



***Investigating the Black and White Racial Disparities:  
Policy options for Reparations for Black Americans descendants of  
American Enslavement in Charlottesville, Virginia***

*by*

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FRANK BATTEN SCHOOL  
*of LEADERSHIP and PUBLIC POLICY*

*\*\*\* Don't be afraid, for I am with you.  
Don't be discouraged, for I am your God.  
I will strengthen you and help you.  
I will hold you up with my victorious right hand.  
Isaiah 41:10—The New Living Translation \*\*\**



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Like most “creationists,” I give thanks first to my Creator.

I want to thank my parents—though I may not see them as we walk the University lawn, I would not be here if it weren’t for them. To them, I owe the legacy I carry.

Thanks to Dr. Frank Dukes, Ph.D., Distinguished Fellow of UVA’s Institute for Engagement and Negotiation and founder of UCARE to address UVA’s legacy of enslavement and white supremacy. Though I had a very short virtual internship, I would not have stepped my feet in these waters without you. I am sincerely grateful!

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This is a unique expression of gratitude to Ms. Cynthia Finley, whose husband, a notable Christian athlete, became the “undefeated Inter-Collegiate Middleweight Boxing Champion” at UVA in 1944. Your kindness and generosity in honoring your husband’s legacy made it possible for me to finish this season at the University today.

Last but not least, to my family, friends, and supporting community outside of the Batten School in Charlottesville. I got attached to the city quickly, and my love for Virginia grew stronger every year because of you. Thank you!

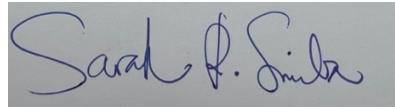
*“Ninety-nine percent of success is showing up”—Batten School Dean Ian Solomon, Fall 2020*

## DISCLAIMER

The author—the principal investigator, conducted this study as part of the professional graduate program at the University of Virginia Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy. This Applied Policy Project is submitted in partial fulfillment of the Master of Public Policy degree course requirements. The analysis, judgments, and conclusions are solely those of the author. They are not necessarily endorsed by the Frank Batten School, the University of Virginia, the Descendants of Enslaved Communities at the University of Virginia, or any other agency.

## HONOR CODE

On my honor as a University of Virginia student, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this assignment. May 12, 2022

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Sarah F. Simba".

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## GLOSSARY AND ACRONYMS

DEC-UVA: Descendants of Enslaved Communities at the University of Virginia

DRC: the Democratic Republic of the Congo

HB1980: the House Bill “Enslaved Ancestors College Access Scholarship and Memorial Program

JSCAAHC: The Jefferson School African American Heritage Center

I.E.N: Institute for Engagement and Negotiation

LULAC: League of United Latin American Citizens

LTPC: Let the Present Trends Continue

NRP4B: National Reparations Program for Black Americans

NPREC: the National Prison Rape Elimination Commission

U.S.: the United States of America

USA: the United States of America

VA: the state of Virginia

UVA: The University of Virginia

UCARE: University and Community Action for Racial Equity

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The university: The University of Virginia

The Center: The Jefferson School African American Heritage Center

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Enslaved people of African descent played a vital role in the construction and success of the University of Virginia as an institution of higher education and the establishment of the United States of America as a country. This project aimed to carry out a systemic analysis of policy options affecting the Black and White racial disparities in Charlottesville, Virginia. We provide DEC-UVA with policy alternatives directed toward making available solutions to address this gap. DEC-UVA's quest to "reclaim, honor, and repair" today's state of affairs for Black Americans descendants of the enslaved that labored at the university is not about retributive justice but rather restorative.

To honor the legacy of enslaved and free Black communities that historically labored and lived at the university and in the Charlottesville city area and their descendants, today DEC-UVA is committed to an essential assignment to "research, reclaim the narrative, and honor" them to achieve restorative justice for communities rooted at UVA and surrounding regions.<sup>1</sup>"

We aimed to investigate the Black and White racial disparities through policy options affecting reparations without which differences, inequalities, and inequities will persist, affecting future Black descendants and the American way of life. Charlottesville in Central Virginia has a history beyond its current people's experience. The city of Charlottesville, Black American residents' reparations efforts to address the enduring racial disparities, and the current socio-cultural context to close the Black and White divide, American Enslavement and Virginia as a state. We looked at specific elements and structures of possible policies permitting the construction of a durable framework leading to reparations for the legacy of enslavement with the potential to address the Black and White at its core. We provide recommendations to DeTeasa Gathers and Bertha French, both Co-Chair of DEC-UVA with policy options as potential solutions to address this gap as follow: To DEC-UVA:

- **Commissions to study policy options to address racial disparities in Charlottesville for DEC-UVA:** to join the current trends to advocate and create a commission in Charlottesville to study the Black and white disparities and the lingering effect of enslavement and historical landmarks after the American Civil War.
- **State or City level policy program for DEC-UVA:** create or decide on policy programs to design a city-level reparations program based on their understanding of policy options to address the Black and White disparities at the university and in the City.
- **Legal Scholarship and Memorialization Programs for DEC-UVA:** to advertise and prepare eligible Black Americans in Charlottesville and Virginia residents for the available legal scholarship provisions required by Virginia Law for higher education institutions to

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<sup>1</sup> DEC-UVA Mission, 2022

provide such funds in reckoning with their ties to the legacy of enslavement in the United States annually.

- **Truth and Reconciliation Commission model for DEC-UVA:** To partner with the JSAAHC and other local stakeholders at the University of Virginia and the Charlottesville city area to build a strong coalition and operationalize the local Truth and Reconciliation Commission to reach a restorative justice rather than a retributive one—and create a framework for reparations.

We evaluated each policy alternative option regarding its Cost-effectiveness, and political feasibility, including social acceptability and sustainability; equity and efficiency—Equality, Fairness, and Justice, and Implementation feasibility—practicability of Legal feasibility based on social cohesion. We based our recommendation, implementation, and conclusion on the findings of the outcome. We quantified available financial feasibility possibilities and used sensitivity analysis for all estimates for the four policy alternatives. The final policy option we recommend is based on the criteria above. Our research and analysis indicate that TRC is the most probable and the best foundation to make adequate preparation for the required and essential supporting structure for a robust framework for reparations aiming at the closure of the existing racial disparities.

This analysis demonstrated that further work is needed to address the Black and White disparities with policy options that make available reparations for the enduring effects of enslavement in the United States. However, the Truth and Reconciliation model has the best potential to pave solid grounds for truth-telling, restorative, and transitional to address the problem from its root cause. We recommend the Truth and Reconciliation model as a policy option to address Charlottesville's Black and White disparities. In their quest to “reclaim, honor, and repair” today’s state of affairs, Black American descendants of the enslaved labored at the University of Virginia; the best and most effective way to attain this is for DEC-UVA to join community-based locally based stakeholders, operationalize the Central Virginia Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and aim at restorative justice rather than retributive according to their vision.

DEC-UVA should prioritize the establishment *of a reparations framework and advocate that the University, the Charlottesville city council, and the State of Virginia provide reparations funds to amend this problem at the University, in the city and surrounding area.*

***The importance of the Batten School required an Internship Program.***

*How did you get involved in this issue? I am grateful to the Batten Career Center, which worked with me to find the perfect internship for me. I graduated from the Protestant University in DRC. I came to the Batten School years later after identifying with what I read on the school website. After reading the school mission, I was compelled to apply and hoped to be accepted. I am so grateful I was. It was hard to qualify for the internships I wanted. But I ended up with the right one. While living in Charlottesville, I never knew, though, or imagined the ties between the history of enslavement and racial inequities in the city around the university. The progression of this understanding and awareness gradually became apparent the longer I lived in town. I questioned what I saw in differences in specific neighborhoods. Some observations, to some extent, looked similar to what I have seen overseas. Things started to make sense. Most of my challenging policy questions found ways to be potentially answered during my time at Batten. There are reasons—there is a history behind why things are the way they are today.*

*The Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy's mission<sup>2</sup> "is to develop leaders and generate new knowledge to solve the world's most tough public policy challenges." Through training in policy analysis and critical leadership skills, the school and its faculty:*

- "Develop effective and ethical leaders to promote a better society."
- "Produce research addressing the most important policy problems."
- "Serve as a model for transforming public policy education."

