



The Presbyterian Panel

Listening to Presbyterians



REPORT

REPARATIONS

The Fall 2003 Special Survey

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RESEARCH SERVICES
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HIGHLIGHTS

- ✓ Majorities of panelists are familiar with the concept of reparations for unjustly treated groups and with a proposal to have the federal government pay reparations to African Americans whose ancestors were slaves. (p. 1)
- ✓ Majorities of panelists are familiar with cases of reparations paid to Japanese Americans interned during World War II, to Jewish people whose Swiss bank accounts were appropriated during World War II, and to some U.S. Native American groups. (p. 2)
- ✓ Fewer panelists are aware of cases of reparations paid to Canadian Native Americans forced into boarding schools when they were children, to descendants of New Zealand Maoris mistreated in the 1800s, and to people who served during World War II as forced laborers in Austria and Germany. (p. 2)
- ✓ Roughly three-quarters of panelists have read at least one newspaper or magazine article about reparations in the previous year, and just more than half have seen at least one television segment about reparations in the previous year. (p. 3)
- ✓ Only one in twenty pastors have heard or preached a sermon about reparations, while one in ten church members have heard or preached such a sermon. (p. 3)
- ✓ *Providing compensation, making amends, and repairing wrongs* are the three phrases that panelists see as best characterizing reparations. Ministers also cite *seeking justice* as a way to characterize reparations. (p. 4)
- ✓ Majorities of panelists hold that the task of achieving racial reconciliation is *far from accomplished, but much work has been done*. (pp. 4-5)
- ✓ Roughly one-third of panelists see reparations as personally *important* or *very important* to them. (p. 5)
- ✓ Only 3% of church members—but nearly one in five pastors—believe that the federal government should pay reparations to compensate African Americans whose ancestors were slaves. (p. 7)
- ✓ Lay panelists oppose reparations for African Americans more than Americans responding to a nationwide Gallup Poll do. White lay panelists are also more opposed to reparations than are white Americans responding to the same nationwide poll. (p. 7)
- ✓ Racial-ethnic panelists are more likely than white panelists to support reparations for African Americans and more likely to report that the reparations issue is personally important to them. (p. 8)
- ✓ In addition to white panelists, men, Republicans, and pastors who believe that only followers of Jesus Christ can be saved are more likely to oppose reparations for African Americans. (p. 9)
- ✓ Majorities of panelists—except for specialized clergy—oppose the idea of the PC(USA) developing resources to help Presbyterians discuss reparations. (p. 10)
- ✓ Half of lay people and more than two in five pastors oppose the idea of the denomination taking an official stand on reparations. (pp. 10-11)
- ✓ Majorities of the lay people who support the denomination taking a stand on reparations for African Americans believe the denomination should oppose reparations, while majorities of ministers who support taking a stand believe the denomination should support reparations. (pp. 10-11)
- ✓ Panelists are somewhat more supportive of reparations for Native Americans and Alaska Natives than they are for African Americans. They are less supportive of reparations for Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans than they are for African Americans. (pp. 11-12)

OVERVIEW

The Presbyterian Panel consists of three nationally representative samples of groups affiliated with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.): members, elders (lay leaders), and ordained ministers. For analysis, ministers are split into two groups based on current call: *pastors*, serving in a congregation, and *specialized clergy*, serving elsewhere. New samples are drawn every three years.

These pages summarize major findings from the fifth survey completed by the 2003-2005 Panel. The first half uses text and graphics to highlight important and useful findings. An appendix follows with comparative tables that display the percentage distribution of responses to every question for each of the four Panel groups.

Questionnaires were mailed September 26, 2003. Non-respondents were sent a postcard reminder October 10. Returns were accepted through November 13, 2003. Response rates for this survey are: members, 52%; elders, 62%; ministers, 67%. Results are subject to sampling and other errors. As a general rule, differences of less than 8% are not statistically meaningful.

Panelists had the option to complete the survey on the Web, and 9% of members, 10% of elders, 9% of pastors, and 12% of specialized clergy did so.

In this report, the term *median* refers to the middle number in an ordered distribution. For example, the median age for a group of people aged 12, 21, 28, 35, and 64 years would be 28 years. The term *mean* refers to the mathematical average of values in a distribution; in the example, the mean age would be calculated as: $(12+21+28+35+64)/5$, or 32 years.

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Sponsor: John P. Marcum, Panel Administrator, developed the questionnaire in cooperation with Mark Koenig and Reggie Weaver of the Presbyterian Peacemaking Program and members of the Task Force to Study Reparations. For more information on reparations and related issues in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), contact Mark Koenig (888-728-7228 ext. 5936; mkoenig@ctr.pcusa.org).

Additional Copies: Additional copies of this *Report* may be purchased for \$10 from PDS—call 800-524-2612 and request item number 65100-03280. This *Report* is also available for free download in Adobe Acrobat format at <http://www.pcusa.org/research/panel/Fall03Rep.pdf>. Copies of a four-page *Summary* of results are available for \$2 each directly from Research Services or for free download at <http://www.pcusa.org/research/panel/Fall03Sum.pdf>. Call for information on quantity discounts on printed copies of either this *Report* or its *Summary* (888-728-7228 ext. 2040).

Panel on the Web: A catalogue of Panel topics, and *Summaries* and *Reports* of all surveys since 1993 are available on-line at the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Web site: <http://www.pcusa.org/research/panel/index>.

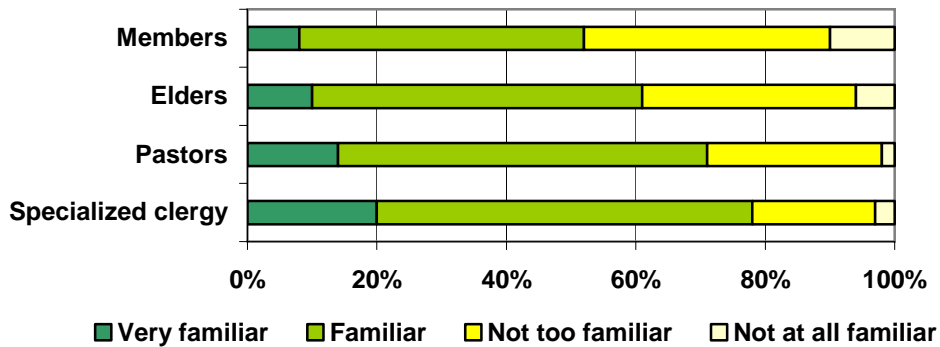
Sampling Details: For more information on methods used to draw the samples, see the technical notes in the *Background Report for the 2003-2005 Presbyterian Panel* (\$10, from PDS; item #65100-02276; or free on the Web: http://pcusa.org/research/panel/03to05_bkgtech_app_b.pdf).

