

Reparations Public Opinion Research Overview

Reparations Public Opinion Literature Review

Introduction

In 2020, alone more than a dozen municipalities, states, counties, and colleges entertained the possibility of providing reparations to Black Americans.¹ Reparations appeared to explode onto the policy scene with a level of support unprecedented in the history of governance in the United States. In reality, both public discourse and public opinion about reparations for Black Americans predates the policy suite's recent popularity. This report aims to synthesize existing scholarly and journalistic analyses of reparations public opinion up to this point.

I. Brief History of Public Opinion Research on Reparations

- A. The ideological debate for Black reparations far precedes our measurement of public affinity and antipathy on the subject. The arguments for reparations draw its early origins from anti-slavery advocates and the formerly enslaved. The debate for reparations finds major roots in the passage of General Sherman's Special Field Order #15, from which proponents draw the phrase 'forty acres and a mule'.² From 1865 to present day, notable proponents of reparations have included Callie Guy House, UNIA, Queen Mother Moore, The Black Panther Party, Reverend Jesse Jackson, and Representative John Conyers.
- B. Measurement of support for reparations began in the late 1990s to early 2000s. Triggered in part by the United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) in 2000,³ public opinion polling appeared first in corporate mass media.⁴ The first large-scale poll was conducted by ABC News in June of 1997. Only 19% of 703 respondents indicated support for reparations, despite an oversampling of Black

¹ Reneau, Olivia (2021). Justice Delayed: An Analysis of Municipal-Level Proposals for Slavery Reparations. Honors thesis, Duke University. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/10161/24339>.

² For the sake of historical accuracy, the author notes that the 'mule' in the phrase was added later.

³ [World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance | United Nations](#)

⁴ Before this, support could be gleaned by proxy measurements. For example, the Daily World reported 14,000 attendees to a Southern Baptist convention in 1969, at which one of the major topics of discussion was reparations "for Negroes" by financial contribution to "Negro causes".

"June 13, 1969 (Page 4)." Daily World (1968-1986), Jun 13, 1969.

<https://login.proxy.lib.duke.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/june-13-1969-page-4/docview/1989387191/se-2>.

individuals.⁵ White respondents overwhelmingly opposed reparations (88%), while Black respondents favored it strongly (65%). Topical polls periodically mentioned reparations until approximately 2001, where polling dropped off sharply.⁶⁷ Including the baseline 1997 poll, there were nine polls on reparations from 1997 to 2002.

- C. There was some polling between 2002 and 2020 on reparations. More research is needed to determine the exact number of polls, but both Google and the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research indicate at least seven polls in 2019 alone. This increase in polling may be due to congressional debate of H.R. 40 for the first time in United States history in July of 2019.⁸ Some polling, though, did pertain to the then upcoming general election.⁹
- D. Reparations public opinion polling has seen a substantial uptick since the summer of 2020.¹⁰ This may reflect an increased awareness of racism amongst non-Black people, leading to subsequent desires for fact finding, or an increase in resolutions for municipal reparations. Since January of 2020, there have been five polls gauging support for reparations.

II. Support for Reparations

- A. Support for Reparations is strongest amongst those likely to benefit from reparations policy. Historically, the vast majority of Black survey respondents indicate support for reparations. Early public opinion research shows Black support for reparations polled around 65%, with subsequent polling indicated 53% support.¹¹ Black support for reparations only increased after 2020, with polls indicating as high as 82% percent of Black respondents indicated support in July

⁵ Michelson, Melissa R. "The Black Reparations Movement: Public Opinion and Congressional Policy Making." *Journal of Black Studies* 32, no. 5 (2002): 574–87. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3180953>.

⁶ *Ibid*, 578

⁷ It is difficult to say why reparations polling came to a stop. Some sources contend that the issue's 'radical' nature was rendered irrelevant by the national security crisis of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. This much may be true, as the public agenda pivoted sharply in the period after 9/11. The issue also may have dropped off the public agenda for lack of progress or relevance as greater time elapsed after the UN WCAR.

