

USING THE LAW TO SECURE SOCIAL CHANGE ON THE ISLAND OF IRELAND



THE ATLANTIC PHILANTHROPIES
CAPTURING THE LEARNING

2015

1 INTRODUCTION

Using the law to secure social change is not a new idea – it has been a key driver at many pivotal points in history. For example, it played a central role in the abolition of slavery across British colonies in the 18th century, segregation in the American education system in the 1950s and apartheid in South Africa in the 1990s. The law is still used to secure social change around the world, but not everybody is equally able to use the law in this way. Some countries simply have more experience in this field and their judiciaries and legal systems are therefore more familiar with and open to the concepts involved. Within countries, different parts of society also face varying barriers to using the law in this way. Those barriers include a basic lack of awareness that it is possible to use the law in this way, or prudence preventing people from risking the high costs if things go wrong.

Neither the Republic of Ireland (RoI) nor Northern Ireland (NI) had much of a culture of using the law to secure social change. When The Atlantic Philanthropies (Atlantic) initiated its RoI & NI Reconciliation and Human Rights programmes in 2004, it became clear that grantees needed support and encouragement to develop the legal side of their advocacy strategies. Since then, Atlantic has provided a range of core and project supports to:

- ▶ Increase awareness of the law as a potential tool for change across the nongovernmental organisation (NGO) sector, the judiciary and wider legal professions;
- ▶ Build relevant experience and appetite for public interest work amongst the legal profession;
- ▶ Build relevant skills to blend effective legal tactics into overall advocacy strategies; and,
- ▶ Build the momentum and culture of using the law to secure social change on the island of Ireland (RoI & NI).

“When we came into existence, most NGOs wouldn’t have had a priority or focus in strategic litigation. People didn’t know that they could use law as a tool alongside all their other work.

“So we’ve done a lot of training of NGOs to let them see how they can use strategic litigation, and in turn they’re passing that learning on to their constituents.”

**Public Interest Litigation Support
Project Interviewee**

With this support, grantees have been able to deliver significant impact and this work has also generated important learning. As Atlantic winds down its grantmaking on the island of Ireland, it is important to capture that learning and to share it with organisations that will be using the law to secure social change in the future and with the funders that might support them to do so. Therefore in early 2014 Atlantic commissioned a ‘capture the learning’ study across 12 of its grantees that had the greatest experience of using the law to protect and promote human rights. These grantees have used the law in a wide variety of ways, some of them working with particular marginalised groups whilst others have pursued a broader change agenda.

THESE GRANTEEES ARE:

ROI

- ▶ CENTRE FOR DISABILITY LAW AND POLICY
- ▶ EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON REFUGEES & EXILES
- ▶ FREE LEGAL ADVICE CENTRES
- ▶ IRISH COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES
- ▶ IRISH REFUGEE COUNCIL
- ▶ IMMIGRANT COUNCIL OF IRELAND
- ▶ IRISH TRAVELLER MOVEMENT
- ▶ PUBLIC INTEREST LAW ALLIANCE

