

Honjiswa Raba enjoys the new auditorium of the Isivivana Centre. Raba is head of human resources for Equal Education, a Centre tenant, and is a trustee of the Khayelitsha Youth & Community Centre Trust, the governing body of Isivivana.

Foreword	5
Preface	9
Summary	13
South Africa	22
Grantee Profiles	89
Black Sash and Community Advice Offices	91
Legal Resources Centre	96
University of the Western Cape	101
Lawyers for Human Rights	108
Umthombo Youth Development Foundation	113
Archives and the Importance of Memory	117
Nursing Schools and Programmes	125
Health Care Systems	131
LGBTI Rights	135
Social Justice Coalition	138
Equal Education	143
Isivivana Centre	147
Lessons	154
Acknowledgements	175

Throughout this book, the term "black" is used as it is defined in the South African Constitution. This means that it includes Africans, coloureds and Indians, the apartheid-era definitions of South Africa's major race groups.

The Atlantic Philanthropies



South Africa

BY RYLAND FISHER



President Cyril Ramaphosa met with Chuck Feeney in Johannesburg in 2005 when they discussed their involvement in the Northern Ireland peace process. Ramphosa was elected president of South Africa by Parliament in February 2018.

DEDICATION

Charles Francis Feeney, whose generosity and vision have improved the lives of millions in South Africa and across the globe

IN MEMORIAM

Gerald V Kraak (1956–2014), a champion of human rights and Atlantic's longest serving staff member in South Africa



"No matter how some of the ideals have been difficult to achieve and get a bit frayed around the edges, South Africans still achieved its transition to democracy in, I think, one of the most extraordinary ways in human history."

Christine Downton, former Atlantic Board member

Students visit the Constitutional Court at Constitution Hill.

Foreword

he Atlantic Philanthropies are known for making big bets, and it's fair to say that the foundation was making a very large wager when it began investing in South Africa in the early 1990s. Back then, our nation was just beginning its bumpy journey as a new democracy, and the legacy of apartheid loomed large. Even with these odds, Atlantic was willing to bet on South Africa and its people.

In this short book, noted journalist Ryland Fisher describes the history of Atlantic's work in South Africa in three essential areas: higher education, public health and human rights. Ryland provides profiles of several people and institutions Atlantic helped, including the University of the Western Cape (UWC), where I served as rector and vice-chancellor for 13 years. He also shares lessons Atlantic has learned that will hopefully benefit current and future philanthropists and donors.

It would be impossible to capture all that Atlantic has done through its grantmaking to help make our nation a fairer and healthier place. The foundation strengthened primary health care by supporting four schools of public health, transforming nursing education, and providing training and placement of doctors and other health professionals in rural areas. It also supported reconciliation, including efforts to preserve the history of colonialism and the struggles against apartheid as a way to deal with the past and build a better future. In addition, Atlantic bolstered a range of nongovernmental organisations to protect and deliver the essential freedoms promised in our Constitution.

Its funding gave hope and help to so many marginalised people: LGBTI, refugees and immigrants, those who are HIV positive, former combatants and women seeking their right to own property.

I, too, had a life-changing experience following a meeting with Chuck Feeney, Atlantic's founder, during his only trip to South Africa in 2005. We invited Atlantic's Board to lunch during their visit to Cape Town to show them early results of the public health programme they had funded at UWC. And what a lunch it was!

"I want to build the largest life sciences building in Africa to show the world, but especially Africa, that—with passion, commitment, competence and help from our friends—we could hold our own against the best."

Brian O'Connell, retired rector and vice-chancellor of the University of the Western Cape

After my explaining our trials as a "coloured" university, our creative struggle against oppression and our success of producing many of Nelson Mandela's Cabinet ministers, I shared plans for our professors and students to make significant knowledge leaps, as we carefully climbed out of bankruptcy.

Then something extraordinary happened. Chuck asked to speak and he expressed his admiration for our self-reliance, vision and commitment to develop competencies in our programmes. Soon, I learned of Atlantic's history of supporting "underdog" universities across Ireland and Australia that had leaders with the vision and determination to help their institutions punch above their weight, despite incredible obstacles.

