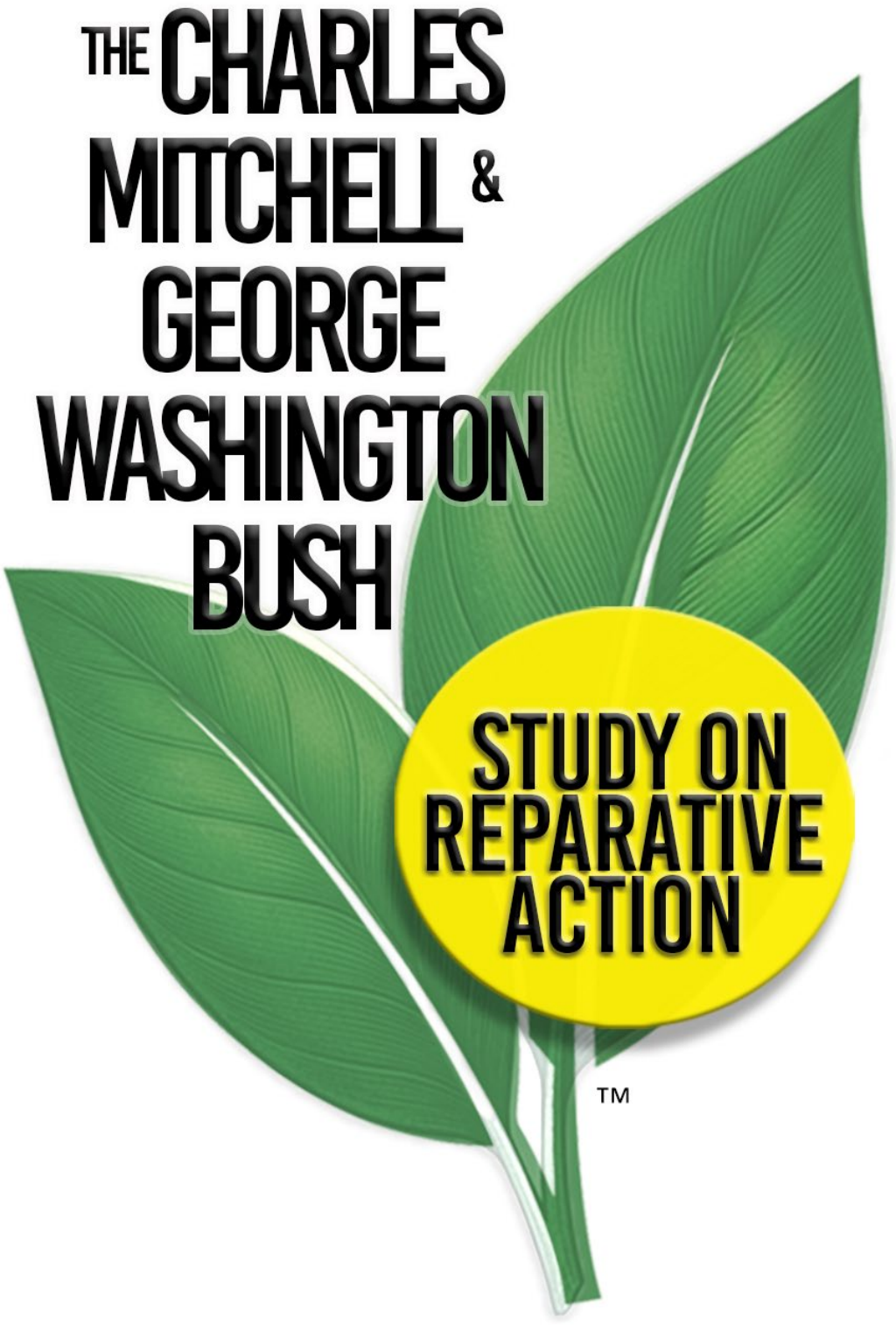


Legislative Preliminary Report, June 2026

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Executive Summary

The Charles Mitchell and George Washington Bush study on Reparative Action (the Reparations Study) is a state-funded study examining the historical and enduring harms resulting from United States chattel slavery.