GENERAL AWARENESS

Reparations as a Concept

- ✓ Majorities of panelists in all groups report some familiarity with “the concept of reparations for racial ethnic or other groups that have experienced unjust treatment,” with ministers reporting more familiarity with the reparations concept than lay people. Just more than half of church members (52%) report being *familiar* or *very familiar* with the concept, while almost three-quarters of pastors (71%) are as familiar.
- ✓ On the other hand, few panelists report being *very familiar* with the reparations concept. Only 8% of members and 14% of pastors are *very familiar*.
- ✓ One in ten or fewer panelists (members, 10%; pastors, 2%) report being *not at all familiar* with the concept.

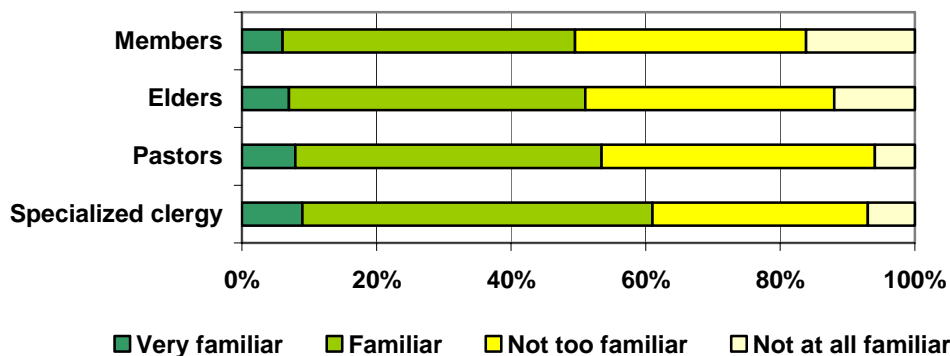
Figure 1. Familiarity with the Concept of Reparations for Racial Ethnic or Other Groups that Have Experienced Unjust Treatment



Reparations Proposal

- ✓ Panelists report being familiar with “the proposal to have the federal government make reparations to African Americans as compensation for the slavery of their ancestors” in slightly lower proportions than they report being familiar with the reparations *concept*. Half of panelists (members, 49%; pastors, 54%) are *familiar* or *very familiar* with that proposal.
- ✓ Less than 10% of panelists in all groups report being *very familiar* with the reparations proposal.
- ✓ One in six or fewer panelists (members, 16%; pastors, 6%) are *not at all familiar* with the proposal.

Figure 2. Familiarity with the Proposal To Have the Federal Government Make Reparations to African Americans to Compensate for Slavery

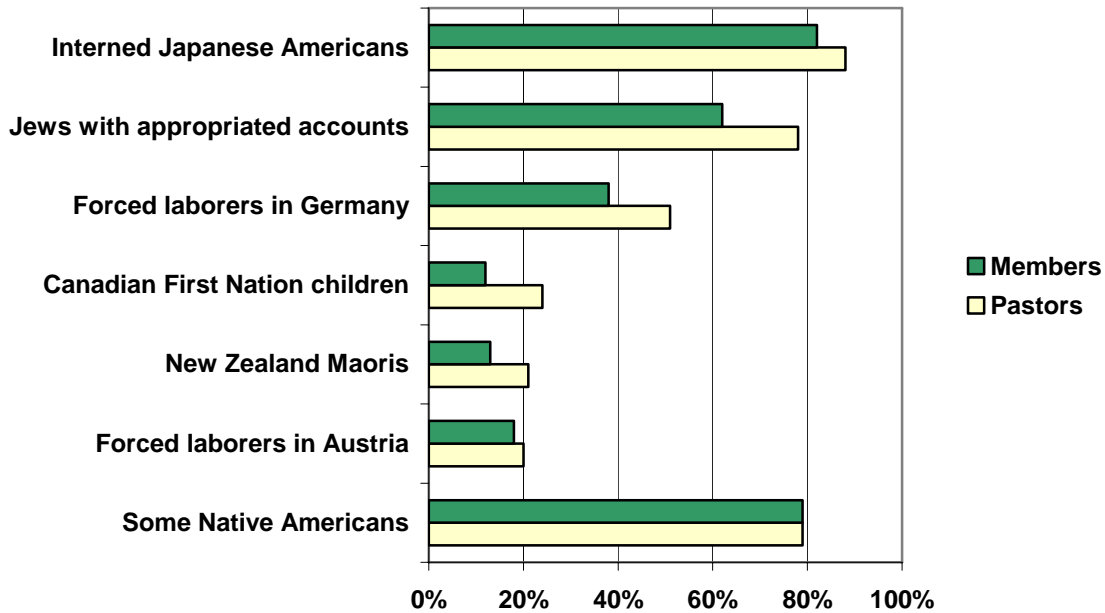


AWARENESS OF SPECIFIC REPARATIONS CASES

Previous Reparations Cases

- ✓ Panelists report being aware of a limited number of actual reparations cases. Majorities of panelists in all groups report knowing about the Swiss government making payments “to Jewish people for bank accounts appropriated during World War II” (members, 62%; pastors, 78%) and about the U.S. government making payments both “to some Native American peoples” (members, 79%; pastors, 79%) and “to Japanese Americans interned during World War II” (members, 82%; pastors, 88%).
- ✓ On the other hand, few panelists know about payments by Canada “to First Nation children who were taken from their families and placed in boarding schools” (members, 12%; pastors, 24%), by New Zealand “to Maori people for wrongs committed in the late 1800s” (members, 13%; pastors, 21%), and by Austria “to people who worked as forced laborers during World War II” (members, 18%; pastors, 20%).
- ✓ Minorities of members (38%) and elders (43%) are familiar with German corporations making payments “to persons who worked as forced laborers during World War II.” Narrow majorities of pastors (51%) and specialized clergy (53%) are familiar with that case.