That evening I received a telephone call asking me if I would have breakfast with Chuck at the Vineyard Hotel. I readily accepted and just the two of us spent a wonderful breakfast together. At one point, Chuck asked me what my dream was, and I said, "I want to build the largest life sciences building in Africa to show the world, but especially Africa, that—with passion, commitment, competence and help from our friends—we could hold our own against the best." To my joy and amazement, Atlantic was willing to invest millions of rand in us. Chuck's advice was that we develop an iconic building near the highway so everyone would see it from every angle. I agreed.

The support for the Life Sciences Building—and for construction of our School of Public Health—came at a critical stage of our history. UWC was on the cusp of being recognised as a serious research university, when Atlantic gave us its confident support and, undoubtedly, the most advanced science building on the continent.

This helped catapult UWC to a place beyond our wildest dreams. It now ranks in the *Times Higher Education's* top 10 universities in Africa and in its top 5 per cent of the 2 000 universities in emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

Over the last 25 years, South Africa has made impressive strides as a young democracy, but there are tremendous challenges looming, including how to raise the living standards and health outcomes of about 70 per cent of the population.

On the pages that follow are stories of resilience, determination, hope, action and success. You'll learn how the Treatment Action Campaign, AIDS Law Project and others successfully pressured the government to end its denialism that led to the HIV/AIDS crisis, resulting in access to antiretroviral drugs for millions. The government also now supports historically black universities, which are developing a huge part of the genius of this country.

Although the foundation made its last grant commitments in 2016 and plans to shut down by 2020 because of Chuck Feeney's belief in "Giving While Living," its work in South Africa will continue. Through its Atlantic Fellows programmes, the foundation is supporting the development, over the next 20 years, of a new generation of bold leaders who will address the root causes of racial and health inequity in an effort to secure lasting improvements for all.



Brian O'Connell, retired rector and vice-chancellor of the University of the Western Cape



"Atlantic's *modus operandi* was never based on being famous or popular. Rather... on engaging with leaders in society and identifying the needs of society through them."

Noag Adrian (facing camera) plays with his friends after recovering from surgery at the Red Cross War Memorial Children's Hospital, where Atlantic provided new operating theatres.

Ryland Fisher, author and journalist

Preface

had not known about the existence of The Atlantic Philanthropies at the time I was asked to write this country report. This was probably a good thing because it allowed me to approach this project without any preconceived notions or prejudices.

Over the space of a few months, as I travelled to various parts of South Africa speaking to grantees and beneficiaries, I realised that Atlantic had played a profound role in ensuring that the democracy many like me fought for—and were prepared to die for—would mean more than the words written into a progressive Constitution.

I realised the impact the foundation had on South African society, but I also realised why people like myself, who operate mainly outside of the NGO sector, could be excused for being ignorant about this very important organisation.

Atlantic's *modus operandi* was never based on being famous or popular. Rather, it was based on engaging with leaders in society and identifying the needs of society through them. Atlantic was also never interested in being acknowledged for the contributions they made, which were, in most cases, fairly significant. Not one person spoke negatively about the foundation, even though some had suggestions on things they could have done differently.

One name that was mentioned in many of the conversations I had with grantees and associates of Atlantic was Gerald Kraak, who served as the programme director for reconciliation and human rights and who passed away in 2014. The Kraak name held personal significance for me.

When I was between five and eight years old, my mother worked as the domestic worker for Gerald's mother, Mrs Mercia Kraak. I used to accompany my mother to their house in Pinelands, especially before I was old enough to go to school. (We did not have money for pre-school or aftercare.)

I remember seeing Gerald and his younger brothers, Richard and Andre, but I do not recall them ever talking or playing with me. But things were different then; it was not natural for white children to play with a child who was classified by the apartheid regime as "coloured."

I received many hand-me-downs from the three brothers. All the clothes I wore to school, including grey shorts and white shirts, were given to me by them.

Years later, when I became involved in the struggle against apartheid as a teenager, I heard about the Kraak brothers, who had left the country and were now involved in the anti-apartheid movement in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

I later met Richard and Andre after the unbanning of the ANC, in the period before we voted for the first time in democratic South Africa. I never met the adult Gerald.

A few years later, after I was appointed as editor of the *Cape Times*, a prominent morning newspaper in Cape Town, I received a call from Mrs Kraak. She had read about my appointment. She asked me about my mother, who had long since passed away, and I promised to visit her for a cup of coffee. This never happened, and I did not really think about the Kraaks until I began working on this project.

While conducting interviews, I learnt that Mrs Kraak was still alive and living in an old-age facility in Pinelands. I called her and spoke to her at length about her memories of my mother.

