

MINORITY LINKED FATE AND RACE-BASED POLICY INITIATIVES: ANALYZING
SUPPORT LEVELS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN REDRESS BETWEEN ASIAN,
LATINO, AND AFRICAN AMERICANS

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Thesis Prepared for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

August 2022

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Ferguson, Triston. *Minority Linked Fate and Race-Based Policy Initiatives: Analyzing Support Levels for African American Redress between Asian, Latino, and African Americans*. Master of Arts (Political Science), August 2022, 40 pp., 2 tables, 2 figures, references, 47 titles.

This thesis seeks to examine the levels of support for African American reparations amongst minorities. After providing a historical account of redress efforts separated racial group and discussing factors that influence reparations, I argue that minority groups possess cross-racial linked fate (minority linked fate) that significantly impacts their political attitudes concerning reparations for African Americans. Additionally, I argue that higher levels of minority-linked fate will equate to significant support for reparations. The probit regressions reaffirm the initial hypotheses that minority-linked fate has a significant impact on support for African American reparations. However, the racial groups most affected were not suspected initially.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES.....	v
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	2
What are Reparations?.....	2
Dimensions of Redress.....	3
Restitution.....	4
Compensation.....	5
Satisfaction.....	6
Guarantees of Non-Repetition.....	7
CHAPTER 3. DIFFERENCE IN REPARATIONS AMONGST RACIAL GROUPS.....	9
Reparations for Japanese Americans.....	9
Reparations for Native Americans.....	10
Reparations for African Americans?.....	12
Minority Linked Fate.....	14
CHAPTER 4. LITERATURE REVIEW: VARIABLES INFLUENCING APPROVAL/ DISAPPROVAL FOR REPARATIONS.....	16
Political Ideology.....	16
Racial Resentment.....	17
Guilt.....	18
Restorative Justice.....	19
CHAPTER 5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	21
A Tale of Two Cities?.....	21
Relational Associations.....	22
CHAPTER 6. DATA UTILIZED.....	24
Independent Variable(s).....	24
Dependent Variable.....	24
Control Variable(s).....	25

CHAPTER 7. METHODS UTILIZED.....	27
First Analysis: Race and Support for Reparations	27
Interpretation of Results.....	29
Second Analysis: Race and Minority Linked Fate	31
Interpretation of Results.....	33
CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION.....	35
REFERENCES	37

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Page

Tables

Table 1: Regression Results for Races on Impact Support for Reparations..... 28

Table 2: Probit Regression Results for Minority Linked Fate’s impact on Support for Slavery
..... 32

Figures

Figure 1: Support for Reparations by Race..... 28

Figure 2: Levels of Minority Linked Fate by Race..... 31

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Within the United States, a common tactic utilized by governments to rectify past injustices towards ethnic minorities revolves around the notion of redress. Redress efforts generally involve an acknowledgment of wrongdoings and a remedy to eradicate the implications surrounding the injustice. With several dimensions of redress in existence and documented struggles relating to injustices that racial minorities have faced, one would assume that all minority groups who have faced significant injustices within the United States would be equally entitled to reap the benefits of redress. However, reparation literature suggests that African Americans face significant pushback on redress efforts to combat the implications that past slavery, discrimination, and segregation have on modern day African Americans.

Despite African Americans sharing a documented struggle similar to their racial minority counterparts, some scholars argue that reparation support levels are influenced by racial resentment, political ideology, guilt, and the type of justice being sought after. Additionally, they argue that African American redress efforts are poorly constructed and do not resemble the movements executed by their racial counterparts. While such factors likely do influence reparation support levels, I argue that such literature is limited in determining whether African Americans are eligible for redress.

Moreover, I argue that reparation support levels will likely differ when considering the attitudes of other racial minorities when excluding White Americans. In essence, I rely on the logic of relational associations and linked fate to argue that interracial linked fate exists and significantly affects reparation support levels amongst minority groups.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

What are Reparations?

It is important to note that all forms of reparations are a byproduct of redress attempts. In essence, the primary objective of reparation is to promote redress and reconciliation with past injustices (Martin & Yaquinto, 2007). Moreover, despite several forms of reparations in existence, each reparation shares an underlying goal of achieving redress. Furthermore, it is important to understand how current literature analyzes the remedies produced by redress efforts to provide the most accurate and objective overview of redress efforts. Previous literature suggests that definitions pertaining to reparations must be broad to allow for judicial discretion. Professor Boris Bittker of Yale Law School attempts to answer this by describing redress efforts as a social justice concept (a concept that excludes both moral and theological accounts) in his book, “The Case for Black Reparations.” Specifically, he argues that redress efforts are aimed at providing a remedy “for the value of slave labor.” Specifically, Garcia-Godos (2016), argues that all possible situations involving harm that needs to be rectified depend on an intentionally broad scope. The broadest definition relating to redress efforts describes it as an “acknowledgment between communities” with a purpose to heal wounds from past violations (Claw et al., 2018). However, the notion of redress has been scoped towards specific dimensions of redress in attempts to secure certain reparations. For example, others have described reparations more specifically as financial compensation for slave decedents with the sole intent of repairing systematic issues stemming from both economic and social segregation (Merrefield 2020). Even in the broadest sense, reparations are generally thought of as compensation for a harm to a marginalized group. For example, Darity Jr., & Mullen, (2020), express their concern with

framing the concept of reparations to be subjectively fulfilled by simple acknowledgment as it relates to African Americans. Alternatively, they argue that legitimate redress not only requires acknowledgment but must also include a consequence favoring the oppressed group.

As a result of varying viewpoints, unsurprisingly, a consensus on both the most accurate and effective forms of redress does not exist. Moreover, to provide the most comprehensive review of the varying dimensions of redress and their historical relevance, it is useful to examine the forms of redress that exist and the corresponding remedy associated with each form.

Reviewing such literature is helpful for two specific reasons: First, it allows a bridge between specific forms of reparations and the levels of support that exist because of the nature of the reparation. Second, dissecting historical examples of reparations and the groups that offered redress will provide context to the struggles that African Americans face in garnering support for traditional forms of reparations awarded to their racial counterparts.

Dimensions of Redress

As mentioned previously, redress efforts generally involve varying dimensions that produce different forms of remedies. A prime example of this can be found when dissecting the nature of reparations. According to the Public International Law & Policy Group (PILPG), there are specific types of reparations that redress efforts can utilize with distinct elements to differentiate between them. The forms of reparations include restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction, and guarantees of non-repetition. Historically, disenfranchised groups such as African Americans have sought rectifying solutions to combat both the consequences and implications of slavery, segregation, and discrimination through movements that would have resulted in one of the five forms of reparations. However, African Americans have specifically sought compensation-based reparations for the consequences of slavery. In addition, it is worth

noting that rehabilitation, as it pertains to reparations, is best described as a form of care or social services provided to recipients. However, African Americans have not been offered forms of rehabilitation as a direct remedy for past segregation and discrimination.

