

ATLANTIC REPORTS

WHAT WE'VE LEARNED

A woman in a red vest and patterned skirt is working in a field, carrying a baby on her back. She is using a hoe to work the soil. In the background, other people are visible working in the field, and there are mountains in the distance.

Lessons From A Communications Campaign For South Africa's Rural Poor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

01	Introduction
03	The Plight of the Rural Poor in Context: The Agricultural Economy in the New South Africa
05	Farm Dwellers, Farmworkers and Independent Labourers
07	Farm Life in South Africa Project
09	National Evictions Survey
09	National Land Summit
10	Survey Process Builds Bridges
10	Farm Schools Research
12	The Resettlement Debate
15	Combining Research, Activism and Communication: Lessons Learned From the Farm Life Project
18	Tips for Coalitions Considering Using Communications To Support Advocacy
23	Photography: Putting a Face to the Statistics
29	Looking Ahead: Sharpening the Strategy
30	Conclusion
32	Scope of Atlantic's Farmworkers Initiative: Organisations Helping the Rural Poor in South Africa
IBC	Grantee Organisations of Atlantic's Programme on Rural Poverty

The Atlantic Philanthropies is an international foundation dedicated to making lasting changes in the lives of disadvantaged and vulnerable people. In keeping with the "giving while living" philosophy of our Founding Chairman, Chuck Feeney, we are spending all of our remaining \$3.5 billion in assets within the next decade, and will close our doors shortly thereafter. Atlantic is fully committed to sharing learnings from our work and that of our grantees with others around the world. As part of this commitment, we are publishing Atlantic Reports, a series of publications that will share lessons from all of the programmes and regions in which Atlantic invests in change, as well as from the experiences of other foundations.

The second entry in the Atlantic Reports series, this publication describes the Farm Life Project in South Africa, a multipronged communications campaign that Atlantic and more than a dozen grantee organisations pursued from 2004 to 2006 to raise awareness of the plight of the rural poor in the changing economy, an almost invisible human rights problem in South Africa. This Report describes the planning and execution of the campaign, which continues in 2008, articulates the continuing challenges and work needed in the area of rural poverty, and encourages a discussion about potential policy solutions. In particular, the campaign revealed a number of lessons that will be useful to many funders and advocates around the world interested in using communications to support advocacy campaigns for social change.

Cover: Women and children accounted for more than 75 per cent of the farmworkers and farm dwellers evicted from South African farms between 1984 and 2004. Photographer: Benny Gool.

Opposite: The Skhosana family gathers at their residence in the re-settlement area of Kanana. Still from video: Courtesy of Social Surveys.



Lessons From A Communications Campaign For South Africa's Rural Poor

The Skhosanas are South African farmworkers. They do not now, nor have they ever, owned a farm; but as farm dwellers, they have lived and worked on one for many years.

Until 2001, they survived relatively well on the farm. They had a tap for water; they had firewood. Then the farm was sold to a new owner who wanted the Skhosanas off the land. For two years, they fought eviction. After all, this was the “new” South Africa, and, for the first time, they had rights. But the farm owner shut down their water tap and ordered them to stop gathering wood on his land. Finally, the owner came early one morning when the children were still asleep, broke down the door, and threw the family’s furniture and belongings onto the road. The children were afraid they would have nowhere to sleep. Mr. Skhosana was ill at the time. Mrs. Skhosana says she will never forget the experience of “being thrown out like rubbish”.

In 2004, when the Skhosana family told their story to a videographer¹, they were living in Kanana, a village of mainly ex-farm dwellers, not far from the capital city of Pretoria. Sadly, the family’s story was not unusual. They were among the almost one million farm dwellers evicted from farms between 1994 and 2004. For the Skhosanas and others, South Africa’s new democracy did not deliver on its promise of fair treatment or guarantee the new rights offered in its Constitution.

Almost three million black South Africans still live on farms mostly owned by white farmers. Under apartheid, blacks could not own the land they lived on, but South Africa’s new Constitution and the law established their rights to shelter, education and health care. Yet as the Skhosanas’ story demonstrates, poor rural black South Africans remain marginalised. Complicating the situation is the powerful economic trend that dramatically reduced the number of farms by one-third from 1993 to 2002, leaving farmworkers with few opportunities to work.

In many ways, farmworkers are invisible. They live in remote areas, have limited education and are rarely

politically organised. Because programmes to serve their needs come under the auspices of multiple government bodies, no single agency has responsibility for ensuring their well-being. When national agencies act on behalf of the rural poor, they rarely co-ordinate efforts; and rural local governments do not always have the resources to support them.

This publication tells the story of the impact of a handful of organisations that collaborated with The Atlantic Philanthropies on the Farm Life in South Africa Project (See page 7.) to expose the scale and injustice of evictions of farm dwellers, the appalling conditions on farms and the poor quality of farm schools. Our intention is to share the communications and advocacy lessons learned from the campaign in 2004–2006, and how participating organisations are applying them in 2007–2008. Moreover, these lessons from the successes and challenges in using communications campaigns to bolster advocacy are broadly applicable to efforts supporting social change in many countries in relation to numerous issues.

The Plight of the Rural Poor in Context: The Agricultural Economy in the New South Africa

Racial politics have ruled rural land policy since the 1913 Natives Land Act, which formalised a racially based land system that reserved only 13 per cent of the land for black ownership and the rest for the white minority. During most of the second half of the 20th century, the apartheid system enabled white farm owners to build successful enterprises by allowing them to exploit the labour of black workers and receive extensive government subsidies, grants and market protections.

By the time of the democratic elections in 1994, fewer than 60,000 white farmers owned approximately 80 per cent of the agricultural land. Approximately four million black South Africans, including farmworkers as well as their spouses and children, lived on those farms, with little or no tenure or right to residency. Historically, farmworkers have been paid poorly and even today earn less than ZAR650 (\$100) per month, hardly the kind of income security required to support families and build communities.

The new democracy brought hope for improved lives for black farmworkers and farm dwellers. Policymakers crafted and embraced a progressive Constitution designed to remedy the injustices of the past and protect black South Africans,

including those living on farms and in rural communities. The Constitution, adopted in 1996, noted explicitly: “No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.”

The government of the African National Congress (ANC) set three areas for reform:

1. Land restitution for those dispossessed following the 1913 Natives Land Act
2. Land redistribution, providing government grants for land purchases on the open market
3. Tenure reform to address the rights of farm dwellers and farmworkers.

Progressive legislation followed, but implementation did not always match the intentions of the lawmakers. In some cases, positive legislation led to unintended consequences. For example, farm owners laid off or evicted workers to avoid the risk and cost of adhering to the new policies. Evictions rose in the months prior to the 1997 implementation of laws that mandated a rise in the minimum wage, new court procedures for evictions, and entitlements for



Photographer: Eric Miller.



In 2008, 15 per cent of employed South Africans work in agriculture and they earn less than ZAR650 (\$100) per month. Photographer: Eric Miller.

elderly or retired farm dwellers to a permanent right to tenure.

The changing farm economy played a critical role in shaping the new terrain. In the 1990s, for example, rising prices for machinery and materials, elimination of government subsidies for commercial farms, and a series of droughts made agricultural life hard for owners and workers. Some farmers got out of the business altogether, turning commercial farms into game parks or reserves in order to benefit from increased tourism, a growth industry in South Africa. The impact of this transition on farmworkers has been largely negative because only a few farmworkers are able to find work on the reserves.

The administration of President Nelson Mandela developed progressive policies to advance the interests of the rural poor. However, when Thabo Mbeki took over as President in 1999, he embraced a more market-driven approach to agriculture and land policy in order to attract more foreign investment in South Africa. Specifically, Mbeki's administration promoted commercial agriculture over independent farms and abandoned a programme to redistribute land to small peasant farmers in favour of a programme to support a small group of middle-class black farmers. Government's rural economic policy was shaped by a broader economic policy that aimed to reduce the balance of payments deficit and resulted in the cutback of major social-investment programmes.

Further complicating the reform efforts, the range of government agencies that are responsible for helping farmworkers and farm dwellers—including the departments

of agriculture, land affairs, housing and education and the courts—have no consistent or co-ordinated policies around eviction or support for farm dwellers, either on or off the farms. For example, when the Department of Agriculture in 2001 adopted a strategic plan to increase the success of the farm sector, the plan said nothing about improving conditions for farmworkers or dealing with residency rights. Government agencies lacked suitably qualified staff to implement the legislation.

