

Liberation Ventures

Concept Document

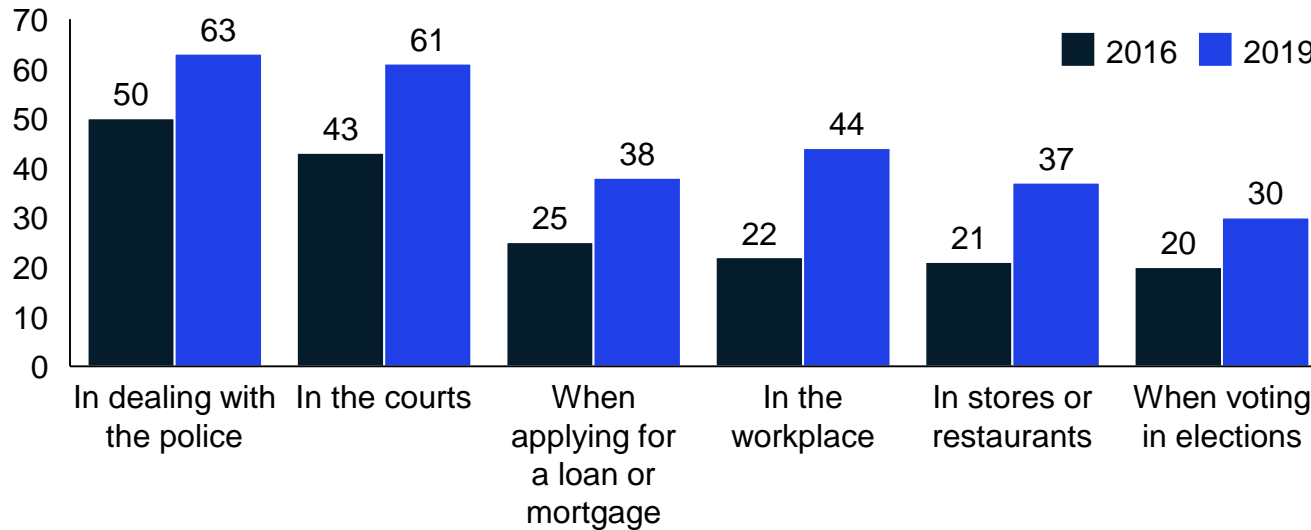
Summer, 2020

The moment is now.

Over the last few years, attitudes have been shifting among people of all races...

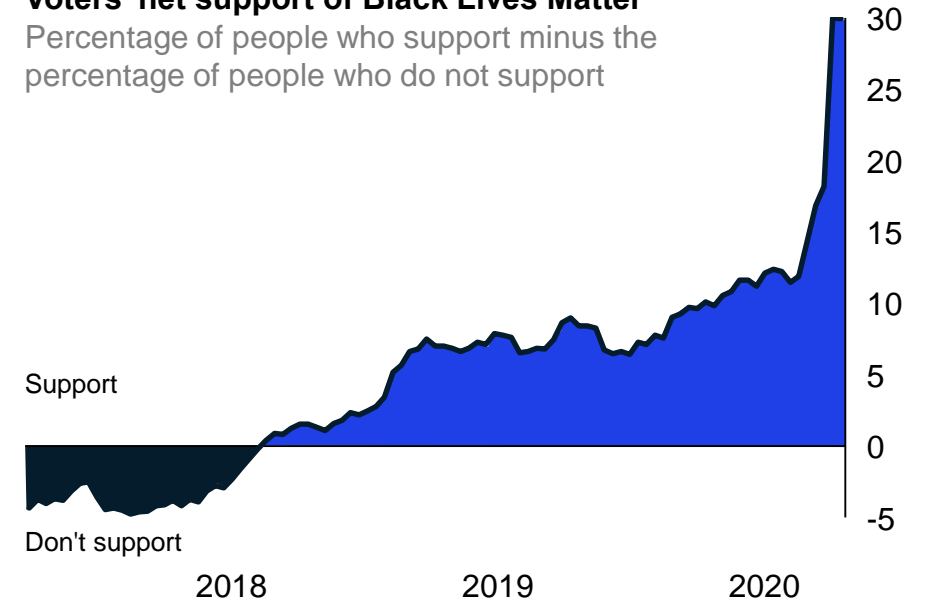
Perceptions of how Black people are treated in the US

Percentage of **white** people who say that black people are treated less fairly than white people



Voters' net support of Black Lives Matter

Percentage of people who support minus the percentage of people who do not support



And public pressure + outrage has opened a window of opportunity



In historic move, North Carolina city approves reparations for Black residents

Calls for reparations are growing louder. How is the US responding?

BET founder Robert Johnson calls for \$14 trillion of reparations for slavery

UN human rights chief calls for reparations to make amends for slavery

Our vision

To become **healthy**
and **whole**

The act of **making amends** for
past and present harm

A **healing society** that has **repaired**
the trauma of slavery and its legacy

*Racial justice
across all
systems*

*A culture of truth-
telling in all
institutions*

*Dignity and
freedom for all
individuals*

*Solidarity with global reparative efforts, especially indigenous
sovereignty in the United States*

Our mission

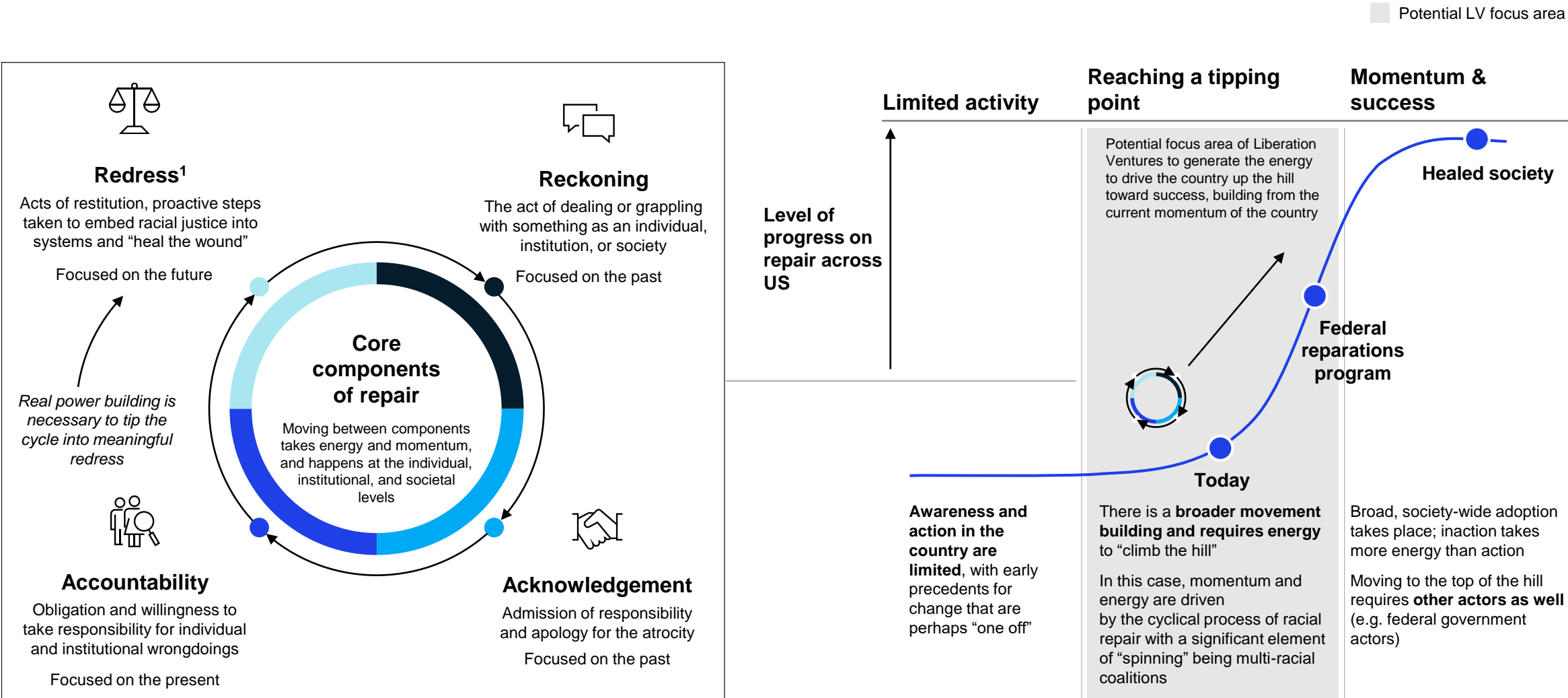
The act of being set free from
imprisonment, slavery, or
oppression | release | freedom
from limits on thought or behavior