Restitution

The notion of restitution for African Americans rests upon the assumption that income or American enrichment from slavery can be redistributed via wealth transfers and/or investments in minority capital interests from White Americans (Martin & Yaquinto, 2007). More specifically, restitution-based reparations for African Americans would require that assets be removed from current ownership from White Americans (whether citizen or government-owned) and returned to African Americans as compensation for circumstances that hindered African American progression. While restitution-based forms of reparations are generally popular amongst African American advocates, African American reparation movements have generally been unsuccessful in attempts to provide monetary restitution to slave decedents and the African American community. Moreover, one of the most notable yet unsuccessful examples of providing former slaves with assets belonging to White Americans was introduced by Major General William Sherman. The origins of “40 acres and a Mule,” introduced by Maj. General Sherman after meetings with African American ministers, revolved around the belief that former slaves who served in the war were entitled to significant amounts of land and a single mule. It was believed that an individual’s involvement in assisting the union in winning the civil war. Despite African American leaders arguing that thousands of former slaves were eligible, only a limited distribution occurred. However, after the assassination of President Lincoln, President Johnson introduced a restoration program that stripped formerly awarded freed slaves of their land and ultimately returned the confiscated land back to White landowners.

Compensation

The next type of remedy produced by redress movements worth discussing is compensation. Historically, the most sought-after forms of reparations are generally tangible and involve some form of compensation. It is important to note that unlike restitution, providing compensation does not require redistribution from one group to another. Moreover, current research would argue that struggles resulting from segregation, discrimination, and unfair treatment impacted African Americans ability to develop generational wealth through conventional routes such as home ownership (Kaplan & Valls, 2007). African Americans have used the United States' past actions as justification to further validate their entitlement to compensation. Within the United States, compensation has been afforded to specific groups in the past. For example, in 1991, the office of redress issued monetary payments to survivors who were forced to live in Japanese internment camps (Yamamoto, 1998). Similarly, Native Americans were awarded monetary compensation for the United States government's mistakes in managing land deemed as sacred via agreements.

However, compensation-based reparations are generally the most controversial as Americans disagree on whether the country owes African American's compensation for past trauma and its lingering effects (Brooks, 1999). Advocates pushing towards reparations for African Americans have expressed legitimate justifications to mental trauma that modern day African Americans experience resulting directly from discrimination. Despite vocal expressions in favor of compensation for African American, minimal instances exist that suggest America will consider compensation as an acceptable remedy for the consequences of injustices towards African Americans (Epstein, 2021). In fact, one of the few recorded instances of African Americans receiving compensation for slavery dates to 1783 (Coates, 2015). Specifically, Ms.

Belinda Royall petitioned the Massachusetts legislature claiming unpaid compensation for her work she completed for her former slaveowner and was awarded a fair amount. (Graff, 2017).

Satisfaction

One of the more controversial forms of reparations falls under the category of satisfaction. Satisfaction as redress involves formal apologies, acceptances of guilt, and acknowledgement of wrongdoings from specific parties towards victims (Engerman, 2009). Additionally, satisfaction as a form of reparation generally appears in the form of symbolic actions issued by a governing body. Scholars argue that apologies ought to display expressions of remorse and should be deliberate in their intentions (Blatz, Schumann, & Ross, 2009). The most notable apologies from the United States federal government were made almost exclusively to Japanese Americans. For example, formal apologies for the internment of Japanese Americans were made by Congress in 1988, President George Bush in 1991, and President Bill Clinton in 1993. Another notable apology was made by President Bill Clinton for the Tuskegee syphilis in which African American men with syphilis were intentionally left untreated for a public health study. While some historic injustices have been formally apologized for, the United States federal government has yet to formally acknowledge its perpetuation of slavery and its implication on the historical struggles that African Americans faced. A formal apology for slavery and Jim Crow was issued by the U.S. House of Representatives in 2008 as a resolution but did not receive enough support to pass as an actual bill. Other forms of satisfaction granted by the federal government appears in the form of symbolic actions such as federal holidays, statues, and public speeches (Meyer, 2006). Moreover, granting satisfaction to African Americans as a form of reparation for slavery has been seen as controversial on both the supporting and opposing parties. Scholars argue that Americans are generally not in favor of

apologies as they require that there be an admission of guilt from the oppressor. (Schedler, 2007). Although efforts to secure monetary restitution have generally been unsuccessful, symbolic satisfaction for African Americans are prevalent within the United States. Symbolic satisfaction involve efforts to compensate victims using symbolic methods such as statues, public speeches, holidays, and memorials (Meyer, 2006).

Guarantees of Non-Repetition

Lastly, guarantees of non-repetition involves implementing policies, laws, and institutional structures to prevent the perpetuation of racism against African Americans. In practice, guarantees of non-repetition are extensive and used frequently in various industries and institutions. A prime example of this can be found when analyzing admissions in higher education. Specifically, race-based policy initiatives enacted for the sole purpose of ensuring that historically disadvantaged groups aren't intentionally excluded from fields that historically have lacked diversity (Mosley, 2002). It is important to note that affirmative action can be constituted as guarantees of non-repetition when the admission of minorities is geared at fixing disparities that were caused by past injustices. Though, more broad instances of guarantees of non-repetition do exist. Moreover, while race-based policy initiatives are generally designed to promote diversity, guarantees of non-repetition also include legislation that forbids general discrimination of minorities. The most notable example is the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is considered one of the most important pieces of legislation as its passage effectively ended racial discrimination (Humphrey, 1997). Specifically, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is considered the most comprehensive civil rights legislation enacted by congress due to its direct targeting towards unjust laws and practices that perpetuated discrimination and inherently oppressed people of color.

When reflecting on the consequences of redress, it is obvious that African Americans have struggled in building government support for redress efforts. However, the previously discussed research does not account for factors that may influence levels of support for reparations for African Americans. An important point of interest concerning the evolution of reparations for African Americans revolves around the factors that contribute to changing levels of support for reparations. Moreover, previous literature pertaining to the topic of reparations suggest several different factors are to blame for variations in support levels. More specifically, traditional predictors of support for reparations generally include party identification, ideology, and racial resentment. Furthermore, examining variables that have historically been linked to influencing support levels for African American redress efforts will potentially shine light on the justifications used to not support redress movements for African Americans compared to their racial counterparts.

CHAPTER 3

DIFFERENCE IN REPARATIONS AMONGST RACIAL GROUPS

In the US, the debate concerning the use of, and potential recipients of reparations is considered highly controversial for several reasons. Scholars argue that controversy surrounding the use of reparations is a result of several complaints such as issues concerning its implementation, implications on racial tensions, and general levels of support and disapproval (Forrester 2019). However, such concerns have specifically plagued African American's pursuit towards redress efforts when compared to the success of their racial counterparts. Scholars have pointed out both a deliberate and obvious bias between supported reparation movements and the racial group receiving any rectification for past harms against their group (Howard-Hassmann, 2004). Before dissecting the variables associated with levels of support and disapproval based on racial groups, types of reparations, and similarly relevant factors, a brief historical overview of the literature concerning both successful and unsuccessful reparation movements separated by racial group is necessary.

