TEN YEARS' TIME

PHILANTHROPY REIMAGINED

Moving Towards Reparative Justice:

How funders can act

Contents

Foreword

The combination of world politics shifting towards authoritarianism and the closing of civic spaces is bringing to light a multitude of fault lines in our society. As humans, it tends to be easier for us to process and analyse today's political and social realities through a rather narrow lens. We compartmentalise, we rationalise, we intellectualise. As we process these complex realities, we often reach a point of overwhelm — leading us to avoid, deflect, or ignore the issues. But to be able to do so is, in itself, a privilege (and not being able to do so is exhausting too, to be perfectly honest).

Generations of Black and Caribbean people in the UK experience the fault lines of our society — through political disenfranchisement, unequal access to housing and education, environmental degradation, and racist policing — in ways that differ significantly from their White counterparts. The roots of these differences go deeper than we care to go. Because truly giving thought to the "why" and "how" behind these realities will slowly but surely lead you back to slavery and colonisation, and show you that the structures of inequality we see today are not accidental nor are they just the latest swing in the playground of politics, but are in fact the deliberate outcomes of systems designed to maintain power and privilege in the hands of the colonisers.

Without an honest reckoning with this past, the persistent disparities in our societies cannot be adequately addressed. As complex as it might seem, it's imperative for us (and healthier too, in the long run) to process and analyse our reality today through reflecting on our shared past, confronting the systems of harm, and imagining bold paths toward equity and healing.

So, where does an institutional philanthropic sector that exists thanks to historic extraction and exploitation (and a certain degree of altruism) come into all of this? What must and should philanthropy do to fulfil the moral imperative of repairing harm? At its core, philanthropy holds the potential to catalyse change if it is willing to deeply interrogate the legacy of inequities that have shaped its very existence and engage in a process of intentional redistribution of resources, power, and opportunity.

The work ahead is undoubtedly complex and challenging, but it can become more manageable if you begin by confronting the truths you have long avoided. You need to start peeling away the protective layers you've built over time around your fragility and begin admitting to the harm you have caused directly and indirectly or admit to the fact that keeping the system as it is today benefits you whilst perpetuating harm for others. This level of honesty will be therapeutic for you, I promise. And then when you're ready to act upon your admissions, there is a plethora of people from marginalised communities who've been waiting for you to have an honest conversation with them, and they have a list longer than that of a five-year-old at Christmas of things they'd like from you. Listen to them, advocate for them, collaborate with them, value them. This process isn't about punishment, it's about healing and evolving, both for yourself and for the world around you.

For those of you who are going to use this report as a mirror and a guide and begin acknowledging your direct and indirect complicity in today's reality, I admire you. However, I'm not going to sugar coat the fact that you'll face pushback from the wider authoritarian power in play across society. A power that thrives off fear of repression, isolation from each other, and exhaustion at the utter chaos. The prospect of that isn't easy to swallow if, like me, you're already tired, but remember that change has always required persistence and solidarity.

With hope and resolve,
Aditi Shah

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Methodology

This report was commissioned by Guy's and St Thomas' Foundation to help them better understand where it currently is on its journey towards reparative justice and how it, along with other funders, can make progress on the issue.

For this report, we:

- Studied the independent research and public consultation that was carried out by the Foundation in 2020 and 2021 to begin understanding the historical context of the Foundation's origins of wealth.

- Interviewed two staff members at the Foundation, two community members, and two specialists in reparative justice.

- Carried out desk research on frameworks and best practices for working towards reparative justice in philanthropy, including studying resources such as Decolonizing Wealth by Edgar Villanueva and Bridgespan Group's Reparations Roadmap for Philanthropy report, to build out a recommended pathway that funders could follow should they wish to centre their philanthropy, investments, and organisational DNA on principles of reparative justice.

- Conducted a desk-based research audit of other foundations and public and private sector institutions, both in the UK and internationally, mapping their actions and progress against the recommended pathway. This could serve as a benchmarking exercise for funders, as well as provide inspiration of how they could work in this area.

Based on the information and ideas gathered through the methods listed above, we then pulled together a series of short-, medium-, and long-term recommendations for funders to consider as they work towards embedding reparative justice within their grant making, investments, and organisation overall. These can be found at the end of the report.

Glossary

Abolitionist movement

Movement in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to end the practice of slavery, whether formal or informal, in the UK and the world, including ending the transatlantic slave trade.

African chattel enslavement

The abduction and transportation of Africans to the Americas; the impact on their communities in Africa; the psychological impact; the impact on their cultural identities; the plantation and other forced labour systems which exploited them; and the industrial, financial, military and theological complex that supported those crimes[1]. We will be using this term instead of transatlantic slave trade throughout this document (please see the section on short term recommendations to understand why).

Colonialism

The practice of one country taking full or partial political control of another country and occupying it with settlers for the purposes of profiting from its resources and economy. In the process, the colonisers, sometimes forcibly, attempt to impose their religion, language, cultural, and political practices on the indigenous population.

Genocide

Internationally recognised crime where acts are committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group.

Guy's and St Thomas' Foundation

Guy's & St Thomas' Foundation is an independent charity, with a close relationship and linked history with the hospital trust. Its focus is on driving equitable health. The Foundation has a number of routes to impact to deliver their work, including Impact on Urban Health, who partner with and fund organisations who share their mission of making cities and other urban areas healthier places to live. The Foundation also has direct streams of funding work with the hospital trust.

Labelled social bond

Labelled social bonds (sometimes referred to as impact bonds) are bonds that have specific environmental, social or governance (ESG) or sustainability objectives.

Maangamizi

A Kiswahili term that means the intentional destruction and dispossession of peoplehood, nationhood and relationships to Ancestral Lands that has occurred as a result of the continuum of African chattel enslavement, colonialism and neocolonialism. [2]

Reparative justice

Reparative justice refers to the process of acknowledging, addressing, and seeking to repair the harms caused by historical or systemic injustice, which in the case of this report refers to the harm caused by the trafficking of enslaved Africans. It incorporates restoring relationships, dignity, and equity through measures such as restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, or other actions that seek to make amends for past wrongs.

Royal African Company (RAC)

A mercantile company founded and invested in by Charles II to trade in slaves, gold and silver from West Africa. It shipped more enslaved African men, women, and children to the Americas than any other single institution during the entire period of the transatlantic slave trade. Between 1673 and 1688, the years when the RAC had a monopoly on English slave trading in Africa, it transported an estimated 90,000 to 100,000 enslaved persons on an average of 23 voyages a year. The company continued to trade in enslaved persons and gold from Africa until it was dissolved with Parliament's creation of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa in 1750.[3]

Somers Island Company

In June 1615, the Somers Island Company (or Bermuda Company) was formed under a Royal Charter and continued to control Bermuda from England. For three generations, the London-based Somers Islands Company and tobacco shaped island life and local colonial development. The company largely determined who came to Bermuda, how the colony was settled, and the contacts that Bermudians had with their English colonial neighbours.

South Sea Company (SSC)

The South Sea Company was formed in 1711 in London, and its purpose was to supply 4,800 slaves each year for 30 years to the Spanish plantations in Central and Southern America. Over its entire trading lifetime, SSC forced nearly 42,000 people to leave the African coast. It disembarked almost 35,000 people, meaning that just over 7,000 people died on the crossing.[4]

Strategic litigation

A legal action seeking to bring about social change with an impact beyond the individual case.

Sunsetting

When a foundation spends its endowment at a rate that will eventually use up all its funds, leading to the foundation closing down.

Treaty of Waitangi

The treaty is an agreement reached in 1840 between the British and Māori. While it is not a legal document, it forms New Zealand's constitution and its principles – which include the right of Māori to self-determination, and the protection of Māori interests – are woven into legislation.[3]

[4]

1 https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2024-03/church-commissioners-for-england-oversight-group-report-to-the-board-of-governors.pdf pg 2

2 https://www.maangamizitrust.org/about_us

3 https://transcription.si.edu/project/29682

4 https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/south-sea-bubble/feature/the-south-sea-company-and-the-slave-trade

Introduction

Introduction

Guy's & St Thomas' Foundation contracted Ten Years' Time to produce this report to help them understand where it is currently on its reparative justice journey but also, in part, in response to research that was commissioned by the Foundation to better understand the connections of their notable benefactors, primarily Sir Robert Clayton and Thomas Guy, to African chattel enslavement.