Deep partnerships that
provide financial
resources and
coordination

**Liberation Ventures fuels the
Black-led movement for racial
repair in the United States**

Acknowledgement, reckoning,
accountability, and redress

Our theory of change: Sustained, transformative impact on racial repair will require catalyzing substantial momentum through additional resources and infrastructure



1. Builds from concepts in the book *From Here to Equality*, by William Darity Jr. and A. Kirsten Mullen and includes the concept of Closure

Our strategic goal: A comprehensive federal reparations program

Work In Progress

The M4BL Reparations policy platform provides one such example. It includes:

- Full and free access to lifetime education for all Black people (e.g. retroactive forgiveness of student loans, support for lifetime learning programs)
- Guaranteed minimum livable income for all Black people
- Meaningful, strategic investment in black communities focused on healing ongoing physical and mental trauma, and ensuring our access and control of food sources, housing and land
- Truth-telling in school curriculum and cultural sites
- Federal government acknowledgement of the lasting impacts of slavery


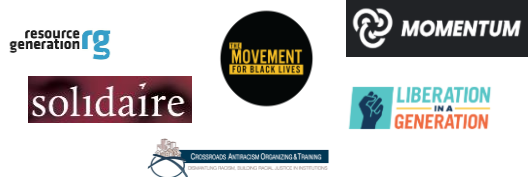


We do not view our role as designing the reparations program.

Our role will primarily be to help **ensure that the most proximate leaders are influential in the conversation**, and that **an intersectional perspective** is taken to ensure those who are most marginalized within the black community are centered

We believe that a strong, comprehensive program:

- **Is as much about the journey as it is the destination.** Building public will for such a program will require real work across all dimensions of the wheel
- **Can be achieved within a generation.**
- **Must have certain characteristics.** These characteristics may include but are not limited to:
 - Concrete outcomes (e.g., abolishing poverty, closing the racial wealth gap)
 - Federal government issuing admission of guilt and formal apology
 - Embedding truth-telling within individual and institutional settings
- **Is a critical landmark on the path to repair**, but does not represent the end of the journey
- **Can be achieved through “spinning the wheel faster”** to move American society up the hill

The landscape: the reparative ecosystem is nascent and blossoming

Key roles	Description	Examples (not comprehensive)
Aggregate and build knowledge of reparations and repair	<p>Primarily includes scholars and thought leaders who develop and document the core knowledge around reparations (e.g. logistics, policy proposals, costs) while disseminating it through broad reach (e.g. media), with the purpose of supporting the field with concrete evidence-backed material</p> <p>Additionally includes educators focused on changing narratives and truth-telling</p>	 <p>William Darity Nikole Hannah-Jones Bryan Stevenson</p>
Build capacity	<p>Focused on scaling and building capabilities for the movement for reparations and includes both funders and capability builders / conveners that help generate the energy to drive the movement forward. Most focused on broader racial justice or progressive movements.</p>	
Drive social and political change	<p>Players that are dedicated to taking concrete actions that yield specific outcomes, whether focused on top-down policy impact (e.g. advocates, innovators/changemakers) or bottom-up civil society grassroots mobilization (e.g. grassroots organizers and institutional actors)</p>	
Manage backlash and backsliding	<p>Organizations or individuals that focus on reducing and eliminating harm that impedes progress (e.g. legal and political defense, and hate group mitigation)</p> <p>Critical to building energy to drive the movement forward while mobilizing and engaging the full population</p>	

Note: Categories are not all mutually exclusive; some thought leaders lead social change organizations, etc.

Our role: An ecosystem catalyst

We have observed three conditions that indicate that an ecosystem catalyst could be useful

	1	2	3
Conditions of the ecosystem	<p>Lack of reliable resources</p> <p>While there are many intermediaries focused on funding progressive, grassroots efforts, none are focused specifically on reparations. Organizations doing this work over the last few decades have relied mainly on volunteers.</p>	<p>Small, fragmented players</p> <p>The existing repair landscape includes several small entities that have begun building small-scale energy around reparations without significant cross-collaboration across roles or agreement on what a reparations program should look like</p>	<p>Uncoordinated activity</p> <p>Given the scale of the goal, true progress needs an overarching strategy across the many players, as well as a mechanism for evaluating and tracking momentum and impact over time.</p>
The role of an ecosystem catalyst	<p>Provide unrestricted, long-term resources</p> <p>Organizes donors across race and class and makes unrestricted, multi-year grants to enable organizations on the ground to build real capacity for the long term</p>	<p>Provide connective tissue</p> <p>Brings together pockets of energy to increase collaboration and partnerships, identify and fill gaps, and strengthen the collective voice of the movement; funds relationship and consensus building</p>	<p>Communicate a collective strategy</p> <p>Crafts a compelling vision and clear path toward achieving the goal, including intermediate outcome indicators</p>

Our role

Time

To start, we will focus on number one. As we build stronger relationships and learn from our grantmaking, we will evaluate if and how to move into two and three.