Reparations for Japanese Americans

Contrary to popular belief, while the conversation regarding reparations for African Americans have in the US have been popularized in the past several years. (Farmer, 2018). Reparations as a practiced remedy is not unique, but arguably, rather common for some groups. Consider the remedies provided to Japanese Americans being placed in Internment camps due to unwarranted fears of espionage in America. In 1988, the US agreed to pay \$1.6 billion along with a presidential apology (Laremont, 2001). Similarly, after the war, the United States expeditiously developed community-based programs and ethnic study programs to combat the social implications relating to internment camps. With examples displaying the repeated use of

reparations for specific groups, it becomes apparent that there is a discrepancy in the approval of reparations for specific groups such as African Americans. Therefore, it is worth examining literature that highlights successful movements and tactics associated with Japanese American reparations.

Japanese Americans success in securing reparations begins with the redress movements in the late 1970s. In 1978, The Japanese American Citizens league created a redress committee and voted to investigate the implications of internment camps. As a result of their lobbying, in 1980, a bill was passed in the Senate to establish the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (Bahr, 2007). In the mid 1980s, the commission recommended redress options in the form of legislative remedies that provided reparations (Bahr, 2007). As a result, in 1988, President Reagan signed the Civil Liberties, issued a formal apology, and an estimated 1.6 billion in payments were made to surviving individuals and families.

Reparations for Native Americans

Native Americans have endured harsh and inhuman treatment since the conception of the United States. Specifically, Native Americans have been forcibly removed from their native lands, endured cultural destruction, and have endured several treaty violations that were initially enacted to protect their interests (Merjian, 2010). As a result, actions to rectify the past injustices against Native Americans are extensive. Early examples are mentioned by Tsosie (2007) in her research concerning the role of reparations for Native Americans. She argues that claims in favor of reparations for native Americans began as early as the late twentieth century with a US Supreme Court ruling in *United States v. Sioux* in which an 1877 statute that appropriated lands from the Lakota people was deemed unconstitutional and the Lakota people were entitled to compensation. In addition, she discusses actions that allowed Native Americans to recover

confiscated remains from the dead through the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990. However, the federal government has displayed a unique interest in rectifying past injustices with significant lump-sum payments to Native Americans. This becomes evident when considering some of the more recent payouts awarded by the federal government under the Obama administration.

For example, in 2010, Congress approved the Cobell v. Salazar class action lawsuit settlement through the claims resolution Act. As a result, Native American landowners could receive fair compensation for selling their interests in particular plots of land. This decision was followed up by a settlement in 2012 that forced the United States government to pay an estimated \$3.4 billion for the mismanagement of lands that were meant to be maintained and left sacred. Similarly, in 2016, the Federal government paid over \$490 million to native Americans for the mismanagement of natural resources and tribal assets via treaty violations. Despite several attempts to right the past with compensation-based initiatives, the consequences of the settlements are controversial. Many advocates for Native American reparation argue that land restoral ought to be the top priority (Bradford, 2004). However, restorative justice efforts were stagnant as the framework for the American legal system weren't adequately structured to support retribution efforts to the same effect as tribal court systems (Meyer, 1998). As a result, several commissions have been designated by the federal government to oversee the fair treatment and consideration of the Native American population. Moreover, recently, the US Interior Department have increased efforts to restore Native American Land to properly repay debts for past injustices. Furthermore, the federal government is actively working to rectify past injustices towards Native Americans by appealing to their initial requests.

Reparations for African Americans?

In contrast to reparation movements initiated to provide compensation for the injustices for both Japanese Americans and Native Americans, efforts to solidify compensation for African Americans began centuries ago. However, despite the longevity of movements in support of reparations for African Americans, little traction has been made in securing forms of reparations that advocates deem important for the African American community (Biondi, 2007). Scholars point to Tulsa, Oklahoma as a point of reference to argue against unwarranted denials of reparations for African Americans (Messer, Shriver, & Adams, 2018). The destruction of Black Wall Street in 1921 was White retaliation to African American prosperity in the City of Tulsa, and completely eradicated the accumulation of wealth for several African American families. Along with mass casualties, the unrectifiable destruction of property and local businesses amounted to millions in damages. Nevertheless, the city of Tulsa provided very little assistance to help Greenwood residents rebuild their neighborhoods.

The African American struggle within the US continued well beyond the destruction of Black Wall Street in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The Jim Crow era plagued African American's and severely limited their attempts to engage in social mobility. The Jim Crow era coupled with discriminatory practices created an immensely detrimental environment in which African Americans struggled to secure mortgages and credit, and were ultimately either denied mortgage agreements, or given inflated interest rates with virtually no leniency (Franklin, 2012). Additionally, many Africans faced removal from their properties during the "Urban Renewal" in the 1950s without comparable housing options.

Any significant movements towards increasing the quality of life for African Americans were minimized during the Jim Crow era and did not receive notoriety until the 1950s. As the

United States became more progressive in its treatment of minorities in the 1950s, movements in favor of compensatory rewards for past injustices impacting African Americans in the status quo became increasingly prominent. research suggests the most prominent reparation movements were tied with early stages of the 1950 Civil Rights Movements (Torpey, 2004). This is important to note as African American advocates were fueled by the belief that reparations were obtainable, and in turn, became extremely vocal in their pursuit of a remedy for past injustices. Moreover, several proposals were made that would have solidified reparations for African Americans. For example, Rev. M.J. Divine, otherwise known as “father divine,” argued for a “retroactive compensation” in 1951. His proposal would have given African slave descendants compensation for uncompensated servitude. However, Rev. Divine’s call for change did not push Congress to initiate any movements towards solidifying Reparations for African Americans. Unfortunately, it wasn’t until nearly a decade later that more reparation advocates become mainstream. One of the most notable examples can be found when reflecting on the work of “Queen Mother” Audley Moore. Moore’s involvement in the Communist Party taught her to incorporate the notion of repayment into her work. Specifically, Moore advocated for restitution in several forms, including government intervention. Moore eventually founded the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women (UAEW) and used her organization as a gateway to influence African American struggles within the United States. Moore’s efforts towards further the chances of securing reparations were successful in New Orleans as her group assisted in petitioning the state to reinstate welfare. Interestingly, they argued that reinstating welfare was a form of reparations as African American women struggled to feed children that they birthed with White men but were unwilling to name the fathers due to fear of retaliation. Moore’s work continued well into the 1960s in which she argued that the federal government owed an

estimated 880 million acres of land to African Americans. The call for reparations continued in the 1960s, but with little success. Several African American leaders called for nearly \$500 million from religious organization warranted by their involvement in perpetuating slavery.