*Carrying out a formal systemic inquiry to address racial disparities had never been on my radar. After living in the city of Charlottesville for just about ten years, I've come to love Virginia, its countryside, and the University thereof. After the Unite rally in 2017, most of my White friends—Christians and non-Christians began to express their disapproval of the racial inequities and inequitable policies they were aware of in this country and city. I also became aware of how I was viewed, treated, and expected to live by some people. My internship at the IEN assigned me with a task to research, analyze, and summarize reparations for the enslavement of Black Americans news the UCARE's weekly newsletter. This experience led me to embrace this quest: repair is owed to and for the people of African descendants of those who were enslaved. There is a better way. The chapter on inequities can be closed. In 2022, the time has never been propitious. I hope for DEC-UVA and future policy analysts to use this idea as a steppingstone expecting many to run with this idea to transform the university, the city, the state of Virginia, the U.S, and our world for the best.*

*Sarah R. Simba*

*May 2022*

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<sup>2</sup> The Batten School Mission can be found on the school website

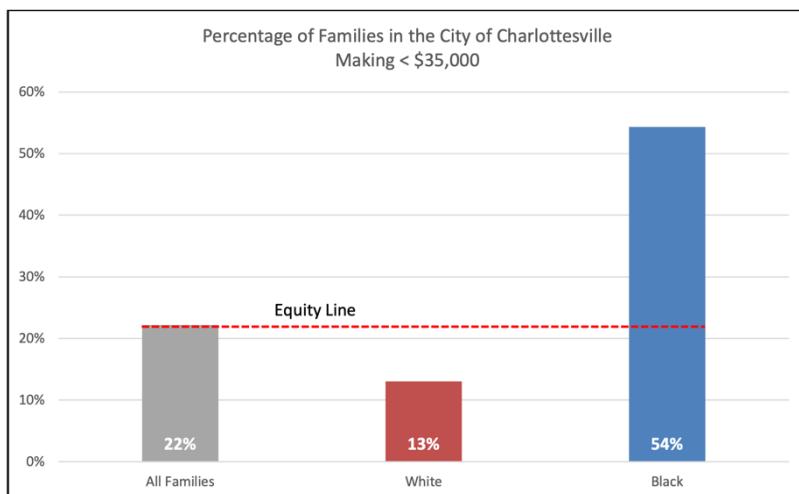
## 1. INTRODUCTION

### *The Problem Definition*

#### a. *Problem Statement*

“54% of black families in Charlottesville are poor, while only 13% are white” (Schuyler, 2021). Nationally, “one-quarter of White American households have a net worth over \$1 million; while only four percent of Black households have a comparable level of wealth.” “**A Black household has \$850,000 less in net worth than the average White American household**” (Darity et al., 2020). Racial disparities disproportionately show up in the White-Black wealth gap, where “thirteen percent of the nation’s population descendants of enslaved in the U.S. possess only two-point-five percent of the nation’s wealth” (Darity et al., 2020). This inconsistency continues across healthcare, business ownership, small business development, economics, criminal justice, education, and homeownership (Basset et al., 2020). Inequalities generated from the effects of slavery, legal segregation, and ongoing discrimination based on race in the U.S. have hindered Black residents’ full citizenship enjoyment nationwide, and Charlottesville, Virginia, is no exception. **Looking at the difference in poverty rates, fifty-four percent of Black families in Charlottesville are poor, while only thirteen percent of White families are. These figures are from the Orange Dot Report (Schuyler, 2021).** Given the national momentum on racial reckoning and justice, unless active engagement is seized now in Charlottesville, this opportunity could pass by, allowing inequities to continue or worsen, causing current and future black residents to suffer over time.

*Figure 1: Percentage of Families in the city of Charlottesville living in poverty*



**b. Client overview:**

DEC-UVA is a public interest and advocacy research group independent from the UVA, seeking to “serve as the collective voice of all descendants of enslaved and free Black communities who labored at the University of Virginia through research, education, and preservation.” (DEC-UVA, 2022). As a newly established independent organization, the resolve to focus on the writ large of reparations aimed at Charlottesville and surrounding areas was appealing. Given our limited time and the needed research for an excellent product, the finalized scope of this report could only include the city and none of the surrounding neighborhoods, along with counties from Augusta, Nelson, Fluvanna, Madison, and Orange, to name a few.

DEC-UVA doesn’t have much policy implementation power to support its target population. However, they have a network to advocate for policies this APP will evaluate. DEC-UVA will have the capacity to make the impact of the APP’s findings a reality tangible for descendants in Charlottesville and the Black population at large in Central Virginia. DEC-UVA wants policy recommendations for how best to advocate for the descendants of enslaved workers at the UVA in Charlottesville and the surrounding areas. They agree with the desired outcome in investigating policy options for reparations to see the livelihoods of Black Americans, descendants of the enslaved and free Black communities in Charlottesville, and their surroundings improved. This problem fits precisely into the overall goal, mission, and Vision of the DEC-UVA organization as a client. They are interested in the university area, Charlottesville, and other localities in Central Virginia.

*Figure 2: Memorial to Enslaved Laborers at UVA, May 12, 2022*



## 2. BACKGROUND

### *Problem Importance*

Racial disparities in Charlottesville are as pervasive as they are across the U.S. Addressing these gaps is timely with a level of salience like never before, probably with the murder of Georges Floyd in 2020. The number of U.S. populous mobs protesting disparities and discrimination against people of African descent in the U.S. demonstrated how much of a national concern this problem is. The issue of inequalities across Blacks and Whites racial lines is of great significance currently in history. Charlottesville, VA, is now playing a vital role with the potential to address domestic politics at the heart of the U.S and, at the same time, transform the lives of Black residents and others affected by injustices over time. The history of enslavement in the city and at the University of Virginia are intrinsically linked. Stating the facts of one does not mean forgoing the other. Given the depth of the racial history in Charlottesville, from the enslavement as a starting point to the years of reconstruction and the failure of its promises, instances of harm throughout the city have left their marks from the Venable Lane, the Black community building, and destruction of Vinegar hill, Gospel hill, and Starr hill (Rivanna Archeological Consulting Charlottesville, Virginia, 2003). In addition to the past and current housing crisis that came with this trauma, add on the job market, educational achievement gaps, the Unite the Right rally in 2017, and their trial in 2021—it is clear that a policy window is wide open for decision-makers to address these racial disparities within the city.

Understanding the crucial urgency that comes with the gravity of the Tulsa Riots, for instance, helps to grasp and highlight the significance of the 2017 Unite the Right Rally that happened in Charlottesville. In Tulsa, a mob of white residents encouraged and equipped by city government officials led a violent disturbance attacking their Black neighbors, destroying homes and Black-owned Businesses, and taking the lives of twenty-six Blacks and thirteen Whites of the Greenwood District. Cities like Tulsa also play a key role in stressing the magnitude of this issue. The politics surrounding amendments that must tackle centuries of injustices and harms are worth noting with great emphasis. Looking at the Case for Reparations in Tulsa, the Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2020) ascertained that “lives lost” will never be restored “and harms in various ways, may never be fully repaired” (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

The hatred and violence demonstrated in Tulsa are still present in cities like Charlottesville 100 years later. The Unite the Right Rally in 2017 is an example of the legacy of white supremacy and hatred in the Charlottesville area (Hirschheimer, 2021). Time will not fix the problem, so scholars and others have investigated addressing such historical issues. To further expand understanding and additional information on the background of this problem relating to the city of Charlottesville and its ties to the University can be found in the Appendix.

### **3. REVIEW OF EXISTING EVIDENCE**

#### *Existing knowledge on ways to reduce the Black-White disparities*

One needs not look too far or research deep to see disparities between Blacks and Whites in Charlottesville. The life expectancy of Black Americans has been increasing, but Blacks continue to die earlier than their Whites counterparts on average. Black and White gaps persist because of power, money, and access to resources. According to Bassett et al. (2020), when it comes to opportunities for “good housing, better education, fair wages, safe workplaces, clean air, drinkable water, and healthier food,” for Black people, these are linked to their health and shape their life expectancy (Bassett et al., 2020). The racial health gap can only be closed by policy options addressing the racial wealth gap. Policy options and efforts to address these gaps are bound to fail unless they aim to provide resources for sustainable health, empowering Black Americans to transform their livelihoods across future generations. As an example, in Charlottesville, “Pre COVID-19, throughout the entire health district—including the city of Charlottesville and the counties of Albemarle, Fluvanna, Greene, Louisa, and Nelson, life expectancy for Black residents was 74.7 years, while White residents lived to an average of 81.2 years old, six and a half years longer” (Charlottesville Tomorrow, 2021 & Yager, 2022)

The literature on addressing Black and White racial disparities through policy options has existing evidence from cities around the U.S. and the world, including examples such as Africa, Canada, Nepal, and Northern Ireland, which serve as best practices for this project. This section will compare efforts city councils and municipalities have been taking to address inequities found across racial lines. In addition, lessons pulled from the evidence that truth and reconciliation commissions around the world have drawn from wisdom and studies to inform policy will be mentioned. This section will also summarize what is and is not yet known about this policy domain and identify possible policy interventions for the DEC-UVA to inform the University, the city of Charlottesville, and the United States.

#### *Expected outcomes—Policies needed to reduce the Black-White disparities*

Racial disparities ranging from access to healthcare to business development, economics, and criminal justice could have shown disproportions between Black and White populations in the United States. About 54% of Black families in Charlottesville live below the poverty line compared to only 13 % of White families (Schuyler, 2021). Such a gap stems from the fact that Charlottesville, located in Central Virginia, is known for pervasive inequalities, given the city’s history of racial discrimination (Lockhart, 2019; Railton, 2017; Cultivate Charlottesville, 2022; National Park Service, 2021, and Blue Ribbon Commission, 2016).

### *The economic status or the transfer of wealth case*

The racial wealth gap is the most critical aspect of inequities showing the state of the difference between Black and White people. While African American households are projected to reach majority status by 2043, if the racial wealth divide is left unaddressed, median Black household wealth is on a path to hit zero by 2053, and median Latino household wealth is projected to hit zero twenty years later. (Institute for Policy Studies and Prosperity Now, 2017). Besides its apparent negative impact on human development for Black individuals and communities, the racial wealth gap also constrains the U.S. economy. Considering its effect on consumption and investment, the racial wealth disparity will cost the U.S. economy about \$1 trillion and \$1.5 trillion between 2019 and 2028.

Racial disparities in the U.S. are present beyond Black and White Americans. Asian American professionals are the least likely to be promoted from individual contributor roles into management, much less likely than any other race, including Black Americans and Hispanic Americans. (McKinsey & Company, 2019; Peck, 2018 et al.) “Black Americans are less likely to receive responses to emails.” As workers, Blacks are underrepresented in the highest-growth geographies and the highest-paying industries. Meanwhile, Black Americans are also overrepresented in low-growth landscapes and frontline jobs, which tend to pay less on average (Hill, 2020), (McKensey & Company, 2022).