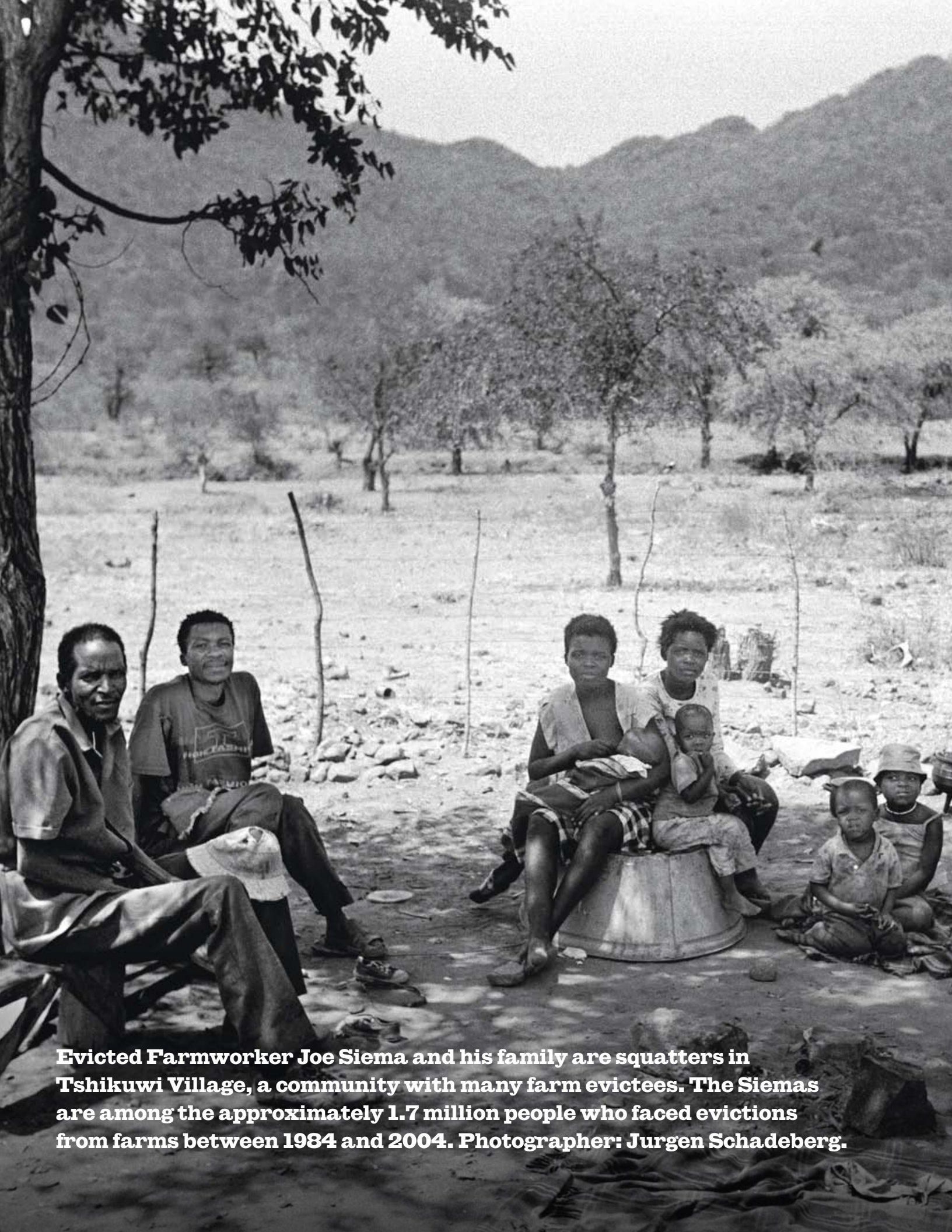
At the time of the initiation of the Farm Life Project in 2004, South Africa had a government without a coherent or integrated rural development programme. The country was experiencing a significant drop in the number of commercial farms overall, from almost 60,000 farming units in 1993 to slightly over 45,000 in 2002, according to the latest available data. Rural community organisations that tried to provide assistance struggled with a scarcity of resources. In fact, the National Evictions Survey pointed out that one-third of evictees did not even know they had “tenure” or residency rights. Of those who knew their rights, 80 per cent did not know where to get help.

Fifteen per cent of all employed South Africans work in agriculture. Therefore, despite the good intentions of the drafters of the Constitution and some lawmakers, a large population of farmworkers and farm dwellers remained as vulnerable as ever and, in some cases, suffered greater vulnerability.

Farm Dwellers, Farmworkers and Independent Labourers

The terms “farm dwellers” and “farmworkers” are often used interchangeably, but there are key distinctions. For example:

- Men and women, like the Skhosanas, who live and work on farms, are both farm dwellers and farmworkers. Farm owners often provide them with basic services, but when evicted, they lose both their jobs and homes
- Farm dwellers also include people who no longer work on farms due to age or illness, but continue to live there. Many families have been on the same land for generations, and they often have nowhere to go if they lose their homes
- Farmworkers also include a growing number of independent labourers, such as seasonal and migrant labourers, who work on farms but live elsewhere. Living conditions for independent labourers are often poor, and their income is highly variable.



Evicted Farmworker Joe Siema and his family are squatters in Tshikuwi Village, a community with many farm evictees. The Siemas are among the approximately 1.7 million people who faced evictions from farms between 1984 and 2004. Photographer: Jurgen Schadeberg.

Farm Life in South Africa Project

For years, staff members of community organisations working in rural areas knew that black families were being thrown off farm land in post-apartheid South Africa without legal recourse. Yet there was no credible data demonstrating either the scope or impact of these evictions. As a result, few policymakers took notice.

In 2005, the National Evictions Survey², covering 1984–2004, demonstrated the breadth and depth of the crisis and helped elevate it on the policy agenda. The Evictions Survey was the cornerstone of a broad initiative called the Farm Life in South Africa Project, started in 2004. The Project brought together a handful of research, grassroots, legal rights and arts organisations to assess and publicise the current status and living conditions of the nation's farmworkers and farm dwellers, with support from The Atlantic Philanthropies.

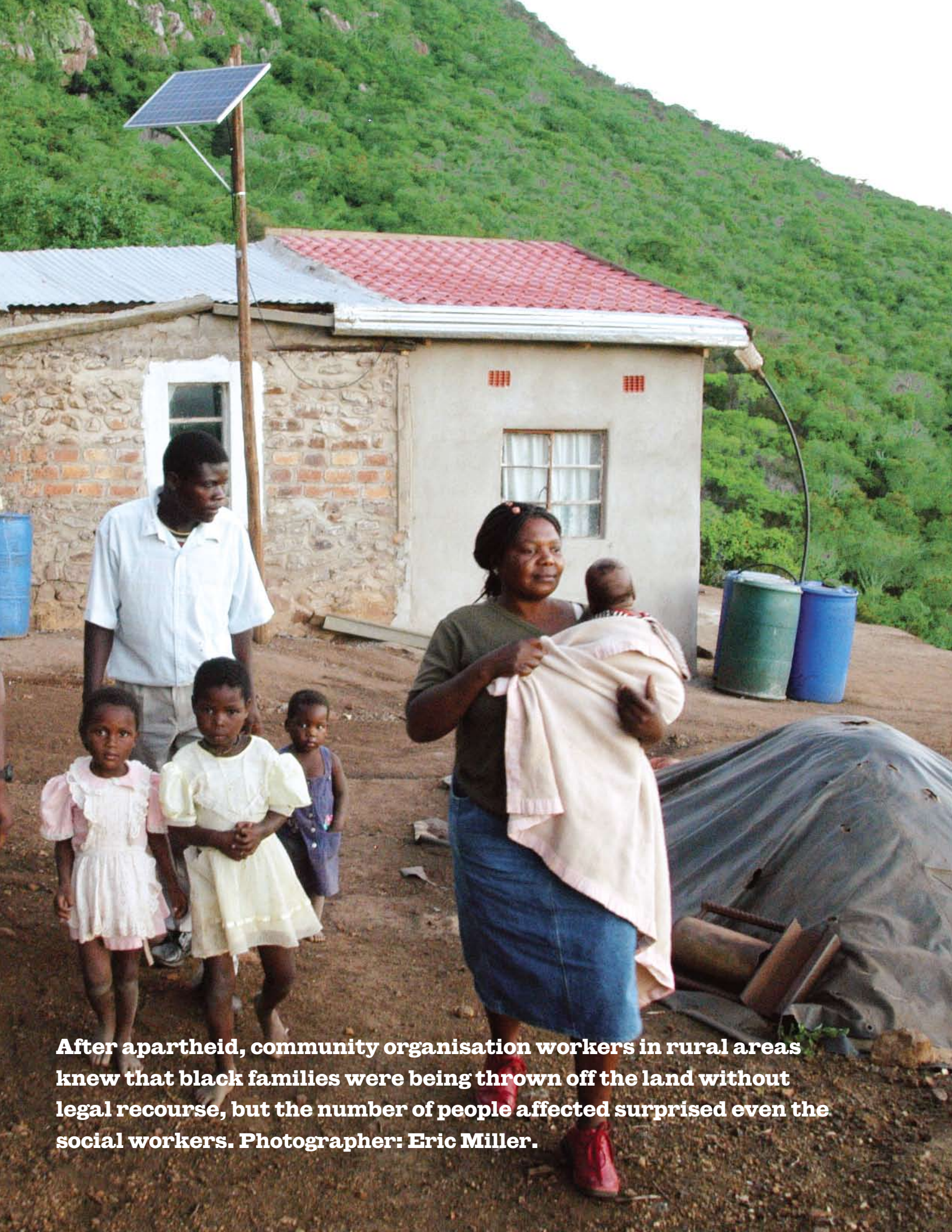
Planners, lawyers, grassroots advocates, artists and communications professionals joined together to define the problem through the Project. They explained the predicament of farmworkers and farm dwellers and clarified the impact of evictions on the stability and well-being of South Africa's rural communities. They stimulated a national policy discussion and

began addressing the challenges of keeping this issue on the political and social agenda over time. They are applying lessons they learned in the early years of the campaign to their ongoing work. (See “Looking Ahead: Sharpening the Strategy” on page 29.) Moreover, these lessons about communications may be useful to advocates worldwide addressing rural poverty or other issues.