The study has three primary goals:

- To better understand harms experienced by victims of chattel slavery in the territory now known as Washington
- To better understand how the long impacts of slavery continue to harm the descendants of victims of chattel slavery
- To offer community-informed recommendations of reparations for the Washington State Legislature to consider in 2028 and beyond

The Reparations Study was funded in 2025 by the Washington State Legislature for $300,000. In collaboration with the Washington Commission on African American Affairs (CAAA), the Washington State Department of Commerce (Commerce) conducted a competitive Request for Proposal (RFP) from September to December 2025. Truclusion of DuPont, WA was selected as the successful contractor. They began work on the study in January 2026.

As of June 2026, Truclusion is making steady progress with the study. They hosted four monthly informational sessions, launched two community surveys, begun collecting research data and developed a community engagement work plan.

The Reparations Study is expected to be completed on June 30, 2027.

Legislative mandate

In 2025, the Washington State Legislature funded the Reparations Study as part of the 2025–27 Operating Budget, ESSB 5167 (2025), Sec. 129 (25).

The proviso states:

> (25) $150,000 of the general fund—state appropriation for fiscal year 2026 and $150,000 of the general fund—state appropriation for fiscal year 2027 are provided solely for the department, in consultation with the state commission on African American affairs, to contract with a qualified research entity to conduct the Charles Mitchell and George Washington Bush study on reparative action for Washington state's descendants of victims of United States chattel slavery.

The Washington State Legislature also required that the selected contractor must include a research team that contributed to at least three peer-reviewed publications or policy reports on reparations or economic valuation for descendants of enslaved people. The contractor must also have expertise in valuation of uncompensated slave labor, U.S. chattel slavery and reparations doctrine, genealogical research related to direct lineage tracing, reparative justice and public policy development.

Reporting schedule

The 2025 operating budget directed Commerce and its selected contractor (Truclusion) to deliver three reports to the Legislature as the study progresses. The first preliminary report is due by June 30, 2026.

In the June 2026 report, Commerce and Truclusion will share:

- Detailed researcher qualifications
- Study scope
- Methodology
- Outline plan for continued community engagement

The next report, due by December 31, 2026, will provide updates on the study's progress, including:

- Historical findings
- Survey data collection
- Draft recommendations on discovering lineage for descendants.

A third and final report with policy recommendations and completed data analysis will be due on June 30, 2027.

Additional information

To learn more about the Reparations Study, visit:

- The Reparations Study proviso in the 2025-2027 Operating Budget (PDF)
- Commerce's Reparations Study (website)
- Truclusion's Reparations Study (website)

Background and introduction

The Reparations Study research team uses a multidisciplinary approach that combines historical research, policy analysis, genealogy, valuation methodologies and community engagement.

The research team is working on:

- Documenting historical and contemporary harms connected to slavery and discriminatory state action
- Examining the role of Washington laws, institutions and policies in producing or perpetuating those harms
- Developing methodologies for evaluating reparative remedies and compensation models
- Providing community-informed recommendations for future legislative consideration

The study will prioritize transparency, accessibility, historical accuracy and collaboration with impacted communities, researchers, policymakers and state agencies.

The Study's focus

For the purposes of this funding, Truclusion will be studying:

- **Historical injustices of the United States chattel slavery** and their enduring impact on direct descendants in the state of Washington, particularly how they relate to Washington laws and policies.
- **Historical records on chattel slavery from 1619 to 1865 in what is today known as the United States**. This includes how chattel slavery's legacy showed up in the laws, social and economic practices of the Oregon and Washington territories from 1848 to 1889, and how those practices affected freed people and their direct descendants.
- **Washington's role — past and present** — in maintaining discriminatory laws, policies and economic systems that harmed direct descendants of victims of U.S. chattel slavery. This includes areas such as economic opportunity, education and the criminal justice system.
- **Contributions to national conversations on reparations**, including potential frameworks for calculating losses and awarding reparations at the federal level.

- **Current and existing state laws and policies** that continue to disproportionately harm direct descendants of people who were enslaved in the United States, along with recommendations for reform or repeal.
- **Methods for calculating, structuring and awarding compensation** as a part of reparative action.
- **A cost-benefit analysis** of how Washington could be affected by investing reparations by various modalities. This includes community infrastructure, cash payments, educational opportunities, medical accounts, pensions and more.
- **Results that may inform and guide state-level policy recommendations** that use the social determinants of health framework.
- **Other reparative remedies** supported by study findings.

Research workgroups and phases

The research team is comprised of four workgroups: Historical Research, Valuation and Policy, Community Research and Genealogy. All work is split into three phases.