Our 10-year plan includes the following phases

Deep dive on following page

	Exploratory phase	Seed phase (\$10M)	Growth phase	Scale phase
Timing	2020	2021-2023	2024-2027	2028-2030
Objectives	Build the strategic foundation for the organization	Help nascent efforts take root	Support growth, learning and capacity building	Resource nationwide scaling of promising efforts
Activities	Understand reparations landscape Define mission and role Determine 10-year strategy, with refresh after the 2020 election Build relationships across movement	Build strong relationships with potential grantees Develop grant criteria and operating model for funding decisions Raise and distribute initial seed grants Determine set of service offerings	Pilot new service offerings with grantees Secure new sources of funding Partner with key capability builders in the landscape (e.g. Momentum)	Assess new needs in the reparations movement to determine areas to scale and need for LV Track progress toward strategic goal Refresh strategic mission and path if necessary
Throughout, we will follow an iterative cycle of Observe, Interpret, Intervene to identify how the landscape and societal context is changing, and how we can be most effective				
Philosophy / Approach to the work	<i>Focused on learning and building relationships. Dedicated to real exploration of whether or not the organization should exist.</i>	<i>Focused on building modest organizational infrastructure, deepening relationships, and converting the energy of 2020 into entities that are building power.</i>	<i>Likely to require “getting on the balcony” – reflection on movement successes, failures, and new opportunities</i>	<i>Likely to require re-evaluation of our role, progress toward the goal, and the strategy moving forward</i>
Operating expenses¹	\$230K	\$3.5M	TBD	TBD
Grants distributed	\$0	\$5.5M	TBD	TBD
Reserves	\$0	\$1M	TBD	TBD

1. Includes payroll; excludes grants

The seed stage consists of grantmaking and organization building

	2020	2021	2022-2023
Grantmaking Activity	<p>Determine operating model for funding decisions</p> <p>Develop criteria for grantmaking decisions</p> <p>Identify potential grantees</p>	<p>Launch first round of seed grants</p> <p>Reassess grantmaking decision criteria depending on current needs of the movement</p>	<p>Launch additional rounds of seed grants</p> <p>Assess performance of first round against criteria (e.g., co-option)</p> <p>Determine and begin piloting other services LV could offer to seed grantees</p>
Programmatic Activity	<p>Build relationships with movement leaders</p> <p>Develop compendium of knowledge to support the work (e.g. understanding of reconciliation in other countries, history of government wealth transfers to white Americans, etc)</p>	<p>Launch series of meaningful convenings to bring together movement players (e.g. conferences, roundtables)</p> <p>Build relationships with broader relevant stakeholders (e.g. executives, elected officials)</p>	<p>Expand partnerships across both the movement and external stakeholders</p>
Org-building Activity	<p>Raise \$5M of \$10M goal</p> <p>Begin putting governance structures in place</p> <p>Recruit 3rd Co-Founder</p> <p>Define clear strategic goal and path¹</p>	<p>Establish equitable organizational structure and grow total FTE</p> <p>Develop set of core values and operating principles</p> <p>Secure additional sustainable funding</p>	<p>Reassess needs of the reparations movement and adjust strategy accordingly</p> <p>Build strategic blueprint for growth phase</p>
Estimated FTE	2 Co-Founders	3 Co-Founders, 1 Program Manager, 1 Executive Assistant	3 Co-Founders, 1 Program manager, 1 Executive Assistant, 1 Analyst

1. May be refreshed pending November 2020 election results

To accomplish our seed phase goals, we need to raise \$10 million

Revenue	Assumptions	2020	2021	2022	2023
Committed Philanthropy		\$100,000	\$0	\$0	\$0
Pipeline Philanthropy		\$0	\$333,334	\$333,333	\$333,333
Unidentified Philanthropy		\$130,146	\$2,000,000	\$3,000,000	\$4,000,000
Total Revenue	Cover 2020 expenses, \$10M raise 2021-2023	\$230,146	\$2,333,334	\$3,333,333	\$4,333,333
Payroll Expenses					
Salaries	See personnel table	\$179,288	\$645,000	\$677,250	\$711,113
Payroll Taxes	7.65% Of salaries	\$13,716	\$49,343	\$51,810	\$54,400
Employee Benefits	12.35% of salaries	22,142	79,658	83,640	87,822
Total Payroll Expenses		\$215,146	\$774,000	\$812,700	\$853,335
Non-Labor Expenses					
Convenings	4 days @ 50 people @\$400/day. 1 in 2021, 2 in 2022-2023	\$0	\$80,000	\$160,000	\$160,000
Other consultants	\$50K/project. 1 in 2021, 2 in 2022-23	\$0	\$50,000	\$100,000	\$100,000
Outsourced services (e.g. accounting)	2020 \$3K, 2021 \$2.5k/mo, then grow with personnel	\$3,000	\$30,000	\$31,500	\$33,075
Travel & meals	2020 \$2K, 2021 \$2.5k/mo, 2022 \$6K/mo, then grow with personnel	\$2,000	\$30,000	\$72,000	\$75,600
Conferences & PD	2020 \$3K, 2021 \$6k/mo, 2022 \$15K, then grow with personnel	\$3,000	\$6,000	\$15,000	\$15,750
IT, supplies & Equipments	2020 \$2K, 2021 \$500/mo, then grow with personnel	\$2,000	\$6,000	\$6,300	\$6,615
Miscellaneous	2020 \$5K, 2021 \$2K/mo, then grow with personnel	\$5,000	\$24,000	\$25,200	\$26,460
Total Non-Labor Expenses		\$15,000	\$226,000	\$410,000	\$417,500
Grant Expenses	Remaining funds distributed after operating expenses & reserves	\$0	\$1,000,000	\$1,777,300	\$2,729,165
Total Operating Expenses		\$230,146	\$2,000,000	\$3,000,000	\$4,000,000
% Expenses on Grants	Assumes \$333K annual reserve build to reach 3 mo by end of phase	0%	50%	59%	68%
Projected Surplus		\$0	\$333,334	\$333,333	\$333,333
Total Reserve		\$0	\$333,334	\$666,667	\$1,000,000

We are positioned to bring needed voices to the table to drive impact



Aria Florant
Co-Founder

- Engagement Manager at McKinsey, where she advises foundations and other public and social sector orgs
- Former consultant at the Barack H. Obama Foundation
- Worked several years at grassroots nonprofits in East Palo Alto, CA
- BA, Stanford; MBA, Wharton; MPA, Harvard Kennedy School



Garrett Neiman
Co-Founder

- Raised \$15M and led team of 25 as co-founder/CEO of CollegeSpring, a national college access nonprofit
- Writing book about privilege funded by Ford and represented by Hachette
- Organizes with Freedom Beyond, Organizing White Men for Collective Liberation, and Resource Generation
- BA, Stanford; MBA/MPP, Harvard

We are in conversation with a number of potential advisors

Academic Experts

Sandy Darity
Professor, Duke University

Megan Francis
Professor, Harvard Kennedy School

Ron Heifetz
Professor, Harvard Kennedy School

Trevon Logan
Professor, Ohio State University

Martha Minow
Former Dean, Harvard Law School

Nonprofit & Philanthropic Leaders

Dorian Burton
Chief Program Officer, Kenan Charitable Trust

Farhad Ebrahimi
President, Chorus Foundation

Vanessa Kirsch
CEO, New Profit

Michael McAfee
CEO, PolicyLink

Jennifer Wynn
Director of Education, Obama Foundation

Organizers/ Movement Builders

Nicole Carty
Core Team, Momentum

Najla Gomez
Capacity Building, Californians for Justice

Aletheia Henry
Planned Parenthood, Obama for America

Abraham Lateiner
Core Team, Freedom Beyond

Bay Love
Trainer, Racial Equity Institute

Will you join us?