NI

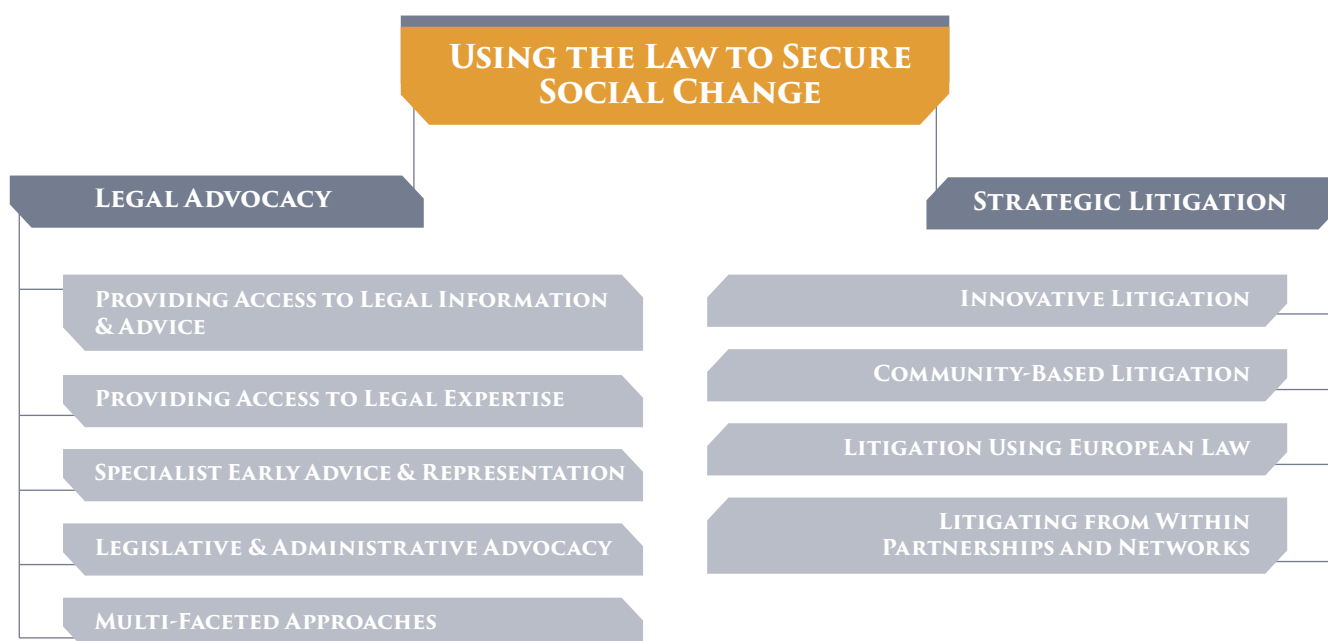
- ▶ CHILDREN’S LAW CENTRE
- ▶ COMMITTEE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE
- ▶ LAW CENTRE, NORTHERN IRELAND
- ▶ PUBLIC INTEREST LITIGATION SUPPORT PROJECT

The aim of the ‘capture the learning’ study was to categorise the different ways in which the law had been used, to identify effective tactics that had been applied in securing social change and to synthesise generalised lessons that can be applied by other NGOs around the world.

The research was undertaken at the Faculty of Law, University College Cork, Ireland by Professor Ursula Kilkelly (Principal Investigator) with Naomi Kennan, Dr Angela O’Connell and Sarah C Field, in conjunction with Professor Laura Lundy and Dr Chelsea Marshall at the Centre for Children’s Rights at the School of Education, Queen’s University Belfast. The team would like to express their gratitude to all of the grantees who participated in this research and to The Atlantic Philanthropies for the opportunity to share this learning.

2 APPROACHES TO USING THE LAW

Although the boundaries between categories tend to be slightly blurred in reality, it is possible to illustrate the grantees’ various approaches to using the law as follows:



In the rest of this section we consider each of the above categories in turn, but it is important to note that all of the grantees used a blend of them, rather than any one in isolation.

The Irish Council for Civil Liberties and the Committee on the Administration of Justice apply various legal advocacy approaches to advance human rights objectives, often partnering with some of the other grantees when it comes to litigation. Free Legal Advice Centres and the Law Centre NI provide legal information to the general public and subsequent legal representation in significant cases. Two grantee projects—the Public Interest Litigation Support Project in Northern Ireland and the Public Interest Law Alliance in the Republic of Ireland—support access to legal expertise and litigation either directly or indirectly. One grantee organisation, the Centre for Disability Law and Policy, is a unit within a university that deploys legal analysis to effect change for people with disabilities. Several grantee organisations focus on providing legal advice and representation to particular groups including the Irish Refugee Council, the Immigrant Council of Ireland, the Irish Traveller Movement, the European Council on Refugees and Exiles, and the Children’s Law Centre.