It found that Sir Robert Clayton, who served as President of St Thomas' Hospital (1692-1707), had direct connections to African chattel enslavement and the plantation business. By 1667, Clayton was listed as a director of the Somers Island Company, which facilitated the colonisation of Bermuda, where enslaved Africans made up between one-fifth to one-third of the population. He owned plantations in Bermuda until at least the 1690s. He was also a principal member of the Royal African Company (RAC) from 1672 -1681. It is highly likely that the wealth Clayton generated from his plantations and his active involvement in the slave trade was invested, at least indirectly, into the rebuilding of St Thomas' Hospital.

Thomas Guy was the governor of St Thomas' from 1704 and began establishing Guy's Hospital in 1721. He had a large financial stake in the South Sea Company, which, during his time as an investor, transported 15,901 enslaved Africans across the Atlantic. His investment of £45,500 in 1720 (£96.6 million in 2020 value) helped to finance South Sea Company's involvement in the transatlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans. The appreciation on this investment is what formed the endowment for Guy's Hospital.

Guy's and St Thomas' Foundations' links to African chattel enslavement do not stop with Clayton and Guy. Between 1561-1881, roughly one third (11) of its governors had direct links to African chattel enslavement, primarily through slave-grown commodities such as sugar, tobacco, and cotton.

Following the murder of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, we saw a wave of Black Lives Matter protests, and the toppling of statues of slave traders such as Edward Colston. This in particular, led to renewed calls for public spaces to be decolonised and brought a sense of urgency to the conversations about the statues of Robert Clayton and Thomas Guy that stood in the grounds of the hospitals.

A joint statement by King's College London, Guy's and St Thomas' NHS Foundation Trust, and Guy's & St Thomas' Foundation was made on June 11th 2020 about the statues of Guy and Clayton, where they acknowledged that they had a *"duty to address the legacy of colonialism, racism and slavery"* in their work, and said that they were *"fully committed to tackling racism, discrimination and inequality"* and that they *"stand in solidarity"* with their patients, students, colleagues and communities.

The first step towards acting on this statement came in the form of commissioning independent historical research and an independent public consultation about what should happen with the statues. The historical research confirmed that both men profited significantly from the trade of enslaved African people, and the public consultation concluded that both statues should be retained in the public realm, but with information on how both men made their wealth through actively participating in trading enslaved people, or trading goods produced by enslaved people.

Historical context

In order to better understand why foundations should be taking a reparative justice approach, it is important to start with the historical context outlined in the introduction, charting where and how the Foundation's wealth was generated. Once you begin to understand this context, you soon realise that a reparative approach is necessary because you're able to make the connections of how these historical harms have had enduring, undeniable consequences on today's communities.

The impact on today's descendent communities

A problematic thing that happens in discussions of the past is that we think it was a long time ago, and either that it's no longer relevant, or that we need to move on. But it's clear that the legacies of colonialism and the trafficking of enslaved Africans continue to have an effect today on the people of Black and Caribbean descent. As the late historian John Henrik Clarke often said *"all history is a current event. The events which transpired 5000 years ago, 5 years ago, or 5 minutes ago, have determined what will happen 5 minutes from now, 5 years from now, or 5000 years from now".*

In the UK, there's a marked wealth disparity between different ethnic groups. The Runnymede Trust's 'Colour of Money' report (2020) found that for every £1 of White British wealth, Indian households have 90-95p, Black Caribbean households hold around 20p, and Black African and Bangladeshi households have approximately 10p. These inequities aren't simply the result of individual bad choices or that White people are simply more hard-working than their Black counterparts. The wealth gap is the result of generations of White people inheriting wealth that originated from African chattel enslavement, the accumulation of which is fuelled by a pattern of modern-day, race-based policies, and upheld by racist narratives. These have systematically destroyed the wealth and socio-economic standards for Black people and reinforced inequalities across generations.

Research commissioned by Impact on Urban Health (and carried out by King's College London) showed that financial health, housing, and work, all drive health inequity. They found that one in five (23%) of people in the most deprived places in Lambeth live with multiple long-term health conditions, compared to only one in ten (11%) in the least deprived neighbourhoods, and it is Black people that are more likely to experience deprivation than people of other ethnicities in Lambeth. The proportion of people living with two or more long-term conditions is substantially higher among Black communities (29%) than in Asian (19%) and White (17%) communities. Digging even deeper, there is a particularly high share of people living with multiple long-term conditions in the Black Caribbean community (37%), and a particularly low share of people living with two or more long-term conditions who identify as White other (12%).

The research also found that Black people were more likely to face a delay in being diagnosed with long-term conditions when compared to their White counterparts. For example, of those living with two or more conditions, 26% of Black people lived with diagnosed depression and 38% with anxiety, compared with 45% of White people living with depression and 56% with anxiety. They suggested that the reasons behind the delay were systemic and came down to factors such as a lack of trust in mainstream services among Black communities, patterns of racism and stigma in the healthcare system, and a disbelief among Black people that the healthcare system can meet their needs.

This data suggests that multiple long-term health conditions are also an inequity issue, just like the Black-White wealth gap is an inequity issue. The health-gap is the result, among many things, of employers not centring good working conditions in the design of the workplace, lenders and landlords not including long-term health conditions by default in their vulnerable customer policies, and policymakers, property owners and letting agents fuelling a market for unaffordable, insecure, private sector tenancies that are not good for health nor the purse strings.

The role of philanthropy

The role of philanthropy in the space of reparations isn't to replace the government's role in providing redress at scale and providing healing as a nation. However, there is an opportunity and a responsibility for philanthropy to resource abundantly, take risks, be brave in the face of systemic injustice, and build a culture of repair that centres the wellbeing, wealth-building, and equity for the descendants of enslaved people today.

As funders try to do good on social and environmental inequalities through their philanthropy, remembering that they don't have excess by chance is a good reality check. They have excess due to centuries of benefiting from enslaved labour and extraction from all forms of resources (be that people or planet), which has caused the very inequalities they're trying to address. The infrastructure that allows philanthropy to continue accumulating wealth is the same as the one that has systematically excluded racialised communities from similar forms of wealth building. For a funder in the healthcare space, for example, it's important to remember that there is no health without justice. Communities will not be healthy until the healthcare funder also works on repairing harms and rooting out anti-Blackness in its organisation and its staff. It is long-term work, yet there is a need to do it with urgency.

Once you're able to understand and acknowledge that the majority of the wealth today has been created on the backs of people of colour and marginalised people, then reparations make sense. If you understand that, centuries after the start of the trafficking of enslaved Africans the racial wealth gap shouldn't exist, then reparations make sense. If you believe that you have a responsibility to provide redress for the harm caused by the creation of your power and wealth, then reparations make sense.

The case for reparative justice

One expert we spoke to suggests that the disproportionate levels of mental ill health that we see in boroughs where there is a high proportion of Black and Caribbean people, such as in Southwark and Lambeth, are caused by spiritual alienation that the residents who are descendants of enslaved people suffer because of not being rooted. They might have been born in the borough, but they don't experience first citizenship and are perhaps even seen as underclass.

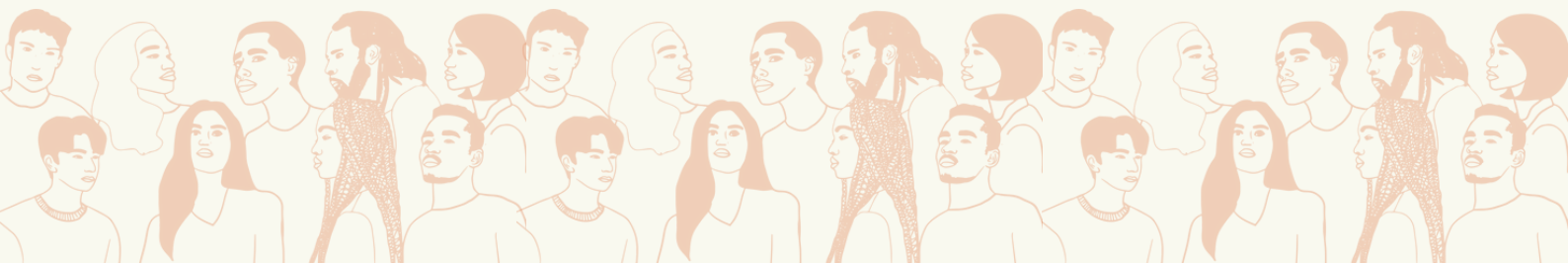
> ***There is no Black land, there is no Black culture. Black isn't an identifier in terms of nationality.***

The descendants of enslaved people have been deprived of their national identity, which is what makes you a 'people', and subject to international law where your rights can be recognised and respected. Until you have that, you can be *"stamped on, trampled on, killed, tortured, abused for generations, and it won't be recognised as a crime"*. This is what Esther Xosei refers to as *Maangamizi* - the intentionality of the African holocaust of chattel, colonial and neocolonial enslavement.