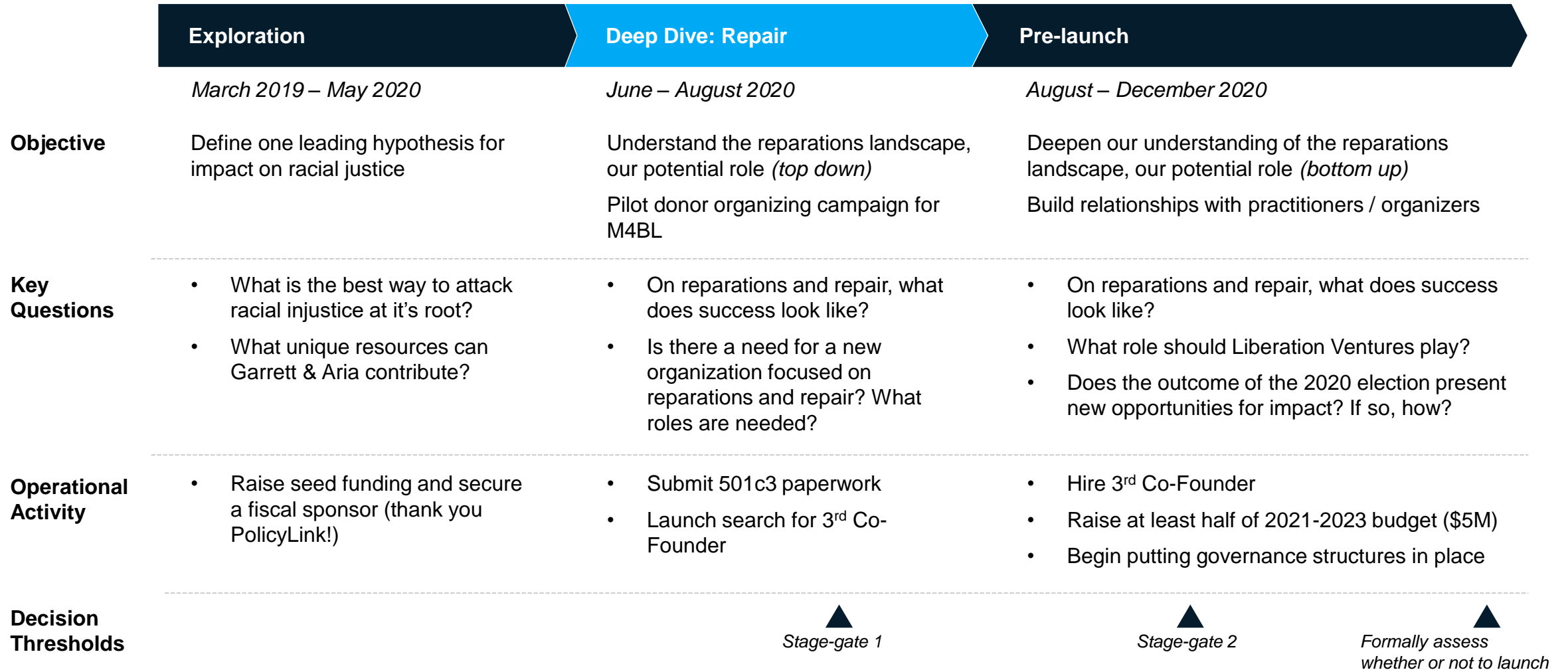
“It always seems impossible until it is done.”