My mother was one of those who did not live to benefit from democracy in South Africa. She spent her entire life under apartheid. She never knew what it meant to be free.

It is in her memory, and the memory of others like her, that the work done by The Atlantic Philanthropies is so important. Change in any society needs to help uplift the poorest members of that society, otherwise it is meaningless. Too many people still do not know what it means to be free, even though they live in a free country.

How much one can do often depends on how much funds one has. With the help of Atlantic, many organisations in South Africa have been able to assist in building the democratic project, of which my mother, as a working-class woman, would no doubt have been proud.



Ryland Fisher, author and journalist



"Atlantic's funding came at exactly the right time and went into the right channels. Through their funding, especially in the early 2000s, they played a pivotal role in promoting a greater sense of intellectual life in South Africa."

Constitutional Court Judge Edwin Cameron

Children play at a community nursery for disadvantaged youth whose parents are HIV positive. A few of the children are also HIV positive but are encouraged to lead normal lives.

Summary

he cornerstone of South Africa's democracy is its Constitution, adopted in 1996 and considered one of the most progressive in the world. The major challenges in South Africa, as agreed by government, business and civil society, are to tackle the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

This was top of mind for The Atlantic Philanthropies between 1991 and the end of 2016, as the foundation invested ZAR3.8 billion (\$422.3 million) in 153 organisations that have helped to strengthen South Africa's young democracy, reduce inequality and improve the well-being of poor, marginalised and disadvantaged people.

Why South Africa? The "prospect of a new era" drew Atlantic to South Africa, according to Harvey Dale, Atlantic's founding president. Dale, who initiated the foundation's work in the country in 1991, saw the opportunity to be "engaged in a potentially game-changing period in a society emerging from apartheid repression." In its first years, Atlantic focused on helping aspiring young black South African attorneys get postgraduate law degrees as well as clerkships on the new non-racial Constitutional Court.

In its first decade, Atlantic invested widely in six fields, of which three claimed the great majority of its grants: (a) justice, equality and human rights, (b) higher education and (c) the strengthening of South African

philanthropy and civil society. The median total outlay in this early period was around ZAR8.8 million (\$1.6 million) a year, much of which flowed to organisations seeking to deliver and defend the rights defined in South Africa's new Constitution, and to colleges and universities, particularly those offering education, professional training and research opportunities to South Africans who had been denied these opportunities under apartheid.



Beginning in 2004, Atlantic substantially increased the amount of its annual commitments to ZAR256 million (\$27.7 million) a year, on average, while narrowing its strategic focus to two broad programme areas where it thought it could have the biggest impact as a limited life foundation: reconciliation and human rights, and population health.

In the area of reconciliation and human rights, the foundation expanded its support for organisations dedicated to public-interest law, defence of constitutional democracy, reconciliation of former enemies and combatants, and greater access to education, health and the fundamentals of a decent life. To learn from and reconcile South Africa's past, Atlantic also helped establish museums and archives to share the story of colonialism and apartheid, and the struggle against it.

Atlantic's grants flowed across the whole spectrum of social justice, from the front lines to the national centres of power. Most of these grants aimed at securing the rights of three particularly vulnerable populations: sexual minorities; the rural poor; and immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

Alongside this focus on specific populations, Atlantic was also deliberate about supporting the key institutions and programmes that anchor South Africa's overall defence of constitutional democracy and human rights. While many front-line organising groups and some research and policy organisations were dedicated to specific issues, many other grantees carried out research, advocacy and litigation on a much broader terrain. Because Atlantic often gave unrestricted general support to these organisations, it in effect strengthened a broad-based human rights sector overall, ranging well beyond rural poverty, immigration, and equality for lesbian, gay and transgender South Africans.

A series of Atlantic's grants sat at the intersection of its human rights and population health programmes, supporting advocacy efforts to improve access to quality health care for all South Africans. For example, one of the foundation's human rights grantees, Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), ignited a movement to counteract a misguided government policy of denial about HIV/AIDS. TAC used the courts, peaceful protest and civil disobedience to gain universal access to antiretroviral (ARV) treatment, thereby saving thousands of people's lives. South Africa went from having zero people in the public health sector receiving ARVs in 2004 to more than 2 million receiving them in 2013.