The Farm Life in South Africa Project had five main components:

1. A quantitative survey of evictions from 1984 to 2004, conducted by Social Surveys Africa and Nkuzi Development Association
2. A qualitative study of conditions in farm schools by the Farm Schools Research and Advocacy Project, part of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand
3. A photography exhibit and book by Photographer Jurgen Schadeberg
4. National awareness and advocacy campaign to focus attention on these issues with the media, national government officials and the general public
5. An evaluation of the total effort to follow the progress made and capture lessons learned.

“Atlantic helped initiate the Farm Life in South Africa Project, arising from the work of grantees to combat illegal evictions from farms,” said Gerald Kraak, head of Atlantic's South Africa office. “The foundation funded research to identify the scale of the problem, launched a national education awareness campaign to inform the public about the findings of the study and supported a national advocacy campaign targeting government, with recommendations to prevent ongoing evictions from farms.”



After apartheid, community organisation workers in rural areas knew that black families were being thrown off the land without legal recourse, but the number of people affected surprised even the social workers. Photographer: Eric Miller.

National Evictions Survey

The need for a national survey on evictions grew out of the land restitution work of the Nkuzi Development Association, a nonprofit organisation that in 1997 began providing legal services to historically disadvantaged communities. Through their field work, Nkuzi staff came upon more and more families who had been thrown out of their homes, showing that dispossession was not just an issue of the past. Nkuzi responded to the need and began to shift its work to help farmworkers and farm dwellers understand their rights to stay on farms and to defend themselves from eviction.

Nkuzi's staff recognised a major problem, but they had no empirical data about its extent. Thus Nkuzi collaborated with Social Surveys Africa, a major research organisation, to identify the scale of evictions nationally. Their study covered 1984–2004 and was supported by multiple funders, including foundations and foreign governments. Among the funders were the Foundation for Human Rights, which allocated funds from the European Union; the Department of Land Affairs, which used funds from the U.S. Agency for International Development; and the Open Society Foundation, the British arm of the Soros foundations, which supports public health, civic empowerment, poverty and discrimination, as well as education about human rights, political and social sciences, and journalism.

The National Evictions Survey report³ was issued in late 2005, accompanied in 2006 by the book, *Still Searching for Security: The*

*Reality of Farm Dweller Evictions in South Africa*⁴, which provided a comprehensive look at land and agricultural policy from pre- to post-apartheid South Africa. The book included interviews with farm dwellers and farm owners and a detailed analysis of eviction data over 20 years. This book also explored the impact of evictions on housing, social welfare, education, and the overall social and economic structure of the country. Social Surveys added a short video about the experiences of three evicted families, including the Skhosanas, the family described at the beginning of this report, who were forced to leave their home in 2001.

Key survey findings include:

- From 1984 to 2004, some 1.7 million people were evicted from farms. Almost one million of these evictions have taken place since 1994, the beginning of the post-apartheid era
- Sixty per cent of the evicted adults had lived on the farms for more than ten years, and 41 per cent for over 15 years
- Two-thirds of evictees said they wanted legal assistance, but 80 per cent did not know where to get it
- Of adult evictees, 37 per cent had no education, and 39 per cent had only attended the first seven grades, making it difficult for them to find other work
- Only 14 per cent of older evictees, ages 55–65, were able to find jobs, despite their extensive farm experience. Only 19 per cent of adult women evictees of any age found employment, a disaster for matriarchal families

National Land Summit

In July 2005, the Minister for Agriculture and Land Affairs convened the National Summit on land and agrarian reform. The goals of the Summit were to celebrate the 50th anniversary of South Africa's Freedom Charter⁵, a central document of the country's liberation struggle; reverse the legacy of the Natives Land Act of 1913, which dispossessed rural black landowners; and review access by black people to agricultural land in the past decade. More than 1,000 delegates discussed a range of land reform issues and adopted a series of ambitious resolutions. Proposals included:

- A moratorium on all evictions until new legislation and programmes were in place to support farm dwellers
- Separate residency rights from employment status (i.e., dismissal of a farmworker from employment should not mean that his or her family also loses its home)
- Government authority to acquire land, including expropriation, where necessary, to create sustainable settlements for farm dwellers.

Implementation of these bold recommendations would require major commitments of political capital and financial resources, and there has been very little movement on these resolutions. Nevertheless, the Summit offered possible solutions and laid the groundwork for continued discussion. Organisations involved in the Farm Life in South Africa Project saw an opportunity for even more discussion, and they began to release their reports several months later.



Photographer: Eric Miller.

- More than 75 per cent of evictees were women and children, and most of the children had been born on farms
- Before eviction, nearly 60 per cent grew their own crops and some 45 per cent of the evictees kept their own livestock on the farms
- New settlements established for evictees are not often in farming areas, so families cannot continue their work as farmers
- More than two-thirds of evicted farm dwellers settled in or near urban areas, many of them in the poorer sections of townships where delivery of government services is inadequate
- Despite better access to schools, water, shops and sometimes electricity, more than 60 per cent of families evicted before 1994 continued to live in poverty ten years after leaving the farm.

Survey Process Builds Bridges

Nkuzi and Social Surveys were determined to produce credible data. To ensure that the white farmers' unions and government land statisticians could not dismiss the findings, Social Surveys and Nkuzi engaged representatives of these groups in the planning process. The farmers' unions and government representatives joined land reform advocates in a reference committee to provide the researchers with guidance on the survey design.

Mr. Kraak explained: "The survey partners had to bring these groups together as they prepared the report,

because this complex situation would have become antagonistic otherwise. And, the organisers did not want to paint all farmers as uncaring. It clearly was an important strategic move to get the farmers' unions involved."

In the same spirit, Marc Wegerif, Co-author of the National Evictions Survey book, *Still Searching for Security*, briefed the farm owners' union on the survey results. "At least they listened," he said. "There are different positions within these groups: private positions and public positions. We wrote the report in a way not to make it just an attack on the farmers."

Farm Schools Research

Under apartheid, farm owners provided schools on their land for the children of farmworkers. Little comprehensive research existed on these farm schools, and much of what existed dated back before 1994. As part of the Farm Life in South Africa Project, the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand undertook the Farm Schools Research and Advocacy Project (FSRAP). In 2005, the Centre released a study, *Almost a Boss-Boy: Farm Schools, Farm Life, and Social Opportunity in South Africa*⁶, funded by Atlantic, that included interviews with people at 43 farm schools in the Western Cape and Mpumalanga provinces.

Farm schools were almost completely dependent on farm owners and provided an education that represented the worst in the country. Legislation was passed after



At Turfbult Primary Farm School outside Nelspruit, four teachers, including the principal, taught 111 children in three classrooms in 2005. The school relied on an annual government grant of ZAR10,000 (\$1,500). Photographer: Jurgen Schadeberg.

1994 providing for the Department of Education to take over the operation of farm schools. The country's poorer provinces have not acted upon this legislation and, unfortunately, FSRAP concluded that the situation has not improved significantly.

Despite efforts to reform education in general across the country, 4,800 farm schools remained poorly financed in 2007 and offered inadequate education to children who desperately needed it.

The quality of the schools that FSRAP studied varied greatly within and between the provinces of Western Cape and Mpumalanga. Researchers found many schools that were without electricity, drinking water or sanitation, and that lacked suitable classrooms and educational materials. They uncovered that even adequately funded and managed farm schools did not provide students better access to economic opportunity after finishing school than farm schools that were poorly funded and run. In both cases, educators expected little of the children and were not well motivated themselves to help students continue their schooling.

Among its recommendations, the Farm Schools Research and Advocacy Project suggested consolidating farm schools into larger, better-funded centres away from the farm land, with transportation provided for the children. The authors said this move would take rural education in a new direction, using the "education of farm children as a way of transforming rural power relations and broadening social opportunities in farm labouring households." Finally, the quality of the children's education would no longer be dependent on the goodwill of farm owners.

The Resettlement Debate

The debate over the relative merits of combating evictions of the rural poor or encouraging their resettlement is complex. Research and advocacy surrounding the Farm Life Project focused on publicising the facts about evictions, increasing legal assistance to rural poor families and encouraging enforcement of existing laws designed to protect the families' rights. There is, however, considerable debate in South African policy circles about whether targeting evictions is actually a viable strategy in the long term, given the weakness of the agricultural economy and the diminution of farms in South Africa.