Nelson Mandela

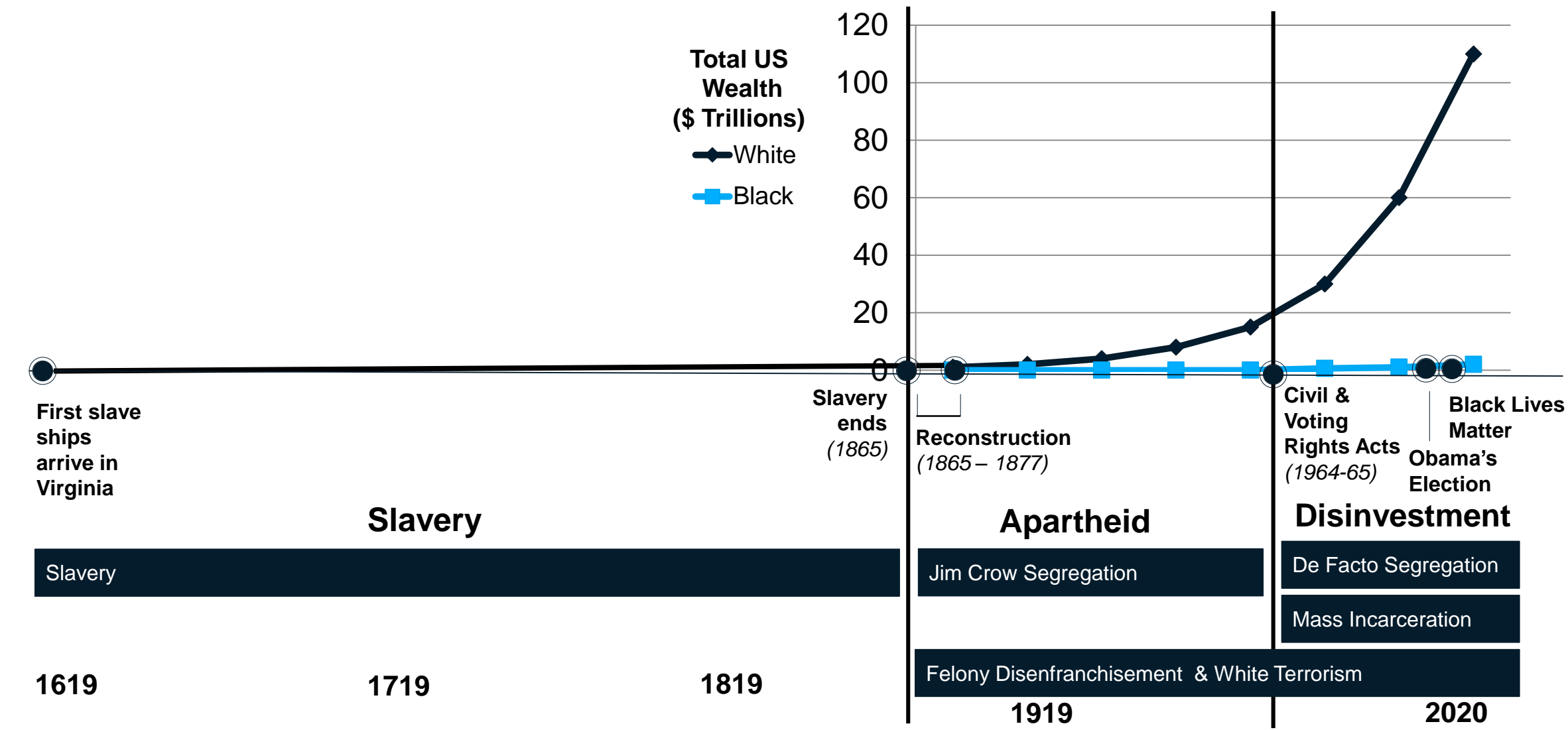
Appendix

Introduction: Our work to date

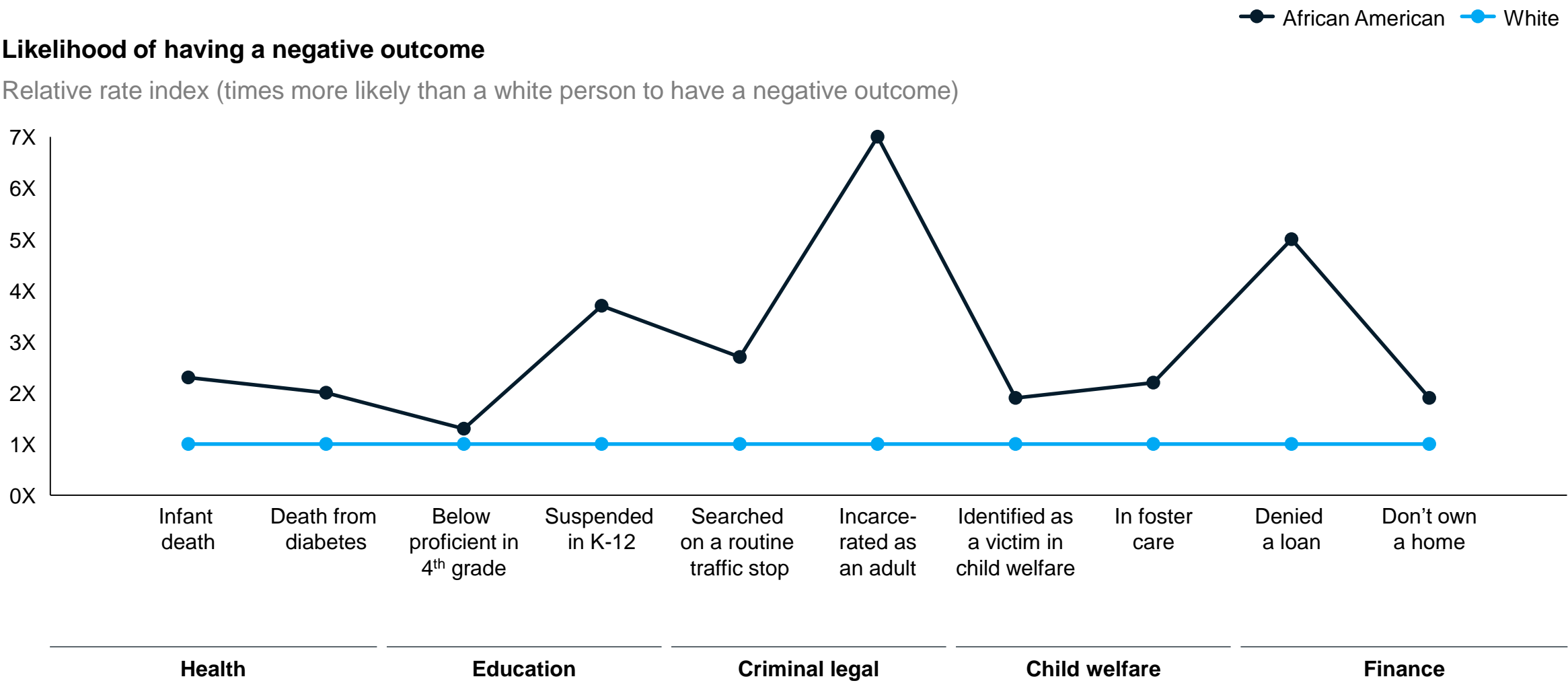
 Where we are now



The effects of anti-black racism have compounded for centuries



To this day, black Americans fare significantly worse in every system

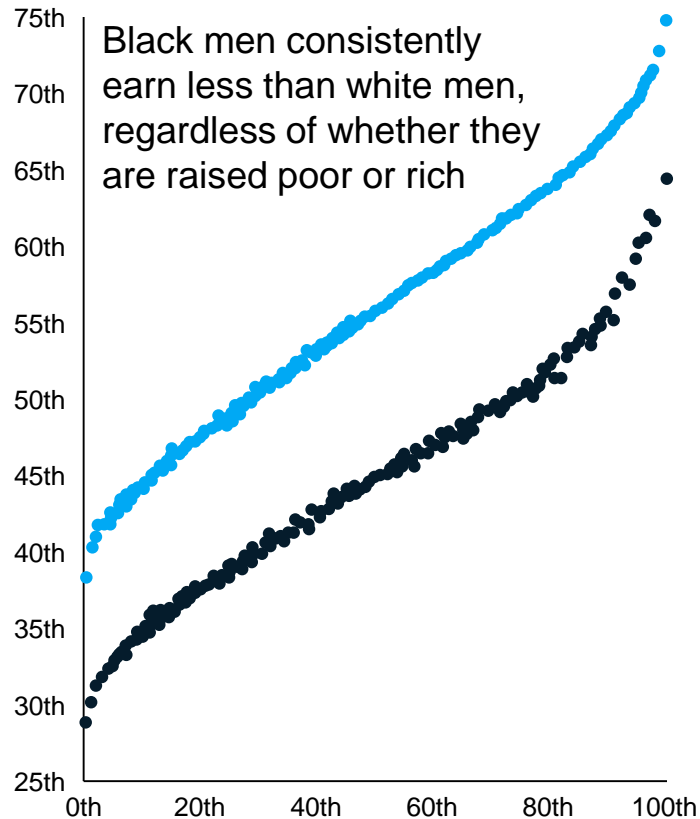


Source: The Racial Equity Institute. Bayard Love and Deena Hayes-Greene. "The Groundwater Approach: Building a Practical Understanding of Structural Racism."

Socioeconomic issues are challenging, but do not fully explain racial disparities