2.1 LEGAL ADVOCACY

In some ways, legal advocacy can be considered any legally based work that stops short of actual litigation. This spans from the most basic interventions, (e.g., directing people to existing statutory complaint mechanisms), through to highly sophisticated techniques such as providing amicus curiae briefs to the court supporting other people's litigation (offering expert opinion on a generalised rather than case-specific basis). Amicus briefs can overcome evidentiary problems, pressure courts to clarify legal doctrines, focus judicial attention on the core rights at stake and bring expert evidence to the attention of the court.

The provision of legal advice can also play a crucial role in enabling people to claim their rights, identifying the pivotal legal issues affecting people. Those issues can ultimately end up becoming the basis for strategic litigation cases.

“Amicus briefs (third party briefs) plant seeds that will hopefully grow through time.”

Centre for Disability Law and Policy Interviewee

2.1.1 ACCESS TO LEGAL INFORMATION AND ADVICE

The majority of casework that crosses the desks of the grantee organisations is relatively simple. It usually involves an individual or family who have been confronted with a problem that they have not experienced before (e.g. a debt collector's letter). They are usually worried that either: (a) they are going to end up facing a court case that they do not want, or (b) they won't be able to defend their rights without an expensive lawyer. In the majority of cases these concerns can be headed off by someone explaining the non-legal options open to them and/or by directing them to other support agencies that can assist them more effectively than a lawyer. However, a proportion of cases do justify specialised legal input, and these are usually elevated to the next tier of support (see Access to Legal Expertise below). Exposure to this kind of client advice requests also allows the grantee organisations to build a picture of where systemic policy problems are arising within society. Analysis of the resulting data also allows the grantee organisations to make informed inputs regarding potential solutions and undertake evidence-based advocacy targeting relevant government agencies.

EXAMPLES OF ACCESS TO LEGAL INFORMATION

- ▶ The Irish Council for Civil Liberties published a series of public information booklets—*Know Your Rights*—that present the law in an accessible manner to the public with editions that focus on the rights of prisoners, children, those in civil partnership and policing;
- ▶ The Children's Law Centre offers advice and information on matters related to children's rights through its free telephone advice line for children and young people;
- ▶ Free Legal Advice Centres operate 87 part-time legal clinics throughout the Republic of Ireland providing legal information and advice on a pro bono basis to around 30,000 people annually;
- ▶ The Law Centre Northern Ireland operates an on-site legal advice clinic for patients and their families in hospital mental health units.

2.1.2 ACCESS TO LEGAL EXPERTISE

Some casework issues require a lawyer's technical input. This may just be to clarify a particular point of law or it may involve much more in depth input (e.g., developing full legal opinions). Providing technical input regarding the law, individual rights and available remedies allows people to make better strategic and tactical decisions (at both personal and collective levels)

“One of the strengths of our law centre is to provide legal education for our member groups who, in turn then, will provide support and advice to Travellers on the ground.”

Irish Traveller Movement Interviewee

and can help in negotiating for change. Some of the grantee organisations provide access to ‘in house’ legal expertise, whilst others also encourage and facilitate the provision of pro bono (voluntary for the public good) services by the legal profession.

EXAMPLES OF ACCESS TO LEGAL EXPERTISE

- ▶ The Public Interest Litigation Support Project has established a register of lawyers willing to undertake pro bono work, which includes not just advice and legal opinions but also providing training on specific legal issues to NGOs.
- ▶ The Public Interest Law Alliance’s pro bono referral scheme matches the needs of NGOs to lawyers who provide their services on operational matters such as employment contracts, data protection and leases. Through this scheme which has also established a register, organisations receive legal assistance with their law reform work, campaigns and advocacy around social change or they receive support around public interest litigation.
- ▶ The Law Centre Northern Ireland established the Legal Support Project to provide free representation to individuals appearing at social security and industrial tribunals. Many of the volunteers are newly qualified solicitors and barristers who are keen to gain ‘real world’ experience.