- **Phase 1:** Each team will prepare their research methodology, design and begin the research process.
- **Phase 2:** Each workgroup will collect and analyze data, with findings added to the December report.
- **Phase 3:** Workgroups will complete the research process, refine and finalize policy recommendations for Legislature that will be submitted in the final report.

This report reflects the completion of Phase 1.

Workplan after Phase 1 (July 2026 – June 2027)

Phase 2, which takes place from June 2026 to December 2026, focuses on:

- **The Historical Research workgroup analyzing the historical data collected from Phase 1** and gathering follow-up items requested by the Valuation and Policy team.
- **The Community Research workgroup completing survey** data collection, analyzing results, and facilitating listening sessions for additional community research.
- **The Valuation and Policy workgroup reviewing all historical and community research conducted.** This includes insights provided by the Community Reparations Advisory Panel and Reparations Expert Advisory Panel. They will also finalize draft policy recommendations, which will be provided in the Interim Report to the Legislature (December 2026).

- **The Genealogy workgroup developing draft criteria** to verify lineage.

Phase 3, from January 2027 until the project ends in June 2027, will include:

- **The Historical Research workgroup completing** any remaining research and preparing its findings for reporting to the Legislature.
- **The Community Research workgroup** hosting a final round of community engagement through town halls statewide.
- **The Valuation and Policy workgroup** reviewing all historical and community research, then finalizing its recommendations for the Legislature.
- **The Genealogy workgroup** completing any lineage-tracing case studies to inform the study.

Virtual public information sessions are scheduled for the second Friday of each month to provide project updates and maintain transparency.

Phase 1 Progress

Highlights of Phase 1

Successes in Phase 1 include (but are not limited to):

- **The Historical Research workgroup developed 132 research questions and began gathering** historical data that the Valuation and Policy team needs to develop reparation recommendations.
- **The Community Research workgroup** engaged with individuals and organizations across the state. It established a list of community key stakeholders. It also launched a community survey to gather community members' insights and preferences on reparations. The survey will remain open through August 2026.
- **The Valuation and Policy workgroup identified more than 130 historical research items** to collect. They also began developing the study's reparative methodology and frameworks.
- **The Genealogy workgroup conducted preliminary genealogical research. They also** developed trauma-informed approaches and best practices that will be employed throughout the study.
- **Truclusion hosted four informational meetings** to share progress and upcoming work related to the Reparations Study. Recordings are available at Washington State Reparations Study - TVW.
- **Truclusion staff provided updates** and information at the Washington State Commission on African American Affairs (CAAA) meeting on March 20, 2026.

Historical research

Archives have been identified at the state, federal, university, community, and local levels. They are supplemented with a growing inventory of digital repositories accessible for remote research. The project has developed an 11-page directory that encompasses 16 parent archival institutions and 48 unique archival collections, organized across seven research topics.

The team pursued research across eight geographic areas in Washington:

- Olympia
- Tacoma
- Spokane
- Tri-Cities
- Bellingham
- Yakima
- Roslyn
- Ellensburg

Some examples of data collection sources include:

- State and regional archives (such as Central Washington University and Eastern Washington University)
- The Washington State Archives Digital Archives
- The Washington State Historical Society
- Regional periodicals (such as the Tri-Cities Herald and the Courier Reporter)

In addition to in-state repositories, the project has identified national archives holding materials directly relevant to documenting harms experienced by Black residents of Washington.

Data collection

The project developed a framework of 132 research questions to map out the systematic collection of quantitative data. This data will document measurable, statistical evidence of racial harm across multiple domains, including:

- Wealth and income inequality
- Labor and employment
- Housing
- Property ownership
- Historical atrocities and violence
- Health
- Education
- Economic exclusion
- Criminal justice and incarceration
- Business and innovation

Some examples of data collected so far include:

- The population of Washington state by county and by race from 1850 to 2025
- Income earnings by race and gender across the 2000s
- Employment/unemployment rates by race and gender in Washington
- Education data from the 2000s, including per-pupil expenditure, standardized test scores and dropout rates

Data collection is ongoing, and nothing has been finalized. Additional data collected in Phase 2 and 3 will be incorporated as the research progresses. Because this study uses an inductive research approach (where the data collected drives analysis), no analysis of the data has begun during this first data collection phase.

Community Reparations Survey

The Community Reparations Survey successfully launched in April 2026. It serves as the foundational data collection instrument for hearing from people in Washington.