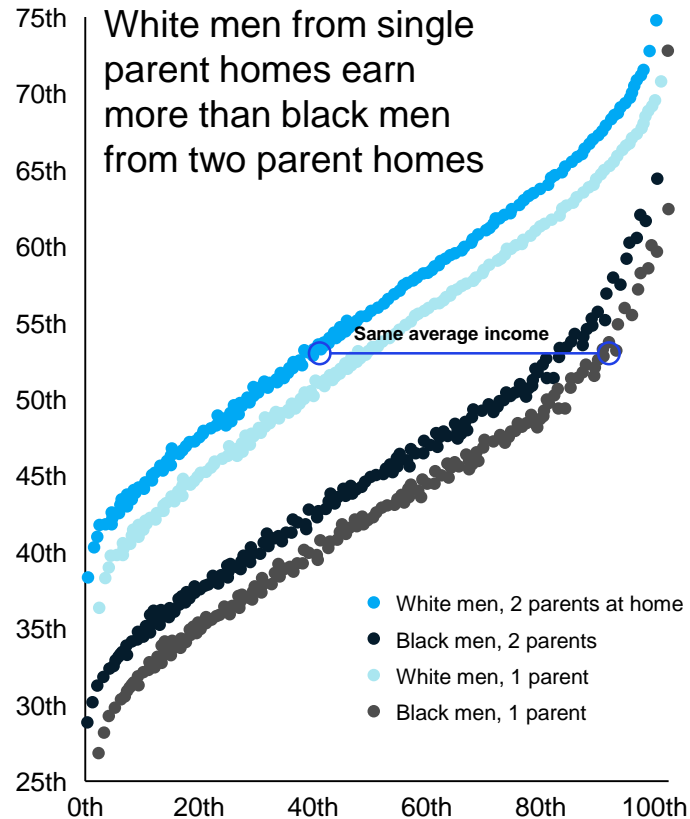
● White men ● Black men

Average individual income rank of kids



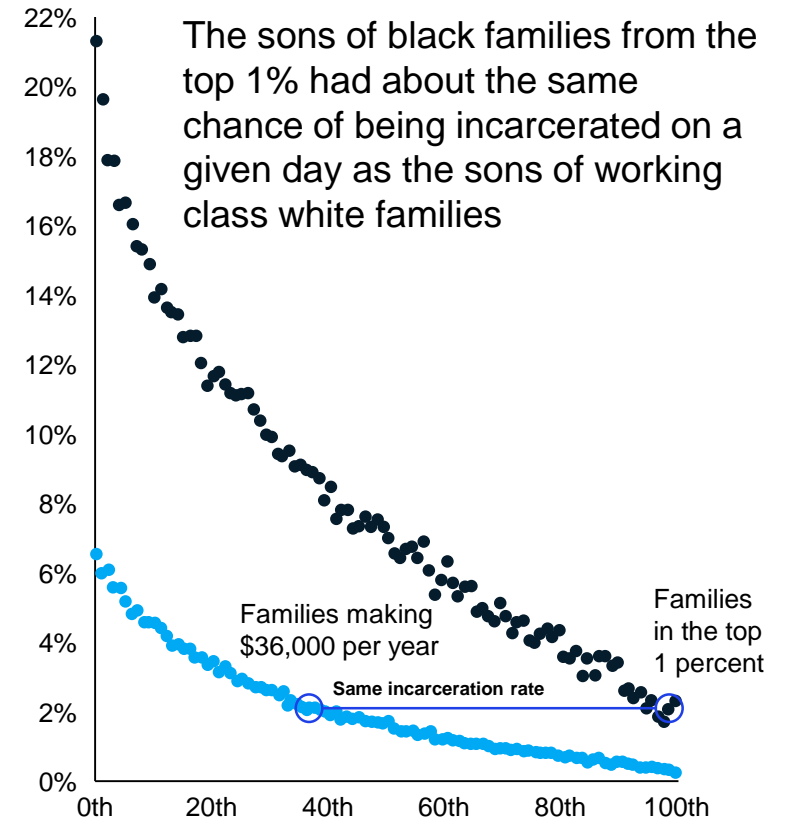
Income rank of parents

Same average income



Income rank of parents

Share of the men incarcerated on April 1, 2010



Household income rank of parents

Source: The Equal Opportunity Project. Raj Chetty, Nathaniel Hendren, Maggie Jones, and Sonya R. Porter. "Race and Economic Opportunity in the United States."

Racial disparities persist because of the racial wealth gap, unjustified negative stereotypes, and America’s unwillingness to reckon with its history

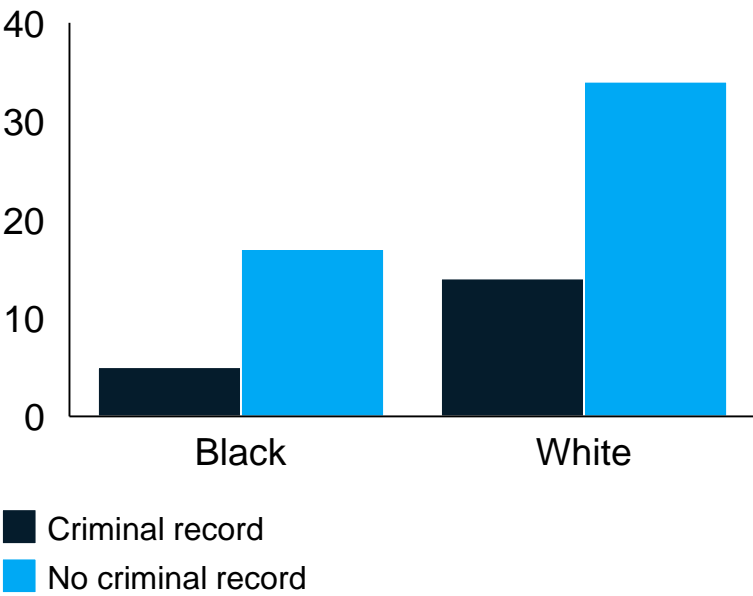
The racial income gap is large, but the racial wealth gap is massive

Racial wealth percentiles

Percentile	White	Black
99	\$8,300,000	\$1,200,000
90	\$1,196,000	\$204,800
80	\$594,500	\$105,710
70	\$338,400	\$53,150
60	\$217,000	\$25,200
50	\$134,230	\$11,030
40	\$77,660	\$4,460
30	\$35,500	\$320
20	\$11,001	(\$1,584)
10	\$70	(\$17,000)

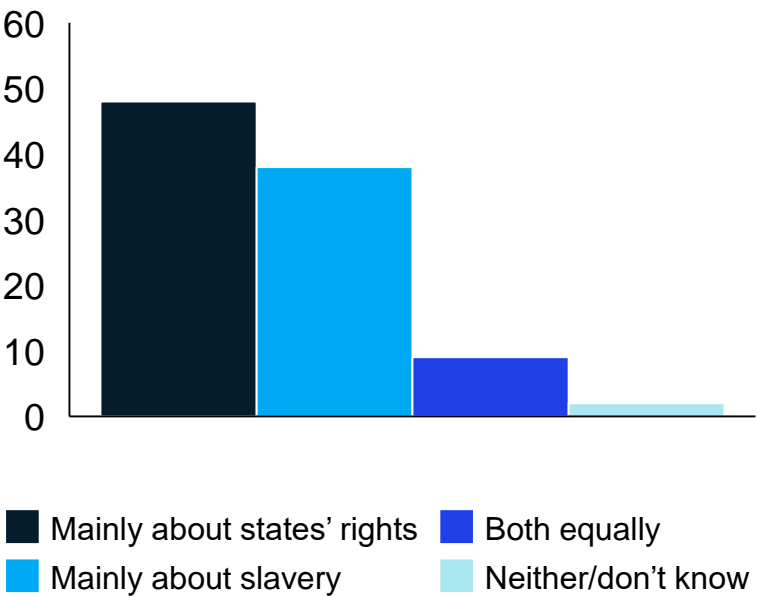
White men with a criminal record are more likely to receive job interviews than black men without a criminal record

Identical resume audit study
% of people called back for job interviews



Almost half of Americans believe the Civil War was mainly about states’ rights, not slavery

National poll that asks:
What was the Civil War About?
% of people



Source: Demos (U.S. think tank). Racial Wealth Percentiles; Federal Reserve Survey. Pew Research Center. American Journal of Sociology. Devah Pager. Harvard University. “The Mark of a Criminal Record.” ; Pew Research Center. <https://www.people-press.org/2011/04/08/civil-war-at-150-still-relevant-still-divisive/>


Example journeys around the cycle of repair

Example journeys

These journeys may not be linear and may begin at any component

A build up of energy and momentum at one level can spark momentum in the next level

The diagram shows three levels: Individual (person icon), Institution (building icon), and Systemic (globe icon). Curved arrows point from Individual to Institution, and from Institution to Systemic, indicating a progression or build-up of momentum.