### *The Healthcare case*

Degradation in health condition for Black Americans come mostly from chronic underlying preventable diseases. Studies have shown that, regardless of the advances in cancer treatment, patients from specific population groups, including racial and ethnic groups, and other underserved populations, are often less likely to receive the standard of care recommended for the type and stage of cancer they have been diagnosed with. A Black woman is 22% more likely to die from heart disease than a White woman; about 71% of Black women are more likely to perish from cervical cancer, and 243% more likely to die from pregnancy or childbirth-related causes. The study has shown that about “40% of adults are at risk for COVID-19 complications due to underlying health conditions”, and Black children are about three more likely to die the following survey than white peers (AMA, 2020).

Native American Indians and those born in Alaska today have a life expectancy of 5.5 years less than the U.S. all races population about 73.0 years to 78.5 years, respectively” (Eastman, 2020) & (Smith, 2022). African American men are 30% more likely to die from heart disease and 60% more likely to die from stroke than White men. Even among healthy children, Black patients are

almost 3.5 times more likely to die within a month after surgery than White patients. Black children had 18% relatively higher odds of developing complications after surgery and 7% somewhat more risk of developing serious adverse events, such as cardiac arrest, sepsis, readmission, or reoperation (AMA, 2020).

#### *Criminal Justice case across racial lines*

As of 2020, Black drivers were stopped about 43% more often than their white counterparts, relative to their population share stated to Stanford Open Policing Project. When Black drivers—regardless of their gender, according to LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens), 56% of Latinos have had contact with the criminal justice system firsthand or have a close family member that has such a connection. Compared to their white counterparts, 44% of Latinos are more likely to be convicted than Whites when convicted of property crimes, and 53% of Latinos are more likely to be sentenced than Whites for drug crimes. One in three young Black men will spend some time in prison. Over 50% of young Black high school dropouts will spend some time in prison. Exclusionary discipline in school starts students from suspension to dropout or failure to graduate. One suspension doubles the risk that a student will fail to graduate from high school, significantly increasing the risk of juvenile and criminal justice involvement (Pager, 2007& &Gross, 2020)

#### *What do we know today?*

Today in 2022, the United States Congress is closer than ever to policy decisions regarding reparations and possibly addressing lingering racial disparities (Scott, 2021). The highlight of the conversation on such policy options has been the establishment of commissions to study what public policy should provide and for whom such policy outcomes ought to be provided. Racial policy backtracking threatens the pledge of eleven U.S mayors to “pay reparations for slavery to small groups of Black residents” as a precedent to the rest of the country. Despite their pledge and other policy alternatives to address this problem, policymakers still lack concrete details and methodologies to deliver policy decisions and evaluate or monitor their projected effectiveness and impact on the eligible victims. The St. Louis Mayor stated that “Black Americans don’t need a study that sits on a shelf” but rather “decisive action to address the racial wealth gap holding Black across the country” (The Associated Press, 2021).

Having a handful of mayors across cities rising simultaneously to “sing the same chorus” has amplified the need to seize this timely opportunity and deal with policy options to benefit Black Americans accordingly. Investigating policy alternatives for the Case of Charlottesville, this research could use examples in cities such as Evanston in Illinois, Asheville in North Carolina, Providence in Rhode Island, Boston City in Massachusetts, Sacramento in California, Tulsa

Tallahassee in Oklahoma, etc. As each city has its history of enslavement, segregation laws, and other types of injustices, they all had different ideas on efforts, to begin with, when it comes to reparations. Initiatives varied from forming commissions to studying concrete policy options for eligible individuals and commissions to study what types of resources public policy might provide to alleviate disparities across racial lines. An example of a criticized case for what is not a policy option is the case of Evanston, for which it is said to be the first city to pay a dollar amount to eligible Blacks in the name of redressing the harm done to Black residents for a while; in an attempt to address racial disparities.

#### *Other Cities across the United States Exploring policy options to address racial disparities*

The need to address disparities between the Black and White population through the lenses of policy options is not a problem particularly bad just for Charlottesville or even the University of Virginia and the other four high education institutions in Central Virginia. Communities of enslaved descendants have been exploring policies and regulations to help close this gap. Cities like those mentioned in the section below will showcase more of what is happening around the country as of 2022. It seems like the highlight of the conversation on policy options for this has to do with the establishment of commissions to study what such policies should be and to whom they ought to be provided? As the country continues to grapple with the troubling facts of domestic politics, so as multiple states and cities at the same rate. The summary of best practices around the country could comprise the group of eleven U.S mayors commitment that have decided on policy options to “pay reparations for slavery to small groups of Black residents” as a precedent to serve the rest of the country in terms of addressing racial disparities between Black and White populations.

#### *Boston, Amherst, and Cambridge, Massachusetts*

Policy options have already been adopted to address this problem. Like Charlottesville, with Boston's traces of enslavement going back to the 1600s, the Boston city councilor has started a pilot effort to establish a commission to analyze the harm and damages and determine what people should get. Looking at just one disparity in net worth, the challenge the U.S is facing as a country is nothing compared to the difficulties Blacks have and continue to endure. The Mayor, Julia Mejia (2021), stated, “While the U.S. struggles to accept centuries of systemic oppression, many Black Bostonians struggle to make ends meet. When the city of Boston sees a net worth disparity of \$8 vs. \$247,500—it is time we explore our history with slavery and the idea of reparations” (Gavin, 2019).

At this stage, conversations are just assumptions and considerations to pay for policy options in similar ways described earlier to address this problem. In addition, Cambridge and Amherst's

efforts are to explore and decide on policy options to establish reparations, a program, and funds to benefit Black-owned Businesses and create a group to develop the plan for the money. In addition to the city Counselor's leadership, in terms of thinking about policy options beyond paychecks, municipalities in Boston are talking about "different approaches more than cash payments" (Murphy, 2021). Boston has two cities and municipalities engaged in the reparations for enslavement policy options conversation and work. DEC-UVA, the University, and the City of Charlottesville can do the same and take great advantage of the strategic place in Virginia and the nation.

### *Evanston, Illinois*

Recently, Evanston, IL has broken ground in providing policy options as reparations for Black residents in the city who were discriminated against; however, even after spending the ten anticipated millions that policy provided in reparations funds available, certain injustices may not be seen through. Their city council is the first around the country to be highly praised for the concreteness of a form of a tangible policy option as a reparations payment to its Black residents. Funded from cannabis revenue sales, descendants of harmed residents will receive \$25,000 to purchase a home, renovations, or mortgage assistance. The City council voted to use \$400,000 of a \$10 million reparation fund (Guarino, 2021).

Experts such as Darity and Mullen (2020) criticized this policy option as ample enough to be considered reparations are addressing racial disparities effectively. Darity and Mullen described policy alternatives for reparations as the primary aim of addressing "sharp and enduring reductions in racial disparities, particularly economic disparities like racial wealth inequality and corresponding sharp and enduring improvements in the Black well-being" (Jones, 2021). Darity (2020) said this policy is not addressing the problem as reparations. Darity argued that actual policy options for reparations should begin in the form of financial compensation of up to \$250,000 per eligible individual to address the wealth gap from an anticipated provision of between ten and twelve trillion dollars for forty million people across the country (Darity, 2021). With the small number of Black residents, Charlottesville might capture the number.

### *Providence, Rhode Island*

The city has been grappling with how best to provide policy options for reparations through reports to tackle four hundred years of racial injustice in Providence. Still, nothing concrete has been delivered or is set to be so far in ensuring the benefit of addressing this problem as it endures. Policy options for reparations and efforts to address this problem are at the same level as mentioned above. The mayor there recently signed an executive order to commence a "truth-telling and reparations process"; however, there is a contradiction with "Brown University's decision to

expand on the report on enslavement, without plans for any policy options. (Machado & McDermott, 2021). DEC-UVA in Charlottesville could establish a complete account of its history of enslavement and a clear path to provide policy options fitting for this area accordingly.

### *Tulsa, Oklahoma; and Tallahassee and Rosewood Florida*

As we mentioned before, Tulsa was one of the places that experienced the worst of the atrocities of racism and the opposition by elected government officials to prevent any efforts the Black community was putting together to recover from the riots. Discussions resound around the many millions owed to potential eligible, but no one is responsible for distributing the check. Even though it comes to Tulsa, policy options for this problem and efforts are considered a “part of a global movement to address deep-rooted oppression faced by Black citizens” for centuries, without much concretely poised to address this issue. Through efforts, current policy intentions are happening in the “latest lawsuit seeking compensation for the three known living survivors for the 1921 Tulsa Massacre and descendants of other victims” (Krebiel, 2021).

Nonetheless, Tallahassee, a tiny town of “less than two hundred thousand people” and the “oldest of the surviving Black towns in the country, founded after enslavement was abolished, also had its mayor engage with the other eleven to form a commission to study what policy options for this problem for their city could look like. Based on this case, though some researchers have also argued for the impossibility of available policy provisions for this problem, through films and documentaries such “*Invisible History: Middle Florida’s Hidden Roots*,”; there is a promise to see the challenging task “of illuminating the uncomfortable yet important history of the enslaved people in Leon County and Middle Florida” be profoundly successful (Taubman, 2021).