[So long, slavery reparations - Los Angeles Times \(latimes.com\)](https://www.latimes.com)

⁸ Hearing before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties, H.R.40, day 1, 116th Cong., July 19, 2019, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/40/all-actions?overview=closed&q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22Rep+Jackson+Lee+Sheila+TX18%22%2C%22Rep+Jackson+Lee+Sheila+TX18%22%5D%7D#tabs>

⁹ Fox News, Fox News Poll, Beacon Research/Shaw & Co. Research, (Cornell University, Ithaca, NY: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, 2019), Dataset, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25940/ROPER-31116186>.

¹⁰ Even Google queries for reparations increased beginning in May 2020.

<https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=all&geo=US&q=reparations>

¹¹ *The Economist*, "The Children of Slavery." *The Economist Newspaper*, 21 Dec. 2021, <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2000/12/21/the-children-of-slavery>.

of 2020.¹² Overall support was highest in polls closest to 2020, potentially due to the events of the summer of 2020.

- B. Possible deviations in support between Black Americans descended from slaves and post-emancipation migrants is unknown. There is some division amongst proponents of reparations about eligibility. While mainstream reparations advocacy groups tend to support greater eligibility,¹³ groups like American Descendants of Slavery (ADOS) argue reparations should only be extended to those descended from enslaved Africans in the United States.¹⁴ The quantity of supporters that predicate their support on the exclusion of non-descendants of American slaves is unknown. Conversely, the number of non-slave-descended individuals that predicate their support for reparations on their inclusion is unknown. More research is needed to determine if country of origin, immigrant status, and self-identified ethnicity are correlated to degree of support.
- C. Support for reparations has consistently been greatest in respondents between the ages of 18 and 29. This much is consistent with both folk wisdom on youth acceptance of more 'radical politics' and empirical analyses of Gen Z/Millennial attitudes towards progressive politics and sources of Black-White disparities.¹⁵ Early polling data shows some variation in level of support by generation, but generally demonstrates favorability amongst people below the age of 29.¹⁶¹⁷
- D. Support has increased amongst young people from 55% in 2016 to 57% in 2023.¹⁸¹⁹

III. Opposition to Reparations

- A. The earliest measurement of reparations opposition measured an overwhelming 77% in opposition.²⁰ Other early polls demonstrate similar opposition with non-linear variation from 75% to 86%.²¹

¹² [63% support Black Lives Matter as recognition of discrimination jumps: POLL - ABC News \(go.com\)](#)

¹³ [Who Should Receive Reparations and In What Forms? \(reparationscomm.org\)](#)

¹⁴ [Reparations for American Descendants of Slavery - The ADOS Advocacy Foundation \(adosfoundation.org\)](#)

¹⁵ For both political ideology and attitudes towards race and discrimination, see Pew Research Center, "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider".

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http://cdn.yougov.com/cumulus_uploads/document/ckcdgrxspy/tabs_OPI_1_discrimination_20140527.pdf

¹⁷ Craemer, T. (2009), Framing Reparations. *Policy Studies Journal*, 37: 275-298.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2009.00314.x>

¹⁸ https://maristpoll.marist.edu/wp-content/misc/usapolls/us160502/Point%20Taken/Reparations/Exclusive%20Point%20Taken_Marist%20Poll_Complete%20Survey%20Findings_May%202016.pdf

¹⁹ <https://polsci.umass.edu/toplines-and-crosstabs-jan-2023-race-antisemitism-reparations-and-great-replacement>

²⁰ Michelson, Melissa R. "The Black Reparations Movement: Public Opinion and Congressional Policy Making." *Journal of Black Studies* 32, no. 5 (2002): 574–87. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3180953>.

²¹ *Ibid*, 578.