In the area of population health, the foundation likewise continued, after 2004, to support many of the lines of work that it had begun in the previous decade. However, the focus shifted to three primary areas: developing human resources in health, building the primary health care system, and increasing the voice of the disadvantaged population through advocacy. The work included support for research and education in public health and biomedical sciences, and programmes to improve the government's ability to analyse, manage, implement and coordinate health policy from the national to the local level.

But in the later period, Atlantic also embarked on an ambitious programme to upgrade the education, working conditions and retention of nurses, who are the main providers of primary care for the overwhelming majority of South Africans. The core of this new programme was to strengthen the profession to deliver quality primary health care through a series of grants to nursing colleges and university nursing departments, as well as major support for organisations that promote better nursing policy and education.

Grants were typically based on a carefully formulated plan of action, after which the foundation stepped aside, allowed grantees to pursue the agreed-upon goals and provided help with day-to-day activities only when asked.

Other lines of grantmaking sought to develop human capital in the health sector more broadly—for example, Atlantic supported key institutions to increase numbers, upgrade skills and improve retention of human resources in primary health care. There was also additional training in management and leadership for district health officials, while other support helped low-income and rural South Africans pursue careers in the health professions.

Many of the organisations Atlantic supported in South Africa express particular appreciation for the foundation's lack of interference in their work. As one grantee put it, "You could rely on Atlantic not to dictate what their money should be spent on." Grants were typically based on a carefully formulated plan of action, after which the foundation stepped aside, allowed grantees to pursue the agreed-upon goals and provided help with day-to-day activities only when asked.

Among the more than 150 organisations Atlantic supported in its more than two decades in South Africa, the following pages present profiles of a dozen grantees. These include:

- Community advice offices operated by the 6o-year-old anti-apartheid organisation Black Sash. These offices provide free legal guidance and information for people in poor and remote communities, helping them understand and secure their rights under the law
- The Legal Resources Centre, South Africa's preeminent publicinterest constitutional law practice
- The construction of the School of Public Health and Life Sciences buildings at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). Both enable cutting-edge research and education in world-class facilities and elevate UWC's stature among peer institutions in Africa and globally
- Lawyers for Human Rights, a pro-bono legal advocacy centre whose headquarters and ongoing human rights and public-interest litigation work services immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees from the moment of their arrival in the country
- Umthombo Youth Development Foundation, an organisation that helps rural young people study health sciences and pursue careers in medical and caring professions and then return home to practice in their communities
- Various museum and archival organisations, housed at Constitutional Hill, the District Six Museum, the South African History Archive and elsewhere, that preserve seminal historical materials from apartheid that chronicle the struggle for justice
- Multiple programmes to elevate the profession of nursing, including centres of nursing education and organisations that promote better nursing policy

- Equal Education, a grassroots organisation that mobilises high-school students and communities to fight for better quality and equality in education for all South Africans
- The Other Foundation and a network of other organisations pursuing the rights of sexual minorities throughout the country
- The Social Justice Coalition, which advocates for better water, sanitation and safety in informal housing settlements—accounting for 20 per cent of urban populations and where many of the poorest South Africans live
- Health Systems Trust, the country's premier research and development institution for improvements in health policy, and the Treatment Action Campaign, mentioned earlier, for its work in establishing the rights to health care of poor people with HIV/AIDS.

In its final five years of grantmaking, as Atlantic prepared to distribute the last of its endowment and bring its work to a close, the foundation made a culminating series of major grant commitments in South Africa, totalling more than ZAR1.7 billion (\$134.4 million) in all. The funds were to:

- Launch the Constitutionalism Fund in South Africa, a programme jointly funded with the Ford and Open Society Foundations to strengthen organisations that promote and defend constitutional rights, with Atlantic's portion of ZAR127.6 million (\$10 million).
- Form The Other Foundation (for Openness, Tolerance, Humanity, Equality, Rights), an African trust focused on justice and social inclusion for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex South Africans, with an investment of ZAR36.1 million (\$4.4 million).
- Provide ZAR31.6 million (\$3 million) to the Social Justice Initiative
 (SJI) to focus on mobilising local resources to strengthen civil society's
 capacity to build democracy and constitutionalism. SJI met Atlantic's
 fundraising match target of ZAR60 million (\$4.6 million) and, as of
 early 2018, had made grants to 50 organisations. SJI continues to
 raise and distribute funds.

