that memorializing others can educate individuals to confront the American culture of systemic racism. It further asserts that if Confederate monument materials are not used to memorialize others then they should be transformed in ways that show the rejection of Jim Crow era ideologies (Smith, September 1, 2020; Xue, May 5, 2021)

In Summary

The Lost Cause mythos demonstrates an ideology that emphasizes a nobility and heroics for the Confederacy that did not exist. The Confederacy based itself on its right to own, buy, and sell enslaved people who were often horrifically mistreated and considered property. The Confederate leaders most often memorialized were military officials and generals. These leaders were often former officers of the United States armed forces and were still under oath to defend the U.S. Constitution when they took up arms against it. Confederate generals were an important part of the Civil War because they led troops—with much smaller numbers than the Union's— to noteworthy victories or to "honorable" defeats (Hacker, 2011). Many of these men owned slaves themselves and believed it was their right to do so. This remained true after the war, as many of the Confederate generals still perpetuated acts of white supremacy in the South through their involvement with the KKK and white supremacist groups.

The original KKK organization was founded in 1865 by Confederate veterans and involved members perpetrating such acts as whippings and other violent assaults against Black individuals (Cook, 2004). In the summer of 1867, the KKK came together in Nashville, Tennessee, to hold a nationwide convention. During this convention, the KKK officially decreed its goal to create a hierarchy of leadership and combat the Reconstruction Acts—thus operating in a white supremacy philosophy. Another explicit goal of the KKK was to intimidate Black voters and gain control of the government (Baudouin, 2011). The KKK was so successful during this period that they restored white rule through Jim Crow Laws in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia by 1869 (Jackson, 1992). Also of note (although a full discussion is outside the scope of this paper) is the clear line between slave patrol "officers" and modern law enforcement—police departments were established to enforce local laws, such as Jim Crow laws, and intimidate Black citizens (NAACP, 2021). The connection of modern police departments to slave owners, people hired to enforce slavery and then Jim Crow laws, and Confederate soldiers, allies, and sympathizers are no less salient when discussing community attachment and the physical representations of institutionalized racist abuse.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Overview

Community Attachment

Community attachment is a concept not often explicitly defined, with the variation lead to complaints of murkiness (Theodori, 2000). The theory considers connections between residents and their communities (usually referring to social aspects): it can measure individual sentiment regarding the community they live in and can indicate one's rootedness in their community. As a concept, community attachment generally describes the extent to which people have cognitive or affective ties to each other and to the place in which they reside (Shaker, 2019). A cognitive/affective tie is the actual attachment process and includes dimensions of dependence and individual identification processes (Hummon, 1992). There are two different types of affective ties: positive affective ties and negative affective ties. A positive affective tie is when one feels a positive association and connection with a place, with an emphasis on optimistic outcomes, e.g. emotional well-being (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001; Russell & Snodgrass, 1987). A negative affective tie involves limited connections and negative outcomes, such as emotional harm if one does not feel a positive association with their community.

According to Kastrada and Janowitz (1974), although research is limited, community attachment research can inform how people in a community form attitudes and behaviors surrounding concepts like civic engagement. One study by Theoidori (2004) observed that community attachment was influential on whether or not residents would participate in public meetings regarding community issues.

Similarly, Stamm (1985) looked into the relationship between community attachment and newspaper readership through community integration (participation and identification). He found a strong correlation between the concepts; however, it is difficult to decipher what comes first: community attachment or newspaper readership.

Due to its broad systematic approach, community attachment theories and research allow for a greater understanding of the ways physical and nonphysical aspects of one's community can influence how much one identifies with a place (Cohen, 2013; Cross, 2003; Sampson & Goodrich, 2009; Shaker, 2019; Williams & Vaske, 2003). Prominent community attachment scholars Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) focused on variables in their research, such as population size and density, length of residence, social class, friendship, family ties, age, and associational bonds when analyzing attachment levels. They also considered the degree of attachment that residents felt to their community (i.e., feeling "at home"), their level of interest in current events and news in their community, and their sense of connectedness to their neighbors and fellow community members. Their results found social dynamics and connectedness between people over time were better predictors of community attachment than density and population.

Other community attachment research on culture, heritage, and the importance of community planning highlights feelings of alienation due to physical aspects: spaces poorly reflect their culture and negatively influence their self-identity (Ferenczi & Marshall, 2013; Manzo, & Perkins, 2006). Therefore, socio-cultural aspects of the attachment process, including history, culture, and

heritage, are important to understand Black individuals who live in and identify with the South. The rest of this section will focus on the parts of the community attachment process most influential to the current study, including individual identification processes, culture, and heritage (Hecht, Jackson & Pitts, 2005).

Individual Identification Processes

Individual identification process describes the different components that influence how much one identifies with aspects of a community. Identification processes have been previously operationalized via concepts like place dependence and place identity (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Kyle et al., 2003; Moore & Graefe, 1994). Place dependence is the level of individual identification that comes from one's personal experiences and values for physical and nonphysical aspects of a space. Place identity includes beliefs, meanings, emotions, ideas, and attitudes assigned to a place. For example, Cross (2003) measured individual identification processes through statements like:

This place (house, neighborhood, town, region) says a lot

about who I am. I feel most myself here in this place

(house, neighborhood, town, region). Everything in this

place (house, neighborhood, town, region) is a reflection of

me. This place (house, neighborhood, town, region) reflects

the type of person I am. This place (house, neighborhood,

town, region) is a part of me (p.16).

However, it is important to note that the key elements of attachment occur when an individual feels a connection with the physical aspects of a place and the people around them (Sampson, & Goodrich, 2009).

According to Williams and Vaski (2003), strong levels of attachment are connected to outcomes like commitment, responsibility, and management of that place. For example, many Black individuals have lived in the South for generations and have a strong attachment to the area and the people who live there. This notion opposes certain generalizations made about Black Americans' feelings toward their Southern heritage (Ellison, 1966). However, many African American individuals have left and returned due to the strong bond of growing up in the area. For example, Walker (1972) describes her relationship with the South and credits Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. for inspiring her to never be forced from the land where she was born without a fight: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. "...gave us back our heritage. He gave us back our homeland… He gave us back our continuity of place, without which community is ephemeral. He gave us home" (p.2).

The Great Migration saw approximately six million Black people leave the South, although some percentage moved back in the late 20th century (Wilkerson, 2016). This migration exemplifies the complex relationship between pain and identity: attachment to Southern land and the ancestral ties to it versus the pain of generations of slavery and systemic racism. According to Reddick (1934), these relationships of attachment and alienation can cause Black individuals to feel confusion and frustration. This frustration may come from the notion that Black

Americans refute slavery, but they do not reject the land or the region (Reddick,

1934). In light of this strong attachment that Black individuals may have with the

South, many approve of removing aspects of the community that do not reflect

their identity, culture, and heritage, such as Confederate statues.

Individual attachments to place can lie at the root of community conflict

(Forester, 1987). Many studies regarding urban crises are rooted in the idea that

individual place experiences, social movements, and the political economy are

separate systems (Mollenkopf, 1992). As a result, "we are left with urban systems

separated from personal experiences, with structures, without actors" (Castells,

1983, p. 16). In other words, the disconnect between the physical aspects of a

place and the people who reside there can lead to structures that do not reflect the

culture of the people who most frequently live and use the spaces.