- B. With minimal reparations polling between 2002 and 2020, there is little indication of major changes in policy popularity. One 2016 poll commissioned for PBS *Point Taken* indicated 68% of Americans oppose reparations payments to descendants of American slaves.²²
- C. Much like measurements of support, measurements of opposition after 2020 present an entirely different policy landscape. Since 2020, there have been four major polls on reparations. Overall support increased substantially between 2000 and 2023, with respondents indicating between 31% and 38% support.²³
- D. Opposition to reparations is strongest amongst White Americans. The 1997 poll, referred to hereafter as the baseline poll, indicated 88% of white respondents opposed reparations. Reasons for dissent were infrequently solicited, leaving scholars to speculate why White opposition to reparations is so strong. Riechelmann et al. finds that opposition to reparations is strongly correlated to belief Black people’s undeservingness, measured by respondent’s self-reported agreement in a number of anti-Black myths.²⁴ White group pride was also strongly correlated to opposition to even symbolic reparations efforts.²⁵ Some studies indicate a correlation between demographic information like income and age and opposition amongst white respondents,²⁶ while others don’t.²⁷
- E. Historically, antipathy is particularly strong amongst White women. This directly counters social structural theories that suppose women are likely to be sympathetic, empathetic, or generally ‘favorable’ with regards to racial attitudes.²⁸ Current polling data suggests higher favorability for reparations amongst women than their male counterparts, but degree of support amongst white women is unclear.²⁹

²² https://maristpoll.marist.edu/wp-content/misc/usapolls/us160502/Point%20Taken/Reparations/Exclusive%20Point%20Taken_Marist%20Poll_Complete%20Survey%20Findings_May%202016.pdf

²³ <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/63-support-black-lives-matter-recognition-discrimination-jumps/story?id=71779435>

²⁴ Ashley V Reichelmann, J Micah Roos, Michael Hughes, Racial Identity, Reparations, and Modern Views of Justice Concerning Slavery, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Volume 86, Issue S1, 2022, Pages 547–575, <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfac018>

²⁵ Ibid.

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²⁷ Ph.D, Matthew & Kelly-Woessner, April. (2006). Slavery Reparations and Race Relations in America: Assessing How the Restitutions Debate Influences Public Support for Blacks, Civil Rights, and Affirmative Action. *Politics & Policy*. 34. 134 - 154. 10.1111/j.1747-1346.2006.00007.x.

²⁸ Blumer, H. (1958). Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position. *Pacific Sociological Review*, 1(1), 3–7. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1388607>

²⁹ Michael Stoll et al., “Harm & Repair: Community Engagement Project Report On Reparations in California, Ralph J. Bunch Center at UCLA”, University of California Los Angeles, December 2022, <https://oag.ca.gov/system/files/media/ab3121-interim-report-executive-summary-2022.pdf>

IV. Provider, Recipient, Modality, and Injustice

- A. Support and opposition to reparations vary when questions of political ideology and policy intersect about reparations. Craemer (2009) offers a framework for reparations public opinion that encompasses all questions related to subject: provider, recipient, modality, and injustice.³⁰ *Provider* refers to the party(s) that committed an injustice and are therefore responsible for providing reparations to the recipient. The *recipient* refers to the group of individuals who are eligible to receive reparations, as they are the population the provider has injured in some way.³¹ *Injustice* refers to the injury against the eligible population, most often slavery, Jim Crow-era discrimination, racial violence and lynching, and police brutality. *Modality* refers to the method of compensation for an injustice. Modalities often include cash reparations, preferential employment opportunities, apologies and acknowledgments, preferential college admissions and scholarship programs, and targeted investment in Black communities.
- B. Craemer demonstrates how support for reparations varies with changes in these four points. White individuals surveyed demonstrated stronger support for “symbolic” reparations like apology resolutions than “material” reparations like cash reparations.³² Support amongst White individuals was greatest when providers were farthest from themselves, like corporations with ties to slavery and universities. Support for compensating descendants of slaves was highest when the industry in question was tobacco.³³ They were least likely to support reparations if its funding source was taxpayer dollars and white individuals as a whole. This might suggest that the perception of costs incurred directly to white individuals increases antipathy for material reparations. Other studies similarly report greater support for symbolic reparations than material ones.³⁴
- C. Support varied most strongly with changes in modality and provider, reflecting economically-minded decision-making by respondents. Support amongst White individuals was greatest when providers were farthest from themselves, like corporations with ties to slavery and universities. They were least likely to support reparations if its funding source was taxpayer dollars or white individuals as a whole. This supports some scholars’ conjecture that opposition to

³⁰ Craemer, T. (2009), Framing Reparations. *Policy Studies Journal*, 37: 275-298.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2009.00314.x>

³¹ I will return to this point in a later section.

³² Ibid.