Since the 1960s, movements in favor of reparations for African Americans have gained immense notoriety as organizations, advocacy groups, and members of congress have made significant efforts in attempting to secure a form of restitution and compensation for the consequences of slavery, segregation, and discrimination. In addition, several states have issued formal apologies for slavery. Though, no comparable remedy or rectifying legislation, like those that assisted Japanese Americans and Native Americans has been made to African Americans, despite both movements being comparable in their tactical efforts. Contrary to this belief, some scholars question the Government's ability to extend the support for reparations to African Americans due to the nonuniqueness of slavery. Others argue that reparations are not owed to African Americans due to an ineffective and poorly organized movement in favor of reparations (Kane 2003). It can be argued that Kane's assertions that African Americans are to blame for their lack of reparations due to poorly executed movements are limited, especially since the above-mentioned movements are similar in their approach. For example, Jones et al. (2021) suggests that if the United States federal government was concerned with eradicating the effects of slavery and discrimination against African Americans, then recent legislative proposals encouraging the formation of commissions (H.R. 40 – Commission to Study and Develop reparation proposals for African Americans, would be swiftly passed. However, the legislation sponsored by Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee wasn't even brought to the House floor for proper debate.

Minority Linked Fate

The concept of linked fate involves the identification of an individual is closely tied to

their respective group (Dawson, 1994). Scholars argue that linked fate is developed through perceived shared experiences with one's identifying group. African Americans generally share a similar lived experience with racism and discrimination, and as a result, linked fate has been used to explain the monolithic behavior of groups that represent an identity, namely African Americans' political behavior (Tate, 1994). However, it is worth noting that linked fate can exist across racial lines. Recently, scholars have relied on cross-racial linked fate to explain closeness and feelings of solidarity among Asian Americans and Latino Americans (Kiang et al., 2021). Kiang et al. (2021) find that the feeling of exclusion is positively associated with linked fate between the two groups.

CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE REVIEW: VARIABLES INFLUENCING APPROVAL/

DISAPPROVAL FOR REPARATIONS

Political Ideology

To begin, conflict regarding reparations is not a new phenomenon and is often viewed as an ideological divide in politics. Substantial research relating to the inherent differences between the two competing ideologies suggest that previously held beliefs relating to (but not limited to) reliance, the inability to undergo change, and political judgements are key triggers that can assist in adhering to a specific ideology (Hussak & Cimpian 2017). While inherent differences between liberal and conservative ideology do exist, much debate and conversation concerning the implications of ideology on views of race and race-based policies is ongoing. Moreover, while the United States has generally been supportive of reparations for specific groups of Americans, previous work suggests that reparations for African Americans is still an odd case and an uphill battle. Despite previous research acknowledging the historically documented struggle caused by slavery and its lingering impact on African American social mobility and perpetuation of generational poverty (Walters, 2012), survey research suggests that an individual's ideological background is a likely indicator of sentiments concerning African Americans. For example, a 2019 Pew Research Center survey displays that roughly 63% of American adults agree that slavery affects the socioeconomic position of modern-day African Americans. However, when analyzing both Democrats and Republicans separately, 80% of Democrats compared to 42% of Republicans agree that slavery adversely affects modern-day African Americans (Horowitz, Brown, Cox, 2019). The historical breakdown of support levels across party lines has led to specific strategies that cater to the masses that are likely to support reparation legislation which

generally disregard conservative individuals. Taking a purely ideological approach will likely provide justification as to why Conservatives view reparations differently compared to their counterparts. However, significant research combats this belief by viewing conservatism as a justification for racial sentiments towards minority groups.

Racial Resentment

While previous research may suggest that such visible contrasts in ideologies have been attributed to the natural differences in opinion concerning reparations for African Americans, contrasting research suggests that the underlying factor concerning reparations is explained best by racial resentment. Historically, racial attitudes have been tracked through candidate preference and voting behavior of individuals. Racial resentment is a significant underlying variable that has mobilized White voters against African Americans. This point is addressed broadly by Knuckey & Kim (2015) in which they attempt to measure the effects that racial attitudes have on the vote choice of Whites in the 2012 Presidential election. They found that racial resentment in both southern Whites and independents but was most visible in independents. Moreover, President Obama's racial background cost him support among White voters. The justifications addressed by Knuckey & Kim are in line with literature concerning race-based policies.

For example, work completed by Sears & Colleagues (1997) argues that the impact of symbolic racism is visible in both the anti-African American affect and nonracial attitudes. More specifically, they find that Whites' responses to racial policies reflect a significant racial undertone regardless of the race-based policy. Their findings are reaffirmed by more recent research by a study conducted to answer whether racism or conservatism is to blame for disapproval of reparations for minority groups. Specifically, Blatz and Ross address this conflict

in their research concerning principled ideology and racism. Utilizing two varying groups as potential recipients of reparations (Aboriginal and European heritage) relating to childhood abuse, they found that individuals that tested high on modern racism scales were less likely to support reparations when the recipients were of Aboriginal heritage. In contrast, individuals that tested low on modern racism scales were more likely to support reparations for recipients of Aboriginal heritage. Through their variable manipulation, they suggest that racial resentment is a significant factor in levels of support for reparations minorities.

Guilt

Another factor worth discussing revolves around the notion of guilt and the impact it may have on support for race-based public policy initiatives. More specifically, researchers have studied the origins of White guilt and the consequences it has on equal opportunity policies. The nature of guilt and its intersection with individual political decision making is considered a multi-step process (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003). The most significant aspect relating to this process is the differentiation between individual guilt and group-based guilt. Relating this to modern-day White Americans, one would likely experience group-based guilt if they believe they have benefited from racial privilege. (Branscombe et al., 2002), (Swim & Miller, 1999). White guilt is defined as a feeling of remorse that White individuals have due to their group's actions towards oppressed racial groups (Chudy, Piston, & Shipper, 2019). Furthermore, the consequences of White guilt are complex. Iyer & colleagues (2003) find that guilt is a significant predictor of support for programs that provide forms of compensation to African Americans. Moreover, additional work suggests that White guilt can often have mediating effects on the consequences of one's belief in White privilege and discrimination impacting the lives of African Americans (Swim & Miller 1999). In essence, White Americans that experience White

guilt are likely to favor a reparative policy measure even when they may possess a prejudice towards a racial group. Chudy & colleagues (2019) expand upon these conclusions in their study concerning White collective guilt and the conditions in which it may be activated in politics. The primary condition discussed involves White political attitudes towards policies seen as a remedy for African American discrimination. Moreover, they anticipate and later validate White individuals that also display White collective guilt are independently motivated to support such policy initiatives when presented with the opportunity.