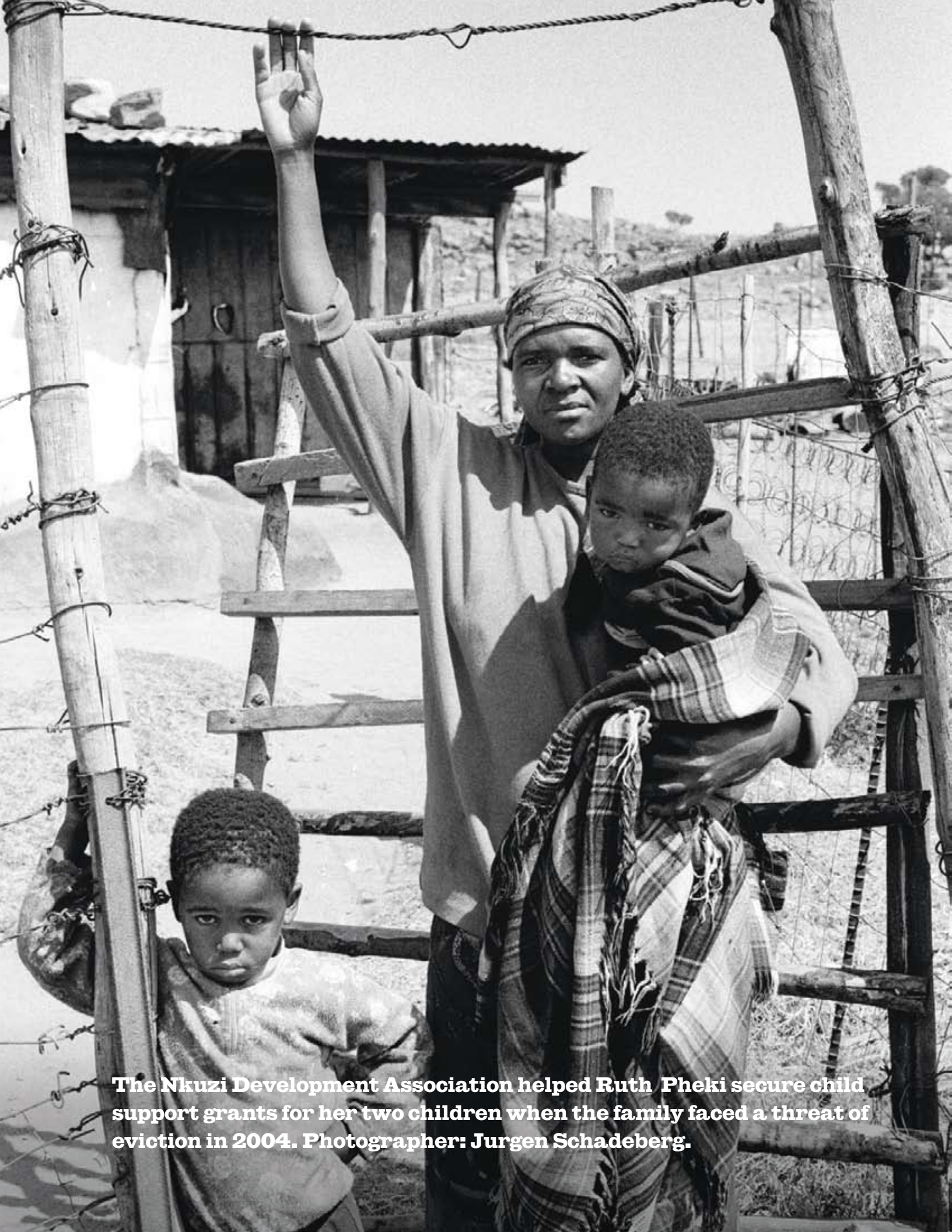
Some government officials and other leaders believe many farm dwellers would be better off resettling in towns and villages with access to better services and schools. Some farm families, too, want a more stable living environment and wish to escape from the harassment of farm owners. Some analysts question whether staying on the farms offers a better future for these families, suggesting that the scale of effort needed to successfully prevent evictions is not sustainable.

The work of Patrick Pringle of Rhodes University's Legal Aid Clinic in the Eastern Cape reflects the daunting nature of this conundrum. The Clinic trains paralegals to defend the rights of black farm families. Mr. Pringle described a typical case that shows just how complex the real-life situation can be, even for the farmworkers who manage to obtain legal assistance. "Many cases start with a fairly dramatic legal intervention," he explained,

"which is followed by a protracted period of either negotiation or tense interaction between the farmer and the farmworker family."

During that time, the family, especially older farm residents, may be worn down. They start to think about living closer to clinics or services provided in towns and urban areas. But their bargaining power rests with staying on the farm. If they move, the farm owner gains the advantage. In the current policy context, Mr. Pringle said, while policymakers and advocates debate the options, large numbers of farmworkers are "caught in the middle and will either be dead or exhausted and will have moved off anyway by the time those options are put in place."

Despite the challenges, many families *want* to stay on the land that has been their home for decades, and on which they can pursue the only livelihood most of them have ever known. Often people are loathe to move because their ancestors are buried on the land, and they have nowhere to settle if forced to leave. Mr. Wegerif offered an historical argument in support of the right of farm dwellers to stay: "If you've been living all your life on this piece of land and the only reason your tenure isn't secure is because of an apartheid government that didn't allow you as a black person to own land and gave all the land to white people—you should have a choice to stay there."



The Nkuzi Development Association helped Ruth Pheki secure child support grants for her two children when the family faced a threat of eviction in 2004. Photographer: Jurgen Schadeberg.



Outside the farm gates, Trade Union Official Pakedi Moleko speaks with workers about their rights. Photographer: Jurgen Schadeberg.



Combining Research, Activism and Communication: Lessons Learned From the Farm Life Project

Until Social Surveys and Nkuzi's Evictions Survey, information that families were being thrown off farms had been solely anecdotal. The extent of the evictions – especially the fact that they continued almost unabated after the end of apartheid – was a surprise even to nonprofit organisations in the field. Clearly, the survey filled an important information gap, documenting that the problem was a crisis worthy of national attention and government response. By showing that evicted families fared so badly in the long term, the study also underscored the social, economic and educational consequences of displacement – for the families and for the nation.

Starting in August 2005, participants in the Farm Life Project were able to combine their research findings with Mr. Schadeberg's visual documentation and disseminate their work to government agencies, the general public and the media. A consultant to the project co-ordinated what they hoped would be an integrated, multifaceted communications campaign that would combine research and activism.

Indeed, the campaign put the issue of farmworkers and farm dwellers onto the public agenda. Nkuzi and Social Surveys reached out to key policymakers with information about

the scope and scale of the eviction problem. They sponsored a two-day national conference to involve stakeholders across the country, held numerous briefings for legislators and other policy leaders, and testified in Parliament.

Major exhibits of Mr. Schadeberg's photographs elevated public awareness in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and several smaller cities; and there were smaller exhibitions in rural communities. The launch of his book coincided with the final report of the National Evictions Survey.

In the five months after the release of the survey, more than 60 articles about components of the Farm Life in South Africa Project appeared in the print media, as well as coverage by the influential current affairs television programme, "Special Assignment." Initial media coverage was largely positive and sympathetic. However, coverage was more event focused than analytic, e.g., highlighting the photography exhibit or the Parliamentary briefing.

The campaign advanced the national debate. For example, in a speech to the National Assembly, Lulama Xingwana, the Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs, acknowledged that 99 per cent of the evictions since 1994 had been



Photograph: Courtesy of Social Surveys South Africa.

illegal. She discussed the difficulties of enforcing legislation intended to protect the rights of farmworkers and farm dwellers to stay on the land.

Despite the success of this effort, participants in the Farm Life in South Africa Project know that the problems they documented so well require constant focus and attention to help advance permanent change. They see that illegal and involuntary evictions continue in South Africa and that life for the majority of evicted families, or those vulnerable to eviction, remains marginal. Gabs Gaborone of the Rural Legal Trust, a legal services organisation, said that the Trust is “only meeting one per cent of the need.” Because many groups do not track comparable data, it is almost impossible to determine the overall need or how well it is being met.

“It’s terribly upsetting for me to see that nothing has happened [to improve the living conditions of farmworkers] and in many ways it is worse,” said Mr. Schadeberg, who returned in February 2008 to re-photograph many of the same locations from three years earlier.

All of this means that an ongoing campaign around farm life and the rural poor remains urgent, and the participants are honing their communications and advocacy skills and incorporating what they learned into their ongoing work. (See “Looking Ahead: Sharpening the Strategy” on page 29.) These lessons include the following:

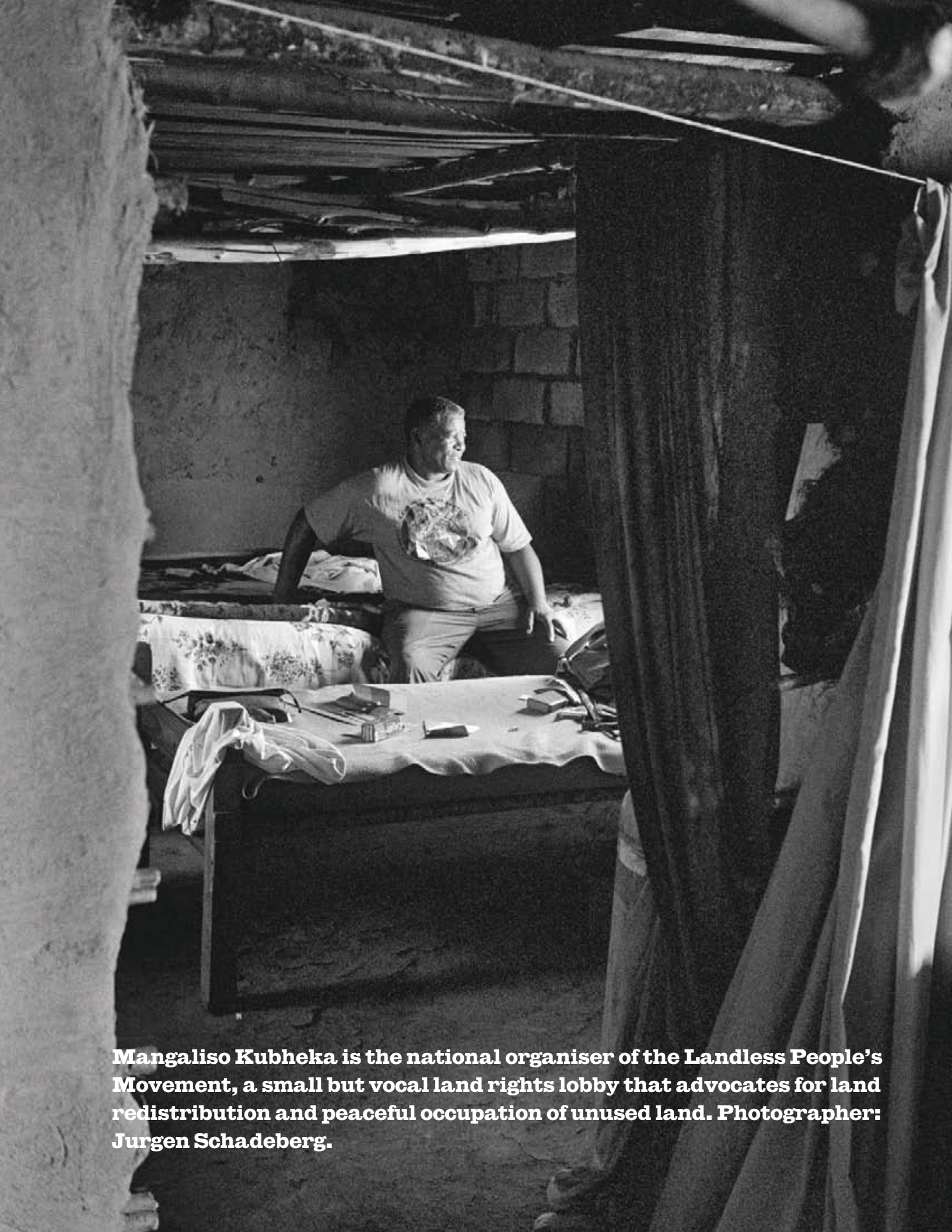
- **A coalition can be extremely effective through a multifaceted campaign that integrates many tactics.** A group of small or large organisations can band together to increase their effectiveness and raise the visibility of a major social

problem. The Farm Life Project partners included researchers, photographers, advocates and service providers who were able to draw national attention to the plight of farmworkers by commissioning and releasing groundbreaking research studies, creating a network of diverse partners, documenting the problem through photography and video, and generating media coverage, as well as by communicating directly with political leaders and policymakers.

Furthermore, broad support by a foundation or other funder can make a difference by its ability to convene groups as well as increase what those groups are able to accomplish. In 2004–2006, Atlantic was the principal funder of the activities of the Farm Life Project, and found the new coalition’s work important enough to add support in 2007–2008.

- **A communications campaign must be sustained if it is to produce long-term benefits.** The public communications effort that accompanied the release of the National Evictions Survey generated extensive press attention, and there were clear and consistent messages in the media about the impact of evictions. Mr. Schadeberg’s book and photographs also reached opinion leaders and key segments of the public. Social Surveys and Nkuzi targeted national policymakers and stakeholders directly, engaging them through their national conference and briefings in Parliament and elsewhere.

However, this six-month communications campaign was too short. Once the campaign had



Mangaliso Kubheka is the national organiser of the Landless People's Movement, a small but vocal land rights lobby that advocates for land redistribution and peaceful occupation of unused land. Photographer: Jurgen Schadeberg.

Tips for Coalitions Considering Using Communications To Support Advocacy

- **Get informed about the policy background and political environment, and identify existing research around the issue.**
Ask experienced advocates, partners and potential participants for opinions on campaign objectives and communications strategies. Determine whether existing research and literature provide a sufficient evidence base for the campaign.
- **When credible research does not exist, develop an evidence base with respected researchers, key allies and possibly unlikely bedfellows.**
The beginning of a research process and communications campaign is a key opportunity to engage allies as well as adversaries inclined to dispute particular research findings. Social Surveys and Nkuzi, for example, asked representatives of the white farmers' unions and government land statisticians for advice on the survey design so that they would not later dispute the findings.
- **Gather current, reliable data.**
Lobbying that is based on high-quality, objective research, as in the case of the National Evictions Survey, is particularly powerful. Furthermore, the release of a research report is a great communications opportunity to generate new interest among a variety of stakeholders in the issue at hand. More than 200 people attended the launch of the National Evictions Survey.

- **Targeted, strategic communications are key to maximising the impact of a research report.**
Identify a wide range of stakeholders, both within and outside of government, at the local, national and possibly international levels, and determine specific strategies to reach each stakeholder group. For example, Nkuzi focused on influencing Parliament and government staff of relevant agencies. Targeting an overly inclusive range of audiences rather than specific groups will result in missed opportunities to garner attention to the research.
- **Consider all of the possible communications tactics for reaching various audiences.**
Opportunities might include paid or earned story placements in broadcast, print or online media; speaking engagements; press conferences or other photo opportunities; digital communications like social networking; or paid advertising and marketing. Reach out to like-minded organisations for help in disseminating a research report or other publication. Consider strategies and tactics for communicating with hard-to-reach rural or low-literacy groups, such as community radio and nonwritten communications.

- **To communicate most effectively, test messages with key audiences.**
Campaign planning should include a research process to test messages with various stakeholders. Feedback from focus groups, surveys or interviews, for example, will ensure use of the most effective language in communications with each stakeholder group. Furthermore, spokespersons should be carefully selected and well-trained for broadcast and print interviews and platform speaking.
- **Identify the decision makers in a policy reform effort and consider who and what influences them.**
This process helps define the size of the challenge, circumscribes the scope of the policy fight, and narrows the types of tactics and strategies required. Furthermore, potential advocacy partners often can be found among the groups that influence the decision makers.
- **Make sure to set achievable and measurable communications and advocacy goals.**
Ask experienced advocates how they have identified specific advocacy goals and worked toward them. Consider questions like: Is the timing for the advocacy effort right? Is the political and legislative environment conducive? Is the goal reachable? Think about how the campaign will

measure the effectiveness of its communications, and factor measurement into the budget.

- **Identify consultants and project co-ordinators with necessary skills and expertise to help project partners develop constructive working relationships.**

The project partners need to take substantial ownership of a community-based campaign and be engaged with the communications professionals in the design of the communications campaign from its inception in order to support it fully. A community-based communications and advocacy campaign should not be orchestrated by funders, so a campaign co-ordinator should be identified to engage all of the project partners. For example, the Farm Life Project partners learned from their experience of not driving the initial campaign and, for that reason, selected Nkuzi, one of the key players, to co-ordinate the communications campaign in 2007–2008.

- **Engage partners across the coalition in planning and execution of the communications strategies.**

Campaign leaders and communications consultants should involve coalition members in strategy development, where applicable, and share information across the coalition to ensure co-ordination of messaging, events and other tactics.

- **Deliver a coherent, consistent message.**

Develop a tested, unifying message to underscore the campaign, and co-ordinate with partner organisations to ensure that decision makers receive the message from multiple, strategic sources.

- **Identify a specific strategy for outreach to media to help obtain more in-depth, informed media coverage.**

Along with convincing research data, anecdotes and photography give targeted audiences, like journalists, a nuanced understanding of the issue. In addition, anecdotes are appealing to journalists because they lend well to media reporting. Mr. Schadeberg's book, *Voices from the Land*, incorporates compelling stories of farmworkers and their families alongside their portraits, giving a real "face" to the issue of farmworkers' rights.

- **Be prepared and allocate sufficient funding.**

Communications campaigns are often ongoing, long-term initiatives. Advocacy efforts benefit from long-term funding and resources that enable the campaign to be flexible and opportunistic. In the case of the farmworkers communications effort, the campaign timeline was too short to keep the issue on the public agenda for the long term.

- **Plan for the worst-case scenario.**

Identify inevitable adversaries of the campaign's policy position and their probable arguments, and prepare to respond quickly and effectively to attacks. It is important for an advocacy campaign to prepare for a range of scenarios so it does not lose time and resources if a crisis arises. For instance, due to forethought, the National Evictions Survey leaders involved farm owners and government land statisticians in the planning, which alleviated their need to discredit the findings.

- **Find support to amplify the campaign message.**

Reach out to organisations and individuals with vested interest in the campaign's advocacy goal. Partners can strengthen a campaign by providing additional funding, spreading the campaign's message to new constituencies or demonstrating the breadth of support for policy reform.



Photographer: Jurgen Schadeberg.

ended, the issue of evictions and the plight of farm dwellers soon faded from public view. As an evaluator of the communications effort wrote, “Advocacy is a process, not an event.” The organisations recognise now that their dissemination effort would have benefited from a more sophisticated, better-funded and longer-term strategy to keep the issue in front of policymakers and opinion leaders.

- **Co-ordinating a successful communications campaign requires active involvement from participants.** The Farm Life Project campaign brought together organisations that had not worked as partners before, at least not on such an ambitious dissemination effort.