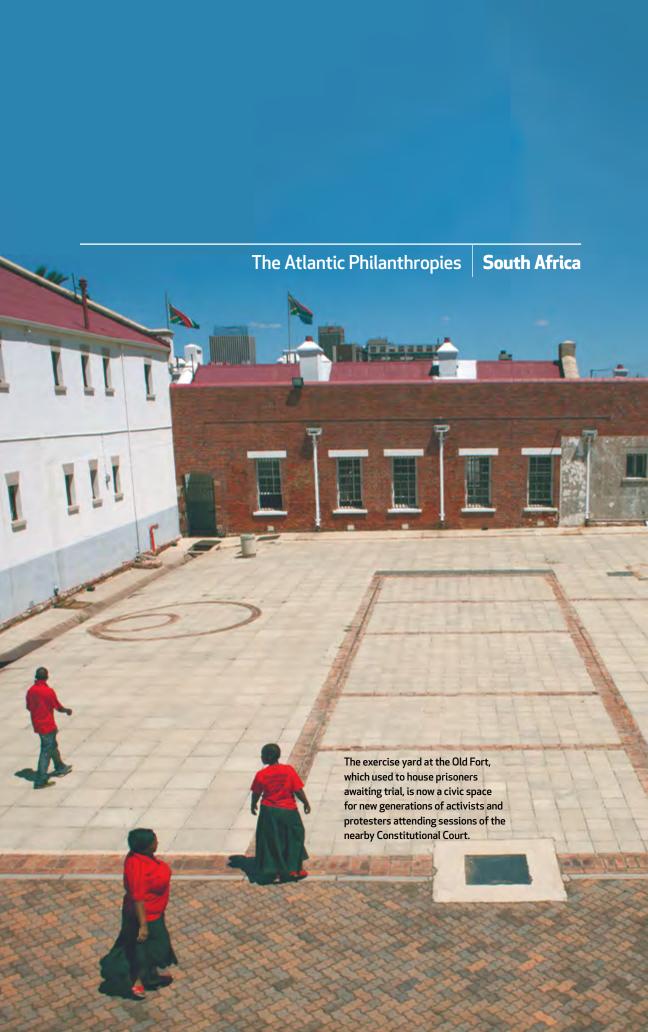
- Support the land purchase and construction of the Isivivana Centre, an office and community facility for social-justice organisations in Khayelitsha, a township in the Western Cape, with ZAR102.6 million (\$7.9 million).
- Develop the Atlantic Fellows Program for Health Equity in South Africa, part of a global network of fellowship programmes designed to nurture a new generation of leaders advancing fairer, healthier and more inclusive societies. Based at TEKANO, the newly formed NGO, fellows are mobilising to tackle the severe social and economic inequities that determine the health of populations. Atlantic has pledged to invest up to \$45 million (ZAR671.7 million) in TEKANO and its flagship Atlantic Fellows programme.
- Focus a portion of two other Atlantic Fellows programmes in South Africa. The Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity seeks to dismantle anti-black racism in the United States and South Africa, two nations where the legacy of racial exclusion and discrimination still endure.
 And, the Atlantic Fellows for Social and Economic Equity is a programme to understand and address the escalation of inequalities that threaten social cohesion and the future of at-risk democratic societies in South Africa, the United Kingdom and elsewhere.
- Support construction of the Nelson Mandela Memorial and School of Public Governance at the University of Cape Town to commemorate Mandela's visionary leadership and serve as a centre for academic excellence and public discourse for the next generation of leaders, including the Atlantic Fellows—up to ZAR324 million (\$21.7 million).
- Fund a feasibility study to develop Mandela's former home in
 Johannesburg into a multi-purpose centre where the Atlantic Fellows
 can convene. Pending the study's results, Atlantic has reserved up to
 \$2.5 million (ZAR29.8 million) for the Nelson Mandela Foundation
 to develop the centre, aligned with the centennial anniversary of
 Mandela's birth.