Restorative Justice

However, it must be noted that guilt-based tactics to increase support for reparations may have a generally negative effect on White Americans. Previous works relating to the negative consequences of reparation efforts highlight the rhetoric associated with the movements as a detriment in persuading White Americans to support restorative policy initiatives (Glaser & Ryan, 2011). Utilizing existing survey experiments, they argue that a restorative justice movement requires that White Americans be apologetic and show remorse towards circumstances that made life difficult for African Americans. As a result, Whites are generally not supportive of reparations unless they are framed as retributive justice, which is abstract and doesn't require acknowledgement of blame or guilt. Moreover, they utilize Oklahoma and reparation efforts relating to the destruction of Black Wall Street as a primary test case. They conclude that reparation efforts generally found more support from White Americans when the framing was changed. Interestingly, some works claim that support for reparations will continuously face high levels of opposition due issues relating to moral high ground (Henry, 2003). Henry argued in his work concerning the formation of reparations that racial liberation movements inherently challenged the notion that White American men are moral heroes, a title

they aren't willing to give up easily. Schedler (2007) indirectly affirms this point in his work concerning whether there should be an apology for slavery. More specifically, he argues that modern day African Americans cannot logically accept an apology for an issue that did not directly impact them, and White Americans cannot issue an apology on behalf of the generation responsible. In contrast, Craemer (2014), argues that White Americans are presumed to favor an apology rather than compensation for issues pertaining to slavery. Furthermore, it remains clear that the notion of guilt and the requirements of an apology have a significant impact on the levels of support for reparations amongst white Americans.

CHAPTER 5

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A Tale of Two Cities?

When reflecting on the addressed literature, it becomes clear that certain racial groups within the United States have undergone significant periods of oppression, discrimination, segregation, and general injustice. To recap, many of the most devastating acts of oppression were geared toward Japanese Americans, Native Americans, and African Americans. While each group may differ in both the circumstances and longevity of their oppression, past works suggest that each racial group has endured significant trauma, economic and social constraints, and continued struggles resulting from their respective period of struggle within the United States. However, despite the documented struggles of each racial group, there is a visible discrepancy in the level of attention and actions taken to rectify past injustices and the lingering issues associated with those injustices. Specifically, African Americans, who endured generations of slavery and discrimination, have not received forms of reparations that the United States are historically accustomed to providing for other racial groups. Such forms include restitution, compensation, and satisfaction.

While some scholars argue that African Americans are indeed entitled to the listed forms of reparations, the lack of action by the United States suggests that there may be an inherent difference in how the racial groups are viewed that would warrant the reparation disparities between the racial groups. This point becomes obvious when examining factors that influence support levels for reparations. Traditionally, research concerning attitudes towards reparations has pointed to certain variables linked to varying support levels that would likely explain this phenomenon. The common variables discussed in the mentioned literature include political

ideology, racial resentment, guilt, and restorative justice. However, the implications and explanatory power associated with these variables are not objective across groups, as Japanese American's and Native American's reparation movements have been successful in securing several forms of reparations. The most significant limitation of the existing literature revolves around the generality of the findings. While the racial breakdown in the United States favors White Americans as the majority, it's impractical to assume that non-African American minority groups are likely to share the same opinions relating to reparations as White Americans. Moreover, to provide a fair and objective overview to further the discussion regarding reparations for African Americans, it's worth discussing the potential differences in opinion shared by non-African American minorities. Furthermore, extending the logic of relational associations (Craemer, 2014) allows for a new variable to be discussed that is nonexistent in reparation literature.

Relational Associations

Relational associations are best described as subjective relationships individuals perceive with their counterparts. (Craemer, 2014). For White Americans, such relationships are important for determining whether one is likely to view their racial counterpart with closeness or categorize said group by "othering" them. While a significant amount of literature dissects the negative implications of implicit bias and the effects it has on individual attitudes towards African Americans, key works concerning the consequences of relational associations towards African Americans produce a relatively unexplored phenomenon. For example, Craemer's work discusses the effects that implicit closeness to African Americans can have on support levels for race-based initiatives. Craemer finds that positive relational associations can predict levels of support relating to slavery reparations, affirmative action, and race-based government assistance.

When considering the logic of Creamer's work, it is plausible to assume that closeness to African Americans will significantly impact the way other minority groups view reparations for African Americans.

While Craemer's article concerning relational associations is exclusive in its focus between Whites and African Americans, the underlying logic can be linked to the notion of linked fate (Bejarano et al., 2020). Despite linked fate having explanatory power, the concept of minority linked fate remains relatively understudied. Reparation discussions similarly lack attention and would likely benefit from an analysis that compares minority-linked fate between African Americans and other ethnic minorities and its implications on their support levels for reparations compared to their White counterparts. Furthermore, I argue that minorities share an underlying experience with general discrimination in the United States. As a result, minority groups will likely share higher linked fate levels than their White counterparts. Additionally, those minority groups that share higher levels of linked fate with African Americans will support reparations for African Americans at higher levels than their counterparts. In essence, I hypothesize the following:

H1: Minority Linked Fate will have a significant impact on support for reparations amongst minority groups.

H2: Minority groups that possess the highest levels of Minority Linked Fate will support reparations for African Americans at higher levels compared to their racial counterparts.

CHAPTER 6

DATA UTILIZED

The variables utilized in this analysis come from the 2016 edition of the “Collaborative Multi-racial Post-election Survey” (Barreto et al., 2018). This survey includes 10,145 online interviews collected between December 3, 2016, and February 15, 2017. The subset analyzed includes 2,783 African American respondents, 2,765 Hispanic or Latino respondents, and 2,685 Asian American respondents.

Independent Variable(s)

The primary explanatory variables of interest are *Race* (S2) and *Minority Linked Fate* (BLA191). *Race* is a categorical variable and measured by asking respondents to select from the following options: (1) “White, not-Hispanic,” (2) “Hispanic or Latino,” (3) “Black or African American,” (4) “Asian American,” (5) “Middle Eastern or Arab,” (6) “American Indian,” (7) “Other”. *Minority Linked Fate* is an ordinal variable and is measured by respondents answering the following question: “What happens generally to racial and ethnic minorities in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life.” Respondents are asked to select from the following answer choices: “A lot,” “some,” “not much.”

Dependent Variable

The sole dependent variable *Support for Reparations* (C158) is a dichotomous variable that is operationalized and measured by having respondents to answer the following question: “Do you think the federal government should or should not apologize to African Americans for the slavery that once existed in this country?” Respondents are asked to select from the following answer choices: “Should” or “Should Not” (“Should Not” serves as the high value in the regression).

I specifically chose for *support for reparations* to be operationalized using the apology for slavery survey question for two reasons. First, since forms of reparations can vary drastically and are unevenly prioritized and/or sought after, it is best for respondents to answer a foundational question that does not require a distribution of an asset. Second, the CMPS dataset is limited in its scope of minority attitudes towards African American reparations. As a result, I was selective in choosing a question that was relevant to several minority groups.