The Community Reparations Survey employs a mixed-methods approach that includes both quantitative and qualitative questions. Quantitative items collect demographic information and assess community perspectives, priorities, preferences and levels of support related to reparative policies and actions. Qualitative open-ended questions provide respondents with opportunities to share their perspectives.

Because the survey is ongoing, no data has been analyzed yet. The survey will remain open through August 2026.

The Research Team

The Washington State Legislature directed Commerce to select a contractor that had a research team with extensive experience working in the field of reparations. It mandated team members with verified, extensive experience in:

- Reparations scholarship
- Historical analysis
- Public policy development
- Economic valuation
- Genealogy
- Direct lived experience
- Forward-thinking analysis

Research recruitment process

Consistent with ESSB 5167's requirements, Truclusion's research team was recruited using strict criteria that satisfied all requirements. The combination of Dr. Thomas Craemer's academic depth, Marvin Slaughter's contemporary policy agility, Mica Anders' genealogical work in parallel-state contexts, and Truclusion's community engagement infrastructure was designed to produce recommendations that will be viable and credible well into the 2030s and 2040s.

Dr. Thomas Craemer, PhD

Dr. Thomas Craemer's research focuses on slavery reparations, implicit racial attitudes, race-related public opinion, as well as diversity, equity, and inclusion. Dr. Craemer has published extensively and received accolades such as the ISPP's Roberta Sigel Award, and the Jeanne Knutson Award.

Dr. Craemer's work on reparations has been cited in media outlets like Newsweek, the Washington Post, and the Wall Street Journal. His academic work is commonly accepted as an authority on reparations for slavery and *de jure* anti-Black discrimination. He teaches at the University of Connecticut's School of Public Policy.

Marvin Slaughter, MPP

Marvin Slaughter Jr. is an applied policy researcher and the Senior Legislative Affairs and Research Portfolio Manager at the University of Chicago Inclusive Economy Lab. He manages projects in the college and career success portfolio focused on removing barriers to early academic momentum, supporting students through holistic support

programming, evaluating the impact of financial aid on academic outcomes and understanding the impact of college programming on labor market outcomes.

Slaughter is a published researcher on the topic of reparations and coauthor of "The Cumulative Cost of Racism and the Bill for Black Reparations" with Dr. William Darity and A. Kirsten Mullen in The Journal of Economic Perspectives. Marvin has also served as the Chairman of the Illinois African Descent Citizens Reparations Commission and has provided strategic direction for the commission's research efforts.

Dr. Ashley Gardner, PhD

Dr. Ashley Gardner is a scholar in discrimination research, especially the psychological, sociological and spiritual aspects of discrimination. Dr. Gardner teaches undergraduate courses in qualitative and quantitative research, and graduate-level advanced research at Temple University.

Dr. Gardner has been the lead researcher for multiple national studies, as well as state-wide and local projects in Washington State. Dr. Gardner earned her Ph.D. at the University of Tennessee, Master of Arts at University of Michigan, and graduated cum laude for her B.S. at Hampton University.

Mica Anders, MFA

Mica L. Anders is a professional genealogist with over 20 years of experience in African American genealogy. She has expertise in pre-1870 enslaved lineage verification across all U.S. regions, including slave schedules, Freedmen's Bureau records, USCT military files, probate records, and plantation documentation.

Mica is in demand nationally as a speaker on African American genealogical research methodologies and research findings. Her client work spans the United States, Canada, Jamaica and the United Kingdom with a focus on African American family history.

Methodology

Valuation and Policy Team

The Valuation and Policy Team is developing a critical framework for estimating losses to Black residents from Washington's complicity in anti-Black discrimination. The work is grounded in rigorous economic methods that quantify the financial and economic harms identified through historical research. They are also working closely with the Community Engagement Team to make sure the framework reflects community priorities and lived experiences.

The reparations framework consists of:

1. **Identifying the best methods for quantifying harms.** This includes asking more than 120 Washington-specific research questions and reviewing more than 40 archives and repositories across the state.
2. **Determining which level of government is responsible for each harm.** This includes assessing the roles of the federal government, state and local jurisdictions (including counties and cities).
3. **Developing a specific methodology for each identified harm.** Each harm will have its own calculation method, which will be integrated into one overall reparations framework.