³³ Gallup Organization. 1999. “Questionnaire: Consumption Habits. Gallup Brain. Questionnaire Field Date: 09/23/1999–09/26/1999.

³⁴ Campo, S., Mastin, T., & Somjen Frazer, M. (2004). Predicting and explaining public opinion regarding U.S. slavery reparations. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 15(2), 115–130.

reparations in the supposition that improvements to Black well-being will cause detriment to White wellbeing.³⁵

- D. Cramer's research may hold true for new polling data. Respondents to the 2016 Point Taken poll indicate higher support for reparations when the provider is private companies, as opposed to the federal government.³⁶ Support was greatest (42%) when respondents were asked their opinion on reparations for descendants of slaves from private companies, consistent with Craemer's findings that providers are influential in respondent support.³⁷ Additionally, the Point Taken poll is the only poll that qualifies support and opposition by recipient, consistent with Craemer's findings that there may be greater opposition for reparations for all Black Americans than for those descended from slaves.³⁸
- E. Further research is needed to determine if this is the case, as political conditions have changed drastically in the last decade.

V. Methodology and Survey Construction

- A. Scholarly examination of attitudes towards reparations also necessitates an examination of methods. Reparations surveys are best split into two groups: academic and journalistic. Academic analyses of public opinion polling boasted larger sample sizes, with approximately 1,900 respondents on average.³⁹ Additionally, academic analyses more often employed tools for statistical analysis like ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. For these reasons, examinations of reparations public opinion by academic institutions and think tanks were generally more rigorous.
- B. Journalistic examinations were less rigorous, but more timely. Three out of five public opinion studies on reparations conducted after 2020 are from news agencies. Polls included 1,010 respondents on average, many of whom were polled from existing polling groups.⁴⁰ Both journalistic and academic research often utilized propensity matching and weighting techniques for sample representativeness.

VI. Survey Construction

³⁵ Woessner, M. and Kelly-Woessner, A. (2006), Slavery Reparations and Race Relations in America: Assessing How the Restitutions Debate Influences Public Support for Blacks, Civil Rights, and Affirmative Action. *Politics & Policy*, 34: 134-154. <https://doi-org.proxy.lib.duke.edu/10.1111/j.1747-1346.2006.00007.x>

³⁶ https://maristpoll.marist.edu/wp-content/misc/usapolls/us160502/Point%20Taken/Reparations/Exclusive%20Point%20Taken_Marist%20Poll_Complete%20Survey%20Findings_May%202016.pdf

³⁷ Craemer, T. (2009), Framing Reparations. *Policy Studies Journal*, 37: 275-298. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2009.00314.x>

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ The median value for respondents number is 1,221.

⁴⁰ One poll surveyed more than 6,000 respondents, which the author has omitted to reflect the typical poll.

- A. Survey construction varied both by source and by time period. Early reparations polling typically included one or two questions, both of which directly gauged support for reparations. Questions typically specified provider, recipient, modality, and injustice. The most common question phrasing was, “do you think the *federal government* should or should not pay *money* to *Black Americans whose ancestors were slaves as compensation for that slavery?*”⁴¹ Craemer and Richelman and Hunt find that question wording had statistically significant effects on respondent support. Wording that reflects Craemer’s four axes of reparations varies highly among white respondents in particular.⁴² Question order may also have some effect, as scholarly examinations to date have randomized question order to minimize bias.
 - B. Scholarly examinations often included questions that gauged political ideology and racial attitudes, in addition to racial demographics and opinions on reparations. These questions, many of which asking respondents to indicate their beliefs about race, indicate positive correlations between
- VII. Municipal Task Force Polling
- A. Some municipal task forces have used public opinion polling to resolve matters related to task force affairs. For example, the city of Detroit’s Reparations Task Force determined eligibility for appointment and tenure on the task force by survey.⁴³
 - B. The California State Reparations Task Force and Providence, Rhode Island Reparations Task Force both employed survey data to assess support for reparations and assess conceptions of reparations modalities among constituents⁴⁴⁴⁵. Survey results in California indicate wide support for reparations, even across racial groups. The 2,499 survey respondents were made representative with proportional matching from ACS data, a methodology that remains consistent across the topic. Much like previous scholarly explorations, support for reparations is greatest amongst left-leaning, young, Black people and least amongst Republican-identified, older, white individuals.