2.1.3 SPECIALIST EARLY ADVICE AND REPRESENTATION

The provision of legal advice and representation at an early stage can be important to produce systemic change. For instance, the Irish Refugee Council’s (IRC’s) Early Legal Advice and Representation Project provides an intensive, free, and direct legal representation to asylum seekers in the first stage of claiming asylum. In doing so, the organisation tries to show that there is a different way of working within the existing legal framework, which can yield much better results. The goal is to produce better decisions earlier so that the need for subsequent legal challenge of these decisions is minimised. A related objective is that a small investment in advice upfront will be offset by large savings in bureaucracies having to process flawed applications.

The IRC has identified aspects of its approach to early representation that can be replicated in other environments. They have also offered master classes on refugee protection and human rights law aimed at an audience of practitioners from all backgrounds, which is designed to enhance the capacity of the legal profession and judiciary in these areas. For the IRC, these and other initiatives have resulted in the establishment of common ground between the parties involved in asylum law, which did not exist previously in what was a highly adversarial process.

2.1.4 LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE ADVOCACY

Sometimes legal arguments can be applied directly to secure changes in legislation, policy or public services without resorting to full litigation. Atlantic grantees have analysed various public policies in terms of their compatibility with domestic and/or international law, then made supporting submissions to the State, often alongside wider advocacy efforts. Capitalising upon differences between national and international law can be particularly effective here. For example, the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) recently exploited a perceived conflict between the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and a UK policing bill. Working with partner NGOs, CAJ was able to significantly influence the Westminster Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights and had key clauses blocked in the House of Lords.

Another example in this category involves grantees providing legal analysis to feed into United Nations (UN) ‘shadow reporting’ systems. Each country in the UN is periodically assessed against the UN instruments to which it is a signatory (e.g., the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights). These assessments involve the State itself submitting evidence, but then NGOs in that country are also invited to submit independent ‘shadow reports’. During Ireland’s 2011 Universal Periodic Review, Atlantic grantees put forward extensive legal arguments relating to Ireland’s non-compliance with UN human rights instruments. In doing so, the grantees indirectly secured numerous recommendations from the UN to the Irish government regarding how human rights law and international standards could be better implemented through its laws, policies and practice.

2.1.5 MULTI - FACETED APPROACHES

Some organisations take multi-dimensional approaches to securing social change that use legal, policy, and training expertise to promote the rights of individuals as well as progress human rights generally. These organisations use case-work observations and data analysis to inform and strengthen their advocacy work.

“We have the benefit of the cases you see, so we can talk about individual children. We’re not talking about a policy decision in isolation.”

Children’s Law Centre Interviewee

EXAMPLES OF MULTI-FACETED APPROACHES

- ▶ The Children’s Law Centre (CLC) builds much of its policy positioning from cases arising from its advice line. In one of its cases, successful litigation on behalf of an individual resulted in revised guidance for use by the Housing Executive and all Health Trusts in assessing children under the relevant legislative framework. This guidance has been carried forward by the CLC through policy work and training of civil servants who have responsibilities in this area;
- ▶ The Centre for Disability Law and Policy has trained people with disabilities and disability advocates in legal analyses and the production of well-researched, accessible policy papers. This has allowed those advocates to have a positive influence on Ireland’s disability legislation, for example tackling legal capacity issues in a way that will allow Ireland to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities;
- ▶ Free Legal Advice Centres (FLAC) published a report on the social welfare appeal system arising out of their casework, which was then used as the basis for debate of the issues in the Seanad (the upper house of the Irish parliament.) FLAC also published a report on the legal protections available to consumers of credit and other financial services, documenting the experiences and frustrations of 30 people in the area of consumer credit which was used to influence debate.

2.2 STRATEGIC LITIGATION

Strategic litigation or public interest litigation is a strategy that uses test cases to effect legal and social reform. The intention is not only to win individual cases but to act as a complement to broader campaigns of social activism. Strategic litigation can be a vital tool for advocacy as a single case can result in the establishment of a precedent and broader systemic change. For example, it can create public awareness and debate about a specific issue by publicly exposing injustices and attracting media attention. Strategic litigation can also generate political pressure for changes to law and policy, hold governments accountable for their actions or inactions and empower marginalised groups to press for recognition of their rights. All of the various types of legal advocacy work considered above can act as a natural complement to strategic litigation.