It is important to note that aspects like culture play an important role in the

process. According to Ferenczi and Marshall (2013), *acculturation* is a mutual

process of any kind of cultural change, leading to prolonged contact between two

cultural groups. One's level of acculturation comes from the maintenance of

heritage, culture, identity, and adaptation level to the dominant social group

(Berry, 2001; Ferenczi & Marshall, 2013). For example, Black individuals living

on university campuses with Confederate monuments may experience low

feelings of acculturation due to a lack of cultural and individual identification

from their surrounding community.

Culture can be thought of as a sign (the word "culture"), as well as a

signifier (what it represents). Therefore, the meaning of culture depends on who is

asked and what they associate it with (Baldwin et al., 2006). To best understand culture in its relation to identity and attachment, my definition comes from an intergroup perspective: Hecht and colleagues (2005) define culture in terms of the relationship of one group in comparison to another group. This is grounded in social identity theory and describes cultural identification: how individuals identify with groups, how others identify people as members of the group, how groups define themselves, and how groups separate from and or compare themselves with other groups (Hecht et al., 2005).

Heritage and Identification

Acculturation has been operationalized through such identification processes as integration and marginalization. *Integration* signifies a high sense of heritage[14] and culture with one's physical environment (Berry, 2001). In other words, integration signifies recognition with the physical aspects of a place, including buildings and monuments (heritage), and identification with an in-group versus out-group (culture). Alternatively, *marginalization* includes a low sense of heritage and culture as reflected by the physical and non-physical environment. Marginalization, or lack of identification, comes from little to no recognition of the physical aspects of a community as well as identifying with an out-group rather than an in-group (Berry, 2001). Life dissatisfaction or negative affective ties are positively correlated with feeling marginalized by the majority group and

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[14] Heritage differs by country and includes all real property with archeological historic or ethnographic interest and natural sites including all man-made and non-man-made objects, such as individual buildings, groups of buildings, historical areas, monuments, sites, towns, environments, and social factors are included in the conceptualization of heritage in the United States (Ahmed, 2006). Heritage can influence one's level of attachment and can also lead to positive or negative psychological effects.

the physical aspects of space (such as monuments). Dissatisfaction includes a

decrease in mental health, self-esteem, and psychological adaptation, as well as

the feeling of continual displacement and loss of personal narrative (Berry &

Sabatier, 2010; Bhugra et al., 2010; Furman, 2005; Neto, 1995; Peeters, &

Oerlemans, 2009). Integration, or identification with the majority, and physical

aspects of a place (i.e. monuments) have the most positive effect, including

aspects such as adaptation, psychological adjustment, reduced rates of depression,

and higher rates of overall well-being (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2001; Searle &

Ward,1990; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

Themes

  To better understand the sample of student newspaper editorial articles

from Southern universities about Confederate statues, a thematic analysis is used

and described further in the methodology. According to Braun and Clark (2006)

and Maguire and Delahunt (2017), a *theme* constitutes something that captures

what is important about the data and represents some level or patterned response

of meaning within the sample. Ideally, there will be a number of instances of the

theme across the data set, but this does not necessarily mean the theme itself is

more crucial (Braun & Clark, 2006; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Moreover, the

researcher's judgment is necessary to determine what a theme is by using a

balance of flexibility along with Braun and Clark's (2006) step-by-step process

(described below) to understand the data thoroughly before pulling themes. Using

my judgment, a pattern that constitutes a theme was considered when an author

used repetition of language about the same topic throughout the entire article that

holds importance or is used to back up their main argument regarding the fate of the Confederate statues (i.e., why they should be removed or recontextualized).

It is also important to note that themes usually come with sub-themes, which will be referred to as secondary themes in this research. As discussed above, *primary themes* were found through repetitive language while a *secondary theme* is one that holds gravitas through the support of the primary theme or brings another important topic to the table that is helpful in the conversation but not as prominent as a primary theme. Braun and Clark (2006) note that there is no right or wrong method of determining prevalence because part of the flexibility of a thematic analysis is the allowance to determine themes and prevalence in a number of ways. However, it is important that the researcher is consistent in how the analysis is done.

Braun and Clark (2006) also argue that a detailed description of the data set or a detailed account of one particular aspect is important to determine the type of analysis that you want to do and the claims you want to make. A rich description of the data set might involve laying out a rich thematic explanation of the entire data set so the reader gets a sense of the primary or important themes (Braun & Clark, 2006). Using this method, the themes identified, coded, and analyzed should be an accurate reflection of the data in the entire data set**.** This method will be used for my research because it is particularly useful when investigating an under-researched area (Bruan and Clark, 2006).

Chapter 5: Methods

The current study uses a thematic analysis of opinion news pieces to examine the primary and secondary themes that emerge in relation to each argument regarding the fate of Confederate statues on Southern university grounds. After primary and secondary themes are categorized, instances of attachment within the articles were extracted and examined using attachment research and theories.

According to Maguire and Delahunt (2017), a *thematic analysis* is the process of identifying patterns or themes in the text; themes are most commonly described as patterns in discourse or data that are interesting and important. A *primary theme* was found through repetitive language throughout the article referring to a topic that holds importance or backs the main argument regarding the statues. *A secondary theme* is one that holds gravitas through the support of the primary theme or a sub-theme that brings another important topic to the table that is helpful in the conversation, but not as prominent as a primary theme. Moreover, *instances of attachment* were found through language describing one's personal connection (or lack thereof) with the physical aspects of a place and the people who live there (Sampon & Goodrich, 2009).

Thematic analysis and attachment theories are used in this study for their ability to interpret experiences and perceptions in discourse. Using this type of analysis and attachment research, I examined six selected opinion articles to understand what themes were used to discuss the topic—Confederate statues. This research has the potential to find similarities and differences in the different sides

of the statue controversy and the potential impacts of the statues via discourse analysis.

Population, Sample, and Unit of Analysis

I collected data in December 2021. My unit of analysis is the theme. As themes were identified within newspaper articles, articles were selected following a list of criteria. This began with Southern universities that had student newspapers featuring opinion pieces on Confederate monuments. Southern universities were the focus due to the prominence of Black communities and Confederate general statutes in the region (McPherson & Hogue, 2010). The university setting was also selected due to the inherent relationship between students and universities—students depend on the physical aspects of the university, such as the buildings, classrooms, and campus grounds in general, to do well during their time there. With this increased exposure, students are more likely to interact with Confederate monuments that exist on campus on a daily basis. For example, Appiah Offori states: "I always have to walk by the Whispering Wall to get to my English class that I had. It made me feel really [bad] as a Black student, having to walk by a Confederate memorial every single day" (Kim, February 17, 2020, p. 3).

To begin my data collection, I first created a list of all larger Southern universities that had recently taken down Confederate monuments or had Confederate general statutes, in alphabetical order (*Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy,* n.d.). I chose one large university from each state to

have a good representation of each community's feelings about the statues. One exception was made for North Carolina: two schools—the University of North Carolina and Duke University—were chosen for this state due to the racist history of the Duke family (Livingston, 2020; Zeffman, 2018).