Florida never used the term reparations, but policy options used for payments, as in Rosewood, have a lot to teach the rest about being the first case for which eligible victims of a white mob attack received about \$150,000 in financial compensation years after 1923; when the atrocities occurred. Although there was a discrepancy between the official number of deaths caused by this event and what families in the Black communities reported, survivors and their descendants could benefit financially. The government did not stop the mob nor acknowledge the guilt of the terrorizers; the survivors and their descendants were compensated for the loss their families went through. This is just like we mentioned earlier when government officials expressly hinder efforts to tackle injustices in their cities. “The argument for Rosewood policy option for reparation hinged not on the reckless acts of a nameless mob, but on the government officials who refused to stop it” (Luckerson, 2020). Looking at all these cities, there is a lot that DEC-uva in the City of Charlottesville can learn from and implement for the population here that is so in desperate need of enduring systemic injustices to be shed light on in a durable way finally.

### *Policy Options for Charlottesville, Virginia, in the quest to resolve the Black and White disparities*

As of Charlottesville, a few initiatives on policy options to address this problem have been underway. The recently signed law requiring five institutions to provide scholarship funds and memorial programs for the descendants of the enslaved who labored at their institutions is the most tangible example. Besides this bill, there are no other actual efforts or expectations known to be put in place to address this issue this far. This bill is the most promising real effort to demonstrate the ability of this policy to reach and impact the lives of descendants of the enslaved who labored at the University of Virginia, many of whom are still living around the University, in Charlottesville, and surrounding areas of Central Virginia at large. A new idea of a policy option to provide a “reparations fund” was birthed and is expected to come out of the Robert E. Lee statue’s sale (Democracy Now, 2017).

In Charlottesville, efforts on policy options should begin at the community level. Seeking to first identify and listen attentively to the descendants of the enslaved, Black Americans who live in Charlottesville and surrounding areas, or even across the country who can tie their lineage to ancestors enslaved in the city could be a great start. Designing and implementing policy alternatives regarding their well-being must include them from the starting point.

Policy options for programs to address this problem for Black Americans in Charlottesville can also alleviate the wealth gap, not just for the Black and other races’ households. In 2021, when one can acquire capital to purchase houses and maintain them, one is on the pathway to making wealth in the U.S. There is also room for the city to include substantial skill-building, affordability, housing, health care, and other disparities. The city could also look at past laws that prevented Black Americans from having better educations and advocate for better laws that could easily and quickly address inequities in public school attendance which could be an excellent opportunity to elevate young citizens of all races in preparation for a great American republic tomorrow.

### *Takeaways from what City Councils are doing around the country.*

All policy-making efforts to address this racial gap have been on measures not proven lasting or effective in the actual possibility of addressing the problem. Focusing on Charlottesville, addressing disparities across racial lines should include surrounding areas, mainly the most rural spaces where our most vulnerable targeted subpopulations are found. Given the limited resources of literature and best practices to reduce disparities across races, it will be crucial to dive into government documents, media coverage, advocacy, and scholarships to sustain this investigation to reach our desired outcome and effective policy alternatives.

Charlottesville saw its most recent racial rally—the “Unite the Right rally” in 2017. Combined conversations about policy options for this problem are rising around the country. High educational institutions acknowledge their ties to enslavement. They are required by law to create some restitution for the damage caused by the lasting effects of enslavement to the descendants of those who labored for free at those institutions. Now more than ever is the time to hammer over this issue and hope to better our society for the better.

Considering now that the globe is recovering policies to adjust to a post-COVID-19 era, with different variants of this deadly epidemic bursting unexpectedly, based on what we know about other cities are doing that, as stated in the above pages, only when we ensure that Black residents of Charlottesville—the descendant of the enslaved at UVA are no longer expected to endure the legacies of enslavement and the legal years of oppression that followed that the city could play its role of bettering the state of affairs accordingly.

#### *Truth and Reconciliation Commissions Model (TRCs)*

Truth and Reconciliation Commissions handle matters concerning human rights violations, oppression, and other forms of pervasive mechanisms to bring about transformative justice. It took about five decades of apartheid and more than two centuries of racial violence. However, South Africa as a country eventually transitioned peacefully. In this case, a government in which “only the white population had the right to vote ended with a “democratically elected government.” The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is expected to look at what could be the impact of any acts able to provide amends for “human rights violations and amnesty from prosecution for perpetrators.” In the case of South Africa, the most general commission, the truth, and reconciliation had vital aspects and focused on the construct of “Restorative Justice” rather than “Retributive Justice.” In addition, South Africa also looked at “Transitional Justice”—a fundamental approach that grassroots and community movements engage in when seeking to establish lasting peace. To advance reconciliation—whether through policy options or other alternative reparative measures—to redress a broken community, transitional justice requires “accountability for crimes and atrocities, establishing the truth.” This judicial provision comes with “official government apologies, amendments, and improvement measures to bring about change. These three types of pathways to justice led the way in certain places to remediate the harms and injustices caused by race (Joireman, 2006). Seeking racial equity or policy options for Black residents, “truth commissions and reconciliation will depend on the truth-telling process, which depends on individual community members to tell their truths” (Rudebusch, 2020).

A Charlottesville grassroots movement is leading a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Central Virginia as a policy option to serve as a path to restorative justice and the betterment of

civil life. The truth-telling and memorialization project at UVA within the context of contemporary issues since August 11 and 12, 2017, in Charlottesville, in addition to the 2020 murder of George Floyd; the Public Broadcasting Service noted the importance of UVA's "role in expanding the number of schools doing the work with regards to addressing and remediating the harms and ongoing injustices" that Black residents face. "Universities Studying enslavement now have 78 schools involved in 5 countries". "Despite all this impressive work, for all the schools doing this, it is still just the beginning of a full coming to terms with enslavement and racism in institutional pasts" (PBS, 2021).

The TRCs in Charlottesville or the U.S. could learn a lot and follow the process from abroad. Additional investigations and comprehensive frameworks providing policy options are needed to determine the effectiveness of having enslaved descendants' communities and enslavers' descendants come together to tell the truth of their stories. If succeeded, the TRCs would establish a robust foundation and pave a durable way for a valid path to effective policymaking and policy options and a reconciled community. Limitations to truth and reconciliation regulations due to the "lack of participation by key political players and the inconsistency between the amnesty and resistance to policy options for reparations programs hindered the Truth and Reconciliation Commission from achieving true reconciliation for South Africa.

Even though the TRC is not the only tool leading to peaceful transitions and exposing the oppression and human violations that need alleviations and repairs, policy alternatives include options such as reparations, prosecutions, and memorialization projects. Truth commissions at national levels in places—like South Africa, Nepal, and Canada, even though the commission has many restrictions and could not address all day-to-day acts of violence or levels at which individuals have taken part in preserving the apartheid system (Facing History & Ourselves, 2022)

#### 4. EVALUATIVE CRITERIA

All proposed policy options will be evaluated based on four criteria. Each criterion aims to inform DEC-UVA with the best estimates of our projected outcomes relevant to their mission and vision. Their ultimate goal is to build a robust framework for reparations to address racial disparities and honor the legacy of their ancestors. Looking at the four policy alternatives we examined, an evidence-based decision will lead to and inform our final recommendation. Our goal is to provide DEC-UVA with the policy options most likely to address racial disparities in Charlottesville so that a strong foundation for a durable framework for repairs and improvements of lives of descendants will be established. Because of DEC-UVA's limited resources, to carry out the recommended policy, the organization should *advocate that the University, the Charlottesville city council, and the State of Virginia provide support and funds to amend this problem at the*

*university in the city and surrounding area.* Being a nonprofit organization, DEC-UVA depends only on donation-based financial aid, which will be very limiting in implementing these policies. The organization's leadership should create a core group of people to prepare the framework where funds might be applied. We describe each criterion based on how they would produce the most sense that provided the best way to build a solid framework for reparations for DEC.

### 1. Cost-effectiveness

Cost-effectiveness is generated from the estimate of the alternative over the number of potential beneficiaries. We will look at what will determine cost-effectively and its feasibility. We will be considering the cost-estimated to close the Black-White wealth gap and why or why not some of the identified best practices or policy alternatives have not and are projected to fail in addressing the closure of the Black and White disparities. This gap will be measured based on the Black-White wealth gap in the United States. The effectiveness of this cost promise will be determined based on how feasible this alternative is. This will be rated as low, medium, or high based on the possibility of the wealth gap to reduce disparities across races considered in this analysis. We would want the estimated cost to evaluate. Use the cost associated with the wealth gaps initiative that researchers, experts, and scholars have found across fields. A dollar amount will determine the projected difference in wealth gap to rate with the evaluation criterion. We estimated these amounts through lenses of what it would take to effectively operationalize policy options of interests, based on similar areas where such policies have been adopted.

Evaluative Criteria	Alternative 1	Alternative 2	Alternative 3	Alternative 4	Impact
1. Cost Effectiveness	0\$	\$12--\$14 trillion	\$400,000- \$1,000,000	\$20- \$20,000,000	Efficiency

### 2. Political feasibility, including social acceptability

We will determine how likely each policy alternative is to legitimize it to legitimization? Accounting for administrative feasibility, we will look at how the city government or the state of Virginia has the bureaucratic infrastructure to carry out each policy alternative. Because of the nature of this topic, the mention of social acceptability is given based on the fact that these policy alternatives might inherently be and prohibitively be offensive. In this case, is it a possibility? We will want to talk about how and why it is prone today for most Americans to refuse the idea of any compensation to a group of people solely based on their race. People from other races do not accept such alternatives to address these disparities. DEC-UVA has no policy implementation power. They are a research organization and provide an advocacy platform for policymakers to change. They cannot lobby. As a not-for-profit organization based in Charlottesville, Virginia, they are linked directly to the politics and complex history of feasibility and applicability of regulations

regarding racial disparities. This criterion could determine how politically feasible each alternative will be. The measure is still needed to determine a more stable political feasibility.