“We can try and persuade people on the basis of reason and analysis to change the law and protect human rights better.”

“But ultimately, it is great to be able to say ‘unfortunately, if you don’t do that, we may have to sue you.’”

Free Legal Advice Centres Interviewee

2.2.1 INNOVATIVE LITIGATION

Some grantee organisations have opened up and exploited new legal avenues when it comes to strategic litigation in NI and RoI, establishing new approaches and precedent as they go. Often this work relates to forcing the national application and interpretation of a particular international law for the first time. Whilst this has been successful in some cases, the grantee organisations have had to invest a great deal of time and resource in securing the implementation of such judgements.

For example, Free Legal Advice Centres (FLAC) represented Lydia Foy, a transgender woman who had been seeking a birth certificate recognising her gender as female. Before approaching FLAC, Foy's requests had been refused on numerous occasions by the Registrar General's office. FLAC eventually won its case before the High Court by arguing that the State's position ran contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and jurisprudence that had been recently established at the European Court of Human Rights. This ground-breaking judgement resulted in the High Court making its first ever declaration of incompatibility between Irish law and the ECHR.

“The law is our starting point... upholding the rule of law in general and specifically holding the state to account for the commitments it's made internationally. It's the meat and potatoes of a human rights organisation.”

Committee on the Administration of Justice Interviewee

2.2.2 COMMUNITY-BASED LITIGATION

Community-based organisations can identify issues that require attention and refer them on to grantee organisations that have the capacity to add legal value. The community-based model of strategic litigation finds strong support among organisations because the experiences of community members who are directly affected by discrimination dictate the issues to be addressed under the law.

For example, in 2002 the Irish Traveller Movement (ITM) established a legal unit with a view to increasing Travellers' understanding of their rights and to support strategic litigation.

It has supported Travellers to take cases of strategic importance to the Traveller community, including accommodation issues, education issues and a challenge to the trespass legislation.

In one case, it tackled the educational disadvantage that Traveller children face in Ireland, particularly at second level (secondary education). A mother challenged a school's admission policy, which gave preference to the applications from the children of past pupils when the school was oversubscribed. The mother argued that the policy affected Travellers disproportionately as their parents are less likely to have attended second level school.

After an unsuccessful attempt to resolve the case at the local level, ITM's Law Centre filed proceedings in the Equality Tribunal in 2010. The Tribunal found that the school's admissions policy discriminated against Traveller children indirectly. The school successfully appealed to the Circuit Court, whose decision was upheld by the High Court in 2012. However, as a direct result of this case the Department of Education brought forward legislation in 2013 providing for a much more circumscribed application of past pupil criteria.

The potential cost of litigation is a significant factor in most community organisations' and NGOs' decision-making. If they lose (and in some cases even if they win) they may have to pay their own legal costs, those of their opponents and possibly even damages. Seven, six or even five digit legal bills can bankrupt a small organisation and often they are unwilling to run the risk, even where litigation is wholly justified. Two Atlantic grantee projects in particular have tried to address this.

Both the Public Interest Law Alliance in RoI and the Public Interest Litigation Support (PILS) project in NI, try to minimise NGOs' own legal costs through the brokering of pro bono representation. In the case of PILS, in some cases the litigant is indemnified from having to cover the opponent's costs, either through PILS own litigation fund or by securing protective costs orders.

2.2.3 LITIGATION USING EUROPEAN LAW

In some areas, European law provides more robust protection for human rights than national law, and grantees have used that fact to great effect. For example, the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI) has adopted a strategic litigation approach that involves using European Union (EU) directives on migration to assess Ireland's compliance with international standards, (with the ultimate goal of advancing the rights of migrants and their families in Ireland). ICI litigated successfully using this approach to secure the rights of EU nationals residing and working in Ireland to be joined by their non-European family members. This approach can also have important knock-on effects on the implementation of European law across the other member states of the European Union.