The list of institutions included the University of Alabama, the University of Arkansas, Duke University, the University of Florida, the University of Georgia, the University of Kentucky, the University of Louisiana, the University of Mississippi, the University of North Carolina, the University of Oklahoma, the University of South Carolina, the University of Tennessee, the University of Texas, and the University of Virginia (W*hose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy*, n.d.). Each student newspaper was searched on Google using key terms. For example, when examining the University of Virginia, I searched "University of Virginia school newspaper." In most cases, the official student newspaper was listed as the first option. Once the newspaper was located, I went to the search tool of every page and searched the entire newspaper database by unselecting any pre-selected categories. The key search term "Confederate general monuments" was used to filter through the articles.

Following this step, I then filtered articles by selecting a time frame. When selecting a time frame, many newspaper websites provided a filter option with a beginning and end date. Articles that did not have this option were searched manually. The time frame of May 1, 2020, to May 30, 2021, was chosen due to the momentum of the Black Lives Matter Movement. This movement

began with the wrongful death of George Floyd[15] on May 25, 2020, and then continued through police brutality and subsequent shootings, including the shooting of Daunte Wright in April 2021.

Nine articles remained after narrowing the time frame. I read through each article for narratives from students, faculty, and staff regarding their own opinion or documented opinions of others regarding Confederate monuments—six viable articles for my sample remained. Opinion pieces were identified through the label "editorial" on the top of each article. For the University of Arkansas, the search generated three different articles during the time frame of May 1, 2020, to May 30, 2021. Three articles were not opinion pieces and were therefore disregarded, which left six articles for review.

The remaining articles were examined for the three conflict categories previously mentioned (removal, recontextualization, and the preservation of the statues). When looking through the articles, I found that two discussed only removal and five discussed only recontextualization—one article discussed both removal and recontextualization opinions. No articles discussed why the statues should remain, potentially due to the small sample size which will be discussed in the limitations section.

Coding using Thematic Analysis

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[15] The wrongful murder of George Floyd occurred on May 25, 2020. He was a 46-year-old Black man detained on suspicion of using a counterfeit $20 bill. Derek Chauvin, a 44-year-old white police officer, knelt on Floyd's neck for over nine minutes, while Floyd said, "I can't breathe" and died (McGreal, 2021).

After deciding a conflict category for each article i.e removal or recontextualization, I used the six-step procedure recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006) to conduct a thematic analysis that allows for credibility and replicability of research. These six steps include: 1) the researcher should become familiar with the data by reading it multiple times; 2) the researcher should then generate initial codes by pulling out potential themes from the data—coding reduces data into small chunks of meaning but the process is determined by the researcher; 3) identify themes or patterns that capture something significant or interesting about the data and/or research questions—a theme is characterized by its existence rather than hard rules; 4) review, modify, and develop the preliminary themes identified in Step 3; 5) define and refine themes—"identify the 'essence' of each theme;" 6) write down findings (p. 92). Following Braun and Clarke's procedure, I read each article multiple times and created a list of potential emerging themes. Next, I looked for patterns that featured opinions of college students and faculty or staff within the six articles. Then I reviewed my themes, modified them by placing them within the category of primary or secondary, and then defined them according to steps four and five. Primary themes were discerned through a pattern or repetition of similar language regarding something of importance or that supported the argument of removal or recontextualization. Secondary themes were found when another topic was brought up in support of the primary theme.

In order to find different themes, the Hermeneutic method was used. According to Matthes and Kohring (2008), the hermeneutic method is done by a

single scholar and is usually based on small samples that mirror the discourse of

an issue or an event. In this type of research, themes are typically described in

depth and no quantification is provided (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Tests of

reliability are typically avoided. Overall this type of method is based on

interpretations of the data and independent objective formations of knowledge.

This small sample of university newspapers' opinion sections concerning

Confederate monuments is likely indicative of the larger regional and national

sentiments.

Measuring Instances of Attachment

I first looked for themes—and then I looked for instances of attachment.

Attachment was conceptualized when one feels a personal connection with the

physical aspects of a place and the people who live there (Sampon & Goodrich,

2009). Attachment was found by looking at statements such as: "This community

says a lot about who I am," " I feel most myself here at this community,"

"Everything in this university is a reflection of me," "This community reflects the

type of person I am," and "This community is a part of me" (Cross, 2003, p.16).

Cultural identification and heritage will be considered in this research due

to their inherent relationship with the attachment process. For example, one's

cultural background can impact feelings of attachment due to systemic issues such

as racism and slavery embedded in objects (like Confederate statues) in one's

community. In this study, careful attention will be paid to culture due to its

intrinsic relationship with the attachment process. Analysis for this aspect is

accomplished by identifying cultural artifacts and any mentions of feelings of

marginalization, acculturation, and/or integration in relation to culture and heritage. For example, if the text describes someone walking past Confederate general statutes and feeling as if they do not belong, it demonstrates feelings of alienation and marginalization in relation to a cultural artifact.

Chapter 6: Findings and Analysis

As stated earlier, a primary theme was found through repetitive language throughout the article, referring to a topic that holds importance. A secondary theme is one that holds gravitas through the support of the primary theme or brings another important topic to the table that is helpful in the conversation but not as prominent as a primary theme. I found six themes across the articles: 1) removal will allow students to feel more at home, removal promotes community healing; 2) memorializing Confederate soldiers perpetuates ideologies of the lost cause; 3) the importance of free and accessible education; 4) the impact of community values; 5) ideology; and 6) responsibility.

Table 1*:*

Article Information: Title, Publication, and Argument

Reference	Date	Author	Article Title	Newspaper	Removal	Recontext-ualization
Article 1	August 21, 2020	Tucker Legerski	"Take Morgan off the English building"	*The Crimson White*		X
Article 2	September 1, 2020	Ben Smith	"Road through Midnight: A Civil Rights Memorial"	*The Duke Chronicle*		X
Article 3	February 16, 2021	Elise Kim, Anna Heyse, and Nayeon Kim	"Marked by These Monuments Tour continues to contextualize Charlottesville's Confederate statues"	*The Cavalier Daily*		X
Article 4	February 17, 2021	Jee-Ho Kim	"Minority Rights Coalition calls for removal of Frank Hume Memorial Fountain"	*The Cavalier Daily*	X	
Article 5	April 13, 2021	Eva Surovell	"BOV Freezes tuition for most undergraduates, supports digital contextualization of monuments"	*The Cavalier Daily*		X
Article 6	May 5th, 2021	Maryann Xue	"Charlottesville City Council Authorizes notice to remove, relocate, contextualize or cover Lee and Jackson statues"	*The Cavalier Daily*	X	X

In regards to research question one, which asks, What are the primary and secondary themes in the articles from the removal perspective? I found that the themes from this perspective included: *removal will allow students to feel more at home* was primary for one article and *removal promotes community healing* was primary for the other. Lastly, the theme *memorializing Confederate soldiers perpetuates ideologies of the Lost cause* was found once as a secondary theme in the argument of removal.

In reference to research question two, which asks: What are the primary and secondary themes in the articles from the recontextualization perspective? I found that the themes from this argument included: *the importance of free and accessible education was found* in two different articles as a primary theme. Moreover, *the impact of community values* theme was found in two articles—one as a primary theme and the other as a secondary theme. *Ideology* was also found in two different recontextualization articles as a primary theme and in two articles as a secondary theme. Furthermore, *responsibility* was found once as a secondary theme in one recontextualization article.