Figure 3
Awareness of Specific Reparations Cases



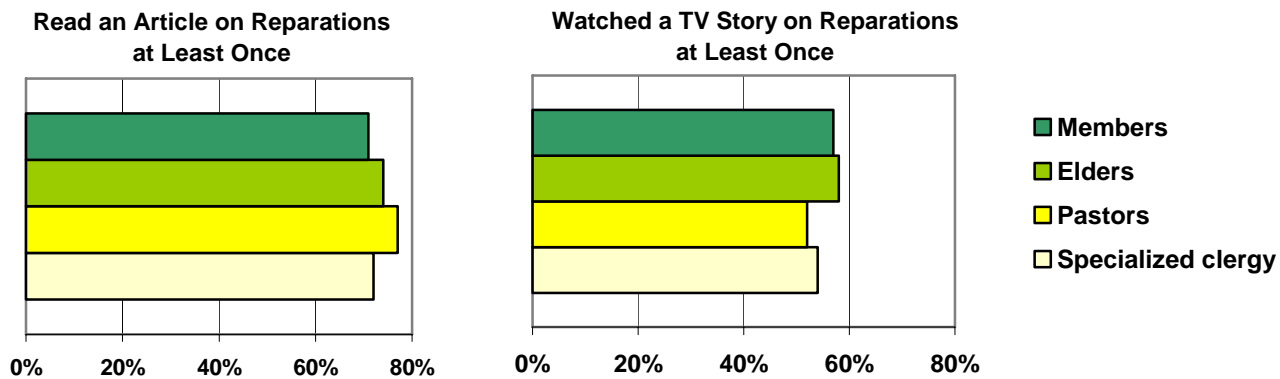
Question: Are you aware that reparations have been paid to . . .

EXPOSURE TO THE ISSUE

Reparations in the News

- ✓ Majorities of panelists in all groups recall stories on reparations in news media, especially newspapers and magazines. Three-quarters (members, 71%; pastors, 77%) “read a newspaper or magazine article on this topic” at least once in the previous year.
- ✓ Somewhat fewer panelists (members, 57%; pastors, 52%) report watching “a television feature or news story” about reparations at least once in the previous year.

Figure 4. Exposure to News Media Coverage of the Reparations Issue in the Previous Year



- ✓ A quarter of panelists (members, 24%; pastors, 22%) read articles on reparations three or more times in the previous year, while fewer (members, 16%; pastors, 10%) watched feature or news stories on this topic three or more times.

Reparations at the Water Cooler, in Church, and in the Denomination

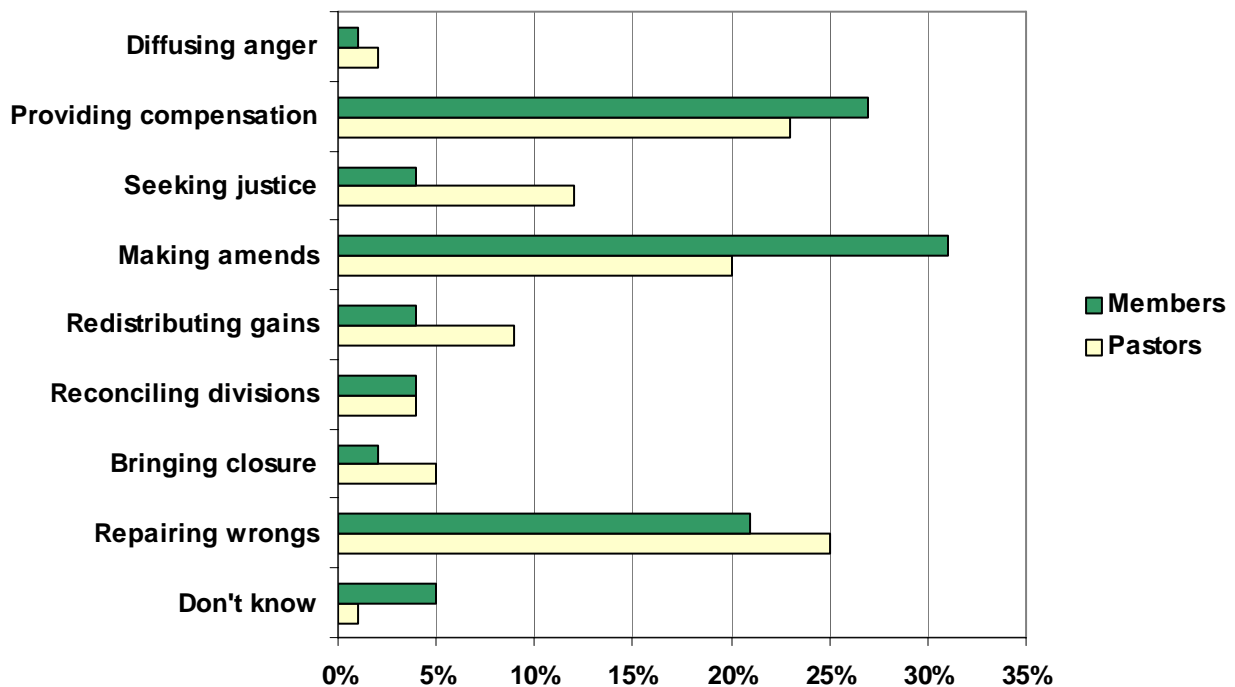
- ✓ Narrow majorities of church members (52%), elders (55%), and pastors (54%) report having “been involved in a conversation or discussion on this topic” at least once in the previous year, while nearly two-thirds of specialized clergy (63%) report such discussions.
- ✓ Only one in twenty pastors (5%) report having “heard or preached a sermon” on reparations at least once in the last year. More specialized clergy (12%) report having heard or preached such a sermon.
- ✓ Roughly one in ten church members (10%) and elders (11%) report having heard or preached a sermon on reparations at least once in the previous year.
- ✓ More ministers than lay people report being aware of the creation in 2001 of “a task force to look at the issue of reparations for African Americans, Alaska Natives, Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others who have experienced unjust treatment and report its findings and recommendations to the 216th General Assembly (2004) regarding how the church can foster dialogue and healing.” Roughly one in ten church members (7%) and elders (11%) report knowing about the task force, while nearly a third of pastors (29%) and specialized clergy (29%) know about it.

PERSPECTIVES ON REPARATIONS

Characterizing Reparations

- ✓ *Providing compensation, making amends, and repairing wrongs* are the phrases that panelists identify as doing “the best job of capturing the meaning of the term ‘reparations’ as [they] understand it.” At least one in five panelists in each group chose each of these three phrases: 27% of members and 23% of pastors chose *providing compensation*, 31% of members and 20% of pastors chose *making amends*, and 21% of members and 25% of pastors chose *repairing wrongs*.
- ✓ Also popular with ministers is *seeking justice* (12%). Only 4% of members opt for this phrase to characterize reparations.