Control Variable(s)

I control for several individual variables in my analyses which might influence both their level of support for reparations and level of linked fate each respondent may have: *gender, age, political party, political ideology, religion, and education*. *Gender* is a categorical variable and is measured by having respondents to select their gender from the following response choices: “male,” “female,” or “other.” *Age* is a continuous variable and is operationalized and measured by having respondents answer the following question: “In what year were you born.” *Political party* is a categorical variable operationalized and measured by having respondents answer the following question: “Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?” Respondent’s answers are coded as “Republican,” “Democrat,” or “Independent.” *Political ideology* is a categorical variable operationalized and measured by having respondents answer the following question: “When it comes to politics, do you think of yourself as a liberal, moderate, or conservative?” Respondent’s answers are coded as “very liberal,” “somewhat liberal,” “moderate,” “somewhat conservative,” or “very conservative.” *Education* is a categorical variable and is operationalized and measured by having respondents answer the following question: “What is the highest level of education you completed?” Respondent’s answers are coded as the following: “Grade 1-8,”

“high school graduate or GED,” “Some college, “2-year degree,” “4-year college graduate,” or
“post-graduate education.”

CHAPTER 7

METHODS UTILIZED

I estimate 2 probit regression models for the dependent variable *support for reparations*. The first model includes the base controls gender, age, political party, political ideology, education, and *race* as the explanatory variable. The first analysis allows us to measure the levels of support each minority group has towards reparations for African Americans separate from linked fate. In this model, a probit regression was used to predict that *race* would predict the likelihood of the supporting the government not apologizing for slavery, after controlling for control variables (*gender, age, political party, political ideology, religion, and education*). The second model includes the base controls and both *race* and *minority linked fate* to account for the impact linked fate has a racial group's opinion of reparations for African Americans. This analysis provides insight into the implications that minority linked fate can have on support for African American reparations.

First Analysis: Race and Support for Reparations

Visually inspecting the above bar chart reveals that the majority of respondents who think that the government should apologize for slavery are Black or African American. This is followed by Hispanic or Latino in second place, and Asian Americans in third place.

However, the majority of respondents who think that the government should not apologize for slavery are Hispanic or Latino. This is followed by Asian Americans in second place and Black or African American in third place.

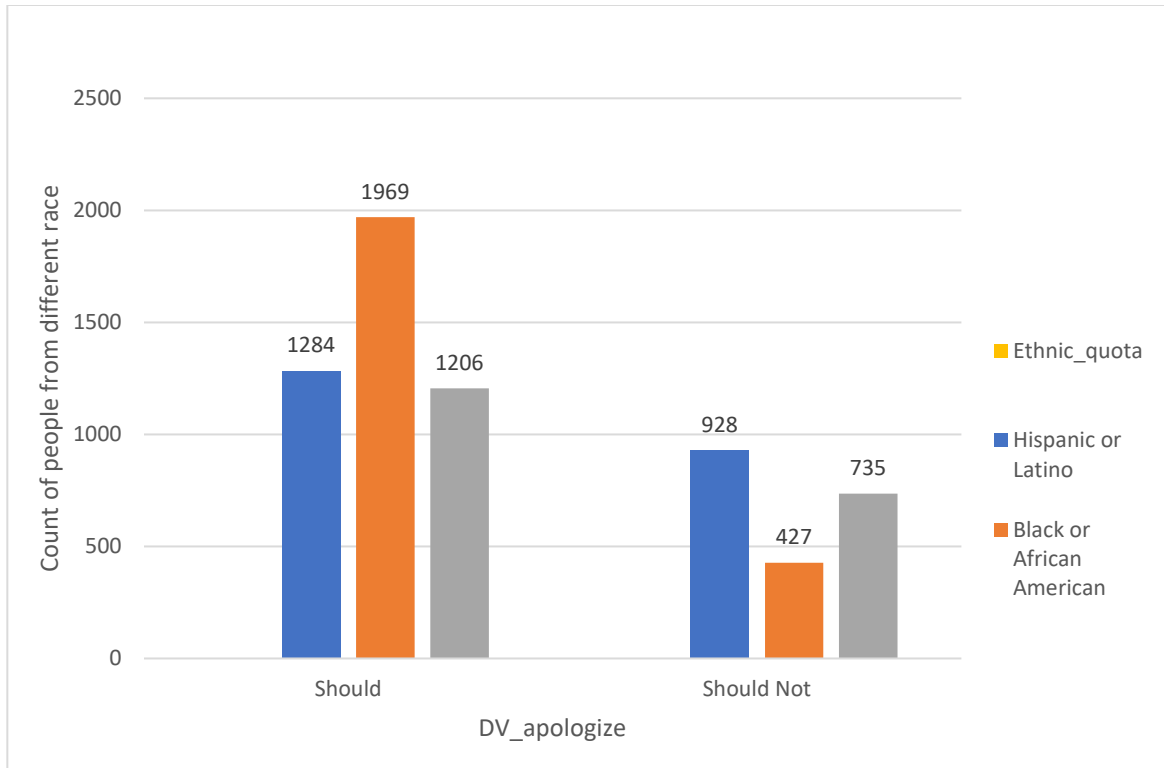


Figure 1: Support for Reparations by Race

Table 1: Regression Results for Races on Impact Support for Reparations

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Race (Ref: Asian Americans)			190.610	2	.000	
Hispanic or Latino	.449	.079	32.357	1	.000	1.567
Black or African American	-.668	.088	57.585	1	.000	.512
Asian American	-.372	.083	19.857	1	.000	.689
Political Party (Ref: Independent)			214.266	3	.000	
Republican	.817	.093	77.786	1	.000	2.264
Democrat	-.484	.071	46.330	1	.000	.616
Other party	.106	.132	.645	1	.422	1.111
Gender (Female)			27.603	2	.000	
Male	.320	.061	27.591	1	.000	1.377
Other	.183	.727	.063	1	.801	1.201
Political Ideology (Ref: Moderate)			115.031	5	.000	
Very liberal	-.651	.102	40.887	1	.000	.521
Somewhat liberal	-.193	.080	5.852	1	.016	.825
Somewhat conservative	.585	.092	40.377	1	.000	1.795

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Very conservative	.355	.120	8.752	1	.003	1.426
None of these	.023	.121	.036	1	.850	1.023
Age	.011	.002	25.994	1	.000	1.011
Education (Ref: Some high.school)			9.662	5	.085	
4-year college graduate	.340	.154	4.838	1	.028	1.405
Grades 1 – 8	-.356	.356	.999	1	.318	.701
High school graduate or GED	.305	.155	3.885	1	.049	1.357
Post-graduate education	.234	.163	2.071	1	.150	1.264
Some college, 2-year degree	.307	.151	4.128	1	.042	1.360
Religion (Ref: Protestant)			28.450	8	.000	
Atheist	-.141	.153	.851	1	.356	.868
Buddhist	-.293	.189	2.401	1	.121	.746
Catholic	-.262	.135	3.772	1	.052	.769
Christian	-.135	.128	1.106	1	.293	.874
Hindu	.498	.198	6.310	1	.012	1.645
Muslim	-.332	.285	1.352	1	.245	.718
None	-.063	.141	.198	1	.656	.939
Other:[SPE	-.426	.180	5.609	1	.018	.653
Constant	-1.273	.218	34.113	1	.000	.280

Interpretation of Results

In the above probit regression, both control and IV variables were added to see the isolated impact that race can have on levels of support for reparations. The *age* variable was statistically significant with 1.011 odds ratio, meaning the per unit increase of age increases the likelihood of thinking that the federal government should not apologize to African American by 1%.