The Genealogy Team

The Genealogy Team is embarking on a rigorous, historically grounded process for verifying direct descent from individuals enslaved through U.S. chattel. This methodology includes:

- **Identifying commonly used genealogical sources**, such as census records, slave schedules, Freedmen's Bureau records, birth and marriage certificates, wills, manumission papers and other vital records.
- **Ensuring the reparations framework is workable** and historically sound, allowing eligible individuals to demonstrate lineage through documentation.
- **Identifying challenges and limitations** that descendants of victims of U.S. chattel slavery might face while tracing their ancestry, including gaps in historical records.

Community research methodology

The community research methodology for the study employs a sequential community-informed mixed-methods research design that integrates both quantitative and

qualitative analysis. This approach ensures that findings and recommendations are informed by both empirical evidence and lived experience. It also positions community members as essential contributors throughout the research process[1].

While the research questions, study design and analytical procedures were developed by the research team, community members will play a central role in informing the report through participation in surveys, listening sessions, town halls and other engagement opportunities.

The research is organized into three phases:

- Community survey
- Community listening sessions
- Community town halls

Findings from each phase inform the next. They create a feedback loop between the research team and community members. This process allows findings to be refined, helping ensure that recommendations for reparative action reflect both empirical data and community priorities.[2]

[1] Ardoin, N. M., Gould, R. K., Wojcik, D., Wyman Roth, N., & Biggar, M. (2022). Community listening sessions: an approach for facilitating collective reflection on environmental learning and behavior in everyday life. *Ecosystems and People*, *18*(1), 469-477

[2] Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2017). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Sage publications.

Community engagement plan

The study's community engagement plan is designed to provide people with many opportunities to participate, in an accessible and meaningful way. It will utilize grassroots, relationship-centered approaches to center those who are the most impacted and build trust through transparency. Strategies include:

- **Surveys**
  - Community Engagement Interest Form
  - Community Reparations Survey
- **Listening sessions** held across the state
- **Town halls** for community feedback on report findings
- **Monthly informational sessions** offered on Zoom and TVW
- **Ongoing educational opportunities** such as topic-based informational webinars
- **Social media engagement** to share updates and gather input
- **A project mailing list** for ongoing communication over email and text
- **A visible on-the-ground presence at local events** throughout the state to raise awareness of the research and encourage survey participation
- **Consultation with the Washington State Commission on African American Affairs (CAAA).** The research team kicked off the study at a Commission meeting. The team will continue to report and collaborate with the CAAA as progress is made.

Community Engagement Interest Form

Launched in March 2026, the Community Engagement Interest Form allows individuals and organizations to indicate their preferred types of engagement with the study over the next two years. Engagement opportunities include:

- Completing and/or sharing the survey
- Attending monthly webinars
- Joining the mailing list to receive study updates
- Participating in or hosting listening sessions and town halls
- Applying to serve on the Community Advisory Panel

This interest form plays a vital role in ensuring that the community is reflected in this work.

Participant contributions will transform data into meaningful narratives and ensure the study is grounded in lived experiences and community insights.

2026 Community Reparations Survey

The **Community Reparations Survey**, launched April 10, is gathering community perceptions and preferences on reparations.

2026 Community listening sessions

Community listening sessions will take place across Washington during summer 2026. During these sessions, the research team will present survey findings and gather additional feedback. They plan to include:

- In-person sessions in the 12 most populous counties
- Multiple virtual sessions, which will expand access to communities that are not available to attend in person

During each session, the research team will present key survey findings and review emerging themes with the public. Community members will be invited to:

- Provide insight on emergent findings
- Share additional perspectives
- Identify areas that warrant further consideration
- Mention issues that may not have emerged in the data

The listening sessions serve two important methodological purposes. They function as a form of community engagement by allowing participants to contextualize the survey findings. They also serve as an additional qualitative data collection method. New insights, perspectives and lived experience will help triangulate the survey data.

Information gathered during these sessions will be documented and analyzed. The results will inform the development of the December 2026 Interim Report.

Town halls

After the Interim Report is completed in December 2026, the study will engage the community through statewide **town halls.** They will be conducted in early 2027.

The town halls are being designed to ensure transparency, accountability and continued community participation in the recommendation development process. During the town

halls, community members will be invited to review the draft report, provide feedback on proposed recommendations, identify potential gaps or concerns, and mention considerations for implementation.