Concerning research question three which states: In what ways do the writers use attachment in all the articles? I found that instances of attachment occurred within four out of the total six articles in the sample. Two different authors used instances of attachment when discussing the argument of removal and three different authors, including article six the repeat article, used instances

of attachment with recontextualization. All-encompassing, both arguments used the theme of ideology and had instances of attachment.

Removal Articles

Two articles in student publications focused on removal, both from *The Cavalier Daily* (University of Virginia). These articles provided context on the Confederate statues in question, which includes history, the reason for honor, and funding. Some of the monuments discussed include statues of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson in Charlottesville, Virginia, and a memorial fountain on the University of Virginia campus in Charlottesville. The articles regarding removal talked about administrative, police, and process issues: who determines the removal of the statue in each city. The writers interviewed officials and spoke with removal activists, students, faculty, and community members. The articles also made references to protests in 2020 and 2021 over George Floyd's murder, "ideologies of hate," "the wave of national reflection," and the Black Lives Matter movement.

Themes

The primary themes for removal were: (1) Removal will allow students to feel more at home; and (3) Removal promotes community healing and one secondary theme which included: How memorializing Confederate soldiers perpetuates ideologies.

Analysis

Removal helps students feel at home. Writing for *The Cavalier Daily*, Jee-Ho Kim, a student, notes that removing statues will allow for the University

of Virginia to be a more welcoming place. Kim refers to a fountain built in 1938 that honors Frank Hume, a Confederate war hero. Kim (February 17, 2021) interviewed Deric Childress, Jr.—president of the Black Student Alliance—who refers to the statue in the following comments:

> If the administration and University officials want to continue to work in favor of African Americans…and people who want to feel fair or feel more at home at the University, then they will take it into consideration of removing [the memorial] so to make it more of a welcoming community (p. 2).

Childress frames his argument for removal in terms of students' attachment to the university, adding that students will "feel more at home" and make "more of a welcoming community" if the fountain is removed. The theme *Removal can help students feel more at home* was considered primary due to the repetition of language regarding negative feelings toward Confederate statues and positive feelings like "feeling more at home" if they are removed. This vernacular can be seen when Kim writes about other students in their article. For example, Kim also quotes Appiah Affori (a student at the University of Virginia) who talks about their experience with the Frank Hume memorial fountain: "I always have to walk by the Whispering Wall to get to my English class that I had. It made me feel really [bad] as a Black student, having to walk by a Confederate memorial every single day" (p. 3). Here, "It made me feel really Bad as a Black student having to walk by a Confederate memorial every single day" shows that the removal of that statue would improve students' well-being.

Removal promotes community healing. Maryann Xue, a student at the University of Virginia who writes for *The Cavalier Daily* regarding the presence of Confederate statues in Charlottesville, talks about different parties and their opinions on what should be done with the Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson statues in the city. Xue quotes Kristin Szakos, a resident of Charlottesville and former councilwoman, who talks about how the statues are causing harm to the community and what she thinks should be done with them to promote community healing:

> This community has waited for four years to remove these statues and has seen the harm that they continue to bring to our community with their message of white supremacy. They should not be allowed to convey that message on our behalf one minute longer than necessary (p. 2).

The theme: *removal promotes community healing* was considered primary in Xue's article because of the continuation of statements that refer to the statues as harmful.

Some other examples of removal promoting community healing in Xue's article include another Szakos quote: "dispense with the statues in a way that allows for restorative reparative justice" (p. 4). Similarly, Cali Gaston, a business and property owner in Downtown Charlottesville, says "Not only are we eager for this monument to be gone from our neighborhood, but we are also hopeful that Council will understand that it will be a poisonous piece of propaganda if moved to any other location" (p. 4). Xue uses the theme that removal promotes community healing to explain that Confederate statues do not reflect the

community and can cause continual psychological harm. This primary theme can be seen in the use of language such as "poisonous" and "harmful" to reflect the damage they are doing, while also using words such as "restorative justice" to explain what the healing would look like if they are removed.

Memorials promote ideologies. Xue also discussed how Confederate statues promote ideologies. Xue refers to the city of Charlottesville as "pocked [sic] with memories and histories, some of which have been covered over, whitewashed, suppressed, stifled, and, in some cases, erected as statues and symbols to lost causes" (p. 3) In other words, there are many different forms of ideology, from whitewashing to symbols of the Lost Cause mythos (such as Confederate monuments). This theme is secondary to Xue's primary themes of removal and healing because underlying ideologies can come from many angles—it is also a broad topic within itself making it secondary to the primary themes of healing and honor. However, ideology is important to understand in terms of what pain needs to be healed.

Similarly, Kim (February 17, 2021) uses ideology as a secondary theme to the primary theme of removal will allow students to feel more at home. This theme is considered secondary because Kim uses ideology to support why confederate statues have a negative impact on students' well-being, causing them to feel more at home without them. For example, Kim quotes an open letter the Minority Rights Coalition (MRC)— an alliance of seven student organizations[16]

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[16] It includes the Asian Student Union, the Black Student Alliance, the Latinx Student Alliance, the Middle Eastern Leadership Council, the Muslim Students Association, the Native American Student Union and the Queer Student Union.

focused on supporting marginalized groups—wrote to the school board: "The structure will always serve as a reminder that the racist ideals upheld by the Confederacy are also ideals the University is proud to preserve" (p. 1). This quote highlights negative feelings experienced by a collective group of students regarding the Frank Hume memorial fountain, showing that many students would feel more at home if they were removed.

Recontextualization Articles

Five articles discuss the recontextualization of the monuments: one from the *Duke Chronicle* (Duke University), one from *The Crimson White* (University of Alabama)*,* and three from *The Cavalier Daily* (University of Virginia). The recontextualization view included preferences for adding more information to the Confederate plaques, adding a virtual tour, putting them into museums, or instead memorializing others. Of note, the previously mentioned Article six (see table 1 for reference) discusses both removal and recontextualization so it will be examined in this section as well. The other three articles discuss the Frank Hume memorial, a contextualization tour of all the monuments in Charlottesville, and the question of who should be memorialized.

The five articles (including one repeated from removal) talk about the history behind the statues and why it is important to be educated about them. Most articles discuss the Black Lives Matter Movement and white supremacist rallies that meet at Confederate statues to defile them or to symbolize their white supremacist ideology, respectively. Each article talks about the specific ties that each Confederate statue has toward Jim Crow laws, white supremacy, family

funding, and state code restrictions. Two of the recontextualization articles pose solutions to educating the public about the history of the statues using suggestions from The Naming and Memorials Committee and the Blue Ribbon Commission. The Naming and Memorials Committee suggested a digital contextualization tour of all the monuments in Charlottesville, while the Blue Ribbon Commission suggested that they be covered or relocated. The other articles discussed ideas about melting and transforming the statues to memorialize others.

Themes

The primary themes for recontextualization include: (1) The importance of free and accessible education regarding historical significance of the statues; (2) The impact of community values, and (3) Ideology. Secondary themes were: (1) The perpetuation of ideologies; (2) the impact of community values; and (3) How people should take responsibility to learn about the statues in their area.