Figure 5. Characterizing Reparations



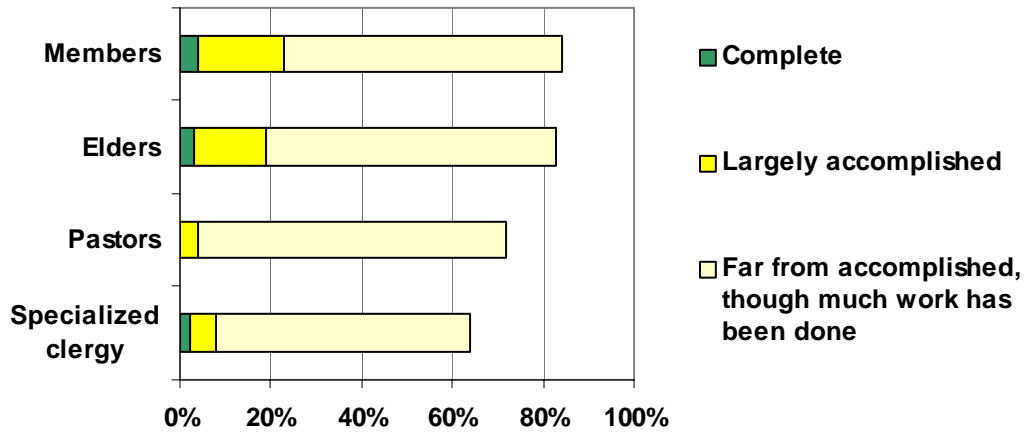
Question: Which phrase . . . do you think does the *best* job of capturing the meaning of the term “reparations” as you understand it?

Achieving Racial Reconciliation?

- ✓ Majorities of panelists in all groups (members, 61%; pastors, 68%) declare that the task of “achieving racial reconciliation” is *far from accomplished, but much work has been done*.
- ✓ More members (19%) and elders (16%) than pastors (4%) contend that the task of racial reconciliation is *largely accomplished*. More ministers (pastors, 24%; specialized clergy, 32%) than members (14%) maintain that the task is *far from accomplished, although some work has been done*.
- ✓ Fewer than one in twenty panelists in any group argue that the task of racial reconciliation either *is complete* or *has barely begun*.

PERSPECTIVES ON REPARATIONS

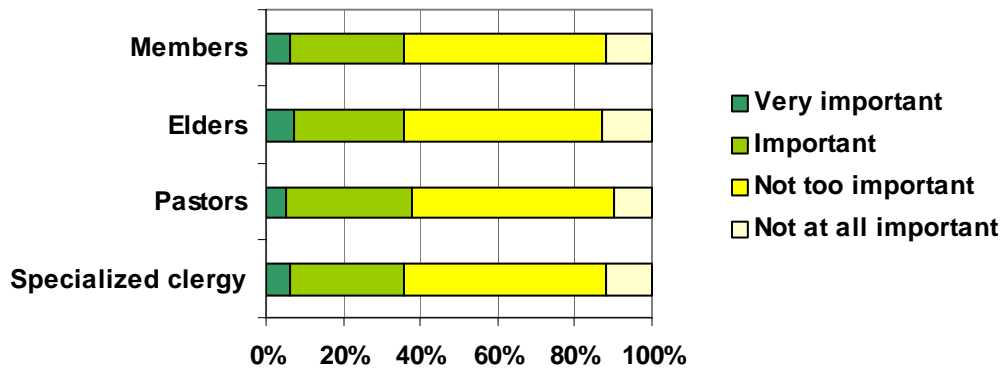
Figure 6: Opinions about the Status of Racial Reconciliation



Personal Importance

✓ Half of panelists (members, 52%; pastors, 52%) identify reparations as a subject that is *personally not too important* to them. Just more than a third of panelists (members, 36%; pastors, 38%) indicate that reparations are *important* or *very important* to them. Roughly one in ten panelists (members, 12%; pastors, 10%) say the topic is *not at all important* to them.

Figure 7. Personal Importance of Reparations



Question: How important is the subject of reparations to you, personally?

The Reparations Debate

Modern calls for reparations payments to African Americans as compensation for the experience of slavery first gained prominence in the 1960s and early 1970s. This period saw the high point of civil rights mobilization and the development of the black power movement. African-American reparations advocates initially sought support from white-majority mainline Protestant churches such as the United Presbyterian Church, which responded ambivalently. During the 1980s and 1990s, authorities made a series of reparations payments to other groups. Questions in the survey asked about many of these. One example is payments to Japanese Americans whom the U.S. government interned during World War II. Reparations activists have called for payments such as these as much for the symbolic apology they represent—and the actual apology that often accompanies them—as for the transfer of money.

The 2000 publication of anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson's *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks* and the filing of a lawsuit seeking damages from U.S. businesses allegedly involved in the slave trade have focused new attention on the issue of reparations to African Americans. African-American reparations advocates argue that pre-Civil War slave-owners never paid wages to African Americans they owned and worked as slaves and that the U.S. government never made good on a pledge to transfer land and capital confiscated from Southern landowners—the fabled “forty acres and a mule”—to former slaves. Advocates also point to a century of discrimination, exploitation, disenfranchisement, and expropriation that African Americans endured after the Civil War. Advocates argue that U.S. whites, in particular, still profit from the massive transfer of money away from African Americans that all of this has represented. Advocates point to wide racial differences in personal wealth today as a legacy of this economic chasm that reparations payments might help bridge. Occasionally analysts have suggested a trade: the U.S. government pays African Americans reparations, and the country ends all vestiges of affirmative action policies and programs.

Reparations critics argue that it's impossible to identify exactly which African Americans' ancestors served as slaves and for how long, which might complicate the technical aspects of reparations payments. The critics also argue that many U.S. whites and other non-blacks moved to the United States after the Civil War. Either way, say the critics, it's not fair to tax non-African Americans to compensate African Americans for actions with which the non-African Americans as individuals were not at all involved. In addition, suggest the critics, U.S. society has essentially already compensated African Americans for whatever financial hardship slavery and discrimination might have caused them though several decades of affirmative action and generous welfare programs that have disproportionately aided African Americans.

Sources:

Shelly Campo, Teresa Mastin, and M. Somjen Frazer, “Predicting and Explaining Public Opinion Regarding U.S. Slavery Reparations,” *Howard Journal of Communications*, 1 (June/July 2004): 115-30.