The basis of reparative justice is repair, and funders can't truly engage with repair work until they are fully honest about the historical context nor until they stop controlling the narrative around the why and what of the repair work, and cede that power to those who are descendants of enslaved people who have felt the pain of what happened, and the lasting effects and legacies of African chattel enslavement.

So as uncomfortable as the idea that the slave trade was “Maangamizi” might make funders feel, if they are serious about reparative justice, they need to acknowledge and accept the fact that this is what the narrative and language would be like if it was being controlled by descendants of enslaved people.

If a funder was founded to work on something such as health inequalities, this does not mean they also work on reparative justice. They are not the same thing. For example, if a funder wanted to take a reparative lens to their core area of work on health inequalities, they would need to understand and address health inequalities within the context of their deeper roots in slavery and colonialism. The funder needs to look at the bigger systemic issues to understand what other inequalities, which have also been inflicted due to the slave trade, are directly and indirectly affecting the health outcomes of the people and communities it works with. There needs to be listening sessions, and it can’t just involve consultations around agendas that have been created by the institution itself but actually creating space to deeply listen to the involved communities.



Frameworks

Frameworks

Introduction

It is fundamental to centre the victims, survivors, and those affected by the legacy of African chattel enslavement. For some, an acknowledgement of involvement without an apology, isn't necessarily meaningless, but it does make it feel partial. Others, however, ask *"apology to whom and for what?"*. One interviewee stated that many apologies that were made by institutions after George Floyd's murder were poorly worded as the people making them had a limited understanding of the history of the trafficking of enslaved Africans, and the apologies weren't made with the descendants nor the survivor communities in mind. The undertone of many apologies was *"We're sorry, but we also wouldn't exist if it weren't for this history and look how much good in the community we are doing today."*

So, how do you go about apologising for something so deeply disturbing, for something that has caused so much harm to generations of Black and Caribbean people, and for something that has shaped so many of the horrendous realities that those communities are faced with today? It posits whether it is better to apologise badly but apologise nonetheless or is it better not to apologise at all.

Some say that those in power today should not be expected to apologise for the actions of people from centuries ago, as they were just doing the *"normal thing"*. Experts that we spoke to questioned for whom it was a *"normal thing"*, because it certainly wasn't normal for the enslaved people. They see this defence as an enslaver's narrative and framing of what should be seen as crimes against humanity, likened to a genocide. Part of what companies and individuals partaking in African chattel enslavement were doing was essentially investing in genocide, but under the guise of trade as an attempt to absolve themselves from the crimes against humanity that they were perpetrating.

Of course, nobody alive today is directly responsible for African chattel enslavement. However, many enslavers were not just *"men of their time behaving normally."* Many were accomplished and literate men who were in the upper echelons of society. A number of their peers condemned the transatlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans and the act of enslaving on moral grounds, even before the Abolitionist movement began in the late 18th century in Britain. It would've been impossible for those who chose to continue enslaving African people not to be aware of the criticisms against the slave trade. And yet, they chose not to change their ways and they chose not to use the platforms to speak out against slavery, as many of their peers were doing.

Seeing their behaviour as having been the ‘normal thing’ also makes the conversation around African chattel enslavement feel very transactional. It paints enslavers as people who were simply involved in a business, and the business just happened to be the trafficking of enslaved Africans. People were bought and sold, and just as in any business, money was made through this transaction. Analysing it through this lens leads to a risk that the actions of these men become centred around making money, instead of being centred on the people upon whom the atrocities of African chattel enslavement were inflicted. It makes us conveniently forget that these people were not slaves; they were enslaved.

> ***“There were not slaves, they were human beings. They had a culture. They came from nations. They came from ethnicities. The buying and selling of them denied them personhood and identity and turned them into chattel.”***

Furthermore, when the issue gets centred around, for example, physical objects such as statues, there is a risk that the historic context gets centred around these objects (statues) and the actions of the men in question, and distracts us or makes us lose sight of the systemic issues which is slavery, the vast amount of African people killed, tortured, and abused, and the vast amount of wealth accumulated through this process. We get to a point where we blame the sins of everyone on these individuals, which centres them as the object of the historical enquiry, whereas it should be the millions of victims of trafficking instead, whose names have been lost, or it's impossible to find their real names as they were given new ones. There’s an argument that we need to disrupt the view of enslavers, de-prioritise it, and think differently.

> ***Whilst reading figures about catchment areas for enslaved Africans transported on voyages, I'm thinking any of these could be my family. There is no recognition that for people like me, this could be talking about our ancestors.***

In order to work towards reparations with care, integrity and sensitivity, and ensure non-repetition, there are a number of other steps that a funder can take.

There are a few frameworks that can be applied when it comes to reparative justice work. Through consolidating the pioneering work by Edgar Villanueva (Decolonising Wealth) and Bridgespan on how best to approach reparative justice, as well as using insights from interviews with experts in the field of reparative justice. As a minimum, funders should be looking to establish a reparations framework that corresponds with international law and the UN Guidelines on reparations. Below is a framework that wealth holders could use as a guide if they want to embark upon centring reparative justice and reparations in their grant making, investments, and organisational DNA.

The framework is broken down into seven stages - these stages aren't mutually exclusive and nor does action have to be taken in a particular order (albeit the first stage is crucial if you want to have legitimacy in your action). For each stage, we provide examples of foundations and institutions bringing the theory into practice.

FRAMEWORK:
7 Steps towards Reparative Justice

1. Acknowledging historical injustices
2. Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices
3. Shifting power dynamics
4. Cultural competency and sensitivity
5. Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives
6. Reevaluating investment practices
7. Measuring impact beyond metrics

Acknowledging historical injustices

Funders should recognise and acknowledge the historical context of their wealth accumulation, especially if it is linked to colonialism, exploitation, or other systemic injustices. This acknowledgement is a crucial first step in the process and needs to be done in a way that is honest and sensitive to the affected communities.

It's crucial to think about which elements of the historical context are being acknowledged and how. It needs to be conscious and sensitive to the fact that the descendants of slavery, to this day, are feeling the lasting effects of its legacies. Focused on just 'getting the message out', funders often forget how dehumanising it must feel to see your ancestors, who were enslaved and robbed of their land, culture, and more, turned into mere facts and figures. If the narratives are created and controlled by those who are in the process of learning about historical context, it can sometimes make the acknowledgement feel like a "glorified justification of the actions of the enslavers" if not done well.

Whilst starting with an understanding of how the benefactors (and therefore the institution), came to accumulate wealth is one step towards acknowledgement and reckoning, it is also important to apply the same learning lens to reviewing historical and current grant making and investment practices to fully understand the potential harm and (un)intentional exclusion they may have caused in affected communities.

In both cases of example funders, the use of the words "deeply sorry", "slave trade", "suffering" and "imperialism", may seem menial to some, but you'd be surprised to see how many acknowledgements are made without an apology, without naming the slave trade, and the fact that it has a lasting impact on descendent communities today.

Example Funder

Marine insurance enabled merchants to de-risk their business, and in a way facilitated the expansion of Europe. The emergence of Lloyd's of London as the leader in the market for marine insurance coincided with the emergence of Britain as the largest slave trading power in the 18th century. In 2020, Lloyd's of London said, *"we are deeply sorry for the Lloyd's market's Participation in the transatlantic slave trade. It is part of our shared history that caused enormous suffering and continues to have a negative impact on Black and Minority Ethnic communities today."*

Example funder

The research commissioned by the **Joseph Rowntree Foundation** into the company's history revealed that its parent company was actively involved in and benefited from colonial economies in Africa and the Caribbean during the 19th and 20th centuries. Upon receiving the findings of their historical link with the trafficking of enslaved Africans, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation announced: "we are deeply sorry that the origins of our endowment have roots in shameful practices that caused deep suffering and created enduring harms." The trustees and board pledged commitment to centring slavery and the lasting impact of it in Rowntree's story and standing, acknowledged the fact that harms caused by the slave trade are still creating injustice and suffering today, and that "many of the injustices faced by black and minority ethic people in the UK are fuelled by attitudes similar to those used during imperialism to justify the worst forms of exploitation."

Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices

The importance of listening to and amplifying the voices of those who have been historically marginalised or adversely affected by systems of oppression cannot be an afterthought, add-on, or put on the back burner. Funders should actively seek input from these communities to inform their strategies and decision-making processes.