Analysis

The importance of free and accessible education regarding historical significance. Two articles' authors—University of Virginia student authors Elise Kim, Anna Heyse, Nayeon Kim, and Eva Surovell—use the primary theme of the importance of free and accessible education regarding the historical significance of the statues. The theme of free and accessible education regarding the history of the statues focuses on building awareness and forming educated opinions on the meaning of the statues on campus and in Charlottesville. Heyse, Kim, & Kim (February 16, 2021) focused on the Marked by These Monuments tour created by Professor Jalane Schmidt and Andrea Douglas, executive director of the Jefferson

School African American Heritage center. According to the authors, the idea behind the tour is to use Charlottesville's Confederate monuments as reference points and cover the historical periods that occurred after providing context to the underlying racism throughout the city.

The theme of education was considered primary due to the pattern of statements regarding the significance of free and accessible education regarding the history of the Confederate statues. For example, Heyse, Kim, and Kim (2021) begin by quoting Schmidt in reference to the importance of education regarding these monuments:

> I see the tour's overall impact as public education. That's what it's meant to do, so that local residents have an understanding of how it was that those statues were installed. A lot of people that have come on the tour have said it has changed their minds about what was going on, what they formerly saw as just innocuous statues (pg. 1).

Another example of the continuation of this theme in Heyse, Kim, & Kim's article is a quote from third-year college student Kayla Foliaco:

> I think that remote access to knowledge is so powerful. Not only can people access the tour amidst a pandemic that made an in-person field trip impossible, but [it also] allows people who are differently abled or who do not live in Charlottesville to participate in an experience that would have been otherwise unavailable to them (p. 2).

Eva Surovell also uses the primary theme of the importance of education regarding the history of the monuments. This theme was considered primary

because it was used throughout the article to support the Naming and Memorials Committee's final decisions regarding Confederate statues on the University of Virginia campus. The committee concluded that "A digital contextualization of the University's statues and memorials would help visitors and residents appreciate the history of the university" (p. 2). To support this decision the committee frames the digital contextualization tour as a way to allow: "Students, visitors, and community members to develop an "informed perspective" on its various statues and memorials" (p. 2).

Surovell (2021) further demonstrates this primary theme by including a quote from University President Jim Ryan on the impact of digital contextualization and education: "The basic idea behind it is providing more education about the historic landscape, [which] is consistent with the University's pedagogical mission. Doing this digitally enables us to provide more detail, more accessibility, more flexibility" (p. 2).

Community Values. Maryann Xue's article, or article six (see table 1 for reference) uses community values as the primary theme when they discuss the argument of recontextualization. Whereas, Elise Kim, Anna Heyse, and Nayeon Kim use community values as secondary to the theme of education above. As a reminder, primary themes are found through repetitive language throughout the article referring to a topic that holds importance. Secondary themes are important or add to the analysis because they support the primary theme or add another important topic.

The primary community values theme is obvious in a recommendation from the Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public spaces that Xue (2021) refers to: "The BRC recommended that the statues be relocated to less conspicuous locations or transformed in ways that reflect the city's rejection of the Jim Crow-era narratives embodied by the statues" (p. 2). The theme is then continued through declarations from Kristin Szakos, Charlottesville resident and former City Councilwoman, stating that "they [the statues] should not be allowed to convey that message [of white supremacy] on our behalf one minute longer than necessary" (Xue, 2021, p. 1). In other words, the statues should not be able to convey messages of white supremacy on behalf of the city. The discussion of recontextualization was short in article six but the primary theme of community values can still be seen through the repetition of statements regarding what the community reflects by having confederate statues present.

The secondary theme of community values can be seen in Kim, Heyse, and Kim's article when they quote the executive director of the Jefferson School African American Heritage Center, Andrea Douglas, in their discussion on what the community represents in regards to Confederate statues:

> We really need to engage in a new conversation about what it is that we as a community, and largely a nation, believe are representative objects...because that is aesthetic space that says a whole lot about who you think you are as a community. We still have a long way to go to talk about what is a more authentic and inclusive discourse for the objects that we put in our public spaces (p. 3).

Kim, Heyse, and Kim use the secondary theme of community values to follow the primary theme of education. Community values were seen as secondary to education because without education community members may not understand what their community represents with or without Confederate statues.

Ideology. One example of the primary theme of ideology comes from Ben Smith (2020), a student at Duke University writing about their opinion on Jessica Ingrams's new book, *Road Through Midnight: A Civil Rights Memorial*, who states: "The American South has a long and complex history of resilience and destruction; however, which history is remembered is a more difficult matter" (p. 2). This quote is referring to ideology in the ways that Confederate soldiers are portrayed as "heroes" of the American South. In this process of constructing Confederate statues, and white washing the history of the American Civil war, Black heroes and Black experiences were silenced.

The primary theme of ideology was then continued by Smith (September 1, 2020) when they talked about Ingram's beliefs on the matter: "Ingram believes that by changing who and what we memorialize, we can begin to educate ourselves and confront the American culture of systemic racism" (p. 2) This one-sidedness of ideology is the primary theme in this article because it supports the overall argument. The argument is that changing who we memorialize may highlight the underlying ideologies of American history.

Another example of the primary theme of ideology was found in an article written by Tucker Legerski (2020), a student writer for *The Crimson White,* who argues that the English building named for John Tyler Morgan (a Confederate

General), should be replaced to memorialize others. This theme of ideology is considered primary because it is Legerski's main argument for why Morgan's name should be replaced to memorize others who have been silenced by white-washing. For example, Legerski talks about Morgan's own ideologies and how he perpetuated them:

> Morgan tried to block Black voting rights. He feared Black-controlled governmental positions and tried to create obstacles to prevent that from happening. He could not imagine an Alabama, or an America for that matter, with Black people in the seats of power and decision making. Morgan argued for literacy tests at voting booths, tried to block federal security to allow voting, criticized the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments and explicitly wrote that "We the People" in the U.S. Constitution was meant to reference only white people (p. 2).

This theme of the ideological facets behind the Morgan name was considered primary due to the repetition of similar discourse, with Legerski (2020) saying, "'Morgan argued that Black people had "…been a conspicuous and dangerous element in this country for a century, that there is a natural incongruity, 'an irresponsible conflict,' between the races that nothing will cure, except their final separation.'" (p. 2).

Lastly, Legerski refers to the contributions that Morgan made to systematic racism:

Morgan proposed racist ideas and brought them to the U.S. congressional

floor, giving momentum to the idea that Black people are an inferior race.

Also in 1890, Morgan composed *The Race Question in the United States.*

In it he makes the argument for the separation of races. He notes, falsely,

how different people are according to their race (p. 3).

Legerski then quotes *The Race Question in the United States:*

Amongst these differences, the color of the skin, while it distinguishes the

races unmistakably, is the least important. The mental differences and

differing traits, including the faculty of governing, forecast, enterprise, and

the wide field of achievement in the arts and sciences, are accurately

measured by the contrast of the civilization of the United States, with the

barbarism of Central Africa (p. 3).

Moreover, Kim, Heyse, and Kim (February 16, 2021) use ideology as

another secondary theme to education to demonstrate the importance of learning

the history of the Confederate statues. They quote Elizabeth Varon, associate

director of the University of Virginia Center for Civil War History and member of

the President's Commission on the University in the Age of Segregation:

The most important things to know about the Confederate monuments in

the city is that they were intended to symbolize and to preserve white

supremacy and Jim Crow discrimination. [The monuments] enshrine the

'Lost Cause' myth of the Civil War—which glorified the Confederacy and

swept the complexities of Southern history, including divisions within the South, under the rug (p. 2).