⁴¹ Question wording was not always this exact question, but maintained the same modality, provider, recipient, and injustice. For this reason, the author finds them functionally the same.

⁴² Reichelmann, A.V., Hunt, M.O. (2021). White Racial Identity and Reparations for Slavery. In: Brenner, P.S., Stets, J.E., Serpe, R.T. (eds) Identities in Action. Frontiers in Sociology and Social Research, vol 6. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-76966-6_5

⁴³ Detroit City Council, “RE: Reparations Task Force Survey”, April 13, 2022, <https://detroitmi.gov/sites/detroitmi.localhost/files/2022-04/Reparations%20Survey%20cover%20ek.pdf>

⁴⁴ The California State Reparations Task Force deployed its survey with the third-party company, LUCID HOLDINGS Marketplace. Providence appears to have administered its survey via in-person and online. No methodology or sample survey is included in the task force report.

⁴⁵ The results of the city of Los Angeles’s Reparations Advisory Commission public opinion survey are forthcoming, as the survey closed on January 24th, 2023.

- C. Modality had a profound effect on policy support. For example, despite the Republican and Conservative opposition for reparations, Republicans indicated between 41 and 58 percent of support for reparations proposals. The highest support was indicated for monetary reparations without cash (58%), followed by symbolic reparations (52%), and monetary reparations with direct cash payments (41%). It is unclear what results public opinion research yielded in Providence. Survey data is available, but responses are not analyzed by content and demographic.⁴⁶

VIII. Recent Data

- A. Recent polling data suggests the support for reparations has trended downward from 2020 and 2021 levels. Using a proportionally matched, nationally representative sample, UMass Amherst data indicates overall support for reparations to be only 36%.⁴⁷ Support trended highest amongst people between 18 and 29 at 57%. Support declined across the next subsequent age cohorts to its lowest value at 22% amongst people 55 and older. More important even than change over time were survey responses rationalizing opponents. Opponents seldom cited the cost of reparations as the source of their opposition (6%). Instead, a plurality (28%) indicated “descendants of slaves do not deserve cash payments”. It is unclear how survey results might change given alterations to modality (cash payments) and provider (federal government).⁴⁸ 45% of reparations opponents indicated feasibility (impossible to quantify harms, difficult to deploy policy) as their primary opposition. These values increased slightly (2 and 5 percent, respectively) between April 2021 and January 2023. This may suggest that respondents have not seen or are not convinced the progress of municipal reparations serves to inform reparations efforts on a federal scale. Public opinion on the policy feedback effects of municipal reparations efforts is a topic in dire need of scholarly examination.

⁴⁶ Analysis of raw survey data from Providence forthcoming.

⁴⁷ [Toplines and Crosstabs Jan 2023: Race, Antisemitism, Reparations, and The "Great Replacement" | Department of Political Science | UMass Amherst](#)

⁴⁸ [Microsoft Word - RaceinAmericaToplinesJanuaryNational2023.docx \(umass.edu\)](#)

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Fulton County Reparations Task Force Research Memo

Executive Summary

With the above considered, this author recommends the Fulton County Reparations Task Force 1) design and/or approve the design of a public opinion study on reparations for Fulton County residents, 2) use allocated financial resources to deploy such a survey to Fulton County residents in cooperation with the Fulton County Department of External Affairs, and 3) partner with a research entity for survey administration and data analysis.

Public Opinion Study

There is currently little to no research on municipal reparations. Fulton County, as the only county-level task force to examine reparations, therefore has the unique opportunity to pioneer both public research and public policy. The Task Force may find it appropriate to utilize existing county channels (such as county and commissioner newsletters) or create new channels (such as a one-time, public opinion study) to solicit feedback on reparations and possible derivative policies. Constituent feedback from both Black and non-Black may prove essential in the recommendation stage,⁴⁹ allowing the Fulton County Task Force to ‘prune’ unhelpful, unneeded, or unpopular policies from the decision tree of possible policies.⁵⁰

A rigorous, representative survey would have greater than 1,110 respondents, for a confidence interval of 95 percent with a margin of error of three percent.⁵¹ Question order should appear randomized for all individuals to account for question-order effects, in addition to only naming the modalities, recipients, providers, and injustices the Task Force believes are in their limited jurisdiction.⁵² Survey analysis should include demographic analysis after matching for representativeness. This may be achieved by propensity weighting, matching, or other methods consistent with previous public opinion research conducted by the county and existing research on the topic.