The narrative needs to come from the community - it is crucial to be led by key stakeholders who are descendants of enslaved people as they have a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the subject, since they are much more in tune and sensitive to the topics being discussed. It's not engagement in a traditional sense, but needs to be an opening up of long-term dialogue, which can help shift the direction of narrative leadership. Rather than asking the affected community *"what do you want us to do about this?"*, it's about saying *"we're here to listen to your experience of life and what you think about things, and then we'll work out the 'what' together later".*

Example funder

The **Bush Foundation** gives us an example of active listening and being led by marginalised voices in their decision-making. For context, the Bush Foundation, is a regional private foundation created by Edyth and Archibald Bush, who were executives of the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company. They openly talk about the harms done to Native American and Black communities from broken treaties, slavery, and Jim Crow laws and the connection of these race-based policies to the racial wealth gaps in its region where it funds. This work led to the board, in 2021, approving $100 million of funding to seed two community trust funds of $50 million each for Black and Native American communities across the region, in recognition that these communities have experienced the most long-standing harm.

To find the two stewards for the funds, they used an open process invitation that included four open-ended questions and no word-count restrictions. This was a way of lowering the barriers often experienced by non-profit leaders of colour in seeking funding, and in turn amplifying marginalised voices. For the decision-making process, the Foundation brought in community and philanthropy leaders for feedback, and a panel of community leaders from across the region interviewed finalists and advised the foundation on which organisations to select.[5]

Shifting power dynamics

Reparative justice involves a fundamental shift in power dynamics. Funders should work towards more equitable partnerships, engaging in collaborative decision-making with the communities they aim to support, rather than imposing solutions from the top down. Beth McCaw, the founding funder of Threshold Philanthropy, suggests that you need to be constantly aware of, and acknowledging the power and the positionality that you hold as funders in this space, and simply for being White. She explains that *"your life could have taken a different turn, or an opportunity that wouldn't have been available to you 'but for' being White."* It does not matter if, as a White person, you can or cannot trace your family history to *"directly participating in the enslavement of others"* because part of being White in a country such as the UK is to have *"directly benefited"* from the inequity and harm that system established.

5 https://www.bushfoundation.org/how-we-work

The repositioning of power in the relationship has to be seen, felt, and experienced by communities in order for them to believe that the efforts of the funder are legitimate, based in integrity and honesty, not just another form of race-washing and false strategic positioning. After conducting historical research and acknowledging the harm caused over generations, we heard that it's also important to have a *"work-in-progress theory of change"* that is informed by impacted communities for how the institution might work going forward towards reparative justice. Without the community involvement, it can feel painful knowing that the institution hasn't discovered anything that the impacted communities didn't already know, and the acknowledgement begins to feel like protracted lip service to change. It's important for the theory of change to be adaptable and flexible to allow for nuances and changes in what the community wants, and allow for a more holistic approach that comes from shifting power dynamics.

Example funder

The Omidyar Network, in December 2023, launched its "Cultivating Repair" program, aimed at supporting the increasing efforts to heal past and present-day harms stemming from the legacies of colonialism and slavery in the United States. They opened nominations for their Cultivating Repair Catalyst Initiative (a fiscally sponsored project of Amalgamated Foundation), which offers general operating support with a participatory learning cohort that brings together organisations practising multiple pathways for repair and healing. This program came from sitting with the fact that the US has been historically good at avoiding frank conversations and action around repair - whether that's by hiding their history, refusing to acknowledge their wrongs, or refusing to make amends. This denial has allowed the harms caused by centuries of colonialism and slavery to fester and evolve into systemic racism across generations of Black and Indigenous people. However, it is Black and Indigenous people who have been the driving force behind bringing communities together on a journey towards healing and repair, and Omidyar sees their role in supporting their efforts and centring their work and voices in the journey towards reparative justice.

Cultural competency and sensitivity

Funders should invest in developing cultural competency and sensitivity. Understanding and respecting the diverse cultures, traditions, and needs of the communities they serve is crucial for effective and respectful philanthropy that takes a reparative justice approach. For example, it is important to bring in elements of cognitive justice and equity as the foundation of your knowledge base and hold safe spaces for the community where they feel respected and heard, if you really want to have your research and action informed by people who come with a deep knowledge of the affected community's identity. Given the level of racial inequality that exists at different levels within the British and global education system, it's key to place equal value on community knowledge and diversity of thought, instead of always making decisions based on institutionalised or PhD validated knowledge.

Example funder

In February 2022, after decades of struggle, Indigenous groups in Canada reached a $31.5 billion settlement with the Canadian government to redress harms committed by the country's discriminatory child welfare system, which separated approximately 115,000 Indigenous children from their families since 1991. This is the largest settlement in Canada's history, and half of it was allocated towards direct reparations for Indigenous children and families harmed (without any state-imposed conditions on how these funds are used), and the other half towards addressing the systemic racism that was built into the child welfare system.

The origins of this settlement process lie with Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (active 2008-15), which was established after decades of campaigning by Indigenous communities asking for redress for the genocide of their children at residential schools. It can be argued that the main lesson from the Canadian reparations' settlement is that it came after decades of a truth-telling process, which was started and led by Indigenous people, sensitive to their cultures, traditions, and ways of being. The straw that broke the camel's back, as it were, was when the Tk'emlups teSecwepemc First Nation announced last summer that they had uncovered mass graves at a former residential school, which brought to attention the realities that many Indigenous people already knew to a broader public eye. For the Indigenous communities involved, the truth and reconciliation process wasn't to prove that these crimes have been committed, but to "build a space for witness and grieving for those harmed, and for those who committed harm to give a true apology" and this, according to Edgar Villanueva, is what leads to repair and healing.

Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives

Funders need to direct resources towards grassroots movements and initiatives led by the communities themselves. This involves trusting local expertise and allowing communities to define their own priorities and solutions.

A lot of institutions seem to have only noticed issues around race, colonialism, and discrimination after the murder of George Floyd. To such an extent that the murder has somewhat become an artificial moment in time to anchor organisational initiatives around, and this can come across as insensitive and disingenuous to many grassroots movements. There have been community-led initiatives for years that have worked on tackling anti-racism, anti-Blackness, and Afriphobia. For example, we heard that Lambeth was the site for an annual reparations march that took place between 2014-2019. It is no longer a march, but it is the biggest UK demonstration of African, African Caribbean, other African diaspora reparations initiatives that takes place in Brixton on August 1st, which is widely commemorated in the Caribbean and across the African Diaspora as 'Emancipation Day'. And so, in the local context of Southwark and Lambeth, it would be absurd to say that no one was championing reparations and reparative justice before the murder of George Floyd. It is important not to wipe the slate clean of the tireless and incredible work that has been taking place at a grassroots level years before this 'pivotal' moment and find ways to support and nurture it.

Example funder

In November 2020, **The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation** announced that it would award $15 million to a range of non-profit organisations working against systemic racism, part of a larger set of commitments that the foundation pledged in the summer of 2020. In addition to this, the Hewlett Foundation pooled money with the Libra Foundation and 10 other foundations to establish the **Democracy Frontlines Fund (DFF)**, which aims to provide sustained support to frontline, Black activists leading the movement to end systemic racism.
It was curated by a brain trust of women of colour with deep experience funding social movements. The DFF initially committed $36 million in unrestricted funding to 10 Black-led grassroots organisations advocating for racial justice over the course of three years, but has recently announced that their support for racial justice organising will be extended by three more years, with $35.5 million being provided in additional funding. DFF admits that funding grassroots organising, and movements is different from funding services or museums. They say, *"the work rarely falls neatly within prescribed program areas. It can feel messy, and those seeking logic models will feel frustrated and troubled by the breadth of unfamiliarity of these approaches".* Funders have to get past that discomfort in order to truly support work that is desperately needed to address the multitude of intersectional injustices we face today.

Reevaluating investment practices

Most philanthropic capital isn't distributed as grants, but is held as endowments, which are most likely invested in the stock market in order to continue accumulating wealth. Furthermore, in many countries' charity law states that "endowments must be grown to as much as possible", which means that funders collaborate with investment managers who can help bring the most return. In the absence of transformation in charity law, funders should examine their investment practices to ensure alignment with their mission and values of reparative justice, i.e. considering divestment from industries or practices that contribute to systemic injustices. Since 95% of most foundations' wealth is invested rather than distributed in grants, shifting endowments to mission-related investments can also benefit Black communities and contribute to racial repair.[6]

Example funders

The Omidyar Network offers investments as well as philanthropic grants, and within the realm of racial justice, they've invested over $1 million in organisations which combine economic, civic, or criminal justice reform with narrative shift or movement building. They've also invested in two re-granting organisations focused on supporting grassroots racial justice groups:

- **Emergent Fund**, which provides rapid, no-strings-attached, resources to communities of colour under attack by federal policies and priorities.
- **Liberated Capital Fund** of the Decolonizing Wealth Project, which provides unrestricted resources through a reparations model to Black and Indigenous-led organisations to shape a future where we can all heal from generations of colonial trauma.