As stated above, a secondary theme can bring another important topic to the table that is crucial to the conversation, but not as prominent as a primary theme. This addition of ideology is secondary to the importance of education because it brings up a new topic not only about the history of the monuments or the monuments' lack of community reflection but rather the whitewashing that occurred to the history of the Civil War as a whole—this whitewashing includes attitudes and ideologies like the Lost Cause mythos.

Lastly, Xue (2021) uses ideology as a secondary theme to community values. Xue quotes Kristin Szakos, a Charlottesville resident and former city Councilwoman:

> [The statues] can be put in storage for as long as the city needs to find an appropriate place for them. Please be aware that allowing them to be transported to public display in another community is not an appropriate place. Our moral toxic waste cannot be exported to do its damage elsewhere, even if such an arrangement would save our city money (p. 3).

Similarly, Szakos provides suggestions in regards to melting the statues and transforming them into something more representative of the community's values. Ideology talked about in the reference to "moral toxic waste" and is considered secondary to community values because it bolsters the argument that they do not represent the values of the public due to their representation of ideologies such as the lost cause and white supremacy.

Responsibility. Duke University student Ben Smith (September 1, 2020)
uses responsibility as a secondary theme to ideology to refer to the notion that
students at Duke have the responsibility to learn about the history of the area:

Ben states that:

Ultimately, as Duke students, in a state with a Confederate past, we have a
duty to understand the history of where we live and work. There are
nondescript sites scattered throughout the South that one might never give
a second glance, yet these sites are critically important in the American
narrative of racial injustice (p. 3).

This theme of responsibility is seen as a secondary theme to ideology because it
exists outside of the individual. What I mean by this is many are unaware of their
own personal biases that have been influenced by the ideologies embedded in our
society. As a result, individuals have the responsibility to learn about where
ideological conclusions come from and how it impacts the way humans see the
world, especially in regards to historical artifacts in one's community.

Instances of Attachment

Attachment was found in four articles out of the six total—two for
removal and three for recontextualization, which includes repeat article six (see
table one for reference). Instances of attachment were found through discourse
regarding belonging and feeling more at home. As a reminder, article six
discusses both removal and recontextualization so it will be referred to when
discussing attachment on both sides of the argument.

Authors argue that meanings exemplified by the Confederate statues—plaques, statues, buildings, or fountains—impact how residents, students, and faculty find connections to their communities. Ideas regarding attachment are conveyed in four different articles. This section will refer to examples of attachment from each of the articles referred to above.

In regards to the removal articles, Kim's (2021) article in *The Cavalier Daily* on the Frank Hume Memorial Fountain has instances of attachment. Kim interviewed a student who talks about creating a more welcoming community:

> If administration and University officials want to continue to
> work in favor of African Americans…and people who want to
> feel fair or feel more at home at the University, they will take into
> consideration of removing [the memorial] so to make it a more
> welcoming community" (p. 1).

The word choice "...people who want to feel fair or feel more at home" directly links to how attachment scholars have measured feelings of attachment. For example, Cross (2003) measured individual identification processes through statements like:

> This place (house, neighborhood, town, region) says a lot
> about who I am. I feel most myself here in this place
> (house, neighborhood, town, region). Everything in this
> place (house, neighborhood, town, region) is a reflection of
> me. This place (house, neighborhood, town, region) reflects

the type of person I am. This place (house, neighborhood,

town, region) is a part of me (p. 16).

Kim's article, and their interview with student Abena Appiah-Offori (who is

active in the removal movement), further demonstrates attachment: "I always

have to walk by the [Fountain] to get to my English class….it made me feel

really [bad] as a Black student" (p. 3). This follows attachment scholars' linkage

between community attachment and how residents refer to their communities in

positive and negative ways (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001; Russell & Snodgrass,

1987).

   Lastly, in regards to instances of attachment within the removal articles,

Xue (May 5, 2021) refers to attachment when they quote Kristin Szakos,

Charlottesville resident and former City Councilwoman: "This community has

waited for four years to remove these statues and has seen the harm that they

continue to bring to our community with their message of white supremacy," (p.2

) According to Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) and Russell and Snodgrass (1987)

this "harm" is referring to the psychological impacts that lack of attachment can

have on the individual. For example, attachment research on culture, heritage, and

the importance of community planning highlights feelings of alienation that can

be caused by physical aspects of a space poorly reflecting the culture of the

community, which in turn can negatively influence self-identity (Ferenczi &

Marshall, 2013; Manzo, & Perkins, 2006).

   According to scholars, positive and negative attachments are related to

feelings of integration or marginalization. Integration signifies recognition with

physical aspects of a place, including buildings and monuments (heritage), and identification with an in-group versus out-group (culture). Alternatively, marginalization, or lack of identification, comes from little to no recognition of the physical aspects of a community as well as identifying with an out-group rather than an in-group (Berry, 2001). Furthermore, integration comes with many positive effects while marginalization comes with many negatives.

Based on the aforementioned quotations, many students feel negatively on campus and less at home due to the Confederate statues. These negative feelings can be seen through the language used to describe the statues such as "harm", "makes me feel really bad", and "removing the statues will make people feel more at home", which can lead to negative affective ties or not feeling attached to their community—this can indicate the high potential for alienation and marginalization, especially for people of color on campus. The student newspaper articles in the study concerning the removal of Confederate monuments indicate that powerful messages arise from honorific objects.

When looking at the recontextualization articles, there were three different articles that referred to attachment: Kim, Heyse, and Kim (February 16, 2021) and Xue (May 5, 2021) of *The Cavalier Daily* and Legerski (August 21, 2020) from *The Crimson White*. Legerski (August 21, 2020) sets the stage for attachment via physical space's connection to beliefs, meanings, emotions, ideas, and attitudes: all parts of the attachment process. Legerski adds that the building connects personally with himself and others, for example: "I work in Morgan," "My class is in Morgan," "Meet you on the first-floor bench in Morgan," "The

event is in Morgan 301." His name—Morgan—is stamped onto the psyche of the campus" (p. 1). When Legerski refers to how often the name Morgan is used in reference to the building, it shows the type of connection individuals can have to physical objects. Many students are also dependent on this building to get to classes, jobs, and events that are held within.

Xue (May 5, 2021) uses language such as "moral toxic waste" and "damage" to refer to the impacts of the statues and then focuses on suggestions that would align with community values such as melting the bronze and giving them to artists to create works of art related to Black history and community. This reference to creating more representation for community members, especially people of color, refers to attachment because the more students or community members feel represented in their space the more connection they will feel to the place, which can lead to integration and many positive psychological effects (Berry, 2001).

Kim, Heyse, and Kim (February 16, 2021) quote Religious Studies Professor Jalane Schmidt, who talks about Confederate statues and public spaces: "What values are we going to broadcast on a daily basis from our publicly maintained public spaces?" (p. 1). Comparably, Kim, Heyse, and Kim also quote Andrea Douglas, a retired university professor who talks about the importance of representative objects in a community. Douglas asserts that objects in community sight and consciousness imparts psychological connections to the community. In other words, the authors ask if the University of Virginia's Confederate statues represent the values of the community and then refer to the psychological impacts

they may have due to the lack of representation. Attachment scholars argue that

many are unaware of the disconnect between the physical aspects of a place and

the people who reside there—this can lead to structures that do not reflect the

cultures of the people who live and use the spaces most often, which is important

for schools to address in order to increase feelings of attachment and allow for the

healing to begin (Castells, 1983).