2.2.4 LITIGATION FROM WITHIN PARTNERSHIPS AND NETWORKS

Strategic litigation is both complex and costly. However, both issues can be at least partially addressed by NGOs, community organisations and legal organisations working together in partnerships and networks. On the cost side, co-ordination across NGOs can mean that only one case has to be taken instead of each NGO needing to take one. A larger network usually has access to a larger register of lawyers that are interested in pro bono work, meaning that more issues can be litigated on at a lower overall cost. Finally, small financial contributions from many organisations towards the costs of a single case can greatly reduce the scale of financial risk that each faces in litigating. In addition, these cases tend to be complex and 'many heads are better than one'. Prior and related experience can be shared to prevent legal teams from chasing down blind alleys. There are many examples of strategic litigation being enhanced by partnership working.

EXAMPLES OF LITIGATION WITHIN NETWORKS

- ▶ The Public Interest Law Support project's stakeholder forum brings legal expertise and NGOs together to consider pressing socio-economic issues. The forum then determines which issues offer the greatest potential strategic impact and should therefore progress to formal application for support from its litigation fund;
- ▶ The Irish Refugee Council Law Centre runs the Refugee and Immigration Practitioners' Network as an online forum to bring people together to share information about case law and other developments;
- ▶ The European Council on Refugees and Exiles co-ordinates the European Legal Network on Asylum, which brings together lawyers across Europe to share the experiences and jurisprudence of their jurisdiction on asylum matters; and,
- ▶ The Irish Council for Civil Liberties is co-chair of the International Network of Civil Liberties Organisations, which enables it to work collaboratively with similar organisations in other countries on strategic litigation issues.

3 CHALLENGES

Organisations interviewed for this research are realistic about what the law can achieve. Although unanimously positive about the benefits, they also identified that the following issues can limit the effectiveness of legal advocacy and strategic litigation.

DIFFICULTIES FINDING THE RIGHT CASE AND CLIENT

For many organisations, identifying the right case or client is an organic rather than a deliberate process. Cases and clients emerge through on-going engagement with networks, other individuals and groups while issues that require a remedy surface. Few have experienced test cases that emerge by design.

Communication and relationships with the legal community, public and other civil society organisations are key to the identification of issues that might have a legal dimension and of the organisation best suited to address the problem. For many organisations, the relationship between advocacy and litigation is strong and a case that begins with a simple matter of legal advice can develop into a piece of strategic litigation.

“The reality is that 50% of our test cases don’t start out as test cases. They come in, they’re complex, and it’s only when you start looking at them that you go, ‘Oh, there’s something in this actually that’s got a public interest point of law.’”

Law Centre NI Interviewee

“For a lot of people, if they come in and you say, well, we would be happy to take on your case, but it will be eight years before you get a decision in the Supreme Court and they say, well, forget it!”

Free Legal Advice Centres Interviewee

DELAY

A serious barrier to using litigation to effect change is that the courts can be very slow. Although litigation can be an empowering process for the litigant, the length of time and nature of the process can be daunting and demanding. All organisations acknowledge that it is difficult to identify a client willing to make the kind of commitment and investment necessary to see litigation through to its conclusion.

COST

In much of the field of public interest litigation no legal aid or cost protection is available. That means the risk of having costs awarded against a client or an organisation is a huge barrier to pursuing litigation. Although courts in the Republic of Ireland have yet to make any protective cost orders, in Northern Ireland some progress has been made on this front, providing some grounds for optimism regarding the future of public interest litigation.

NO CLASS ACTION

In the US and some other jurisdictions, a single ‘class action’ suit can be taken by multiple litigants who are all arguing the same underlying point (e.g., multiple victims suing the same company on negligence grounds relating to a particular product/service). The Irish legal system does not recognise class actions (i.e., it requires each individual to litigate separately) and in the UK broadly equivalent ‘representative actions’ have only been allowed under certain limited circumstances. This barrier prevents NGOs from tackling particular issues on a combined or collective basis, further compounding the cost issues identified above.

MAINTAINING INDEPENDENCE

Although many organisations have productive working relationships with government and state officials, it is important that these relationships do not interfere with the capacity to be critical and to hold government to account in a robust manner. There is, however, a fine balance that organisations need to maintain if they are to be effective—another reason why litigation is often considered and used as a last resort.