Dalton Conley, “Forty Acres and a Mule: What If America Pays Reparations?” *Contexts*, 1 (Fall 2002): 13-20.

Melissa R. Michelson, “The Black Reparations Movement: Public Opinion and Congressional Policy Making,” *Journal of Black Studies*, 32 (May 2002): 574-87.

Report of the Task Force to Study Reparations—from the Assembly Committee on National Issues (Item 10-023, pp. 1-17), 216th Annual General Assembly (2004).

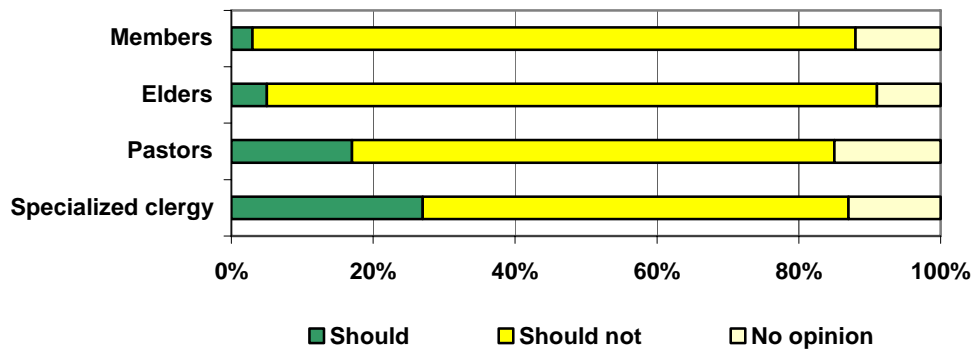
Randall Robinson, *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks* (New York: Dutton, 2000).

OPINION ON ACTIONS

Proposed Federal Government Reparations Payments

- ✓ Nearly seven out of every eight lay people (members, 85%; elders, 86%) oppose the proposal that the federal government “pay money to African Americans whose ancestors were slaves as compensation for that slavery.” Two-thirds of ministers (pastors, 68%; specialized clergy, 60%) oppose that proposal.
- ✓ Only 3% of church members—but 17% of pastors and 27% of specialized clergy—say the federal government *should* implement that proposal. One in ten panelists report having *no opinion* about the proposal.

Figure 8. Opinion on Whether the Federal Government Should Compensate African Americans Whose Ancestors Were Slaves



Comparing Presbyterians and Other Americans

A February 2002 Gallup Poll asked a question about reparations to African Americans as compensation for slavery that was quite similar to the question the Presbyterian Panel asked in fall 2003. A comparison of responses is presented in Table 1. Presbyterian church members are less supportive of reparations to African Americans as compensation for slavery than Americans as a whole are. Presbyterian pastors, on the other hand, are somewhat more supportive of reparations than Americans as a whole. Since Gallup did not offer a no opinion or similar response option (recording only volunteered responses of don't know), the table presents the responses only for those who expressed a definite opinion on each question, both among panelists and among Gallup respondents.

**Table 1
A Comparison of Opinions on Reparations: Gallup Poll and Panel Survey**

Question: Do you think the federal government should or should not pay money to African Americans whose ancestors were slaves as compensation for that slavery?

	Gallup	Panel		White Respondents Only		
		Members	Pastors	Gallup	Panel Members	Panel Pastors
Should.....	15%	3%	20%	6%	2%	17%
Should not.....	85%	97%	80%	94%	98%	83%

The vast majority of panelists (members, 97%)—like Presbyterians in general (members, 92%)—are white. A comparison of responses for white Presbyterian panelists and white Americans in general is included in Table 1. White Presbyterian church members are somewhat less supportive of reparations for African Americans than white Americans as a whole are. White Presbyterian pastors, on the other hand, are more supportive of reparations than white Americans as a whole.

Source: CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll: February 8-10, 2002—Final Topline.

How Do Opinions of Racial-Ethnic Panelists Differ?

There are too few racial-ethnic respondents in the Panel (members, 3%; elders, 4%; pastors, 8%; specialized clergy, 12%) for definitive, reliable comparisons with white respondents. Furthermore, we know that lay racial-ethnic panelists are not typical of all racial-ethnic Presbyterians in one important respect: more of them attend white-majority congregations. Still, let's take a cautious look at how white and racial-ethnic Presbyterians compare for two Panel groups, member and pastors.

The issue of reparations payments to racial-ethnic groups divides white and racial-ethnic Presbyterians, more or less as it does white and racial-ethnic Americans as a whole. Racial-ethnic panelists—members and pastors—are more likely than white panelists to support reparations payments to African Americans to compensate for slavery. Racial-ethnic panelists are more likely to say racial reconciliation has a long way to go in the United States and to say that reparations is a subject that is personally important to them. Racial-ethnic panelists are also more likely to support the denomination developing resources on reparations and to want the denomination to take a stand in support of reparations for African Americans. In addition, racial-ethnic pastors are more likely to have heard or preached sermons on reparations. In contrast to this pattern, white and racial-ethnic panelists are equally likely to want the denomination to support reparations payments to Native Americans.

Reparations Opinions by Gender and Partisan Political Identification: Members

It is not, however, just white and racial-ethnic Presbyterian panelists who hold different opinions on reparations. In complex, interrelated ways, gender and partisan political identification also make a difference in Presbyterian church members' reparations views.

Among member panelists, one in ten women who identify themselves as Democrats (11%) say that the federal government *should* pay reparations to African Americans as compensation for the slavery experience. No more than 3% of the panelists in any other gender/political party category support reparations for African Americans (see Table 2).

Most Republican men (94%) say that the federal government *should not* pay reparations to African Americans. Five in six Republican women (84%), women who identify themselves as independents or affiliated with a minor party (83%), and politically independent and minor party-identified men (88%) oppose African American reparations. Democratic men are somewhat more likely than Democratic women to oppose reparations.

Table 2. Church Members' Opinion about Reparations by Gender and Partisan Political Identification

Q7. Do you think the federal government should or should not pay money to African Americans whose ancestors were slaves as compensation for the slavery of their ancestors?

	Democratic women	Democratic men	Republican women	Republican men	Other women	Other men
Should.....	11%	2%	2%	0%	2%	3%
Should not.....	73%	94%	84%	94%	83%	88%
No opinion.....	16%	4%	14%	7%	15%	9%

Reparations Opinions by Gender, Partisan Political Identification, and Theology: Pastors

Pastors are more evenly divided in their opinions about reparations. Gender, political party, and theology are linked to these opinions.