Components	Acknowledgement	Reckoning	Accountability	Redress
 Individual	Individual understands and accepts history of racial injustice (e.g. slavery, Jim Crow, war on crime) and acknowledges own complicity	Individual reads anti-racist literature and engages in meaningful discussions with peers on racial injustice	Individual donates significant portion of salary toward racial justice causes; gives up power in situations to make way for Black individuals (e.g. Alexis Ohanian giving up Reddit board seat)	Individual uses privilege to intentionally take racial justice-oriented actions (e.g. sponsoring Black individuals, making meaningful life changes to be more anti-racist)
 Institution	A university publicly acknowledges its role in the slave trade	University establishes a reconciliation committee to publish a report on the university's history contributing to slavery; curriculum across university reflects historical injustices; new spaces for vulnerable discussions	University provides scholarships as reparations for ADOS	University takes critical actions toward racial justice from all angles (e.g.,) investing in secondary schools to improve education, bringing in more scholars of color, increasing financial aid to ease burden)
 Systemic	The federal government publicly acknowledges the United States' past of slavery and ongoing racial injustice, passes HR 40	Broad society goes through a process of reckoning; the government creates a reconciliation council to publicly take the country through the process (e.g. public hearings, committees on understanding redress)	Individuals and institutions that have contributed to harms have established accountability procedures; public society puts pressure on government to take responsibility for harms	A program for reparations is passed, which includes cash payments in addition to large-scale education investment and reform, healthcare access,

For discussion: Does LV support organizations working across all three levels or only targeted ones?

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To be sustainable and meaningful, there need to be authentic reparative actions

Work In Progress

In order for our country to heal, wealth and power that was extracted must be returned

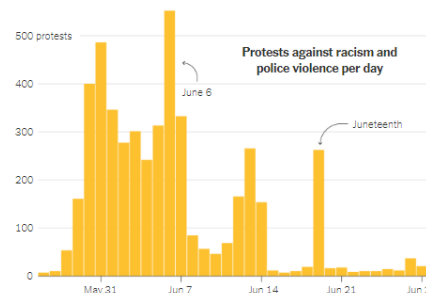
Incremental solutions have made progress. However, a reparative lens to racial justice work goes farther. It requires acknowledgement that wealth has been stolen and extracted from black communities for centuries, and to right that wrong, the wealth must be returned.

Repair asks American society to tell the truth about history, and create an opportunity for Black people to begin operating on equal footing.

We are in a moment where revolutionary action is possible

The public conversation about racial justice has ripened, and more people (across race) are engaged than we have seen in decades – perhaps ever. The NYTimes reports 15-26 million people protested in June. The time for swift, meaningful action is now.

Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in U.S. History



Both technical and adaptive approaches are necessary to make progress and sustain it

Racial justice is both a technical and adaptive problem, and both types of solutions are needed to achieve it.

Financial investment can catalyze critical systemic change, but reckoning with history as well as trust/relationship building between racial groups is critical for a healthy multiracial democracy.

Evidence shows that the elements of a reparations program – wealth transfer, apology, and restitution – are both precedented and effective tools for achieving repair

Work In Progress

Wealth transfers have historically existed in US policy and historically benefited predominantly white people

Throughout history, wealth transfers have been used to increase economic mobility for Americans, but have mostly benefitted White people, including European immigrants, and often at the expense of other groups. These policies have often built upon each other.

- **The Homestead Act of 1862** gave White settlers 160 acres of land if they could occupy the land for five years and led to the distribution of 80M acres of public land by 1900³
- **The 1934 National Housing Act** gave primarily White families home loans at the lowest credit rates in history, benefiting ~12M⁴ people by the end of the 1930s (after a depression) to buy houses
- **The GI Bill of 1944** gave WWII veterans significant benefits, including hospitals, low-interest mortgages, and school tuition and has been since expanded to all veterans, having fueled the country's middle class while also leaving behind minority veterans
- **Social security**, which has always been an intergenerational transfer of wealth, paid for by current workers for current retirees⁵

Apology and restitution are both critical components of healing and must be done in conjunction¹

Scholars have found that **national apologies have been critical components of healing for victimized groups, though often only when paired with acts of restitution.**

- In Canada, for instance, the government paid reparations for indigenous populations as redress for residential schooling. However, the lack of immediate apology – and public “remorse” – led the Indigenous community to decry the response’s failure to heal the wound. The government then issued an apology two years later.

Among non-victimized groups, apologies have been found to have very little impact in their perceptions of the victimized populations and indicate the **need for restitution to drive broader community-wide healing and repair**

- After Canada’s formal apology to the Chinese Canadian population for the Chinese Head Tax²

1. [“Government Apologies for Historical Injustices,” Political Psychology](#)

2. A fixed fee levied as part of the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885 that was charged to each Chinese person entering Canada as a way of discouraging immigration

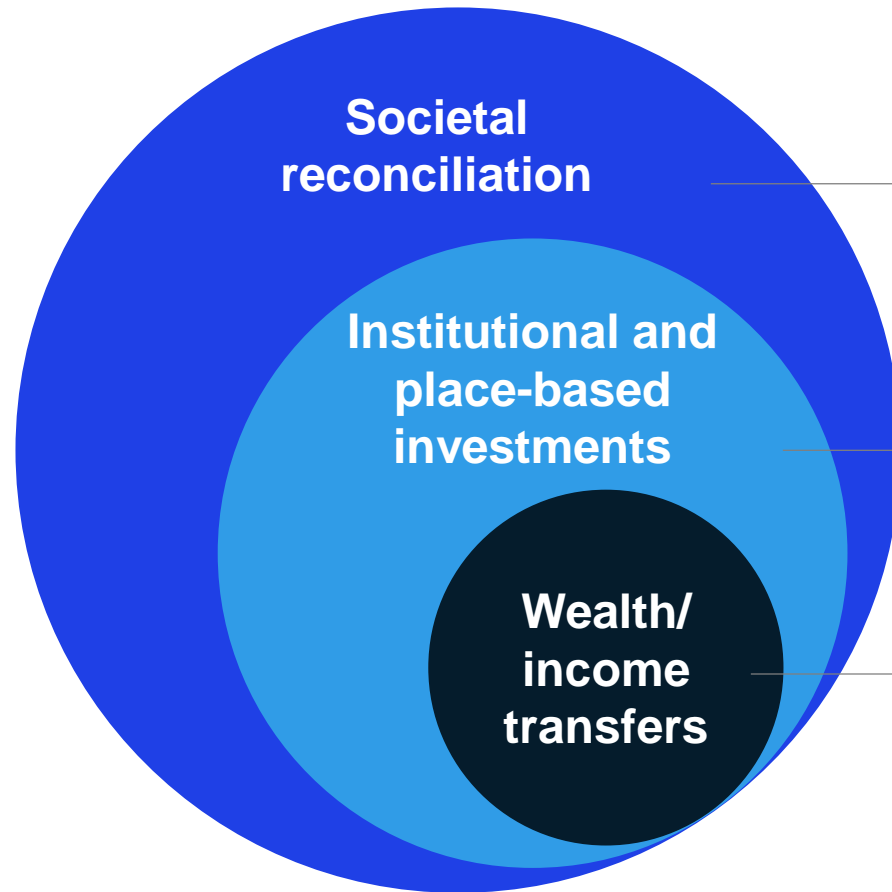
3. [Library of Congress](#)