In viewing the *political party*, both Democrat and Republican were statistically significant. It was observed that respondents who identify as Republican were over 2 times more likely to think the federal government not apologizing to African Americans compared to the reference group (other), according to the odds ratio of 2.264 In contrast, the odds ratio of those

who identify as Democrat was less than 1 (.616), indicating that those who identify as Democrat .475 times less likely to think that the federal government should not apologize to the African American for slavery compared to the reference group.

Political ideology was only partially statistically significant (very liberal, somewhat conservative, and very conservative). It was observed that respondents who identify with having very liberal ideology were .521 times less likely to think that the government should not apologize to African American. This indicates a strong likelihood that they believe the government should apologize to African Americans for slavery compared to the reference group (no political ideology). The odds ratio of those who identify with have having somewhat conservative ideology was 1.795, indicating they are over 1.5 times more likely to think that the government should not apologize to African American for slavery compared to people having none of these political views. Finally, the odds ratio of very conservative people is 1.426, indicating they are 1.4 times more likely to think that the government should not apologize to African American for slavery compared to the reference group.

Finally, *race* is also statistically significant at predicting the likelihood of the dependent variable. The odds ratio of the respondents who Identify as Hispanic or Latino is 1.567, which is more than 1, indicating that the people of this race are over 1.5 times more likely to think that the government should not be apologizing to African American people than the reference category of Asian American. On the contrary, the odds ratio of Black or African American is .512, which is less than 1, indicating that they are .512 times less likely than the reference group to think that the government should not apologize to African American. Additionally, when the reference group is switched to Hispanic or Latino, the odds ratio for Asian Americans is .689.

Second Analysis: Race and Minority Linked Fate

Visually inspecting the above bar chart reveals that the majority of African Americans belongs to the “a lot” group of minority linked fate, indicating they believe that whatever happens to other ethnic minorities within the United States will have an effect on them. This is followed by Hispanic or Latino people as the second largest portion and Asian Americans as the third highest. Additionally, the majority of respondents who believe in this truth to “some degree” are Asian Americans, followed by Hispanics or Latinos and African Americans. The majority of respondents who believe in this truth are Asian American, followed by Hispanic or Latino in second and African Americans in third place. Finally, Hispanic or Latino respondents make up the majority of respondents who do not possess minority linked fate followed by Asian Americans in second place and African Americans in third place. Overall, African Americans generally possess the most linked fate, followed by

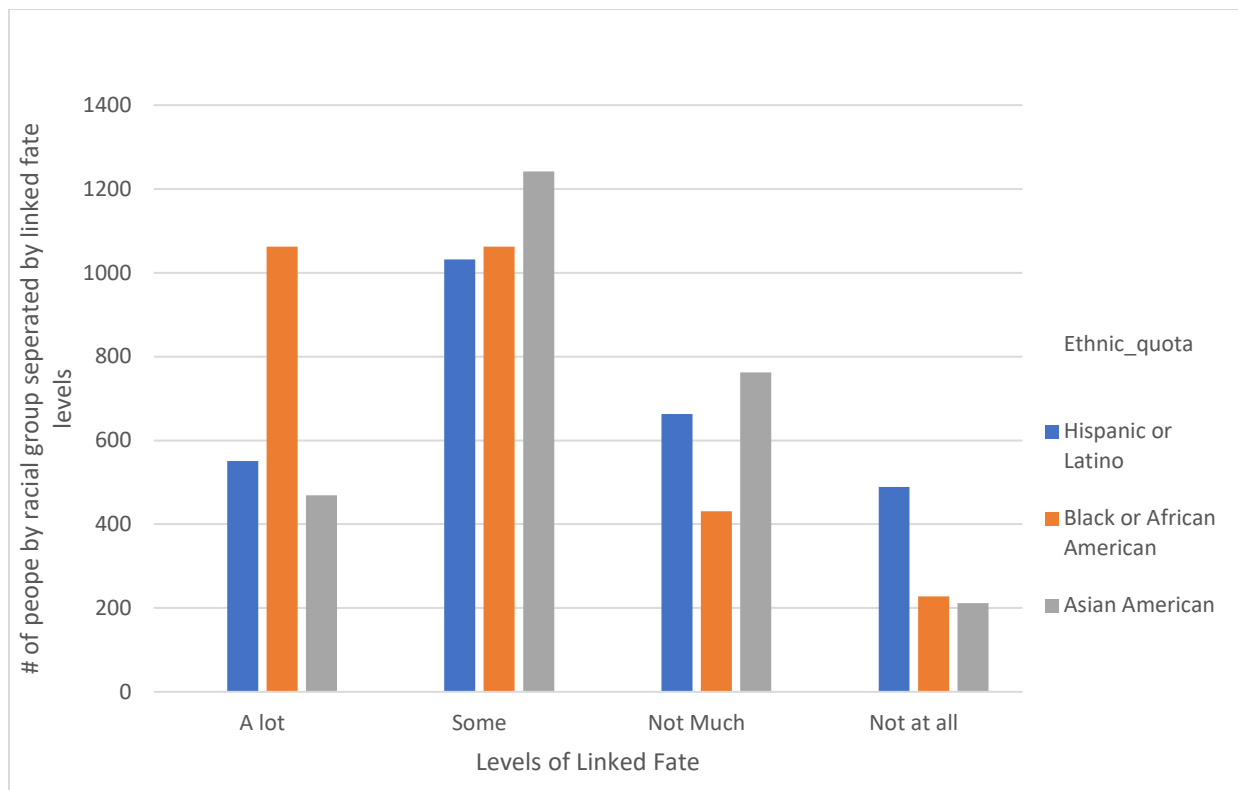


Figure 2: Levels of Minority Linked Fate by Race

Table 2: Probit Regression Results for Minority Linked Fate's impact on Support for Slavery