Similarly to the community listening sessions, all feedback collected will be systematically documented and considered as the research team finalizes the report. Community members will continue to have an opportunity to review and respond to draft recommendations before they are published.

Planned schedule of community engagement

- Community Reparations Survey: Spring and Summer 2026
- Listening Sessions: Summer 2026
- Community events: Summer 2026
- Town Halls: Early 2027
- Monthly Informational Sessions: Ongoing
- Mailing List: Ongoing throughout the study
- Social Media Platforms: Ongoing throughout the study

Collectively, these strategies aim to support meaningful participation, strengthen relationships and ensure community voices are incorporated throughout the process. By centering those who have been most impacted, Truclusion will be able to make policy recommendations that are directly informed by the descendants of victims of slavery in Washington.

Appendix A: Researcher biographies

THOMAS CRAEMER, Ph.D.

Principal Investigator; Valuation and Policy Team Co-Lead

Dr. Thomas Craemer's research focuses on slavery reparations, implicit racial attitudes, race-related public opinion, as well as diversity, equity, and inclusion. Dr. Craemer has published extensively and received accolades such as the ISPP's Roberta Sigel Award, and the Jeanne Knutson Award.

Dr. Craemer's work on reparations has been cited in media outlets like *Newsweek*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, *CNN*, *Fox News*, and the *BBC*. His academic work is commonly accepted as an authority on reparations for slavery and *de jure* anti-Black discrimination.

Dr. Craemer obtained a political science doctorate in 2001 from the University of Tübingen, Germany, and a PhD from Stony Brook University, New York, in 2005. He teaches at the University of Connecticut's School of Public Policy.

Dr. Craemer has served as a pro-bono consultant for the GU272 Isaac Hawkins Legacy Group, and for the Reparations Planning Committee organized by Duke University Professor Dr. William Darity Jr. He was also part of a 5-person expert team advising the California Reparations Task Force, served on New York State Senator Sanders's "40 Acres and an EV" Coalition in support of New York State's Community Commission on Reparations Remedies.

MARVIN SLAUGHTER, Masters in Public Policy (MPP)

Valuation and Policy Team Co-Lead

Marvin Slaughter Jr. is an applied policy researcher and the Senior Legislative Affairs and Research Portfolio Manager at the University of Chicago Inclusive Economy Lab. He manages projects in the college and career success portfolio focused on removing barriers to early academic momentum, supporting students through holistic support programming, evaluating the impact of financial aid on academic outcomes and understanding the impact of college programming on labor market outcomes.

Slaughter is a published researcher on the topic of reparations and coauthor of "The Cumulative Costs of Racism and the Bill for Black Reparations" with Dr. William Darity and A. Kirsten Mullen in The Journal of Economic Perspectives. Marvin has also served

as the Chairman of the Illinois African Descent Citizens Reparations Commission and has provided strategic direction for the commission's research efforts.

Slaughter has participated in the United Nations Permanent Forum for People of African Descent. He has provided expert consultation to the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Slaughter has been a featured speaker at the National Reparations Conference: Midwest and at the American Descendants of Slavery National Reparations Summit. Slaughter's voice in the reparations space has been featured on WBEZ (an NPR affiliate), Chicago Tonight on PBS, NBC 5 Chicago, the Chicago Tribune, and more. Slaughter has earned his Master's in Public Policy and Bachelor of Arts degrees in Economics and Political Science.

ASHLEY GARDNER, Ph.D.

Principal Project Director; Research Team Lead

Dr. Ashley Gardner is an expert in discrimination research, especially the psychological, sociological and spiritual aspects of discrimination. She has been a Subject Matter Expert guest on more than a dozen podcasts, including subjects such as systemic discriminatory mechanisms and blackballing. Dr. Gardner teaches undergraduate courses in qualitative and quantitative research, and graduate-level advanced research at Temple University.

Dr. Gardner has been the lead researcher for multiple national studies, as well as state-wide and local projects in Washington State. Dr. Gardner earned her Ph.D. at the University of Tennessee, Master of Arts at the University of Michigan and graduated cum laude for her B.S. at Hampton University.

MICA ANDERS, MFA

Genealogy Team Lead

Mica L. Anders is a professional genealogist with over 20 years of experience in African American genealogy. She has expertise in pre-1870 enslaved lineage verification across all U.S. regions, including slave schedules, Freedmen's Bureau records, USCT military files, probate records, and plantation documentation. As a descendant of U.S. chattel slavery herself, Anders brings both professional skills and personal understanding to the work of reconnecting families with their ancestors.