Evaluative Criteria	Alternative 1	Alternative 2	Alternative 3	Alternative 4	Impact
2. Political Feasibility	Nothing to see here	Low 1-3	Moderate 4-6	High 7-10	Peace and Prosperity for all

### 3. *Equity and Efficiency—Equality, Fairness, and Justice.*

Because of the nature of the subject matter, we are not sure yet how we would quantify the harm and disparities between the Black and the White over the years. The timeline to consider could be demonstrated through the years that African people were enslaved, how long that was, how many years followed with the reconstruction, the failure of that, the years of legal discrimination and Jim Crow, and show where we are today. However, we could also evaluate equity as it relates to each alternative. The state of disparities across racial lines will be hard to quantify. There is no available data to empirically demonstrate that provisions—through policy options addressing differences between Blacks and Whites in Charlottesville would be adequate. Investigating the data and quantification of this equitably could be explored more by looking into the notion of “Power”—through the “Minimum Detectable Effect” that we studied in Research Methods and Data Analysis, “where running an experiment with a large enough sample could demonstrate how many people might be needed to determine whether each alternative is efficient and to what degree” (Hudson, 2020).

Evaluative Criteria	Alternative 1	Alternative 2	Alternative 3	Alternative 4	Impact
3. Social Acceptability	Nothing to see here	Moderate	Moderate 4-6	High 7-10	Social Cohesion

### 4. *Implementation feasibility—Practicality of Legal feasibility based on social cohesion.*

The ideal would be for implementation to occur at the city level. Still, ultimately the power to implement more robust policy alternatives—to address such disparities through reparations efforts would have to be at Virginia General Assembly in Richmond. This implementation will focus solely on Charlottesville and could be expanded to Albemarle counties. How do the complexities of the nature of the origins of the black and white disparities make it so challenging to implement alternatives? Why is implementation necessary? How will each choice be carried out? At what level would implantation target policymakers to be more direct and provide real oversight, monitoring, and evaluation over time?

Evaluative Criteria	Alternative 1	Alternative 2	Alternative 3	Alternative 4	Impact
4. Equity	Nothing to see here	High 7-10	Moderate 4-6	Low 1-3	Justice and fairness for all

### 5. Social Cohesion:

The goal here is for all policy alternatives to effectively reduce tensions and hostilities expressed across racial lines as they will not improve with the status quo. In the case of the national policy program, the Federal Government would create and provide stimulus checks in the same way we saw such provision during COVID-19. Regarding the five universities across Central Virginia that have been scheduled to enact such a law. Black and White Communities members will be given opportunities to tap into the true impact of what policy options we have evaluated here can provide to bring about alleviation of the racial divide through restorative and reconciliation processes. The ultimate goal is to see a substantial reduction of Black-White disparities effectively. Social cohesion is the foundation of the framework's strength in addressing relationships across lines and the sense of unity among social groups. This criterion guarantees outcomes in terms of "economic stability, education access, and quality, good health care access and quality, neighborhood and built environment and social and community context" (Healthy People 2030, 2022).

## 5. POLICY ALTERNATIVES

### *Possible Alternatives to address the Black and White Disparities in Charlottesville*

Policy options providing programs for Black Americans in Charlottesville can alleviate the Black and White disparities, especially wealth gaps affecting other areas of life with spillovers on other races' households. Existing evidence shows that additional research is needed to determine the number of enslaved and free Black African Americans who lived in the area and prove that their ancestors labored at the University. Research is also needed to precisely decide how many people live in poverty among descendants of the enslaved currently residing in Charlottesville. Similarly, in-depth analysis is expected to predict how many eligible descendants of the enslaved will be needed to provide policy options with empirical effectiveness and sustainability.

Possibilities of policy alternatives could range from national policy options funded by the federal government or a state-wide sponsorship of a Virginia program financed by the local state government. The second option could be based on the newly passed Law requiring five institutions in Virginia to provide scholarships and memorialization funds to descendants of the enslaved. An example of this option is the Georgetown University model. For DEC-UVA in Charlottesville, this could be manifested in admission and no tuition at the University of Virginia and Piedmont Virginia Community College for Black residents' descendants of the enslaved. Another alternative

is genuinely to invest in the promise of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and processes like South Africa and Northern Ireland. Finally, the most crucial choice would aim to close the Black and White wealth gaps. Providing financial resources for the housing difficulty for Black residents in Charlottesville would be vital in tackling the health disparities research has found to be pivotal to delivering lasting reparations and eliminating gaps across sectors for Black Americans.

### ***Alternative 1: Let present trends continue—the status quo: LPTC***

The U.S. democratic party presidential primaries paved the way for the conversation emphasizing policy options for Black American descendants of U.S. enslavement to become a recurring political idea. Current movements addressing injustices mainly based on harms inflicted by one race over another continue to find more and more ground today. The call for policy options for reparations has rapidly escalated with the start of the 2020 decade amidst the “actions expressing Police based on brutality and mistreatment of Black people” in the United States. Additional disparities were revealed as the COVID-19 pandemic disproportionately affected and killed Black Americans compared to other races (Feagin, 2019) & (Keveney, 2020)

In the existing state of affairs, especially regarding social or political issues when it comes to addressing disparities stemming from past injustices, societies at national and international levels have been attempting to develop remedies to overcome these. Suppose policies are based on what researchers have demonstrated to be the problem: "Current trends and intentions are not sufficient and will not go far" (Darity et al., 2020). In this case, nothing will happen in confronting the past, current and ongoing injustices, discriminations, and stigmatization that Black Americans face. "The problem continues to be that broad disciplinary accounts include categories of measures that are still hardly available" (Malcontent, 2016). Critical aspects that challenge the goal of redressing the past are expected to be available through scholarship, advocacy, and policy; however, nothing is available in legislation today.

Policymakers have shown acceptance in desiring to redress injustices and inequities, which are the disparities across racial lines, through policy options providing reparations efforts. To reckon with the legacy of enslavement, best practices around the U.S. consist of the "creation of commissions" to study the effects—impacts of American enslavement, the Jim Crow (Legal Discrimination) era that continued after emancipation, and contemporary discrimination against Blacks. If these trends continue as they are, without considering and accounting for available data on current and ongoing discrimination and stigmatization, possible future discrimination, and disparities that Black Americans face, their state of affairs, especially the wealth gap between the Black and White Americans would persist or worsen—thus their poverty level as well (Martin, 2007).

This alternative will serve the city of Charlottesville government as a tool to raise awareness and call for acceptance, to provide creative and comprehensive mechanisms and frameworks that can

help redress this problem in Charlottesville. Through symbolic actions such as examples ranging from creating commissions to study the effects of the legacy of enslavement to providing tangible financial benefits—such as scholarships and memorialization funds to Black residents and financial packages to help lift them out of poverty." This city has 23.1% of its population living below the poverty level (5-year estimate). Other examples could be gaps in educational achievements, wages, net worth, wealth, age, and sex/gender. Having a basic structure underlying a system through which the city is intently seeking to redress existing inequities could transform Charlottesville and the lives of Black descendants. It is essential to consider this policy alternative even as the "status quo" as it yields some potential power in expanding the space and policy window to address this problem and bring it to the attention of policymakers.

The problem with letting current trends continue remains that, as research has shown, the main driving force behind the enduring disparities will remain far from reach without having to close the wealth gap between the two social groups. Currently, status quo proposed policies and current trends are not sufficient. Amelioration in current policy efforts regarding differences between our social groups of interest would bring about a more incredible momentum to this policy issue to DEC-UVA at the city level with potential effects at the state and federal levels. One of the best practices of current trends that DEC-UVA could benefit from is the example of the Virginia Theological Seminary (Drembus, 2019).

***Cost estimates for current states of affairs depend on what each stakeholder decides; thus, no calculations of cost estimations are provided here.***

### ***Alternative 2: National Reparations Program for Black Americans—NRP4B***

This alternative would make the most sense in identifying and acknowledging what aspects of the problem need this policy option. Such policy options at the national levels have had the stage set by previous U.S. Presidents. Through public domestic and international apologies, Presidential commissions have demonstrated the willingness to confront the past but left out a critical component that has continued to gnaw the American society. The formal apology by the U.S. government to the Black citizens, who are African American descendants of the enslaved alive today, would be the first act to acknowledge the will to tackle the White-Black disparities from its roots. The country, through elected leadership, has attempted to deal with the politics surrounding the notion of policy options without accounting for what concerns the individual blacks—through their whole state of affairs over time regarding the enduring effects of enslavement, the legal apartheid, and the ongoing discrimination today. Perry (2009) argued how apologies for and acknowledgment of harm to sure victims left out the country's moral obligation to reckon and redress the root of racial strife in the U.S. Truth-telling and remembrance mandates of the facts could then follow with demonstrated effectiveness: through examples such as of South Africa, Northern Ireland, and Canada.

Commissions of truth-telling “contribute to justice and accountability” as they “promote reconciliation and reduce conflict over the past by channeling individuals’ desires for revenge, backlash, retaliations—into a “broader and more constructive context.” Suppose the crimes and depredations inflicted on African nations and African descendants over centuries have relied on strategies of dehumanization in the service of power.