Gender. Although the results in Table 3 show that similar proportions of men and women Presbyterian pastors support reparations for African American, seven in ten men pastors (71%)—but only three in five women (62%)—oppose African-American reparations.

Partisan political identification. As Table 3 also shows, more than a quarter of Presbyterian pastors who identify themselves as Democrats (28%)—but less than one in ten who identify themselves as Republicans (4%) or as independents or affiliated with minor parties (9%)—support reparations for African Americans. Most Republican pastors (89%)—but only half of Democrats (52%)—oppose African-American reparations. More Democrats (20%) than Republicans (6%) or independents and minor party-identified pastors (12%) say they have no opinion.

Table 3. Pastors' Opinion about Reparations by Gender and Partisan Political Identification

Q7. Do you think the federal government should or should not pay money to African Americans whose ancestors were slaves as compensation for the slavery of their ancestors?

	Women	Men	Democratic	Others	Republican
Should.....	19%	16%	28%	9%	4%
Should not.....	62%	71%	52%	79%	89%
No opinion.....	19%	13%	20%	12%	6%

Theology. Only one in ten Presbyterian pastors who *agree* or *strongly agree* with the statement “only followers of Jesus Christ can be saved” (9%) back reparations, while nearly a quarter of pastors who *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with that statement (24%) support reparations. Four in five pastors who *agree* or *strongly agree* with the statement (81%)—but only three in five pastors who *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement (59%)—oppose reparations.

Table 4. Pastors' Opinion about Reparations by Theology

Q7. Do you think the federal government should or should not pay money to African Americans whose ancestors were slaves as compensation for the slavery of their ancestors?

BQ27e. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements: Only followers of Jesus Christ can be saved. (A previous Panel survey asked this question.)

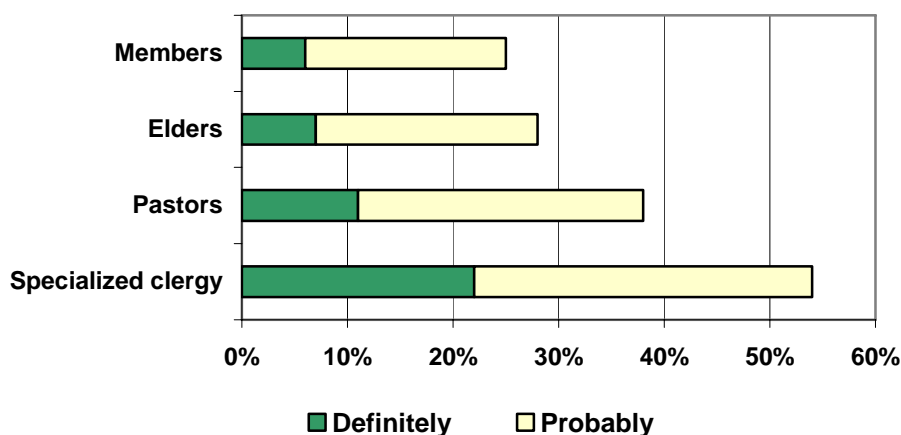
	<u>Only followers of Jesus Christ can be saved</u>		
	Strongly Agree and Agree	Not Sure	Strongly Disagree and Disagree
Should.....	9%	19%	24%
Should not.....	81%	66%	59%
No opinion.....	10%	15%	17%

DENOMINATIONAL ACTIONS

Proposed Development of Denominational Reparations Resources

- ✓ Six in ten lay people (members, 57%; elders, 62%) oppose—either *probably* or *definitely*—the idea that the PC(USA) should “develop discussion resources for congregations on reparations.” Just more than half of pastors (52%) and roughly four in ten specialized clergy (39%) oppose the idea.
- ✓ A quarter of lay people (members, 25%; elders, 28%) and four in ten pastors (38%) favor the idea of the denomination developing discussion resources on reparations (either *probably* or *definitely*). Only in the case of specialized clergy do more panelists favor than oppose the resources development idea: 54% of specialized clergy favor the idea.

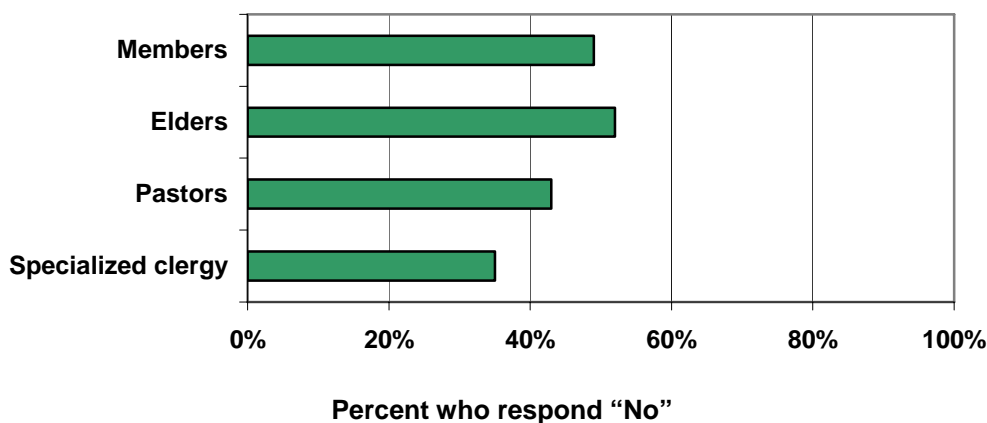
Figure 9. Support for Denominational Development of Reparations Resources



Proposed Denominational Policy Making

- ✓ Half of lay people (members, 49%; elders, 52%) oppose the idea of the PC(USA) General Assembly taking a stand or issuing a policy statement on the issue of reparations to African Americans.
- ✓ Approximately four in ten ministers (pastors, 43%; specialized clergy, 35%) also oppose such a move.