Mica is a member of the Association of Professional Genealogists (APG), Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society (AAHGS) and ProGen Study group graduate with advanced training from multiple genealogical institutes (such as SLIG, MAAGI, GRIP,

IGHR). She is in demand nationally as a speaker on African American genealogical research methodologies and research findings. Her client work spans the United States, Canada, Jamaica and the United Kingdom with a focus on African American family history.

Anders holds an MFA in Visual Art. Her thesis work focused on visual representations of genealogical and historical narrative reconstruction through uncovering lost family histories. She has completed advanced genealogy training through ProGen and multiple institutes including SLIG, MAAGI, GRIP, and IGHR. She is a member of the Association of Professional Genealogists (APG) and the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society (AAHGS).

As the first-ever History Fellow at the Minnesota African American Heritage Museum and Gallery, Anders led research on early African American communities in Southeast Minnesota from before statehood through 1900. She conducted large-scale community lineage projects, uncovering lost, overlooked and intentionally erased early Black history in communities across the region, and developing trauma-informed approaches to enslaved ancestry research. This work earned her the Minnesota Genealogical Society Pioneer Award and helped document hidden histories across the upper Midwest.

Anders' expertise extends beyond individual family research to community-wide projects and policy advocacy. She has been an invited speaker at the Saint Paul Recovery Act Community Reparations Commission, the Black Lives Matter Minnesota Reparations Now conference and the Coming to the Table National Conference, where she addresses African American genealogical research methods, hidden histories and how genealogical verification can support reparations frameworks and racial healing efforts. Her work combines the technical skills needed to verify family lines with the cultural awareness and sensitivity required when working with descendants of enslaved people.

Anders has helped families across the United States, Canada, Jamaica and the United Kingdom uncover their histories. She provides not just names and dates, but restored dignity, healing and connection to family legacy. She is in demand nationally as a speaker on African American genealogical research methodologies and research findings, including Black Lives Matter, Minnesota Reparations Now, Coming to the Table National Conference, Slave Dwelling Project Conference, Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society (AAHGS) National Conference and other reparations-focused forums addressing methodologies for identifying descendants of enslaved individuals.

Appendix B: Published research

Dr. Craemer's most cited peer-reviewed reparations research includes:

Craemer, T. (2024). Implicit Black identification among white non-Hispanic respondents and support for Black reparations. Oxford Review of Economic Policy, 40, 657–671. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grae024.

Darity, W., Craemer, T., Ramey Berry, D., & Francis, D. V. (2024). Black reparations in the United States, 2024: An introduction. RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences, 10(2), 1–28. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48775323.

Craemer, T. (2023). Forensic analysis of reparations to Africa for depredations under European colonialism. In Richard F. America (ed.), Accounting for colonialism. Measuring unjust enrichment and damages in Africa, Chapter 13 (pp. 253-293), Palgrave Macmillan Cham / Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-32804-6_13.

Craemer, T., Smith, T., Harrison, B., Logan, T., Bellamy, W., and Darity, W. (2020). Wealth implications of slavery and racial discrimination for African American descendants of the enslaved. Review of Black Political Economy, 47(3), 218-254.

Updated and reprinted 2023 in: Darity, W. A., Mullen, A. K., & Hubbard, L. (eds.): The Black reparations project. University of California Press.

Craemer, T. (2018). Comparative Analysis of Reparations for the Holocaust and for the Transatlantic Slave Trade. *The Review of Black Political Economy*, *45*(4), 299-324. https://doi.org/10.1177/0034644619836263.

Craemer, T. (2018). International reparations for slavery and the Slave Trade. Journal of Black Studies, 49(7), 694-713.

Craemer, T. (2015). Estimating slavery reparations: Present value comparisons of historical multigenerational reparations policies. Social Science Quarterly, 96(2), 639-655.

Craemer, T. (2014). Implicit closeness to Blacks, support for affirmative action, slavery reparations, and vote intentions for Barack Obama in the 2008 elections. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 36, 413-424.

Craemer, T. (2009a). Framing Reparations. The Policy Studies Journal, 37(2): 275-298.

Craemer, T. (2009b). Psychological 'self-other overlap' and support for slavery reparations. Social Science Research, 38, 668–680.