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Race (Ref: Asian Americans)			123.983	2	.000	
Hispanic or Latino	.372	.083	19.857	1	.000	1.451
Black or African American	-.588	.093	39.628	1	.000	.555
Asian American	-.372	.083	19.857	1	.000	.689
Minority Linked Fate (Ref: Not at all)			217.432	3	.000	
A lot	-1.393	.110	160.541	1	.000	.248
Some	-.921	.099	86.864	1	.000	.398
Not much	-.348	.105	10.958	1	.001	.706
Political Party (Ref: Independent)			156.929	3	.000	
Republican	.754	.098	59.344	1	.000	2.126
Democrat	-.418	.075	31.049	1	.000	.658
Other party	.117	.144	.658	1	.417	1.124
Gender (Ref: Female)			23.507	2	.000	
Male	.311	.064	23.341	1	.000	1.364
Other	.420	.783	.288	1	.591	1.523
Political Ideology (Ref: Moderate)			93.938	5	.000	
Very liberal	-.589	.107	30.193	1	.000	.555
Somewhat liberal	-.150	.083	3.261	1	.071	.860
Somewhat conservative	.589	.097	37.015	1	.000	1.802
Very conservative	.359	.129	7.726	1	.005	1.432
None of these	-.097	.135	.517	1	.472	.908
Age	.009	.002	14.808	1	.000	1.009
Education (Ref: Some high school)			8.169	5	.147	
4-year college graduate	.318	.165	3.740	1	.053	1.375
Grades 1 – 8	-.364	.375	.942	1	.332	.695
High school graduate or GED	.214	.166	1.671	1	.196	1.239
Post-graduate education	.179	.173	1.067	1	.302	1.196
Some college, 2-year degree	.251	.162	2.409	1	.121	1.285
Religion (Ref: Protestant)			19.795	8	.011	
Atheist	-.123	.161	.585	1	.444	.884
Buddhist	-.320	.199	2.581	1	.108	.726
Catholic	-.293	.142	4.231	1	.040	.746
Christian	-.220	.135	2.652	1	.103	.803

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Hindu	.352	.207	2.887	1	.089	1.421
Muslim	-.262	.292	.808	1	.369	.769
None	-.127	.149	.721	1	.396	.881
Other:[SPE	-.413	.190	4.745	1	.029	.662
Constant	-.332	.249	1.771	1	.183	.718

Interpretation of Results

Age was statistically significant, meaning the increase of age per unit also increases the likelihood of thinking that the federal government should not apologize to African American by 01.09%.

Political party, was partially statically significant (Democrat and Republican). It was observed those who are from Republican were 2.126 times more likely to think that the federal government should not apologize to African American compared to the reference group. In contrast, the odds ratio of .658 of the respondents who identify as Democrat was less than 1, indicating that those who identify as Democrat are .586 times less likely to think that the federal government should not apologize to African Americans for slavery compared to the reference group.

Political ideology was partially statically significant (very liberal, somewhat conservative, and very conservative). It was observed that respondents who identify as having very liberal ideology were .555 times less likely to think that the government should not apologize to African Americans for slavery. This indicates a strong likelihood that they believe the government should apologize to African Americans for slavery compared to the reference group. The odds ratio of respondents who identify with a somewhat conservative ideology was 1.802, indicating they are almost 2 times more likely to think that the government should not apologize to African American for slavery compared to people having none of these political

views. Finally, the odds ratio of respondents who identify with a very conservative ideology is 1.432, indicating they are almost more than 1.5 times more likely to think that the government should not apologize to African Americans for slavery compared to the reference group.

Race was statistically significant. The odds ratio of Hispanic or Latino respondents was 1.451, indicating that the Hispanic or Latino people are nearly 1.5 times more likely to think that the government should not apologize to African Americans compared to the reference group. On the other hand, the odds ratio for Black or African Americans is .555, indicating that African Americans are .555 times less likely to think the government should not apologize to African Americans compared to the reference group. Additionally, when the reference group is switched to Hispanic or Latino, the odds ratio for Asian Americans is .689.

Lastly, *minority linked fate* is statistically significant. Minority linked fate refers to the respondent's degree of a keen awareness (or understanding) of the fact that whatever happens to the other minority groups will affect them as individuals. The odds ratio of respondents who believe this truth "a lot" is .248, indicating that respondents who possess significant levels of minority linked fate are .248 times less likely to think that the government should not apologize to the African American people compared to the reference group. The odds ratio of respondents who believe this truth to some degree is .398, indicating that those who possess some level of minority linked fate are .398 times less likely to think that the government should not apologize to the African Americans for slavery compared to the reference group. Lastly, the odds ratio of respondents who do fall under the "not much" category is .706, indicating that those who possess a minimal level minority linked fate are .706 times less likely to think that the government should not apologize to the African Americans for slavery compared to the reference group.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In these analyses regarding the effects that race and minority-linked fate have on support for reparations, I test the logic concerning linked fate and relational associations on minority groups. While my original hypotheses were correct in predicting the implications of minority-linked fate on support for African American reparations, the data interpretation suggests unforeseen results relating to both Asian Americans and Hispanic or Latinos.

Figure 1 confirms that African Americans are generally the most supportive of reparations, followed by Asian Americans in second place, and Hispanic or Latinos in last. While the placement of African Americans comes as no surprise, Asian Americans are generally thought of as having the most limited connection to African Americans, and as a result, many cross-racial movements involving African Americans are not geared towards activating Asian American participation. Additionally, table 2 confirms this phenomenon by displaying that Hispanic or Latinos are over 1.5 times more likely not to support reparations for African Americans when compared to the reference group (Asian Americans). Even when switching the reference group from Asian Americans to Hispanic or Latinos, Asian Americans consistently display higher levels of support for African American reparations compared to Hispanic or Latinos. When factoring in minority-linked fate, Hispanic or Latinos also possess the lowest levels of minority-linked fate. There are few possible explanations that would clarify this phenomenon.

The ethnic background of Asian Americans in the CMPS data may be heavily skewed to Japanese Americans. This is important to note because Japanese American redress movements for internment camps were in part uplifted by 2nd generation Japanese Americans.

If the respondent data for Asian Americans is skewed to those of Japanese descent, it would suggest Asian Americans recognize the legitimacy of African American reparations through reflection of past injustices geared toward Japanese Americans in the United States.

Hispanic or Latinos may not associate their livelihood with other minority groups and as a result, do not value African American reparations. Hispanic or Latinos who are “White-passing” may possess similar sentiments to conservative White Americans and as a result, do not support African American reparations.

To conclude, linked fate remains a key indicator in minority political behavior. While this paper reaffirms the validity of minority-linked fate, the most significant implications of this research point to future coalition building. Moreover, minority-linked fate exists to some extent between all racial groups and seems to activate support for African American reparations from Asian Americans. Furthermore, reparation advocates may find success within some of the least expected minority communities simply by framing the conversation in a way that mandates a reflection on past injustices within the minority group of interest.

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