Data and/or population science centers in the Atlanta University Center Consortium (AUCC) may be ideal organizations to contract for survey construction/feedback, institutional review, and data analysis. One such example is the AUC Data Science Initiative, which engages HBCU

⁴⁹ For a model of the municipal reparations framework, see Appendix A.

⁵⁰ The author recognizes that popularity alone does not signal policy efficacy. However, both “policy representation and public responsiveness” are critical components of a representative democracy (Wlezien and Sorok, 2021).

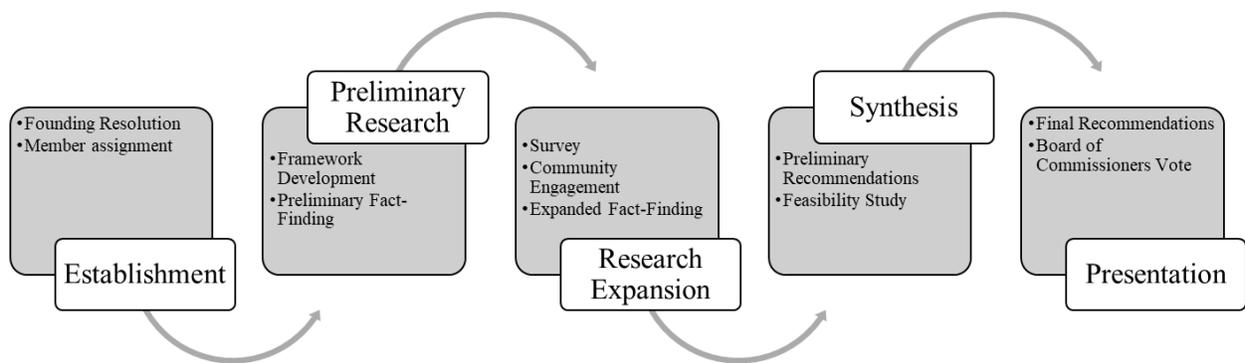
⁵¹ For a brief explanation of the justification for these numbers, please see Appendix B.

⁵² For a sample survey constructed by the author, please see Appendix C.

researchers and industry to enhance data science research for evidence-based policymaking.⁵³ The author's institution, Duke University, provides review through the Duke University Campus Institutional Review Board, but the timeline for protocol approval may exceed the author's tenure. Secondary or alternative primary institutional review jurisdiction may be advisable, making collaboration with an academic institution ideal. Collaboration with local data initiatives, particularly those with undergraduate and graduate-level, HBCU students offers some financial support to local students and professionals, in addition to exemplifying the Task Force's desire for community-wide benefit. Contractual collaboration is, of course, contingent on the Task Force's compliance with county and state regulations related to procurement. Representation from the Office of Purchasing and Contract Compliance may be advisable for planning purposes.

⁵³ Other entities might include Partnership for Southern Equity, The James Weldon Johnson Institute for the Study of Race and Difference at Emory University, the Carl Vinson Institute of Government at the University of Georgia, the Local Data Design Lab at Georgia Tech, and A.L. Burruss Institute of Public Service and Research. The foremost of which has been utilized by the Fulton County Board of Commissioners for public opinion research on mass transportation.

Appendix A: Fulton County Reparations Task Force Timeline



Appendix B: Addendum on Sampling Methods

Sample size refers to the ideal number of respondents for survey representativeness. An adequate, representative sample should adequately capture the qualities of a target population without mass resource expenditure to survey an entire population. The number of respondents, n , at which no additional respondents will change the data in any way is sample size required for data saturation. There is little consensus, however, as to adequate sample sizes (and methods for deriving sample size) for public opinion research (Boddy, 2016).