As shown by research, benefits, success, and effectiveness, the effort “to identify, halt and redress them must also insist on explicit acknowledgment and repudiation of such strategies, alongside comprehensive material efforts to indemnify them.” Instead of the narrow nationalism, policy options to address this problem represent the extended African Americans’ human rights struggle (Henry, 2009 & Biondi, 2003). Prominent voices such as Coates have shown how “after all the years of enslavement that Blacks endured in America, the idea that they might be owed something in return was, if not the national consensus, not outrageous.” As argued in his article in the Atlantic, he stated that with “two hundred fifty years of slavery, ninety years of Jim Crow, sixty years of separate but equal, and thirty-five years of racist housing policy; the U.S. will never be whole until we reckon with our compounding moral debts.” (Coates, 2014)

These national policy options for programs to address this problem would be an “Act” provided by the U.S. Congress—the legislative body of the government requiring and permitting the U.S. government to identify, halt and redress the harms; and make payments to compensate the damages and human rights violations caused to the Black Americans citizens formerly enslaved before and after July 4th, 1776., considered the founding date of the republic: the United States of America (USA). It is critical to note that redressing racial injustices is not limited to the effects of enslavement but also to the legal segregation—“the American Apartheid” and contemporary discrimination, stigmatization, and marginalization of Black people in America. This national policy alternative would mean providing a document to determine which actions should be taken to implement the objectives set forth within each State’s policy and the government Action Plan (Law Insider, 2022).

The NRP4B would be composed of any individual eligible with adequate knowledge, expertise, and willingness to work on this matter. Selected members would be appointed by the President of the United States, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, including both the majority and minority leaders, following the NPREC—the National Prison Rape Elimination Commission model (U.S. Legal, 2022). Universal programs will not be expected to operate as commonly known in the case of this policy. The best way for national policy options to be feasible in the U.S. would be if the “U.S. President would appoint a Presidential Commission to address racial atrocities in the country and design a full-scale program to address the wealth gap” (Darity, 2020 et al.).

### *Cost estimates for a National Policy Option for Economic programs to address the wealth gap*

Share of Black people in Charlottesville	Population of Charlottesville	Estimated Number of Black People in Charlottesville	\$ Amount of Reparation payment per person	Total
14%	47,000	6,580	\$300,000	\$1,974,000,000
14%	47,000	6,580	\$5,000	\$32,900,000
14%	47,000	6,580	\$7,000	\$46,060,000
14%	47,000	6,580	\$1,000	\$6,580,000

### *Alternative 3: Legal Provisions for Scholarships and Memorialization funds*

Regarding legal matters—jurisprudence, policy options to redress this type of problem would be any restoration of previously inflicted loss by the criminal to the victim. A tangible policy example for this is the HB1980—the “*Enslaved Ancestors College Access Scholarship and Memorial Program established, whereby "five institutions of higher education in Central Virginia including the following: Longwood University, the University of Virginia, Virginia Commonwealth University, the Virginia Military Institute, and The College of William and Mary" in Virginia, starting in the 2022-2023 academic year and with any source of funds other than state funds or tuition or fee increases, are required to annually (i) identify and memorialize, to the extent possible, all enslaved individuals who labored on former and current institutionally controlled grounds and property and (ii) provide a tangible benefit such as a college scholarship or community-based economic development program for individuals or specific communities with a demonstrated historical connection to slavery that will empower families to be lifted out of the cycle of poverty*”<sup>3</sup> (LIS, 2022). As conversations continue, more explanation on the background and premise for this policy option has clarified that the policy aims to address racial disparities in Central Virginia. (Merelli, Guzman & Anderson, 2021). Universities will provide scholarships on need-based to qualified individuals.

### *Cost estimates for a Legal Provisions for Scholarships and Memorialization funds*

Estimated Number of Students	Estimated Amount of scholarship	Total
300	\$30,000	\$9,000,000

One example is Georgetown University—where the President of the University publicly announced the university's commitment and planned to tackle the effects of enslavement and issue of policy for reparation to address the racial disparities. The university's obligations and plans will tackle the Black and Whites matters relating to the legacy of enslavement through policy options

<sup>3</sup> The Law: <https://law.lis.virginia.gov/vacode/title23.1/chapter6/section23.1-615.1/>

regarding workers enslaved and those enslaved by the university. Even though the student body has criticized such an effort, it is an example that furthers the conversation of legal provision for such policies on the table (Corpo, 2019; Bacon, 2022). This policy will come into effect in Charlottesville by November 2022, following the 2022-2023 academic year. DEC-UVA would undoubtedly be among the primary recipients, hopefully immediately and for many more years.

#### ***Alternative 4: Truth and Reconciliation Commission—TRC***

A Truth Commission was established in Charlottesville, Virginia but not yet operationalized. Truth and reconciliation commissions or processes have been effective in retributive, transitional, and restorative justice. Commission of truth-telling “contribute to justice and accountability” as they “promote reconciliation and reduce conflict over the past by channeling individuals’ desires for revenge, backlash, retaliations—into a “broader and more constructive context.” (Henry, 2009). This policy alternative would help DEC-UVA document the truth of survivors, their families, communities, and anyone personally involved and affected by the American enslavement experience—especially those whose ancestors labored at the University of Virginia. DEC-UVA does account for those who will never be identified or associated with enslavement at the university, given what is known of certain practices enslaved endured back then. Through dissemination by general and creative public and private mechanisms, measures would be taken to minimize the inconvenience of the descendants of both enslaved and enslavers in the Charlottesville region. This process would provide restorative justice to Black American descendants they deserve and have been longing for it for a long time. Known examples consist of South Africa, Nepal, Northern Ireland, and even Canada, where these policy options efforts have been bearing fruits that could serve as examples here.

This policy would start by affirming, recognizing, and recalling the importance of redressing the confronted harms (UN, United Nations, 2005). Despite tangible, measurable, and moral ways in which the Black American descendants whose ancestors were harmed and continually been at the mercy of racial scrutiny, best practices that DEC-UVA could identify with come from the cases of South Africa and Canada Truth Commission and Reconciliation processes.

In the first case, Stanley argued in 2001 that this process expects the truth and impartiality to be limited. “This examination is guided by a theoretical framework that will reflect ways by which legal institutions can contribute to the healing of the people” “The legislator’s provisions should emphasize truth, reconciliation, stability, and restorative justice to enhance the TRC’s potential to promote healing,” beyond restricted its ability to be therapeutic. This policy is the most feasible. It brings a more palpable means of looking at the importance of social institutions and the critical component they provide to lead to transitional justice. Cultural norms have played and will continue to have an essential part in the success of the TRC (Stanley, 2001) & (Allan, 2000).

### *Cost estimates for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission Policy Alternative*

Charlottesville population	TRC Capacity: the # of people to be served per TRC	Number of people per session	Number of three months sessions per year	Number of TRC required	Number of years for TRC to function	Number of TRCs per year
47,000	80	20	4	587.5	20	29.375
31,490 <sup>4</sup>	80	20	4	393.625	20	19.68125
Scenario Example						
31,490	200	50	4	157.45	20	7.8725

We will look at each TRC based on how much cost each session might incur. The total price to operationalize TRC would include expenses directly affecting every aspect of running the office: from direct officers and indirect stakeholders. (DEC-UVA and stakeholders, including UVA, the city of Charlottesville, and the Virginia General Assembly in Richmond). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission would require \$12 to \$20 million based on the South African model. However, based on the success of the work of such a commission in Canada, the government would need to provide \$30 million<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> The adult population only

<sup>5</sup> “To redress the legacy of residential schools and advance reconciliation, in its final report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada called on governments, educational and religious institutions, civil society groups, and all Canadians to take action on the 94 Calls to Action it identified” (Government of Canada, 2022).

## 6. OUTCOME MATRIX

DECISION MATRIX or PROJECTION OF OUTCOMES					
Evaluative Criteria	Alternatives				Impact
	Alternative 1	Alternative 2	Alternative 3	Alternative 4	
	Let Current trends continue/Maintain Current Policy Status Quo (10%)	National Reparations Programs at different levels (20%)	Legal Local Provision for University Scholarships (30%)	Commissions and Reconciliation Processes National Levels (40%)	Truth
1. Cost Effectiveness	0\$	\$12--\$14 trillion	\$400,000-\$1,000,000	\$20-\$20,000,000	Efficiency
2. Political Feasibility	Nothing to see here	Low 1-3	Moderate 4-6	High 7-10	Peace and Prosperity for all
3. Social Acceptability	Nothing to see here	Moderate	Moderate 4-6	High 7-10	Social Cohesion
4. Equity	Nothing to see here	High 7-10	Moderate 4-6	Low 1-3	Justice and fairness for all
5. Social Cohesion	Reduce tensions and hostilities expressed across racial lines will not improve	The Federal Government to create Stimulus checks in the same way we saw during COVID-19	Five Universities across Central Virginia have been scheduled to enact such a law	Communities members to tap into the true meaning of Reparations through Restorative and Reconciliation Processes'	Black and White Reduction of Black-White Disparities

*Figure3: Worksheet for Predicting Impacts of Alternative Policies for investing in the White-Black disparities through Reparation's efforts*

## 7. FINDINGS: A CASE FOR FUTURE WORK

### *What this Applied Policy Project will not provide*

(Darity et al., 2018), have demonstrated how it takes “wealth to make wealth” and that they consider existing policy options at the national level to be myths that will never help close the wealth gap—thus, the Black and White racial disparities. Closing the wealth gap between the Black Americans will take a federal approach—providing a national program of policy options to offer reparation efforts—for the transatlantic enslavement of eligible Black Americans. Such eligibility will be challenging to attain and would delay the effectiveness of provisions of policies made available to the Blacks. Black and White disparities that reached the known height, such as shown throughout this project, cannot be addressed without accounting for the number of years it took to get to this level of disparities.