Chapter 7: Discussion

There is a natural layer of attachment between university students and other individuals who live and work on campus and in the campus community. Students usually have a four-year commitment to their university, and during this time are required to be on campus most of the time. With this increased exposure, students are more likely to interact with Confederate monuments on or around campus on a daily basis. University of Virginia student Appiah Offori states: "I always have to walk by the Whispering Wall to get to my English class that I had. It made me feel really [bad] as a Black student, having to walk by a Confederate memorial every single day" (Kim, February 17, 2021, p. 3). Similarly, Legerski (August 21, 2020) talks about how many students have classes in the Morgan building (named for a Confederate soldier) every day. In light of this exposure, it is important to understand how students talk about Confederate memorials and names on university grounds.

For removal articles, the most time was dedicated to the themes *removal causes students to feel more at home* and *removal promotes community healing*. Both removal articles also contained references to attachment. This is especially interesting because these themes and references to attachment all back the main argument from Kim and Xue that students will feel better if the Confederate statues are removed. In addition to healing and feeling more at home with the statues' removal, ideology was used in both removal articles as a secondary theme to bolster the argument that students feel better without the Confederate statues on school grounds.

The use of the primary themes *removal causes students to feel at home* and *removal promotes community healing* is interesting and important because these themes directly relate to attachment. For example, Kim (February 17, 2021) quotes third-year student Deric Childress Jr, who states:

> If administration and University officials want to continue to work in favor of African Americans…and people who want to feel fair or feel more at home at the University, then they will take it into consideration of removing [the memorial] so to make it more of a welcoming community (p. 2).

The language "...feel fair or feel more at home at the University" and "to make it more of a welcoming community" shows that the Confederate statues are directly impacting the attachment students have to the University. The words "healing" and "toxic" were also used in Xue's (May 5, 2021) article to talk about the benefits of removing the statues, such that the removal of them will promote racial healing from the harmful ideologies.

The idea of healing and feeling more at home are directly related to attachment because attachment is generally described as the extent to which people have cognitive or affective ties to each other and to the place in which they reside (Shaker, 2019). A cognitive/affective tie is the actual attachment process and includes dimensions of dependence and individual identification processes (Hummon, 1992). This interconnectedness between people and place is crucial because there are two different kinds of relationships that people can have with their community: positive or negative, each with their own set of psychological

impacts. A positive association or strong connection with a place, has an emphasis on optimistic outcomes, such as emotional well-being. Conversely, a negative connection involves limited connections and negative outcomes, such as emotional harm if one does not feel a positive association with their community (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001; Russell & Snodgrass, 1987).

Ideology was used to discuss why the statues made many students feel uncomfortable in both removal articles. Xue (May 5, 2021) explains the city of Charlottesville as having histories that have been "...covered over, white washed, suppressed, stifled and in some cases erected as statues and symbols to lost causes" (p. 3). Xue's use of "lost causes" echoes the Lost Cause mythos previously described and more firmly grounds the ideological themes in her removal article.

Kim (February 17, 2021) also uses ideology to talk about why these statues cause students to feel unwelcome. For example, Kim quotes a letter from the Minority Rights Coalition which stated that the Confederate statues "... will always serve as a reminder that the racist ideals upheld by the Confederacy are also ideals the University is proud to preserve" (p. 1). This is integral because students' identification processes or attachment to the university may be negatively impacted by the beliefs, meaning, and attitudes assigned to the Confederate statues through their representation of white supremacy and the history of racism. Identification processes have been defined through concepts like place dependence and place identity. Place dependence is the level of individual identification that comes from one's personal experiences and values for physical

and nonphysical aspects of space (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Kyle et al., 2003; Moore & Graefe, 1994). Place identity includes beliefs, meanings, emotions, ideas, and attitudes assigned to a place. Furthermore, many of the students are dependent on the campus to do well in their years at university, and the lack of identification with the physical aspects of the campus is problematic.

These findings are important because if a place (and physical components of that place) do not reflect peoples' heritage it can negatively influence their identification processes, further leading to feelings of marginalization or a low sense of heritage and culture (Ferenczi & Marshall, 2013; Manzo & Perkins, 2006). This is significant because feelings of marginalization negatively impact feelings of attachment through a lack of identification with the dominant culture, which can subsequently lead to more life dissatisfaction, a sense of displacement, and decreases in mental health, self-esteem, and psychological adaptation (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2001; Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

In regards to recontextualization, many of the same themes were reused by different authors. These prominent themes included: *the importance of education regarding the history of Confederate statues, community values, and ideology*. There were also instances of attachment in the recontextualization articles that focused on community values and ideology. This is noteworthy because in the other articles that discussed the educational aspects of the statues via tours there is less emphasis on emotional appeal or psychological impacts (attachments) and the focus is on learning from the past. Three different arguments were found in the articles regarding recontextualization: adding information via public tours,

moving the statues to museums, and transforming the statues and buildings to memorialize others.

Education was the most prominent theme in the argument for why the statues should have more information about their history, including funding and Civil War facts. Within the theme of education, there is a recurrence of solutions that involved tours of all the Confederate statues and historical sites where information was free and accessible to students, visitors, and community members at all times. This focus on education in the articles that talk about adding historical facts poses an interesting argument about history. What I mean by this is: without the Confederate statues, would community members have the same opportunity to learn about the past? Many of the authors quote students who participated in the tour whose responses reflected that before the tour they were unaware of the ideological connotations that the Confederate statues have but that thanks to their new understanding they are able to come to their own conclusions about the statues.

The theme of community values was found within two of the recontextualization articles, which argued that the statues should be placed in locations like museums. This argument is based on the notion that objects in public spaces, especially Confederate monuments, say a lot about what the community values i.e. Lost Cause ideologies, Jim Crow, etc.—if they are moved or covered this should reflect the community's rejection of these values. In the argument for moving statues, the themes of *community values* and *ideology* are used more often to refer to the psychological effects of the statues. This

phenomenon is notable because it is quite similar to the removal argument and themes. One of the articles that contained the community values theme quotes Kristin Szakos, Charlottesville resident and former City Councilwoman: "they [the statues] should not be allowed to convey that message [of white supremacy] on our behalf one minute longer than necessary" (Xue, May 5, 2021, p. 1). This quote plays on a key point in the relocation argument: the community should not reflect the values that Confederate statues perpetuate, including ideologies such as the Lost Cause.

In another article, community values were used to talk about public spaces and what they should represent. For example, Kim, Heyse, and Kim's (February 17, 2021) article quotes the executive director of the Jefferson School African American Heritage Center, Andrea Douglas: "We still have a long way to go to talk about what is a more authentic and inclusive discourse for the objects that we put in our public spaces" (p. 3). The theme of community values is similar to the themes in the removal arguments, such as community healing in that it refers to the importance of the physical components of the community reflecting the individuals that live there.

According to attachment scholars, the relationship between the physical aspects of a community and the people who live there can have many positive or negative effects. Attachment scholars refer to this relationship as community attachment, and theories regarding this relationship talk about the ways physical and nonphysical aspects of one's community can influence how much they identify with a place (Cohen, 2013; Cross, 2003; Sampson & Goodrich, 2009;

Shaker, 2019; Williams & Vaske, 2003). These theories also support the argument

in recontextualization to change the space to be more representative of the

community members which inherently will improve attachment levels.