“We’ve tried to move away from simply being oppositional, to actually getting involved in discussions and having a constructive engagement. In some cases that’s worked and in some cases, it hasn’t. It’s a difficult balancing act.”

Law Centre NI Interviewee

UNPREDICTABILITY AND NEGATIVE OUTCOMES

While all cases are taken with a view to bringing about progressive change, it is never possible to predict the outcome of a case, even with a victory in court. Not everything about strategic litigation can be planned and the risk of a bad outcome—losing the case, having costs awarded against an organisation or provoking a legislative backlash where the law is changed for the worse—is always a risk. This highlights the importance of having a good advocacy campaign in place to support the litigation and mitigate the risks.

“I have a duty to my client and if I think that’s the best deal they’re going to get, I can’t advise them otherwise just because it doesn’t suit my strategic goals.”

Irish Traveller Movement Interviewee

SETTLEMENT VERSUS PRECEDENT

If a government or private party makes a generous offer or settlement that remedies the individual’s case, that offer can be attractive for an individual client but it can frustrate potential precedent-setting litigation. This can mean that individual problems are solved but the wider implications raised by such cases remain unaddressed.

CONSERVATIVE VALUES

Public interest litigation is more likely to be successful where the legal professions and judiciary are open to the use of the law to effect social change. It is important to understand the kind of arguments likely to be persuasive—for example whether the use of international human rights instruments will be well received and what remedies will find support—so that legal information received by prospective lawyers and judges can be useful to create the conditions in which public interest litigation can flourish. It is important also to sensitise the judiciary to the challenges faced by marginalised and vulnerable groups, with which they may not always be familiar. This highlights the value of multi-faceted approaches to using the law to effect change.

4 LESSONS LEARNED

The following lessons can be drawn from the experience of these organisations working with the law to effect social change.

EMPLOY MULTI-DIMENSIONAL AND INTERCONNECTED STRATEGIES

Combining strategies of advocacy, legal analysis, education and representation is vital to maximising the effectiveness of all aspects of the law and legal processes employed.

Litigation on its own can be insufficient to effect change, not least because sometimes there is a political failure to execute or implement the judgment in question. Sometimes, intense advocacy will be required to ensure the promise of a judgment is fully delivered.

In others, further litigation will be required to bring the matter to a conclusion. At the same time, litigation can be fruitful even if it does not result in courtroom success when the matter sparks debate and law reform.

BE PREPARED TO PERSIST OVER TIME

Few activities result in quick fixes and change often takes years and multiple attempts using different strategies to make progress in effecting social change.

CONNECT WITH ISSUES, PEOPLE AND COMMUNITIES

Connecting grassroots organisations with legal strategies is crucial to successful change. The most useful forms of expertise and intelligence here are derived direct from service users, through thoughtful policy and research work and sharing knowledge and experience with partner organisations. These are the hallmarks of the most successful approaches to securing social change demonstrated by Atlantic grantees.

CHOOSE LITIGATION CAREFULLY

Not all policy issues will be best moved forward through litigation. Sometimes litigation will attract undue risks of various types and in these cases other non-litigious strategies are more appropriate.

MAKE USE OF THE MEDIA

An important part of the multi-faceted approach is to change public opinion in support of a particular issue. Organisations are increasingly savvy in their use of social and traditional media in the knowledge that they can be hugely important in bringing about social change.

INVEST IN LEADERSHIP AND CAPACITY BUILDING

Supporting the capacity of NGOs to use the law can have real added value in its advocacy while developing specialist expertise amongst the legal community helps similarly to raise the bar. Leadership in both sectors is key to continuing to innovate and develop the use of the law to effect change.

“You’ve got to be quite multi-faceted. It’s no good just simply having a legal strategy or having just the policy strategy. Coalitions are important, research is important, producing good quality information.”

“You have to be credible, you have to know your stuff, you’ve got to have all of those elements. And even with all of those elements, you might not win.”

Law Centre NI Interviewee

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