6 https://cep.org/reparations-is-an-investment-in-the-future/

Example funders

In 2020, as a response to the existential threat caused by Covid-19 to non-profits, the Ford Foundation announced that it would be committing at least $180 million from the proceeds of its historic social bond sale ($1 billion) for racial justice advocacy in the United States. The new grants would be focused on groups creating structural and systemic change through strategic litigation, policy advocacy and grassroots organising, with $125 million specifically set aside to support a new generation of Black-led organising.

This made Ford Foundation the first non-profit foundation ever to offer a labeled social bond in the U.S. taxable corporate bond market. Given the uncertainties faced by NGOs post-pandemic, the net proceeds from the sale were a way to continue financially supporting these NGOs without spending down and allow the foundation to pay out more than 10% of the value of its total endowment in 2020 and 2021. This is double the level of grant making required by law. Although an unconventional idea, after reviewing financial analysis and various scenarios, the Foundation trustees endorsed the issuance of the social impact bond as an innovative solution that achieved both objectives of increasing resources for grant making to communities and not taking capital out of the endowment at a critical time of market volatility.

Measuring Impact beyond metrics

Reparative justice goes beyond traditional metrics of success. Funders should develop alternative ways to measure impact, considering qualitative and community-defined indicators that reflect positive changes in the lives of those they aim to support. This could mean prioritising qualitative data (such as stories and narratives shared by community members) over quantitative metrics to capture the nuances of lived experience. It could mean measuring impact in terms of long-term systemic change, such as shifts in power dynamics, policy reform, and community empowerment. Another way of measuring impact could be through the lens of cultural and spiritual wellbeing, and using metrics that acknowledge and centre cultural revitalisation, language preservation, and spiritual healing. All these changes are harder to quantify, but they are critical for addressing root causes of racial, social, and environmental injustice.

Example funders

As an example of long-term systemic change, we can look at **Ford Foundation**'s (now sunsetted) Just Cities and Regions (JCR) Program (2011-21). The JCR was the primary grant making hub related to housing within the Foundation, and its strategy had racial justice as a central focus, recognising that progress on housing is intrinsically related to the economics of real estate, especially when it comes to ownership and control of land.

The Program recognised that progress on housing is impacted by the presence or absence of infrastructure, the legacy of anti-Black racism, and the impacts of climate change on communities of colour, public health, and more. It also recognised that to move the needle on the housing crisis, you didn't only need to have better policy ideas or adequate funding, but you also needed to build the civic power of the communities most impacted for them to be able to define the priorities and change the underlying systems.

While previous efforts by Ford within housing and community development were metric driven (i.e. number of new houses built), the JCR sought to empower grassroots, power-building organisations and, crucially, to encourage new kinds of coalitions among them and new kinds of leadership within them. The JCR Program showcases that for an issue such as housing, where qualitative metrics would be a far more straightforward way of measuring impact, if you want to address the underlying systemic issues, it's key to focus on impact beyond these numbers and work towards things such as supporting BIPOC leadership and organisations to advance housing equity.

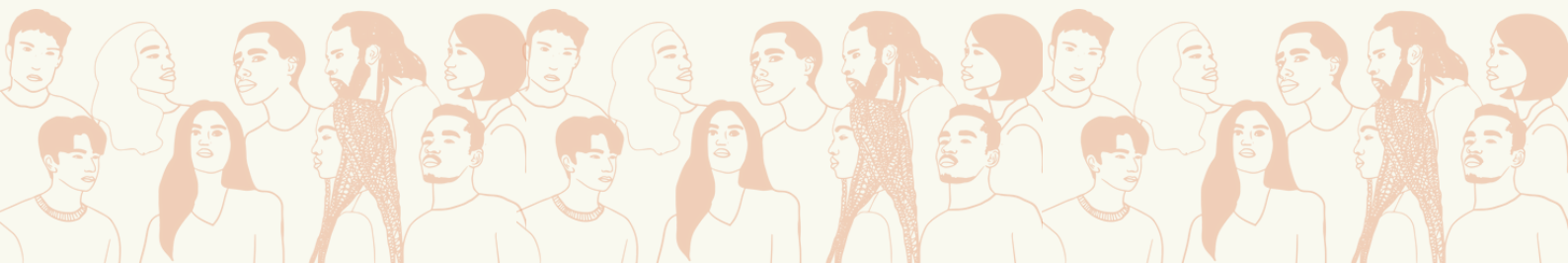
Example funders

Another example is from January 2023 when Andrew Little, New Zealand's Minister of Health and Minister of the Treaty of Waitangi negotiations, made the announcement that *"The Crown acknowledges that Ngāti Maru's (Māori tribe) relationship with the Crown has been one characterised by loss of land, of identity, and of autonomy. For Ngāti Maru, this loss has left a legacy of dislocation and dispossession. For those actions which rendered your iwi (tribe) almost completely landless, severed your connection to your whenua (land), and inflicted economic hardship and suffering on generations of your people, the Crown sincerely apologises."*

During the proceedings, he read a list of historical grievances and a list of actions that the government will take, including *"financial redress of $30 million plus interest,"* returning *"16 sites of cultural significance"* across the Taranaki region of New Zealand, a *"fund of $1,023,454"* to aid with *"cultural revitalisation,"* and Ngāti Maru's right to purchase *"the Te Wera Crown Forest."*

For some iwi, these settlements have meant more opportunities in education and employment, and median household income has improved, but they are still very far behind their European counterparts. Some argue that the settlements don't even start to scratch the surface of what the iwi have lost since they were colonised in the 19th century, as the Crown only offers 1% of what was stolen. It also limits who can request a claim, forcing members of iwi and hapu (subtribes) who may belong to several tribes to fit into just one, which can be seen as a disregard for Māori tradition.

There is probably no amount of financial compensation that will be appropriate for the losses faced by the Māori and other oppressed and enslaved communities across the world, but the case of reparations in New Zealand shows us that there is a need and a benefit in at least starting somewhere.



Case studies for inspiration

Progress made by other institutions

Philanthropy is celebrated for its contributions to civic philanthropy and social reform. It's a significant part of the social justice eco-system, that enables many social movements to exist, thrive and contribute to making systemic changes. However, it is also important to acknowledge how such wealth has been accumulated and the long lasting impact and effects of the origins of their wealth, and their role in redressing this balance. In doing so, philanthropy goes some way towards creating greater impact, rebalancing systems of power as well as preventing further harm and reinforcing systemic injustice.

Reparative justice in philanthropy is about intentional action to address past harms in the present and for the future.

We undertook research into a wider pool of funders and institutions to look at action being taken on reparations and reparative justice across the board. In the table below, we assess each institution's progress against the 7 Steps towards reparative justice (list below) and provide context on their work so far.

1. Acknowledging historical injustices
2. Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices
3. Shifting power dynamics
4. Cultural competency and sensitivity
5. Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives
6. Reevaluating investment practices
7. Measuring impact beyond metrics

Through this process, we found that many UK funders have stated intentions to following these steps and are at different stages of implementing actions towards making the link between their work and racial injustice or slavery explicit and/or public.

The list is in no way exhaustive and is accurate to the best of our knowledge at the time of writing, based on publicly available information. The assessments presented reflect our perspective and criteria for evaluation. They are intended as interpretation and analysis, rather than statements of fact.

We share our view on areas where organisations appear to be doing well, and where we believe they could go further. Our intention is to offer a point of comparison, inspiration, and aspiration for funders as they consider their next steps in the space of reparative justice.

7 https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/the-ruinous-ghost-of-empire-past/92671.article

UK & EUROPE

Barrow Cadbury

NATIONAL

Origins of endowment

2020

In 2020 they made an announcement which acknowledged the origins of their endowment and its link to African chattel enslavement.

They made a public apology in 2021 and stated a renewed commitment to deepen engagement with modern day racial inequality across all of their work. Over the past few years, the Trust has deepened its anti-racist approach and moved funding into the Black-led sector for initiatives that enable racially minoritised people, particularly migrants and those caught up in the criminal justice system, to have more influence over policy-making and public discourse.