Changing the physical aspects of a community to be more representative is

important because the improvement of connection between individuals and their

communities comes with many positive benefits. According to scholars, these

positive benefits include integration or identification with the majority—physical

aspects of a place (i.e. monuments) have the most positive effect, including

aspects such as adaptation, psychological adjustment, reduced rates of depression,

and higher rates of overall well-being (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2001; Searle & Ward,

1990; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

Moreover, similar to the way ideology was used in the argument of

removal, it was used as a primary theme in the argument to memorialize others

and transform the statues and buildings to be more representative of the

community. For example, Legerski (August 21, 2020) talks about the Morgan

building and his contribution to ideology: "Morgan was a former Ku Klux Klan

leader, an architect of Jim Crow law, an enslaver, a Confederate general, an

imperialist and expansionist and one of many engineers of systematic racism" (p.

2). Ideology was used to talk about all of the people that have not been

memorialized in the process of whitewashing history. For example, Legerski

states that

> In the amplification of Morgan's name, we have also forgotten and erased
>
> others. I would not mind knowing the names of the cooks who worked in

the building before it was an English institution, the people who served the

privileged folks like Morgan. Those people seem like better choices for

building names (p. 5).

This is important because it discusses the process of undoing historical

wrongs by commemorating and learning about Black heroes from the era of the

Civil War and Reconstruction.

In both arguments including all of the removal articles and some of the

recontextualization articles use the theme of ideology and had instances of

attachment to explain their arguments. This similarity is interesting because it

seems that both are using ideology to talk about the negative psychological

impacts that can come from keeping them (removal) and the positive

psychological impacts that can come from transforming them to be more

representative (recontextualization) using instances of attachment. The instances

of attachment come from how the community members feel about the statues, the

Lost Cause ideologies the statues represent, and what changes would better

represent the community. Ideology was also used as a secondary theme to

education. Articles that emphasize education talk about the importance of

understanding the history of the statues and the ideologies they perpetuate in order

to come up with one's own conclusions about the statues. The articles that focused

on education focused less on the psychological impacts of these racist symbols

and more on the importance of learning about them.

It is also important to note that there were no articles about keeping the

statues as is. This is likely indicative of how students and community members

feel about Confederate statues on campus. This phenomenon may be due to the lack of attachment that the community has toward the statues. This lack of attachment may come from the awareness recent Black Lives Matter Movement activism created regarding the negative impact Confederate statues can have on Black individuals. Similarly, in regards to recontextualization, the argument is less about keeping the statutes because people feel attached to them and more about the fact that individuals can have more of an opportunity to learn about why the statues can have this impact on Black individuals by explaining the ideologies they represent.

Implications

This analysis contributes to research regarding the impacts of racist artifacts in public spaces by highlighting the potential impact of Confederate statues on university grounds and attachment research. The findings regarding primary and secondary themes in the arguments for removal and recontextualization have shown that many feel uncomfortable in the presence of the statues, which can lead to a decrease in overall well-being. These findings may be an insight to universities that have the pedagogical mission of inclusion or wish to be a more inclusive campus. These findings also add to attachment research because it has shown that physical aspects of a university can positively or negatively affect students on campus—thus, it is an important issue to address as students use the campus most often by either working, living, or taking classes there.

Socially, this research has the potential to aid in improving a phenomenon that has occurred due to slavery. What I mean by this is that many Black individuals feel attached to the region of the South but refute symbols of slavery and the Lost Cause that reside there. This attachment comes from living in the area for generations, having family in the South, and mostly feeling at home there. Therefore, removing or recontextualizing statues on Southern university campuses and communities has the potential to increase feelings of overall attachment. This increase could come from feeling more welcome due to the decrease in symbols of the Lost Cause and Jim Crow in their community. If the statues are recontextualized, this could lead to more understanding between groups as to why they are harmful, or who should be memorialized instead. This is important because, as discussed above, feeling fully attached to the physical and nonphysical aspects of one's community has immense benefits on one's well-being.

Limitations

These findings shed light on the fact that individuals in favor of removal feel it will promote increased attachment and healing through themes such as *removal allows students to feel more at home* and *removal promotes community healing*. Those who support recontextualization feel that adding educational aspects to the Confederate statues will help bring more understanding between groups, and that transforming them entirely or moving them will help strengthen attachment through themes such as *community values* and *ideology*. However, there are some limitations in the study, including the potential for bias,

inconsistencies, small sample size, lack of inclusion of all Southern states, little

basis for generalization, and the inability to represent all sides of the issue.

The potential for bias comes from the research being done by only one

researcher, and the inherent biases that I have but may not be aware of. Moreover,

inconsistencies may arise from these biases, impacting the validity of this

research. The small sample size includes the fact that universities tend to have a

younger crowd which can impact the opinions found in the sample. Similarly, the

ability to only find opinion articles regarding the Confederate statues in some

large Southern universities impacts the generalizability of this research.

Reliability also proves a limitation as the hermeneutic method involves a potential

for selection bias because the work has not been examined by another researcher

(Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Similarly, thematic analysis is highly flexible which

can cause inconsistencies in how they emerge (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

Furthermore, this research is a case study and lacks replicability and

generalizability to other writers or settings.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This research is important because understanding the themes used in arguments for removal and recontextualization shows that many feel uncomfortable or bad when passing the Confederate statues, which can negatively affect their feelings of attachment to their university. According to attachment scholars, this lack of attachment can subsequently lead to psychological harm through alienation and marginalization. In light of this issue, many students, teachers, committees, and attachment researchers offer suggestions for ways to improve feelings of attachment. Attachment authors argue that cultural representation is important to increase levels of attachment through integration. Similarly, students, professors, and memorial committees feel that transforming these monuments to represent people of color or be disposed of in a way that allows for community healing will increase feelings of attachment to their universities. Attachment scholars discuss the importance of feeling attached to the place in which individuals live, work, and learn. Attachment researchers have found that positive association and connection with a place is positively associated with emotional well-being.

This case study examines the primary and secondary themes—and instances of attachment within those themes—used by opinion writers who want to remove or recontextualize Confederate monuments on or around their campus communities at the University of Alabama, the University of Virginia and Duke University. When analyzing the six total articles from Southern university newspapers using a six-step thematic analysis and attachment theories, I found

that opinion writers who support the removal or the recontextualization of the monuments refer to instances of attachment within the themes used. These themes include: removal allows for students to feel more at home, removal allows for community healing, recontextualization promotes community values, and the statues represent harmful ideologies. The findings also suggest that opinion writers from both sides of the argument use ideology as a theme to explain the underlying history behind the issue. In both arguments, attachment was used to talk about the psychological impacts of the statues. Removal focused more on the negative effects of the presence of the statues while recontextualization focused on the positive effects of changing the context of the statues and how we can learn more about them.

Overall, the themes for removal and recontextualization articles found that students will feel more at home if the statues are removed or recontextualized on university campuses; therefore, implementing their suggestions on making a more welcoming campus can improve students' overall well-being in their time at their university. My hope is that this research can be used to help amplify Black voices in discussions about the fate of Confederate statues on Southern university grounds and change the way we think about public spaces.

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