Moreover, none of the groups had their own in-house communications staff, so a project consultant was hired to co-ordinate and oversee the complex campaign and ensure that launches and exhibitions occurred in a sequenced, effective way. Given that it was the first campaign of its kind, more co-ordination was needed among the many participants. Furthermore, Nkuzi, Social Surveys, the Farm Schools Research and Advocacy Project and Mr. Schadeberg did not participate in conceptualising the campaign that they would be delivering.

Despite these challenges and deficiencies, the campaign accomplished a lot, though efforts by the four key players might have been more effective had they been better co-ordinated and the organisations’ leaders more engaged in the early campaign

planning. In the post-campaign evaluation, staff from each organisation said they felt it would have been more successful had they been more involved in the planning process. There was a distinct lack of collaboration within the campaign, which limited its effectiveness. For the Farm Life Project communications campaign in 2007–2008, Nkuzi is co-ordinating the effort.

- **Timing of communications and advocacy efforts is crucial to success.** Despite its groundbreaking work and attention to the issue, the project evaluators and participants in this communications effort independently pointed out several missed opportunities related to timing. For example, the FSRAP research, with its compelling descriptions of farm school conditions and the future of the students, was not completed in time to be part of the main communications package. It was released independently and with less media attention.

In addition, the National Evictions Survey book, *Still Searching for Security*, was not ready when the major media push took place in late 2005 and early 2006. This well-written, attractive book, illustrated with Mr. Schadeberg’s photos, included the historical and political context as well as a chapter on the policy implications of evictions. It was published in April 2006.

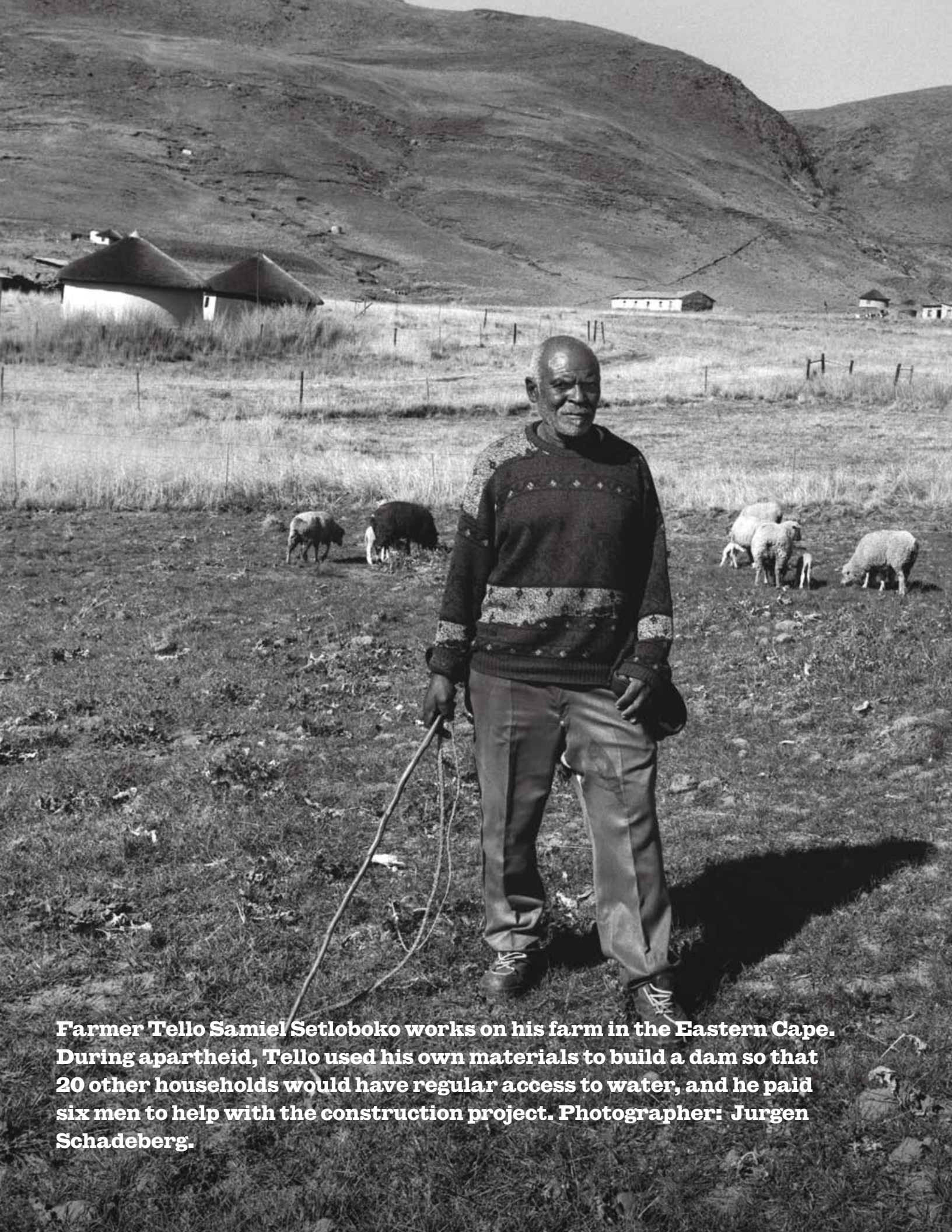
Ideally, a communications effort should be both pro-active and re-active. The eviction data might have influenced the policy discussions at the National Land



STILL SEARCHING FOR SECURITY

The reality of farm
dweller evictions in
South Africa

Published in 2006 to accompany the National Evictions Survey, this book examines the impact of evictions on social welfare and the economy. Opposite: Two years later, Frances, the young woman featured on the cover, is an unemployed single mother who lives with five other people in a 16-square-metre room. Cover image: Courtesy of the publisher, Nkuzi Development Association and Social Surveys. Photographer: Jurgen Schadeberg.



Farmer Tello Samiel Setloboko works on his farm in the Eastern Cape. During apartheid, Tello used his own materials to build a dam so that 20 other households would have regular access to water, and he paid six men to help with the construction project. Photographer: Jurgen Schadeberg.



Photography: Putting a Face to the Statistics

Photography was the third and perhaps most innovative leg of the Farm Life in South Africa Project. Through his haunting images, Jurgen Schadeberg, world-famous documentary photographer, made farmworkers visible to the nation. Mr. Schadeberg, who is widely respected for his portrayal of the brutal conditions of South African farmworkers in the 1950s, traveled throughout the country with writers to capture the personal stories of early 21st century farmers and farm families.

His 2005 book, *Voices from the Land*⁷, includes interviews with farm owners as well as farm dwellers. The book covers farms that are successful places of employment and residence for both owners and labourers. But it also provides a dramatic visual account of the unacceptable living conditions of many farmworkers and farm dwellers, the appalling conditions of farm schools, and the impact of eviction on farmworkers who are forced to leave their homes.

Mr. Schadeberg's photographs also illustrated the National Evictions Survey book, as well as the Farm Schools Research and Advocacy Project report. The photographs were the subject of a major exhibition in Johannesburg, Cape Town and several other cities and a smaller-scale version toured rural areas, drawing audiences of farmworkers and local leaders. In the Western Cape, a musical play, "Kampong," told the story of a farm family and was presented along with the photo exhibition.

"I don't know if I believe that photography can bring about change, but I hope it can," said Mr. Schadeberg, who expressed dismay that the situation of the rural poor in South Africa has not improved more rapidly. Still, Mr. Schadeberg believes he and his work have had some effect. "Recently I visited one of the owners of a golf course who said his partner had seen the book and the touring exhibition in Stellenbosch, and was so shaken that he spent a few million rand building a little housing complex and nursery for his workers. I have heard from others, too, who went to see the exhibit again and again, and took other people to see it. You can't expect this kind of reaction to any photographs; it depends on what form the photographs are presented in, how they are presented to the public."

In this publication, there are nine photos – all the black and white ones – from Mr. Schadeberg's *Voices from the Land* and one color photo that he took in 2008.



Photographer: Eric Miller.

Summit for example, but the survey was not ready in time for the Summit, which was called on relatively short notice. Nkuzi and Social Surveys had no way of planning their timing to coincide with it. Still, it is unfortunate that the survey, which clarified the scale of the evictions crisis, was released several months *after* the participants in the Land Summit had discussed the problem and proposed solutions. The Summit's strong policy recommendations might have gained even more support if the participants had the data which described the full scope of the problem.

- **The communications budget must not only be adequate, but also strategically allocated.** The budget allocation must provide adequate resources to accomplish the goals. In this case, the staff lacked experience in determining the budget requirements, so a number of communications components were not delivered because of budget limitations. A Website was among the planned but undelivered components. Also, the project co-ordinator worked only part time for a limited period.

Another missed opportunity related to budgeting was a planned series of community radio programmes designed to reach rural families with information and legal advice. This idea had great potential but did not go beyond one pilot episode due to budget constraints. Nevertheless, as a lesson for the future, the campaign participants understand that community radio is an excellent way to deliver information to rural families with little formal education.

A more subtle lesson around resources is the need to be thoughtful about the budget allocation among the possible communications options. For example, one evaluator pointed out that substantial campaign funds were allocated to develop duplicate sets of the traveling exhibition of Mr. Schadeberg's photos, but not enough attention was paid to the cost and logistics of transportation, display mountings, marketing and development of ancillary materials to distribute at community exhibits. These findings point to the inexperience of the Atlantic programme staff and the participating organisations in developing budgets for advocacy efforts – a relatively new and emerging field in South Africa.