4. [Living New Deal](#): original source: Fifth Annual report of the Federal Housing Administration 1938

5. [Pew Research](#)

A reparations program would benefit everyone and collectively uplift society

Work In Progress



A reparations program:

Engages all individuals across the United States to reckon with historical injustice and heal together to build a healthier society

Invests in systems within all Black communities to address root causes of racial and economic injustice (e.g. baby bonds, community housing/land trusts)

Returns wealth that has been extracted across generations

We will build a panel of proximate leaders who will define our funding strategy across a number of potential levers for change

Work In Progress

Potential Levers		Description	Examples
Knowledge production and management	Transform individuals' learning and capacity	Support individuals in building capacity, both internally (e.g. White communities grappling with shame) and externally (e.g. building allies), striving toward mindset shifts and culture change	Facing History and Ourselves
	Generate research and make the case	Contribute to the knowledge base for reparations that will be used to mobilize public support and influence potential institutional and public policy changes	Endowed professorship (e.g., Koch Industries)
	Elevating storytelling and truthful narratives	Advocate for truth-telling on historical injustices and narrative form across various parts of society (e.g. education curriculums, media, etc)	ArrayNow
Institutional change	Build institutions' capabilities to drive impact	Equip institutions (e.g., big corporations, universities, government agencies) with the skills and tools to implement and advocate for reparations (e.g. research, policy plans, implementation training, etc)	Business Roundtable
	Exert external pressure	Focus on collective mobilization and outside pressure to embed changes in system and institutions, leveraging momentum of current outrage, and can be generated by global, internal, and market actors	M4BL
	Target elected officials to advocate for policy	Focus on policy and legislative changes toward reparations and repair through relationships with targeted elected officials given the importance of public policy in driving forward a meaningful reparations program	Senate bill (Booker/Harris)
	Foster new political campaigns	Invest in high-potential progressive candidates with potential to elevate reparations in federal, state, and local policy	Justice Democrats
	Target influential individuals in private/social sectors	Focus on fostering relationships with influential, high power individuals (e.g., CEOs, famous philanthropists, billionaires), who can then influence their networks and institutions through their reach and resources	Tom Steyer, Jack Dorsey
Organizing	Organize at the campus level	Mobilize support for reparations through organizing on university campuses (e.g. campus chapters for reparations advocacy toward universities and government)	Campus BLM chapters
	Organize at the community level	Mobilize support for reparations through community grassroots groups that focus on both policy advocacy at federal, state, and local efforts and mobilizing public support and awareness	M4BL
	Organize in the labor market (e.g., employees, consumers)	Mobilize support for reparations within institutions through employee organizing	TBD

These levers can be used both to drive progress (moving up the hill) and manage backlash (sliding down the hill)

Producing transformative, reparative change requires doing philanthropy differently

1

Distributed leadership

Facilitate a power-sharing process between people with resources and people on the ground, which will amplify practitioners' voices in deciding how money is spent

2

Bottom up & top down partnership

Empower proximate practitioners to define strategic priorities, using lived experience as well as a rigorous evidence base to guide decision making. Decisions will not be made at the 10,000 ft level – but insights from that level will be brought to the ground

3

Investment in people of color

Ensure that the majority of investments are made in people with lived experience of the problems they are solving – often organizations that have been chronically underfunded

4

Long-term, unrestricted funding

Provide unrestricted, multi-year grants that provide the flexibility to plan long-term, which is critical to making progress on intractable problems

5

Adaptive & technical solutions

Pair technical and adaptive approaches to solving problems, ensuring that technical best practices are incorporated, but also trust-building and healing is centered in both the strategy development as well as fundraising and deployment processes

Philanthropists need to engage in repairing the very mechanisms that produce, preserve, and promote our privilege. We must practice a better vision of philanthropy, one that improves itself and the societies of which we are members.

Darren Walker, CEO of the Ford Foundation

Lessons from other movements offer guidance for the Reparations movement in the US

Work In Progress – insights are continually evolving

Past movements have disproportionately benefited the most privileged within the marginalized group

Past movements, successful and failed ones alike, have centered the most privileged identities within marginalized groups and as a result have not been inclusive to victims who face intersectional marginalization (e.g. ‘reparations’ in South Africa excluded poor Black South Africans¹ while the marriage equality left out a significant part of the LGBTQ movement)²

Partnerships and alliances across race, class, profession, geography etc. have played a key role in successful movements

Past movements with supporters across all dimensions of society had a nationwide impact (e.g. Remembrance Culture in Germany, Marriage Equality) and in mobilizing support at critical junctures of the movement (e.g. Marriage Equality during state ballots)

A clear and coordinated narrative is instrumental to successfully shift the public opinion

Movements with narratives that aren’t clearly defined have failed to shift the public opinion due to backlash fueled by distorted narratives (e.g. “reverse discrimination” in affirmative action in the US and reparations in South Africa),³ while those with a clear narrative succeeded (e.g. Marriage Equality, Reparations in Canada).

Deeper culture change is necessary to build a durable movement and mitigate backlash and backsliding

Movements in the past that instilled a change in culture have successfully avoided backsliding (e.g. Marriage Equality and Remembrance Culture in Germany); those that didn’t change the culture faced severe backlash and have since backslid (e.g. reparations in South Africa⁴ and affirmative action in the US)⁵

Pooling philanthropy dollars and redirecting it to organizations and campaigns in the movement supports coordination, which is key to success

Organizations pooled philanthropy dollars and funded both top-down and bottom-up efforts in the marriage equality movement fostering strategic alignment and coordination between different players (e.g. Freedom to Marry, Civil Marriage Collaborative)

Source: 1. [US Institute of Peace](#) 2. New York Times 3. [New York Times](#) 4. [Journal of Southern African Studies](#) 5. [The University of Rhode Island](#)

Implications for Liberation Ventures

Liberation needs to be intersectional in the way it approaches reparative work

E.g. centering the voices of people and organizations that represent black folks across class, gender and sexuality

Liberation can play a role in fostering partnerships and alliances across different dimensions of society

E.g. Partnering with the Poor People’s Campaign and the National Black Justice Coalition (Black LGBT organization)

Liberation can serve as field builder that brings together scholars, educators and thought leaders to create a clear narrative around reparations

E.g. sponsoring workshops to create alignment on the narrative

Liberation can invest in national public education campaigns and in grassroots organizations dedicated to educating local populations

E.g. sponsoring national and local ad campaigns that illustrate the importance of reparations

Liberation can serve as the entity that funds the reparations movement

E.g. raising money and channeling it to organizations and campaigns in the reparations space