They have drawn up an annual action plan on DEI, stating their goals. The foundation have stated that they have been working on improving the "DEI-friendly selection of investments including with regard to historic injustice". Little information is provided on actions directly linked to origins of endowment statements made in 2020, or how it works towards addressing racial inequalities, making it difficult to measure progress against the reparative justice framework.
Like many Foundations, Barrow Cadbury have focused on DEI as an entry point into reparative justice. The 7 principles of reparative justice aims to provide long term systemic impact, which start with acknowledging past harms and actively redressing harm, with a drive towards engaging affected communities. While DEI is not reparative justice, starting somewhere is key.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives*

Lankelly Chase

NATIONAL

Announcement of spend down

2023

A Foundation that operated for over 60 years, took the decision to "redistribute" their endowment "to make space to reimagine how wealth, capital and social justice can co-exist in the service of all life, now and for future generations". This is a different line to the more customary notion of a "spend down" which is a time-limited approach to spending your entire capital, not just the investment income, over a set period to achieve its mission, unlike traditional philanthropy that uses its income from an endowment indefinitely.

The conversation around spend down, in its various guises has been gaining traction over the last few years, as a move towards investing all assets in other sustainable, more community focused institutions versus existing in perpetuity and only utilising a small percentage of wealth. Lankelly Chase made a bold decision to redistribute its wealth, especially during a time of social unrest and much controversy about the impact or influence this would have on the rest of the sector. This is an example of Foundations taking bold steps towards reparative justice and atonement for the origins of their wealth, that may not always be supported by their peers or their grantees.

The foundation may have missed an opportunity to fully adhere to the principles of the reparative framework by not consulting enough with their grantee partners or affected communities prior to its decision. Nevertheless, moving forward they have committed to work with affected communities and community leaders who have the necessary practice and experience to understand how money can move in terms designed by and for them.

Lankelly Chase is an example of making progressive steps, not always getting it right, and course correcting where possible.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Shifting Power dynamics*
- *Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives*
- *Reevaluating investment practices*
- *Measuring impact beyond metrics*

UK & EUROPE

Joseph Rowntree Foundation

NATIONAL

Statement and research on colonial histories

2020

In 2024 the JRF trustees agreed to a new strategy comprising three strands of work in support of its re-stated mission “to support and speed up the transition to more equitable and just futures for people and planet”: Shifting the terms of the debate, Supporting and shielding the new and Investing in infrastructure.

The Trustees also agreed to move towards a fully mission-aligned endowment by:

- Spending more: Committing to significantly higher spending on mission aligned activities, including through the Regenerative Futures, Transforming Wealth, and York/NE programmes incubated by its Emerging Futures team. The long-term goal through this area of JRF’s work is to make £50-100 million available from JRF’s own endowment over the next five to ten years.

- Investing wisely: Moving JRF’s endowment into social, impact, and transformational investments that are better aligned with its mission. The Transforming Wealth Lab focuses on “reimagining wealth and philanthropy” to reorient flows of capital away from extraction and exploitation, towards economic democracy, and social and ecological justice.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Shifting power dynamics*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*
- *Supporting grassroots movements and community led initiatives*
- *Reevaluating investment practices*

Lloyd’s of London

NATIONAL

Transatlantic slave trade research

2020

Have publicly acknowledged the origins of their wealth and committed £52 million to compensate for their role in African chattel enslavement: £40 million directed toward impact investments in regions affected by African chattel enslavement (but these funds are allocated to development bonds administered by the African Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, instead of going directly to grassroots communities). £12 million to their Inclusive Futures programme, which is to improve the inclusion and progression of racially minoritised individuals in the insurance industry. However, there is nothing to distinguish these funds as being reparatory in nature, and different from those that would normally go to such institutions/regions, and there are accusations of Lloyd’s of London ‘reparations-washing’.

However, the Lloyds Bank Foundation, which is a registered charitable trust, established in 2012 and is a separate entity from Lloyd's of London and the Lloyd's of London Foundation has gone further. The foundation has been taking active and open steps to investigate its historical connections to enslavement, commissioning research into the Lloyds registers connection with the African chattel enslavement. The foundation has taken steps to fund programmes that address the legacies of enslavement and promote opportunities for Black and racially minoritised people, taking action to address the enduring impact.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*

UK & EUROPE

NHS Lothian

LOCAL

Statement on link to slave trade

2021

NHS Lothian Board agreed to seven recommendations to understand and acknowledge this part of its past and take action to stop modern day racism and discrimination, but there have been no updates on progress against these to date.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*

The Netherlands

NATIONAL

217-page report urging government to reckon with its links to the slave trade

2021

In December 2022, Prime Minister Mark Rutte acknowledged that the Dutch State bore a responsibility in the Transatlantic slave trade, profited from it, and apologised. He also said that there would be no reparations to individuals or communities. In July 2023, King Willem-Alexander also apologised.

There was backlash against Rutte's announcement, as many said that it was drawn up without consultation with the people he was apologising to, and that it was the perfect example of the hierarchy that still exists between the Netherlands and its former colonies.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*

UK & EUROPE

Church Commissioners for England

NATIONAL

Research commissioned by Church Commissioners and oversight group recommendations

2024

The report found that Queen Anne's Bounty had links with African chattel enslavement, and these funds were subsumed into the Church Commissioners' endowment when it was created in 1948, perpetuating the legacy of Queen Anne's Bounty's linkages to African chattel enslavement.

As a result of these findings, and numerous community consultations through an Independent Oversight Group (formed with significant membership from communities impacted by historic slavery), they have committed to creating the £100 million Fund for Healing, Repair and Justice.

The announcement was not welcomed by everyone, some reported this as wokeness gone too far and as a consequence some worshippers have protested against the creation of the £100 million slavery reparative justice fund, by saying they will donate less to the Church.

It's important to acknowledge that reparative justice is not without contention, but neither is philanthropy as a whole. While actions taken to redress historical injustices, especially when considering African chattel enslavement, can be met with discontent, there is equal support. This along with the purpose of philanthropy to influence lasting social change for generations, should be central in decision and future actions.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Shifting power dynamics*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*
- *Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives*
- *Reevaluating investment practices*
- *Measuring impact beyond metrics*

University of Glasgow

NATIONAL

Historical Slavery Initiative

2016

Unlike a large proportion of institutions who began looking into their links to African chattel enslavement because of George Floyd's murder, the University of Glasgow, is an example of an institution who made a conscious decision to undertake this work once they understood the historical and current impacts of their legacies.

Their report speaks to the fact they do not even know the names of most of the many thousands of enslaved people who helped create the wealth that underpins the University, but that it is vital to try and remember their lives and experiences, and to keep them in mind throughout the process.
They have made progress against recommendations, including signing an agreement which calls for the University of Glasgow to provide £20 million to fund research to promote development initiatives to be jointly undertaken with The University of West Indies over the next two decades, and launching a creative arts and sciences series relating to both historical and present-day slavery.

The £20m agreement, while it benefits affected communities, when analysed against the reparative principles, it appears to be a deal between the two universities that had little engagement with affected communities on the final decision made.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Shifting power dynamics*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*

CANADA & NEW ZELAND

Government of Canada

NATIONAL

Settlement deal

2022

This is the largest settlement in Canada's history ($47.8 billion over 10 years), and half of it was allocated towards direct reparations for Indigenous children and families harmed (without any state-imposed conditions on how these funds are used), and the other half towards addressing the systemic racism built into the child welfare system.

The fact that half of the settlement package is set aside to address systemic issues in the child welfare system is critical in building a more holistic reparations approach, as it focuses equally on the future i.e. on transforming the systems that committed the harms in the first place and works towards ensuring non-repetition.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Shifting power dynamics*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*
- *Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives*
- *Reevaluating investment practices*
- *Measuring impact beyond metrics*

New Zealand Government

NATIONAL

Official apology, context, and analysis

2023

In 1985, the Māori were granted retrospective powers which gave them the right to investigate historical violations of Māori sovereignty (i.e. going back to the atrocities committed in the 19th century) and paved the way for action centred on reparations.

To receive the settlement assets, iwi (tribes) must set up a "post-settlement governance entity", which administers the assets on behalf of the community and means that money tends to go towards business development, health, and education for the entire tribe, instead of being given out as cheques to individuals, leading to community wealth building.

There's probably no amount of financial compensation that will be appropriate for the losses faced by the Māori and other oppressed and enslaved communities across the world, but this is an example of the full framework being applied.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Shifting power dynamics*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*
- *Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives*
- *Reevaluating investment practices*
- *Measuring impact beyond metrics*

USA

Bush Foundation

MINNESOTA, NORTH DAKOTA, SOUTH DAKOTA

New investments in racial equity

2021

Made a $100 million commitment (board approved in 2021) for Black and Native American communities in the Minnesota region to seed two community trust funds to address wealth disparities caused by historic racial injustice. Theyran an open invitation process to help lower the barriers that non-profit leaders of colour often experience when seeking out funding. (The Bush Foundation financed the project by following in the footsteps of the Ford Foundation and issuing a social bond.)