- **Effective advocacy requires local voices and strong coalitions.** Lobbyists and outside advocates have knowledge of the policymaking process and can be effective agents for reform. But alongside solid research data, the powerful stories that can change minds belong to the farm families themselves, and they are the ones whose lives are at stake. The need to mobilise farmworkers and farm dwellers to speak out for themselves was an important lesson of this campaign.

The Farm Life Project included limited community outreach among its planned strategies. However, it did not, and was not really designed to, strengthen the voices of the rural residents to advocate on their own behalf and garner attention to their plight. The media monitoring project found that the



The National Evictions Survey pointed out that one-third of evictees did not even know they had “tenure” or residency rights. Furthermore, 80 per cent of the people who knew they had rights did not know where to get help. Photographer: Eric Miller.



Photographer: Eric Miller.

voices and views of farmworkers were not apparent in the coverage, which was much more likely to quote farm owners.

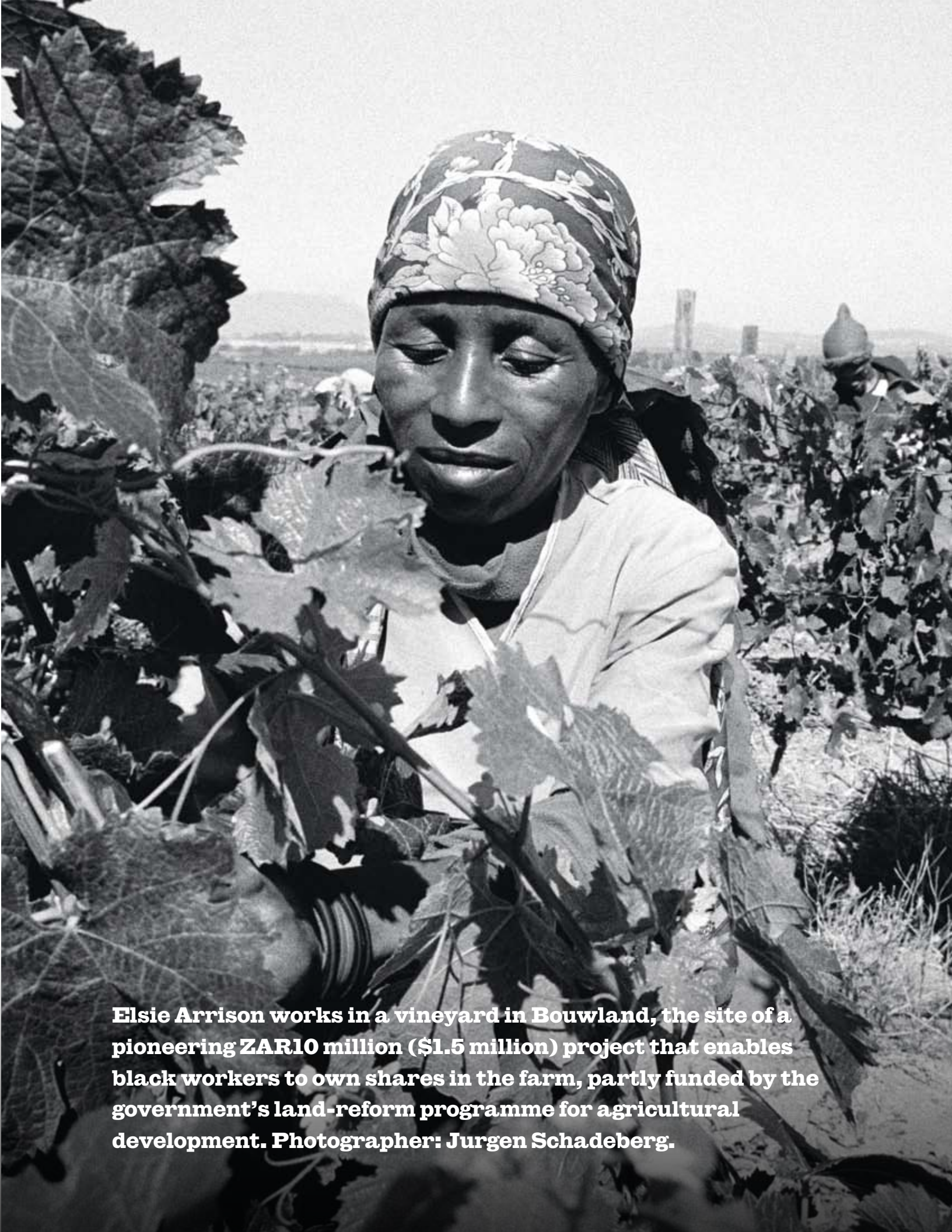
The work of the Farm Life Project was simply one part of a broader effort to seek improvement in the lives of rural families. The Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), an applied research and policy group at the University of the Western Cape, takes a broad look at land reform, as well as at the constituencies that are critical to action. Ruth Hall, Senior Researcher at PLAAS, noted that a lot of the discussions about policy change “are largely happening with no input from farm dwellers and they need to talk for themselves.” As politicians shape policy, they need to hear directly from the men and women most affected by the problems in rural South Africa, she said.

PLAAS, in addition to its academic research, has unique access to inner government circles. “PLAAS will go into a ministry, hold a workshop and facilitate discussion, chart it up and identify the bottlenecks,” explained Atlantic’s Mr. Kraak. “It’s a pro-active way of engaging with government.”

Individual voices are critical to change. But they need to consistently convey uniform messages as well. Bev Russell, Founder and Chief Executive Officer of Social Surveys and Co-author of the National Evictions Survey book, recommended taking better advantage of local assets that are already in place. “In our country,” she said, “we have hundreds of small, community-

based organisations that are amazingly effective. They survive on almost no funding. Maybe we should have been equipping those people instead of focusing only on government officials in our dissemination campaign.”

A group seeking to strengthen that common voice is the Alliance of Land and Agrarian Reform Movements (ALARM), a coalition of more than 20 community organisations focused on land reform. ALARM helps its members develop the skills to speak out for themselves and to share ideas and strategies in coalition. Navy Simukonda, Director of ALARM, said: “When organisations work separately, sometimes government doesn’t take them seriously. Our challenge is to co-ordinate and raise our voices so government will hear a coherent voice.”



Elsie Arrison works in a vineyard in Bouwland, the site of a pioneering ZAR10 million (\$1.5 million) project that enables black workers to own shares in the farm, partly funded by the government's land-reform programme for agricultural development. Photographer: Jurgen Schadeberg.



To benefit poor children like these clients of the Legal Resources Centre, access to free primary and secondary education and increased child-care grants were two resolutions adopted at the African National Congress (ANC) conference in December 2007. Photographer: Audra Melton.



Looking Ahead: Sharpening the Strategy

The organisations cited in this publication agree on the need for a long-term strategy to protect the choice of farmworkers and farm dwellers to remain on the land, but the grantees also want to assess other options, including the possibility of resettling families on different plots of agricultural land and training them for nonfarm vocations. Slow progress has been made in this regard, due to the complexity of the issues involved, the need to consult a range of stakeholders and a shortage of appropriate capacity in government departments.

The initial work of the Farm Life in South Africa Project documented a problem and raised critical issues for discussion. Finding the way forward in a contested political and economic environment is always a delicate task. The good news is that a more positive political and policy environment may be on the horizon. At the African National Congress conference in Polokwane in December 2007, delegates from across the country adopted a series of resolutions that are far more supportive of rural issues than was the former government of Thabo Mbeki.

Beginning in late 2007, the ANC, under the leadership of Jacob Zuma, called for an integrated programme of rural development, land reform and agrarian change that would include, among other provisions:

- Redistribution of 30 per cent of agricultural land before 2014
- Extension of quality government services to rural areas
- Expansion of the role of small farms as part of a vibrant and competitive agricultural sector.

The ANC also urged empowerment of poor communities in general to strengthen the voices of rural South Africans, and the allocation of greater resources to rural development, land reform and agrarian change.

The Farm Life Project participants and their colleagues in the field of land reform continue on their path with renewed enthusiasm. In the first communications campaign, participants focused on raising awareness and distributing the National Evictions Survey data to national institutions, Parliament, the media and the general public. As part of the second phase of this work launched in 2007, campaign partners are repackaging data from the survey and focusing their efforts on provincial and local governments. They are making data available to the small nonprofits that work directly with farm families. These efforts are enhancing the ability of local groups to speak for themselves through regional workshops aimed at key stakeholders that can influence rural policy.

Learning from its initial efforts, the campaign now has a more formal, co-ordinated work process for the coalition organisations that must now sign a Memorandum of Understanding that outlines timeframes for key activities and respective responsibilities of the participants. Nkuzi, for example, is co-ordinating the communications campaign in 2007–2008, and added a lobbyist and an advocacy officer to its staff. The wider network of organisations working in the field continue to add to the effort by providing the means to share best practices, ideas and experiences. An essential component of this broader work is to better document both successes and shortfalls – and the lessons learned from each.

Conclusion

In the end, farmworkers and farm dwellers, wherever they are currently living, want what most people want for themselves and their families: employment, a home, adequate food, quality education for their children, health care, potable water, sanitation and so on. South Africa's Constitution promises these basic human rights for all. The challenge is figuring out how to meet so many fundamental needs on such a large scale and to do it quickly in the midst of major economic change, particularly in the agricultural sector.