Figure 10. Opposition to PC(USA) Taking a Stand on Reparations for African Americans

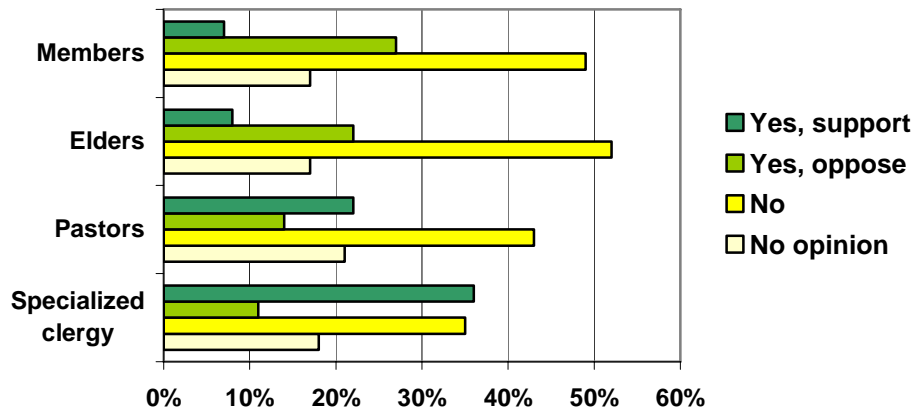


Question: Do you think the PC(USA) General Assembly should take a stand or issue a policy statement on the issue of reparations to African Americans?

DENOMINATIONAL ACTIONS

- ✓ A majority of members and elders who support the development of a denominational policy on reparations to African Americans want the denomination to *oppose reparations for this group*. A quarter of members (27%) back the denomination opposing African-American reparations, while only 7% back the denomination supporting reparations.
- ✓ On the other hand, a majority of ministers who support the development of a denominational policy on reparations to African Americans want the denomination to *support reparations for this group*. A quarter of pastors (22%) and 36% of specialized clergy back the denomination supporting reparations for African Americans.
- ✓ Roughly one in five panelists (members, 17%; pastors, 21%) report *no opinion* about the denomination staking out a position on reparations.

Figure 11. Opinion about the PC(USA) Taking a Stand on Reparations for African Americans



Question: Do you think the PC(USA) General Assembly should take a stand or issue a policy statement on the issue of reparations to African Americans?

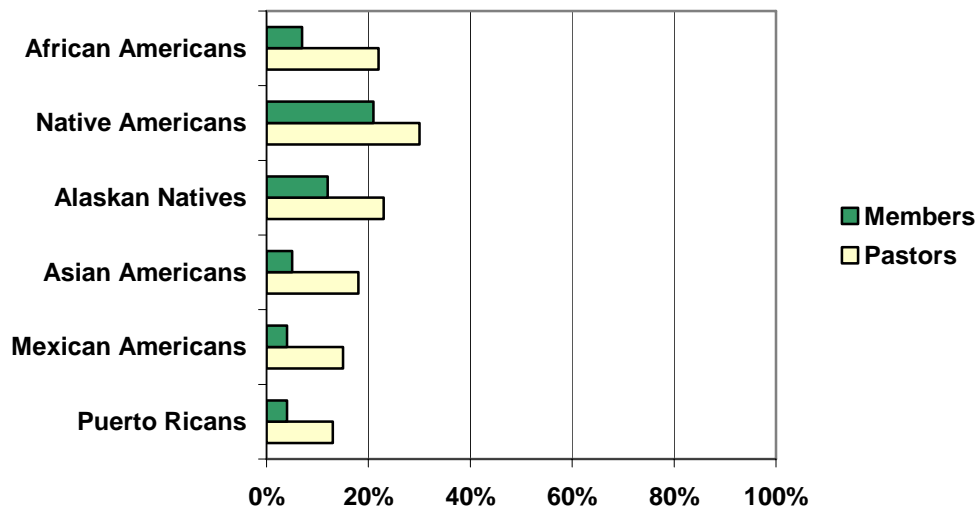
Reparations for Other Groups

- ✓ No matter what group might be the recipient of reparations (African Americans, Native Americans, Alaska Natives, Asian Americans, or Puerto Ricans), half of lay people oppose the denomination staking out a position on reparations. One-third to half of ministers oppose the PC(USA) taking a position on reparations for these groups.
- ✓ Larger proportions of panelists who support denominational policy making on reparations for Native Americans and Alaska Natives than of panelists who support policy making on reparations for African Americans want the denomination to back reparations for those groups. Majorities of church members and elders who support denominational policy making want the denomination to oppose reparations. For Native Americans only, more members (21%) back the denomination supporting reparations than back it opposing reparations (19%). The same is true with elders, with 19% of them backing denominational support for reparations for Native Americans, and 17% opposing such reparations.
- ✓ More than one in ten lay people (members, 12%; elders, 11%) also want the denomination to support Alaska Native reparations, though this still lags behind the one in five (members, 21%; elders, 18%) who want the denomination to oppose reparations for this group.
- ✓ More ministers want the denomination to support reparations than want the denomination to oppose them, with at least a quarter backing denominational support for reparations for Native Americans (pastors, 30%; specialized clergy, 47%) and Alaska Natives (pastors, 23%; specialized clergy, 37%).

DENOMINATIONAL ACTIONS

- ✓ Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans are the least popular possible reparations recipients. Between 4% and 7% of church members and elders want the denomination to support reparations to these groups, while 20% to 25% want the denomination to oppose reparations to these groups.
- ✓ One in eight to one in four pastors and specialized clergy want the denomination to support reparations for Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans, while one in ten to one in eight want the denomination to oppose reparations for these groups.

Figure 12
Backing for Denominational Support for Reparations for Various Groups



Percent who respond “Yes, to *support* reparations for this group”

Question: Do you think the PC(USA) should take a stand or issue a policy statement on the issue of reparations for this group?

THE PRESBYTERIAN PANEL

Fall 2003 Special Survey

Reparations

	Members	Elders	Ministers
Number of surveys mailed.....	1,052	1,305	1,403
Number of surveys returned	550	816	946 ‡
Percent returned.....	52%	62%	67%

‡ of the 946 returned surveys, 625 came from pastors and 321 from specialized clergy

Q1. Which phrase below do you think does the *best* job of capturing the meaning of the term “reparations” as you understand it? (✓ *only one.*)

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Diffusing anger	1%	2%	2%	2%
Providing compensation	27%	30%	23%	22%
Seeking justice	4%	3%	12%	17%
Making amends.....	31%	28%	20%	22%
Redistributing undeserved gains.....	4%	6%	9%	9%
Reconciling divisions.....	4%	4%	4%	2%
Bringing closure.....	2%	3%	5%	3%
Repairing wrongs.....	21%	22%	25%	23%
Don't know/not familiar with the term.....	5%	3%	1%	1%

Q2. How far would you say the United States has come toward achieving racial reconciliation?