In lieu of an existing governance-wide standard for sample size, the author offers two justifications for a sample size of 1,110. First, the proposed sample size is derived from two sample-size formulas for non-probability samples of categorical data. The first, published by Cochran (1977) and re-examined by Bartlett et al. (2001), is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}n &= (z)^2 * \sigma * (1 - \sigma) / (ME)^2 \\&= (1.96)^2 * .5 (1-.5) / (.03)^2 \\&= (3.92) * (.25) / (.0009) \\&= 1067.11111\end{aligned}$$

n = sample size, or number of respondents

Z = Z-score, determined by the desired confidence interval for samples where population proportion is unknown

ME = marginal error, the permissible amount of error in a sample, set at 3%

σ = standard deviation, assumed .5 for a normal* population

p = population proportion, a value from 0 to 1 that assesses agreement with a survey question (ex. “do you support reparations?”)

Z-Scores for Confidence Intervals

- 90% – Z Score = 1.645
- 95% – Z Score = 1.96
- 99% – Z Score = 2.326

We can also use a not so well regarded formula, Sloven’s Formula.

$$\begin{aligned}n &= N / (1 + N e^2) \\n &= 1,065,334 / (1 + (1,065,334 * (.03)^2) \\n &= 1109.95346\end{aligned}$$

e = the same as ME, the permissible amount of error, set at 3%

N = total target population size

If we are to select a sample size that meets the conditions of all of the following calculations whilst minimizing oversampling, we are left with an n of 1101, or 1110 if multiples

of ten are favorable. This sample size can then be matched down to 1000 for representativeness, a size consistent with polling methodologies from the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Second, this sample size mimics that of many surveys on reparations conducted within the last five years. The average sample size for reparations polls is 1,324 respondents in relatively close proximity to the proposed 1,110. For all reparations polls, see Appendix D.

To ensure public opinion survey findings are both representative and vigorous, the author also recommends sampling methods consistent with the Pew Research Center. Pew's methodology requires 1) random sampling and 2) weighting (Pew Research Center, 2023). To achieve random sampling, all residents in Fulton County must have equal probability of being selected for the survey. This may be achievable by random sampling of Fulton County addresses, if such a list is available to the county. After a random sample has been collected, the sample should be weighted with a large, complete dataset for representativeness. Research entities (like Pew) often use American Community Survey (ACS) data from the U.S. Census Bureau, in addition to anonymized IPUMS data. Pollsters most often use iterative proportional fitting or raking for its relative simplicity (Mercer et al., 2018).

Use of county and/or Board of Commissioner newsletters will compromise some rigor (as self-selection likely renders subscribers different than the average county resident), but may still provide reasonably accurate findings. The same may be said for opt-in, online surveys, which scholars contest the utility of for rigorous public research (Kennedy et al., 2016) (Lau, 2021). Sample size for qualitative research, particularly in governance, requires managing competing desires for cost-efficiency and accuracy. Outsourcing data analysis to the AUCC may reduce the likelihood of incorrect weighting or crosstabulation.

Appendix C: Sample Public Opinion Survey

See sample survey in separate attachment.

Appendix D: Reparations Poll Data Set

See poll data set in separate attachment.

Appendix E: Sample Survey Insert

The below image is an example of what a mailer insert for an opt-in, online survey might look like. Crucial information includes explanation of incentive, informed consent, contact information for institutional review, and both a link and a QR code for a survey.

SURVEY REQUEST

Dear Fulton County Resident,

We hope this message finds you well. We want to inform you that you have been invited to participate in a voluntary survey on reparations for Black Americans. The survey should take no more than five (5) minutes. Survey responses are anonymous, and your responses will only be reported in an aggregate summary made available to the public. If you complete the survey, you may opt-in to a drawing for one of 80, five-dollar Amazon e-gift cards.

If you would like to participate in the survey, enter the below URL into any web browser or scan the QR. You will be asked to read a short, informed consent form prior to beginning the survey.

If you would like more information about this survey, please feel free to email gjr3@duke.edu. For questions about your rights as potential participant, feel free to contact Duke University's Institutional Review Board at campusirb@duke.edu or at 919-684-3030. If contacting the IRB, please reference *protocol ID#0000-0000*.

bit.ly.com/repssurvey2223