Mr. Schadeberg's book tells a sobering success story of three women who, as part of a government land-reform project, leased 200 hectares of land in the Northern Cape in 2002, with an option to buy. These women employed six full-time

workers, as well as seasonal staff for planting and harvesting and, in 2004, they earned ZAR300,000 (\$44,000) from mealies (corn) and ZAR290,000 (\$42,000) from wheat. Yet the cost of running the farm was up to ZAR700,000 (\$102,000). The women had an urgent need for tractors and other expensive equipment. Despite their hard work and commitment, much of their land was fallow because they could not afford to plant and harvest it.

These three women represent both the high hopes and significant challenges of the current rural economy.

Policy regarding rural South Africa is at a crossroads. After a decade of policies which have largely failed to meet the needs of the rural poor, particularly those faced with eviction from farms, there is a possibility that the ANC administration that takes office after the next elections in 2009 will pay more attention to rural needs. The new administration may put forward proposals for integrated rural development strategies, support for small scale agriculture and the creation of more employment in rural areas.

However, whether and how such policies are implemented will depend on a number of factors:

- The consent and collaboration of organised commercial agriculture
- The resolution of the debate within government between those who support industrial development as the key driver of economic growth and employment and those who want more of a focus on rural development
- Whether government provides support to capital-intensive

agribusiness or labour-intensive small-scale farming

- Whether farmworkers themselves have a voice in the deliberation process. Farmworkers are currently poorly organised and much more needs to be done to strengthen the voice of this constituency, as we have learned from the Farm Life Project.

As Sara Legoshe, one of the three Northern Cape women farmers, said: "We are biting stones, but we'll keep on struggling. Nothing will ever stop us from succeeding."



From left: Wilhemina Bingwa, Grace Moraitje and Sara Legoshe are farmers in the Northern Cape, struggling with high production costs and a dearth of equipment but determined to succeed. Photographer: Jurgen Schadeberg.

Scope of Atlantic's Farmworkers Initiative: Organisations Helping the Rural Poor in South Africa

The Atlantic Philanthropies has awarded grants to numerous South African organisations to help farmworkers. The Farm Life in South Africa Project is one component of this larger initiative focused on improving the lives of farmworkers and the rural poor.

The grants, covering 2004–2007, totaled approximately ZAR140 million (\$20 million) and support a range of activities across the country, including legal advice and support to rural people, training for paralegals, academic policy research, advocacy to advance and implement reform and, when enactment of good policies falters, litigation and social mobilisation. “Our rural poverty programme uses the law to access the rights and services due to poor people,” said Gerald Kraak, Reconciliation & Human Rights Programme Executive and head of Atlantic's South Africa office. “To this end, we support a network of rural

advice offices and public interest law firms, which provide free legal advice and support to the rural poor across South Africa and assist them to access the rights due to them. We combine the legal work with public awareness campaigns, as people living in rural areas are often not aware of their rights.”

Typically, advice offices will help clients access social grants, fight illegal eviction from farms, resolve labour disputes and gain access to public health care and education. The advice offices sometimes pursue precedent-setting litigation or class actions that could benefit large numbers of people. For example, the Black Sash has benefited thousands of people by using litigation to force tardy or poorly functioning provincial governments to pay out pensions and grants.

Atlantic also invests in a number of “niche” areas in which litigation can be used to strategic effect:

- **Access to social grants/ government support**
South Africa provides a safety net to mitigate the worst effects of poverty through social assistance, including child care grants for indigent parents, old age pensions, child foster care grants, disability grants and unemployment insurance
- **Access to education on farms**
- **Access to water and other services**
- **Combating illegal evictions from farms and security of tenure**
- **Gender equity in rural areas.**

Atlantic augments these efforts with research, public education and advocacy efforts to help change the conditions identified by the work of the advice office networks.

¹ The videographer was working for Social Surveys Africa, a demographic-research agency based in Johannesburg that, with Nkuzi Development Association, a service organisation focused on land and human rights issues in disadvantaged South African communities, carried out the first comprehensive study of farm evictions in South Africa.

² Social Surveys Africa and Nkuzi Development Association conducted the National Evictions Survey.

³ *Summary of Key Findings from the National Evictions Survey* is available at <http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001822/index.php>.

⁴ *Still Searching for Security: The Reality of Farm Dweller Evictions in South Africa*, by Marc Wegerif, Bev Russell and Irma Grundling. Published by Nkuzi Development Association and Social Surveys. The full report is available at http://www.nkuzi.org.za/docs/Evictions_Survey.pdf.

⁵ The Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955, embodied the hopes and dreams of black people. It marked a crucial historic moment toward establishing a new order based on the will of the people for a nonracial South Africa with democracy, human rights, land reform, labour rights and nationalisation of the mining industry.

⁶ The full report is available at <http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001923/index.php>.

⁷ *Voices from the Land*, funded by The Atlantic Philanthropies, was published by Protea Book House, PO Box 35110, Menlopark, 0102 Pretoria; <http://www.proteaboekhuis.co.za/>.

Grantee Organisations of Atlantic's Programme on Rural Poverty

The Alliance of Land and Agrarian Reform Movements (ALARM) seeks to strengthen the common voice of a coalition of community organisations focused on land reform.

The Association of University Legal Aid Institutions promotes the provision of free, comprehensive legal aid and support services for the rural poor through university-based law clinics. Atlantic's support covers clinics in North West and Limpopo provinces. www.aulai.org.za

Black Sash offers a national network of advice offices that advocate for the socio-economic rights of vulnerable people in South Africa, and provides community education and training to enable those people to advocate on their own behalf. www.blacksash.org.za

Centre for Criminal Justice at the University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal provides a legal advice and support service to indigent rural people living in the Midlands region of the KwaZulu-Natal province. www.ccjonline.org.za

Farm Life in South Africa Project co-ordinates the advocacy and communications work of participants to raise public awareness of adverse conditions and promote policy changes to redress them.

Farm Schools Research and Advocacy Project is a programme of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand that develops evidence-based advocacy and litigation strategies to improve conditions in farm schools. In collaboration with Social Surveys in 2004–2005, it carried out a national study on barriers impeding access to education for children living on farms and in rural areas. www.law.wits.ac.za/cals/proj-lt.htm

The Freedom of Expression Institute provides dedicated training on laws governing freedom of expression to encourage peaceful protest and mobilisation in small towns to improve the advocacy capacity of rural communities. www.fxj.org.za

Human Rights Watch/South Africa strengthens coalition building and advocacy to secure increased protection of the rights of migrants and the rural poor. www.hrw.org/doc/?t=africa&c=safic

The Inyathelo Institute for Advancement supports the long-term sustainability of nonprofit organisations in Atlantic's programme on rural poverty by providing intensive mentoring, training, organisational development and strategic planning. www.inyathelo.co.za

The Legal Resources Centre is a national public interest law firm engaged in litigation to ensure, inter alia, access to water and to promote gender equity in rural areas. www.lrc.org.za/home

The National Alliance for the Development of Community Advice Offices is a forum of advice offices, public interest law firms, nonprofits and donors that supports improvement in the scale and quality of legal advice offered to communities through capacity-building programmes, collaboration and advocacy. www.nadcao.org.za

The Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies at the University of the Western Cape is a specialist policy unit that uses research, teaching, evaluation services and national policy development to develop knowledge and fresh approaches to land and agrarian reform, poverty and natural resource management. www.plaas.org.za

The Public Interest Law Clearing House (Now called Pro-bono. Org.) brokers the pro-bono legal advice, support and counsel of private law firms for human rights and public interest law to increase access to justice for poor and marginalised people. www.probono-org.org

The Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute is a think tank that conducts research and gathers input from a broad range of experts and government stakeholders to formulate policy on rural poverty.

Rhodes University Legal Aid Clinic provides legal advice and representation to poor, underserved people in the Eastern Cape province, and provides practical training to law students. www.ru.ac.za/community/LA

The Rural Legal Trust seeks to secure the tenure and other socio-economic rights of farmworkers and rural people by placing dedicated legal teams in a network of advice offices in affected areas to provide legal support. www.rlt.org.za

Copyright © 2008 by The Atlantic Philanthropies

All rights reserved, including the right to reproduce this publication or portions of it in any form

Published by The Atlantic Philanthropies

Board Chairman: Frederick A. O. Schwarz, Jr.

President and CEO: Gara LaMarche

For more information, visit www.atlanticphilanthropies.org

Writing by Joanne Edgar

Acknowledgements: Raven Anderson, Diana Benton, Gail Birkbeck, Marla Bolotsky, Kate Bullinger, Pam Fehl, Gabs Gabarone, Ruth Hall, Carolyn Hamilton, David Handschuh, John A. Healy, Karin Kleinbooi, Gerald Kraak, Christa Kuljian, Gugu Mthembu, Lynne Murray, Deborah Phillips, Patrick Pringle, Annette Reed, Tricia Rosensohn, Bev Russell, Greg Samata, Claudia Schadeberg, Jurgen Schadeberg, Stuart Shear, Navy Simukonda, Ann Teson, Marc Wegerif, Victoria Weisfeld, Magnes Welsh

Design by Bremmer & Goris Communications

Printed in the United States by DigiLink, Inc.