The task of racial reconciliation is complete	4%	3%	*	2%
The task is largely accomplished	19%	16%	4%	6%
The task is far from accomplished, but much work has been done.....	61%	64%	68%	56%
The task is far from accomplished, although some work has been done	14%	15%	24%	32%
The task of racial reconciliation has barely begun.....	2%	1%	3%	4%

Q3. How familiar or unfamiliar are you with the concept of reparations for racial ethnic or other groups that have experienced unjust treatment?

Very familiar.....	8%	10%	14%	20%
Familiar.....	44%	51%	57%	58%
Not too familiar.....	38%	33%	27%	19%
Not at all familiar.....	10%	6%	2%	3%

Note. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

		Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Q4.	Are you aware that reparations have been paid:				
a.	By the U.S. government to Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II?				
	Yes.....	82%	86%	88%	88%
	No.....	18%	14%	12%	12%
b.	By the Swiss government to Jewish people for bank accounts appropriated during World War II?				
	Yes.....	62%	70%	78%	82%
	No.....	38%	30%	22%	18%
c.	By German corporations to persons who worked as forced laborers during World War II?				
	Yes.....	38%	43%	51%	53%
	No.....	62%	57%	49%	47%
d.	By Canada to First Nation children who were taken from their families and placed in boarding schools?				
	Yes.....	12%	15%	24%	33%
	No.....	88%	85%	76%	67%
e.	By New Zealand to Maori people for wrongs committed in the late 1800s?				
	Yes.....	13%	13%	21%	24%
	No.....	87%	87%	79%	76%
f.	By Austria to people who worked as forced laborers during World War II?				
	Yes.....	18%	18%	20%	27%
	No.....	82%	82%	80%	73%
g.	By the United States government to some Native American peoples?				
	Yes.....	79%	80%	79%	80%
	No.....	21%	20%	21%	20%
Q5.	Concerning reparations, how often in the last 12 months have you:				
a.	read a newspaper or magazine article on this topic?				
	None	29%	26%	23%	28%
	1-2 times.....	48%	46%	55%	44%
	3-4 times.....	16%	20%	18%	17%
	5-6 times.....	6%	5%	3%	8%
	7 times or more.....	2%	4%	1%	4%
b.	watched a television feature or news story on this topic?				
	None	43%	42%	48%	46%
	1-2 times.....	41%	43%	43%	43%
	3-4 times.....	11%	10%	8%	8%
	5-6 times.....	4%	3%	2%	2%
	7 times or more.....	1%	2%	*	1%

Note. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

	Members	Elders	Pastors	Specialized Clergy
Q5. Concerning reparations, how often in the last 12 months have you:				
(Cont.)				
c. heard or preached a sermon on this topic?				
None	89%	89%	95%	88%
1-2 times	9%	8%	4%	10%
3-4 times	1%	1%	1%	2%
5-6 times	*	1%	—	*
7 times or more.....	*	1%	*	—
d. been involved in a conversation or discussion on this topic?				
None	48%	45%	46%	37%
1-2 times	36%	34%	38%	39%
3-4 times	11%	14%	12%	15%
5-6 times	2%	3%	3%	6%
7 times or more.....	3%	4%	1%	3%
Q6. How familiar or unfamiliar are you with the proposal to have the federal government make reparations to African Americans as compensation for the slavery of their ancestors?				
Very familiar	6%	7%	8%	9%
Familiar	43%	44%	46%	52%
Not too familiar	34%	37%	41%	32%
Not at all familiar	16%	12%	6%	7%
Q7. Do you think the federal government should or should not pay money to African Americans whose ancestors were slaves as compensation for that slavery?				
Should	3%	5%	17%	27%
Should not	85%	86%	68%	60%
No opinion.....	12%	9%	15%	13%
Q8. How important is the subject of reparations to you, personally?				
Very important	6%	7%	5%	9%
Important	30%	29%	33%	36%
Not too important	52%	51%	52%	46%
Not at all important	12%	13%	10%	8%
Q9. Before receiving this questionnaire, were you aware that the 213 th General Assembly (2001) of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) created a task force to look at the issue of reparations for African Americans, Alaska Natives, Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others who have experienced unjust treatment, and report its findings and recommendations to the 216 th General Assembly (2004) regarding how the church can foster dialogue and healing?				
Yes	7%	11%	29%	29%
No.....	93%	89%	71%	71%

Note. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

Q10. Would you like the PC(USA) to develop discussion resources for congregations on reparations?

Yes, definitely	6%	7%	11%	22%
Yes, probably	19%	21%	27%	32%
No, probably not.....	39%	38%	34%	27%
No, definitely not	18%	24%	18%	12%
Not sure	18%	10%	9%	7%

Q11. Do you think the PC(USA) General Assembly should take a stand or issue a policy statement on the issue of reparations to:

a. African Americans				
Yes, to <i>oppose</i> reparations for this group.....	27%	22%	14%	11%
Yes, to <i>support</i> reparations for this group.....	7%	8%	22%	36%
No.....	49%	52%	43%	35%
No opinion.....	17%	17%	21%	18%
b. Native Americans				
Yes, to <i>oppose</i> reparations for this group.....	19%	17%	10%	7%
Yes, to <i>support</i> reparations for this group.....	21%	19%	30%	47%
No.....	44%	49%	40%	30%
No opinion.....	17%	15%	20%	16%
c. Alaska Natives				
Yes, to <i>oppose</i> reparations for this group.....	21%	18%	11%	7%
Yes, to <i>support</i> reparations for this group.....	12%	11%	23%	37%
No.....	47%	51%	42%	31%
No opinion.....	21%	20%	25%	25%
d. Asian Americans				
Yes, to <i>oppose</i> reparations for this group.....	23%	20%	13%	9%
Yes, to <i>support</i> reparations for this group.....	5%	7%	18%	25%
No.....	51%	53%	44%	36%
No opinion.....	20%	19%	26%	30%
e. Mexican Americans				
Yes, to <i>oppose</i> reparations for this group.....	25%	21%	13%	10%
Yes, to <i>support</i> reparations for this group.....	4%	5%	15%	21%
No.....	52%	54%	46%	39%
No opinion.....	19%	19%	26%	29%
f. Puerto Ricans				
Yes, to <i>oppose</i> reparations for this group.....	24%	21%	13%	10%
Yes, to <i>support</i> reparations for this group.....	4%	5%	13%	21%
No.....	52%	54%	46%	39%
No opinion.....	19%	21%	28%	30%

Q12. Please use the space below for additional comments [Not tabulated]