The Bush Foundation has been working on addressing racial inequalities since 2012. 2021 here refers to the launch of them putting $100 million towards seeding two community trust funds.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Shifting power dynamics*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*
- *Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives*
- *Reevaluating investment practices*
- *Measuring impact beyond metrics*

California State Government

CALIFORNIA, REGIONAL

Reparations report and **allocation of $12m**

2023

Comprehensive look at ways the U.S. and California have wronged descendants of enslaved Black people and how that has led to “racial terror, political disenfranchisement, unequal housing and educational opportunities, and environmental racism, among other harms.”

The task force held 15 public hearings, deliberated for two years, and gathered input from more than 100 expert witnesses and the public. Through all this data gathering, they suggested that the state owes Black Californians hundreds of millions of dollars for the harm they’ve suffered because of systemic racism.

There is no detailed update on the reparations payout as yet, but in July 2024, it was announced that the new state budget will include $12 million for reparations. That amount will not include cash payments but could go towards a slate of bills introduced by members of the Black Legislative Caucus to address some other parts of the task force's report, such as ending forced labour in state prisons or providing grants to combat violence in Black communities.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Shifting power dynamics*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*

USA & GLOBAL

Ford Foundation

USA; GLOBAL

BUILD

2020

Funding social and racial justice causes has been at the root of Ford since 1968 when the then Foundation President McGeorge Bundy increased funding for civil rights groups from 2.5% of annual giving in 1960 to 36.5%.

In 2015, they launched BUILD, a five-year, $1 billion investment in the long-term capacity and sustainability of 300 social justice organisations addressing inequality around the world. They renewed BUILD in 2021 with an additional $1 billion. Their work on closing the racial wealth gap and housing inequality are two examples of them taking a systems approach to reparative and racial justice.

Their 2020 social bond sale is an example of how foundations can invest in community wealth building instead of spending down.

The Ford Foundation has been funding racial justice work through their grant-making focused on the racial wealth gap for over 2 decades, and other more recent programs. 2020 here refers to their social bond sale that was put towards racial justice advocacy work.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Shifting power dynamics*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*
- *Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives*
- *Reevaluating investment practices*
- *Measuring impact beyond metrics*

Hewlett Foundation

USA; GLOBAL

Racial justice roadmap

2020

Have committed to spend at least $150 million, in long term, flexible funding, over 10 years on racial justice grant making, overseen by an advisory council with senior leaders from Hewlett and an equal number of racial justice leaders — both practitioners and academics -- to hold Hewlett accountable.

Their “Focusing on What Matters Framework” aims to provide a common structure and approach, including common language, for teams to examine their diversity, equity, inclusion, and justice across people and partners, programs, policies, and practices, showing that they want to embed a racial equity lens into their organisational DNA.

However, despite this commitment to centre racial equity across all strategic priorities, Hewlett has also donated $1,486,000 to American Compass (a conservative think tank focusing on "what the post-Trump right-of-Center is going to be) since 2020, including a tranche of $475,000 in January 2023.

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Shifting power dynamics*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*
- *Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives*
- *Measuring impact beyond metrics*

Omidyar Network

USA; GLOBAL

Investment in justice commitment

2020

One of the few institutions to use the language about how White supremacy, power, and racism have insidiously seeped into our systems and structures, and how Omidyar must use their power and privilege to do their part in dismantling white supremacy.

Their “Cultivating Repair” program is aimed at supporting the increasing efforts to heal past and present-day harms stemming from the legacies of colonialism and slavery in the United States. They have invested in two re-granting organisations focused on supporting grassroots racial justice groups.

However, like Hewlett, they have also funded American Compass ($500,000 since 2020).

FRAMEWORK:
Steps towards Reparative Justice

- *Acknowledging historical injustices*
- *Listening to and amplifying marginalised voices*
- *Shifting power dynamics*
- *Cultural competency and sensitivity*
- *Supporting grassroots movements and community-led initiatives*
- *Reevaluating investment practices*

Recommendations

Recommendations

As the Church Commissioners' Oversight Group stated:

> ***Crimes against humanity rooted in African chattel enslavement have caused damage so vast it will require patient effort spanning generations to address. But we can start today, in small and large ways, to break the chains of discrimination, detriment and distrust with which the past has burdened the present.***

When thinking about next steps, it helps to remember that taking a reparative justice approach means addressing the vast and varied inequality that have caused by African chattel enslavement, and that reparations are more than just money. The crux of reparations is repair: repair of damage caused by past injustice, which continues via present injustice. We see these injustices showing up in our societies in very real and measurable ways. From the moment you are born to the moment you die there is a racial gap in physical and mental healthcare access and outcomes, education and employment opportunities, income and wealth, access to land and treatment by the criminal justice system. These impacts fall most heavily on descendants of enslaved Africans, but the harmful legacies of African chattel enslavement and the racism that underpin it reach even further and have been ruining the lives of people and society itself.

In order to play its part in bringing about reparative justice to the descendants of enslaved people, here are a few recommendations that funders could explore.

Short term

1

Use the term **"African chattel enslavement" or "transatlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans" instead of "transatlantic slave trade" when talking about this topic.**

- Using the term transatlantic slave trade boils it down to just being a form of business where, in a capitalist world, someone profits and someone incurs loss. It makes it seem like an exchange, an instance where one thing was traded for another. What happened was much more than that. Esther Xosei and Priscellia Robinson, experts in this field and who are part of the Church Commissioners' Oversight Group, strongly recommend that we use the term "African chattel enslavement." What occurred was abduction and transportation of Africans to the Americas and Europe, and chattel slavery *"encompasses the impact on them, on their communities in Africa and on their descendants; psychological impacts; the impact on cultural identities; plantation and other forced labour systems that exploited enslaved Africans; the industrial, financial, military and theological complex that supported these crimes and profited from them; and the continuing impacts of these legacies."*[8]

2

There already exists research on how health, education and employment disparities negatively impact Black and racially minoritised communities and how this has a snowball effect on other socio-economic issues. For example, Impact on Urban Health looked into the health disparities amongst Black and racialised communities in Lambeth and Southwark. The next, bold, step would be to connect this to enslavement, colonisation and/or The Empire, as it **creates space for a systems thinking approach to the link between the legacies of African chattel enslavement and racial and social inequalities.**

- It's important to look at communities in the environment that they are in, and that their ancestors have been in, instead of just looking at individual inequalities, to be able to fully understand the underlying structural conditions.

8 https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2024-03/church-commissioners-for-england-oversight-group-report-to-the-board-of-governors.pdf

3

Cultivate healthier relationships with affected communities, new habits and practices within the organisations, and allow for multiple expressions of repair.

- Forced separation from loved ones, communities, land, and cultural traditions creates multi-generational trauma, and **you must patiently rebuild trust, safety, and connection with your communities** in order to do this deep work well.
- Given the depth of harm that has been caused over generations, there cannot be a blanket, one size fits all, solution to reparative justice. It's simply just not that straightforward. If you're deeply listening to and amplifying the voices and experiences of affected communities, then you will need to **make time and space within your organisation, offer genuine flexibility to allow for nuanced approaches to repair, and accept the discomfort and messiness of the process.**
- Embedding repair and justice into the organisational DNA is a short-, medium-, and long-term goal, but the work has to start now. **Repair takes practice, it takes hearing uncomfortable truths and feeling difficult emotions.** In the case of reparations, naming and quantifying Black harm and the extraction of Black knowledge and labour for their enrichment is an existential crisis for White people. You need to be able to sit with this reality, and work with and for the affected communities in order to heal yourselves and others. **Simply diversifying your team is not enough.**

4

For funders working at the intersection of health (care) and racial justice, an 'easy' grant would be to **fund projects and organisations providing genetic testing or genealogical research** to help the descendants of enslaved people trace their roots. Given how expensive it is to trace multiple lines of ancestry due to the complexity of ancestry records, not everyone would be able to afford to do it themselves. If it needs to be more place based, you could provide a pot of money for residents in a certain geography, specifically to those who are descendants of enslaved people, to draw upon should they wish to explore their ancestry. Additionally, you could also offer funding for wrap-around care so that community members who have traced their ancestry can access mental health or counselling support, as sitting with the findings and the internal reckoning that follows can be a traumatic process.

5

Another easy grant option would be to **fund further research on reparations carried out by reparations movements such as the International Social Movement for Afrikan Reparations, International Network of Scholars & Activists for Afrikan Reparations, and the Peoples Reparations International Movement and the civil society movement surrounding it.** Providing unrestricted funding to organisations and individuals trying to strengthen and **further the reparations agenda** wouldn't just have an impact locally but could have an influence internationally.