Now, in 2022 the time is more than propitious to be looking at racial disparities between Black and White populations through the policy alternatives such as reparations. According to Darity (2020), that is to “Acknowledge the cause of the disparities, to redress them and bring in a closure to this gap” From the status quo to the TRC model, all policy options considered could move the needle forward in reckoning the racial disparities stemming from American transatlantic slave trade legacy. Without federal or state government intervention, there is no way to address the Black and White racial inequality. It will only be through policy options such as reparations as disparities ought to be tackled from the origins of the presence of people of African descent in Virginia: The transatlantic enslavement. DEC-UVA is committed to serving descendants of the enslaved Africans who labored at the University of Virginia, a policy alternative.

*Where should we focus attention and advocacy for the most significant long-term impact of policies?*

DEC-UVA's attention and continued advocacy should focus on implementing and designing the new policies for the TRCs Model. These could start as community centers, round tables, or county by county trips. Through these centers, functioning offices of the TRC would be placed to most likely impact people’s perceptions of the veracity of the Black and White disparities, starting at the University, Charlottesville Community, and its surroundings. The problem remains with identifying the officers who would operate the TRC, given the lack of resources for DEC-UVA. DEC-UVA’s vision and goals could be served well with any alternatives exclusively, but TRC is the most feasible and acceptable.

The TRC—like a community center, could be a space where Blacks and Whites would gather

regularly and interact. The center would not be limited to the two races. Rather, doors ought to be opened to other community members from other races, including other populations living and working in the area. Depending on how much involvement is favorable, the expectation is that DEC-UVA, though the TRC, would allow people across racial lines to increase contact and, as a result, greater emotional connection to, understanding, and tolerance for each other and what all people as part of the community have the potential to contribute to a community. The sizeable positive effect of prolonged contact between Black and other community members—not just Whites, facilitated through the TRC model would benefit the social construction of Black residents in the long run. The contact hypothesis posits that interactions between two groups can increase acceptance and tolerance. (American Psychologica Association, 2001).

Additionally, hiring, training, and allowing officers for the TRC will be an excellent opportunity for residents of both races to have a space where they feel welcomed and comfortable. It helps empower them in other aspects of their lives, positively impacting mental health outcomes and feelings of inclusion. This would be strategic in closing the disparities, eventually closing the wealth gap. The TRC would begin to create equity at the root of the Black and White's wealth and health crisis—to just name these two. The critical component would be to focus on the significance of every effort considered when addressing these disparities so that policy alternatives account for a long time it might take to have their effects. Because we didn't get here today, policy options should aim for long-term impact in our community centers, allowing social groups of interests to better acclimate to a new life and thrive in this new location with a strong sense of community.

## 8. RECOMMENDATION

In investigating disparities between the Black and White population in Charlottesville, to propose a case for policy options for Black Americans descendants from the American transatlantic enslavement, after considering our selected criteria we recommend the TRC policy alternative. Given the success this policy model has offered in other places with a history of similar levels of disparities in these two people groups, the TRC is the most acute to uproot the cause driving these disparities. The operational strategy for the TRC will have to be determined by DEC-UVA in collaboration with other stakeholders at the University of Virginia, in Charlottesville, and at the Virginia General Assembly in Richmond, Virginia.

The principal opportunity to seize with the TRC policy alternative is that it is the most likely to pave the way to truth-telling, given today's evidence of the undeniable lingering effects of the transatlantic enslavement and the years after that still affecting black populations at the university and the city. In addition, TRC Model can pull from current and past examples from inner-city trips and discussions, consider caucusing, and, most importantly, yield the possibility to calculate the

“cash payments” to eligible descendants—as needed. Finally, the TRC policy option and model would provide the window for White Americans with an invitation for them to do their own ancestry research. Such an opportunity could help DEC-UVA to identify, the lineage of some of the enslaved people whose history might have been lost when looking back a handful of decades ago. This honor would join in honoring and restoring DEC-UVA’s ancestors’ lives. Because of what we know about how enslavement operated in the United States, DEC-UVA, through the TRC would be most successful if held at the national level rather than being limited just to Central Virginia or else just at the University of Virginia. People of African descent labored in Central Virginia but were also scarred throughout the republic before and after the American Civil War.

## 9. IMPLEMENTATION

The most challenging step for DEC-UVA in implementing the TRC policy option would be to acquire officers and establish the required committees to run the TRC. The next step would be to decide the functionality of the TRC, the frequency of meetings, and the style that the officers would like to adopt. The challenge remains the fact that, without empirically-based research design, the potential and guarantee that TRC hold may fail.

## 10. CONCLUSION

Pervasive inequalities and disparities generated from the lingering effects of enslavement of Black Africans in the United States have hindered Black residents in Charlottesville, Virginia, from improving their lives. In addition to government support in policies that have fueled these inequalities, such disparities will endure unless government provisions or other stakeholders are made available for Black Americans. To transform the lives of Black American residents, descendants of the enslaved in the city, given the national momentum on racial justice, this opportunity could pass by unless active engagement is seized now. Mechanisms and other best practices known and yet to be created should drive the university, the city of Charlottesville and the state of Virginia government to address such inequities and alleviate this problem; least these inequalities continue or worsen, causing future generations’ persistence suffering over time.

DEC-UVA’s mission and vision fit the salience of this issue. Addressing Black and White disparities through policy options on reparations—reckoning with U.S. enslavement and periods thereafter is the significant bottom-line among items on the current policy debate. Charlottesville, Virginia, lies at the heart of that debate nationally. The history of enslavement in the city, including the University of Virginia, is historically related to the current conditions Black residents face in the town and surrounding areas. Charlottesville has rarely met a policy window to address this issue, and the notion for policymakers to provide policy alternatives aiming to repair the damage caused by the transatlantic enslavement as the years of legal segregation and regulations in a timely

likely at this present opportunity. DEC-UVA's initiatives and commitment would not meet the concretization of their goals and vision unless strategic policy decisions are made. Policy provisions to allow the university, city and the state's amplification to reckon with the legacy of enslavement have great potential to bring about transformational change and transitional and restorative justice and lead to the closure of the Black and White disparities in Charlottesville, Virginia, and the betterment of the American people.

## Appendix I

### ***Problem background***

#### ***History of Enslavement, Civil War, and Reconstruction in Charlottesville, Virginia***

A Monacan village in the 1600s occupied Virginia—within the area now known as Albemarle, but not necessarily in Charlottesville (Virginia, 2022). In 1619, the first enslaved Africans were brought to Virginia. For nearly two hundred and fifty years, enslavement operated in Charlottesville, and modern scholars have delivered a significant amount of evidence through works of literature, films, etc., showing how few enslaved accepted or enjoyed their lack of freedom life on the plantation. The conditions in which they lived were different depending on various reasons, including the location and the socioeconomic status of their owner. “Many of these lived in barracks-style housing and others in less—than—permanent accommodations” (Sanford, 2021). Before the Civil War, one-third of the state population in Charlottesville was enslaved Blacks. Amid movements in Virginia then, the General Assembly allowed enslavers to free the people they owned in 1782 (Virginia, 2020). Even though only a few responded positively to this policy, it was not enough to secure positive expectations for those in bondage at that time.

#### ***Enslaved laborers’ role in building the University of Virginia and in Charlottesville***

The construction of the University of Virginia began with ten enslaved people assigned to clear James Monroe’s cornfield in 1817. For the next three years, to construct the Rotunda, about twenty-five enslaved and free Blacks “manufactured between 800,000 and 900,000 bricks” (Virginia, 2020). Because they were rented to the University for specific tasks and depending on the duration of these assignments, there were instances where “University officials attempted to negotiate their obligations” regarding the limited benefits toward these laborers. Around 1826, upon completion of the construction, “to keep unwanted enslaved and free Blacks from grounds,” the enslaved were required to wear “licenses” on them (Virginia, 2020). The role of the enslaved and free black laborers in building the University and other institutions of higher education and how they were treated continues to be of attention nationally in the quest to remediate the damage caused by enslavement today.

#### ***Charlottesville’s role during the American Civil War***

With Virginia’s influence on national political affairs and issues of race in the U.S before and after the Civil War, the city of Charlottesville was one of the significant locations to support war efforts and the site for the general hospital. The Confederate government selected the city as a strategic quarter for the army, given its proximity to Richmond, Washington DC, and other small towns across Virginia. Most students at the University dropped to enroll and fight the Civil War throughout the war period. The truth that comes with hosting a “military hospital” was troublesome

that even though the General hospital and the University stayed open during the war, the patriotic devotions of most professors, administrators, and students were “offset” by the unpredictable relations between the Charlottesville General Hospital and the University of Virginia.

Varsity Hall at the university has ties to the Batten Scholl, and according to Professor Jeanine Braithwaite (Braithwaite, 2022), who taught her first applied policy project in the Hall was “Constructed in 1858 at \$7,500, Varsity Hall is believed to be the country’s first infirmary built specifically to serve a college. The hall was used for many purposes, including housing the Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy. In 2005, Varsity Hall was spared the wrecking ball and was moved 185 feet to make room for the Rousse Hall expansion. The move of this 600-ton building was featured on the program *Mega Moves* on the Discovery Channel and TLC” (Virginia, 2022).

Hall’s Gothic type was to reflect the Jeffersonian style. The history of the expansion of the University after the fire in the 1800s. The cost was the loss/demolition of an African American community when the New Cabell Hall was added to the University. Most of this came from wanting to expand the University and, at the same time.

The hospital was “Concentrated around the Academical Village, where the effects of the war strongly impacted both enslaved and free Blacks. About one thousand patients are recorded to have died at the General hospital, and the task of digging graves usually fell to the enslaved and free Blacks enlisted at that time. The hospital, the University, and the city depended on the labor of the enslaved and free blacks at all levels because even after “Union forces retook Charlottesville by 1865; the General Hospital continued to treat both union and confederate patients until the conclusion of the war” (Wald, 2019). Unlike the rest of Virginia, Charlottesville is known to have been “spared the brunt of the American Civil War” and thus played a strategic role during that time (Cobb, 2017).

Fast forward to 1867, two years after the end of the Civil War, a formerly enslaved Black woman jotted down what might be a good beginning for this narration. She stated that descendants of enslaved descendants must never forget that the end of the “war and the abolition of enslavement was not a fact to write off what had happened” (Cotter, 2020). As the Civil War concluded, Black Americans were able to organize to effect change through the legal system and the establishment of educational institutions despite strong resistance through mass lynchings and legal avenues that did not allow civil rights, causing the promises of the reconstruction era to remain unfulfilled (Congress, 2020). In Charlottesville and a few places around the country, memorials of the Civil War era do not tell much of what Americans who with little knowledge of the terrible history that shaped their hometown need to get all citizens involved to address this problem. Instead, “monuments have proclaimed the gallantry of those who fought a war to preserve the ownership of human beings” (Williamson, 2018) only.

Even hundreds of years later, efforts to remediate the damages caused by American enslavement continue to encounter resistance. Looking at the Tulsa case, immediately at what the city faced after the massacre, similarities are found when looking at the point of Charlottesville, with the Stanley Plan, for example, the massive resistance that came immediately from “following Brown Virginia Governor Thomas B. Stanley convenes a nearly-all-white commission to plan Virginia’s defense against school integration” (Fella, 2020). In both cases, efforts to repair injustices of the year of enslavement and years that followed with acceptable legal policies and regulations of discrimination and segregation—in both cities were expressly stopped by government officials through policies enforced (HRW, 2020) & (Kendall, 2021). In 2019, the University of Virginia celebrated its 200 years of existence. In 2020, voices around the country reminisced on the enduring effects of slavery and its wounds left unattended. The time is more than opportune to embrace this work.

### *Massive Resistance, Segregation, and Jim Crow Laws*

After the Civil War ended, Charlottesville’s Black residents also suffered under laws that segregated public spaces and limited opportunities for schools, wealth building, homeownership, and refusal of local service provisions. There was a record of Black residents boycotting and doing sit-ins in protest near the University. Most of Virginia and Charlottesville can remember the worse miscegenation laws and the battles for desegregation: the Virginia v. Loving and Brown v. Board of Education U.S. Supreme Court cases. (Stafford, 2017). In Charlottesville, Public parks were planned separately for White and Black populations. Johnson states that during that time, “four parks were established for whites while just one was available to Blacks and was built on the site of a former dump” (Johnson, 2018).

It is crucial to mention that, especially from August 11-12th, 2017, the KKK had chapters in the city area starting from at least the 20th century. Activities promoting white supremacy and efforts resisting integration in any capacity occurred and were tolerated back then. Today, 2021 is just six decades removed from when the city closed its segregated schools as part of “Virginia’s strategy of massive resistance” (Martin, 1956). Black residents’ endurance in Charlottesville has the most significant potential demonstrating that it can alleviate the effects of slavery in society today. Addressing current inequities and reminding the scars they have had no choice to bear and leave to their descendants could allow real legacy and transformation of Black communities in the city. The politics and policies in Virginia’s role “in racial defiance” served as an example for the states in the south and allowed massive legal resistance to leave more bitterness that lasted for more than one hundred years later (Virginia, 2020). In the same way, Virginia’s politics and policies can provide a basement for Charlottesville city to tackle this problem. Again, one more reason why this work is timely.

### *Razing the city and religious intolerance even after enslavement*

After the Civil War, formerly enslaved people who remained in Charlottesville established communities in neighborhoods such as Vinegar Hill. A predominantly Black community in Charlottesville was considered less back then and unappealing to the white residents. A thriving Black community at the heart of the city in an attractive location between the University and downtown, it is very recent history that in attempting to continue discriminatory laws, the city council passed measures that “a housing authority could overtake unsanitary and unsafe” properties. This authorization destroyed homes, private-owned businesses, and a church for the Black community. This internal displacement caused many people from this and other destroyed communities to seek refuge in the unfinished public housing projects from which generations later could not escape (Smith, 2017).

Despite resistance and destruction, the Black community maintained a presence around Charlottesville. Today, as policies are being raised to address what research and scholarship are unearthing from the past, Charlottesville figures among cities that are wrestling with conflicts over Confederate symbols. With the marking of the “small iron plaque downtown sidewalk on the site of Charlottesville’s slave auction block” in 2020 and Charlottesville just an hour away from the former Confederate capital city, the time is more than ripe to raise the problem of systemic inequity for Black residents at the city level.

### *Why should we care about Reparations in Charlottesville today?*

The United States continues to face internal conflicts regarding ethnic groups. With rising movements to support the LGBTQ+ community, the #metoo movement, and the Black Lives Matter movement. It is only clear that talks about the forgotten debt to Black Americans be at the forefront of the news. For all these years, “despite academic support,” the country is “no closer to an agreement on this issue than it was one and a half-century ago” (Waterhouse, 2016). As efforts to address disparities between Black and White Americans continue to struggle, unless cities and states comprehensively commit to making comprehensive mechanisms to apply policies and regulations, the state of affairs of not just Black Americans in Charlottesville but black Americans in Charlottesville and the rest of the United States of America are at stake.

While commissions for studying reparations—to reduce Black and White racial disparities, continue to wait on political agendas, across fields, “Williams argued that generations of unequal treatment have contributed to the disparities Black Americans face in most aspects of life, including in the workplace, financial sector, health care arena, and even the classroom.” research has shown that expectations in reducing racial disparities through reparations ought to be “more than recompenses for past injustice” but to encompasses, “efforts that have failed to secure justice

in the courts due to the statute limitations” must restore the lives of many, back to society (Williams et al., 2021).

Local governments engaging in reparations initiatives have all been started by adopting the creation of a commission to study what reparations would look like in their context. After a specific bill is passed, some restitution is designated to eligible individuals based on whatever harms they address first. We can see how these good starting points are not expected to resolve or alleviate the burden carried by Black Americans. This century is a time in the history of “a national reckoning” and a moment “that would lead to spiritual renewal.” Ta-Nehisi Coates shared sentiments in the Case for Reparations (Coates, 2014); and the Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2020).

Addressing racial disparities through the lenses of reparations is far more complex than compensations in terms of tangible benefits. Reports have demonstrated the reality of the multi-faceted complexities and aspects of the problem affecting Black people to the extent that amid the COVID-19 pandemic, Black Americans’ death rates were increasing. At the same time, the increase of “misinformation and refusal to pursue remedies are weakening the country” (Turner, 2021). The Center for American Progress (CAP) had ascertained that addressing discrimination and injustices against Blacks that persisted through generations confirming that for more than one generation, “public and private policies will need to be revisited and revamped regularly to eliminate racial biases that systematically disadvantage Black households” and avoid unspeakable catastrophes and the deterioration of society at large (CAP, 2021).

As we stand in 2022, the U.S federal government should equip local governments to address this challenge. According to the CAP, without politicians’ willingness to provide “robust and long-term investments in addressing the Black-White wealth gap, massive difference in economic and social security, these disparities will not only continue to persist, but they may even widen at the same rate as they have endured and for generations” unless active engagement is set in a sustained and durable way.

### *Key Characteristics*

Possible components in this policy analysis will include historical trends and political salience, market structure, legal and regulatory environment, the science, and the process that is not or may not need to go in-depth in this report, which may bring further research later.

Sub-populations or vulnerable groups of interest—Black American descendants of American Enslavement in Charlottesville, located in Central Virginia

The interest for this project is in the idea of investigating ways to address disparities between Blacks and Whites through the concept of reparations holistically for Charlottesville. There is a need, however, and a call to also expand the scope of the work to nearby areas, keeping in mind that the surrounding counties we have mentioned earlier, comprised of Augusta, Nelson, Fluvanna,

Madison, and Orange, are especially rural small towns and where most of the people impacted by the problem are located and are among those who would benefit the most. About 20 percent of the 47,000 Charlottesville residents are Black and low-income households, of whom about 9.05 thousand people, as of 2018, are foreign-born citizens (Shapira & Data USA, 2021). According to a few cities that we looked at, including Tulsa, Asheville, and Providence, reparations policies have consisted of establishing task forces, truth-telling commissions, funds for promoting homeownership, efforts that critics have deemed inadequate (Krehbiel, 2021) (Vigdo, 2020) & (RI, 2020).

#### *Factors contributing to the problem*

The enduring legacy of enslavement, the period of legal discrimination and segregation gave bias, and perhaps the lack of a political will today (March 4, 2022) are among key factors. This report expects to expand on the possible avenues to address these Black-White disparities, given what is already happening in different cities. There are practical lessons and others that are not nearly as practical as such lessons, but operating systems demonstrate the power of reducing differences between the two races through “reparations”; efforts could transform the narrative in Charlottesville and serve as an excellent example for the rest of the country.



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