6

Whatever you fund or support must **guarantee representation for the voice of Black communities**. In neighbourhoods where we're seeing high levels of gentrification, it's important to think about how you remain place based and **meet the needs of Black residents instead of the gentrifiers**. An additional step could be establishing a **Black-led interdisciplinary, participatory, governance committee** with lived experience, local linkages, and a broad professional expertise to oversee your grant making, investments, and internal work.

Medium term

1

Cultivate space for imagination, in community and in solidarity. We need to exercise individual and collective imagination "to break free," as Adrienne Maree Brown describes, rather than being "t*rapped inside someone else's imagination*"[9] where there is no room for healing. One interviewee told us, "*Too often, we get channelled into these little, tiny, barely incremental investments, versus these 'rip the floor out' investments that could really make a powerful change."* Risk-taking is important for building power on the ground and advancing solutions.

2

Invest more resources in **further research into and dissemination about the legacy that African chattel enslavement** has left on descendant communities today and highlighting the impacts that it has had across health, education, employment, wealth, and access to land. However, part of this process should also **prioritise improving access for Black researchers and other researchers of colour to research data and archives** in order to understand their history and identity and be able to make new connections within the narrative.

- It's important to ask "who owns the research" on African chattel enslavement? Those researching and writing about this topic have historically been White Europeans, and this has led to skewed narratives about the topic today, and we need to **ensure that the narrative going forward is crafted and controlled by those with lived experience.**

3

Given the amount of damage the crimes against humanity rooted in African chattel enslavement have caused, no amount of money will be deemed "sufficient". So, whatever grant funding and impact investment is made available, **it's important to centre the narrative of reparations and the distribution of funds on communities instead of individuals**. In the US, the reparations movements for Black Americans tends to call for cash payments for individuals, but we learnt from the New Zealand reparations movement that when cash payments went towards a broad group (i.e. Māori tribes and subtribes), there was more likelihood that there would be benefits for future generations and **lead to community wealth building**. In the UK, there are demands around the need to establish an All-Party Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry for Truth & Reparatory Justice which will hear evidence and formulate recommendations based on what descendant communities are proposing.

9 Emergent Strategy: Shaping Change, Changing Worlds by Adrienne Maree Brown

4

Work on building a **culture and thinking around reparative justice that can outlive you, instead of it being dependent on the senior leadership team of the day** and what they are prepared to offer at a particular time. As part of your process going forward, you need to be asking *"how do you build a reparative justice process that is bigger than me".*

- For example, the Bush Foundation actively involved its board for years in its equity journey to better understand how to serve the region. This included staging debates at its board meeting in 2019 where members of the senior staff were placed on opposing sides of various critiques of philanthropy. One of the debate topics was whether the foundation should move to a reparative approach for grant making in the future. Setting up learning opportunities like that put the board in a position to be open and ready for discussions about reparations and bold reparative action. The **Bush Foundation now talks openly about the harms done to Native American and Black communities** from broken treaties, slavery, and Jim Crow laws and the connection of these race-based policies to the racial wealth gaps in its region of investment.[10]
- In addition to working with your board to bring them along a journey of repair, it's also crucial to centre the needs of staff. **Ensuring an internal culture, salaries, and benefits that enable staff to have the stamina** needed to build relationships and approach the work of repair with their grantees is also necessary to **live into a culture of repair.**

5

Integrate reparations and its values into your existing portfolios and programs. Whatever your portfolio's focus, there is an opportunity to consider how reparations and building a culture of repair may be integral to reach the impact you aspire to achieve. For example, you could follow the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. As a grant maker focused on health and health inequalities, they provided grant funding to FXB Center for Health and Human Rights, to explore reparations as a public health strategy to help eliminate racial disparities in health outcomes and achieve health equity, which led them to taking steps to focus on one of the biggest barriers to health in America: structural racism.[11]

10 www.bridgespan.org/getmedia/64d1a76c-eace-4d78-b82b-1774cb27787c/special-collection-racial-repair-reparations-what-philanthropy-can-do.pdf
11 https://www.rwjf.org/en/building-a-culture-of-health/confronting-structural-racism-to-transform-health.html

Long term

1

Cultivating repair over longer time horizons. Rather than seeing repair as a single action or event, you need to embrace a generous time frame that recognises the long legacies of oppressive systems and creates space for healing to occur. Total repair will not be possible for centuries, and will need collective action, but you need to be committed to healing as an ongoing and intentional process.[12]

2

Converting (or at least using) privately held assets into community-owned assets.

- Analysis of the 2021 census found that Black people in England and Wales are almost three times more likely to live in social housing than their White counterparts, and for a typical, Black-led household reporting discrimination, the risk of homelessness is nearly 50% above that of a typical, White-led household, with two-thirds of that effect being indirect via poverty and housing conditions.
    - Given that poor housing is associated with a wide range of health conditions, there is a strong case in favour of funders using their position of privilege and use their asset's' portfolio towards community good and experiment with **providing social and/or affordable housing and providing a basis from which families can start building better, healthier, fairer livelihoods** and create a bigger sense of community and belonging. This will be a step further than a minor investment towards a transfer of ownership into community hands, amounting to a more significant percentage of the portfolio.
    - If venturing into social housing seems too daunting (for now), you could also experiment with converting some of the assets into community centres, youth centres, day cares, local community gardens and Black-owned independent shops. The possibilities really are endless!

4

3

12 https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2024-03/church-commissioners-for-england-oversight-group-report-to-the-board-of-governors.pdf pg. 5

Rethinking your investment strategy. Most impact investment funds are not designed to be measuring changes in socio-economic metrics for Black and racially minoritised communities, they tend not to not support Black and racially minoritised-led businesses, and nor do they reframe risk to ensure more Black and racially minoritised fund managers are heard and valued in the decision-making process.

- The impact investment and philanthropic funding ecosystems mirror the broader financial system within which they exist and therefore copy the pattern of capital going from White owners to White middlemen (investment managers) to White entrepreneurs. Even when a fund is focused on Black communities or regions, the senior leadership team signing off on investment decisions is predominantly White. As a result, Black owned businesses tend to be underfunded or overlooked, and in the world of philanthropy, non-profits from and for Black communities tend to have the lowest amounts of unrestricted funding, despite greater proximity and ability to tackle problems in those communities.[13]
    - In order to not replicate the racist infrastructure of the wider financial system, and taking inspiration from the Church Commissioners' Oversight Group, funders could switch to investing in commercially viable businesses with demonstrable potential to reverse racial disparities and improve outcomes for Black communities across health, education, employment, and access to land. These direct investments should be in Black-led organisations (i.e. at least 50% Black-owned).
    - Alternatively, you could follow the example of The Bush Foundation, who used their $100m fund to seed two community trust funds which were to be stewarded by two organisations that have deep understanding of and connection to Black and Native communities across their region. The two organisations are responsible for designing programs that will eventually provide grants directly to individuals to help them with wealth-building opportunities such as furthering education, buying a home or starting a business.
- If all of this feels scary and unattainable (for now), you could invest in or work directly with the numerous Black and Brown-led funds that have emerged since the murder of George Floyd whilst you work though the details of how to do the deeper work with your investments. Examples include Baobab Foundation, Black Feminist Fund, Create Equity, Phoenix Way Partnership, Project Tallawah, Pathway Fund, and The Fund for Healing, Repair, and Justice to name a few. By directly funding these organisations you're beginning to shift decision-making power to them, but shifting the risk to yourselves, a dual step change that is much needed in the sector if we are to make investments also centred around reparative justice.

3

13 https://ssir.org/articles/entry/overcoming_the_racial_bias_in_philanthropic_funding

Continued ...

- There is also a need to recognise that the reparations movement isn't a nascent thing, and there are well established movement organisations that are building and sustaining the reparations movement infrastructure in the UK, and need further funding, such as PARCOE, Stop The Maangamizi Campaign, Maangamizi Educational Trust, Afrikan ConneXions Consortium. These organisations have long demanded reparations in the UK, and we need to ensure that their work doesn't get overlooked or sidelined and fall into the trap of "movement capture" by philanthropy.

We know this work isn't easy, but we also know that it is urgent and important. The Ten Years' Time team is here to support you in reimagining how to work towards reparative justice through your investment strategy, grant making, and organisational culture. We can help you figure out how to take those small-pilot as well as the big-bold steps to begin healing, and how to give hope and joy back to communities, who for generations, have been extracted from in every way possible.

Ten Years' Time helps ambitious donors and foundations to repair harm and rebalance power by resourcing racial and economic justice with care and confidence.

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