Among the lessons of The Atlantic Philanthropies' experience in South Africa, dozens of interviews with leaders in civil society, higher education and government yielded at least six that may be noteworthy for other funders:

- of the overall equation of social change in a country as large as South Africa. The real challenge, therefore, is to improve the way other, much larger resources are used—and that, almost inevitably, means changing the mindset on priorities and resource targeting. Atlantic directed much of its grantmaking in South Africa to organisations—including some government agencies—that sought to improve public policy implementation for the benefit of millions of disadvantaged and vulnerable residents.
- 2. It is often better to invest in a country's existing assets than to try to create new ones. South Africa, like most other countries, already had leaders and organisations with the knowledge, talent and vision to solve problems. Atlantic's objective was to find the strongest of these, understand their needs, help them connect with one another and equip them with the resources that could propel their success.
- 3. Funders are wise to maintain a wide network of local contacts and advisors in their fields of interest, and refresh that network continually. This principle is, in some respects, a corollary of the previous one: The best ideas are often already present in the field, but finding them takes time, attentiveness, judgment and openness.
- 4. It is important to know whether the goal is to produce a set of discrete accomplishments, or to fuel the ongoing capacity of local organisations to succeed in the long run. The former is more likely than the latter to be achievable in a limited time. Given Atlantic's explicit intention to put all its resources to work in a fixed period, it often opted for measurable, near-term achievements, though its strongest grantees will, in fact, continue to thrive beyond the end of Atlantic's support.

- 5. Funders who wish to make a lasting difference in a limited period may find capital projects, if carefully chosen and designed, to be a useful route to provide critical social or other benefits. Buildings and equipment are not just physical assets. They are often fundamental requisites of effective social change—the indispensable platform on which many kinds of societal progress can be built.
- 6. A foundation operating on a limited life would be wise to start planning its conclusion from the very beginning of its operations. And it needs to ensure that its grantees are planning for that conclusion as well.

Underlying all these lessons is a fundamental reality of philanthropy: Foundations almost never solve society's problems on their own. At best, they empower others to do so. The value of Atlantic's contribution to South Africa, and how long that value lasts, will therefore best be judged not now, but in a generation or two, when the Foundation is long gone but the legacy of those it supported is visible across the country.



Atlantic in South Africa



INTRODUCTION

he Atlantic Philanthropies entered South Africa at a pivotal time. The country was beginning a transition from apartheid rule to democracy. Ultimately, Atlantic's contributions to South Africa proved to be far greater than the ZAR3.8 billion (\$422.3 million) committed from 1991 until 2016. Its funding in higher education, primary health care, reconciliation and human rights helped the country through one of the most difficult periods in its history.

Atlantic introduced innovative grantmaking that could be emulated by other funders and set an example that is widely admired in the field. Atlantic's influence will still be felt long after this limited-life foundation closes its books in 2020.

Atlantic's involvement played a major, yet mostly behind-the-scenes, role in helping to guide a newborn democracy over some inevitable pitfalls. By using its resources cleverly and effectively, Atlantic's investments gave hope to millions and life to many more. While its legacy can be most easily seen in several buildings, particularly at institutions of higher education, its real legacy will be felt in its impact on the social fabric of South African life.

The Atlantic Philanthropies supported many issues that still burn heavily in South African society, such as the right of all HIV-positive people to access antiretroviral drugs, equality for LGBTI and other minorities, women's land claims, improved training and stature for nurses, and assistance for soldiers from opposing armies to reintegrate into society in the interest of peace.

It helped to strengthen several nonprofit and nongovernmental organisations (NPOs and NGOs) and inspired the formation of several others. Those who benefitted from Atlantic's support include veteran organisations such as the Black Sash, Legal Resources Centre and Lawyers for Human Rights, which had fought bitter battles against the apartheid regime, while organisations like the Treatment Action Campaign, Social Justice Coalition, Equal Education, Section 27, Social Justice Initiative, Africa Health Placements and Rural Health Advocacy were formed post-democracy, with Atlantic support.

"Our aim in South Africa was always to promote human rights and to work with a small number of organisations that were best placed to do this."

Harvey Dale, founding president, The Atlantic Philanthropies

But the foundation worked with more than NGOs whose main aim was to make sure that the government did not veer from the path of constitutional democracy. It also helped the post-democracy government on several projects, especially where there was a need for transition, such as the Department of Health. Atlantic contributed to the professional development of a generation of managers in the health sector and to the creation of a modern research and development capacity for policymakers in health, called the Health Systems Trust.

Grants supported historical and cultural projects that memorialise South Africa's turbulent past and its transition to democracy. For example, Atlantic provided pivotal funding for the Nelson Mandela Gateway at Robben Island, which is where visitors board boats to experience the infamous prison where Mandela and others were jailed during apartheid, as well as the District Six Museum, which strives to keep alive the memory of an area where more than 60 000 black people were forcibly removed under apartheid's Group Areas Act. Due to terms of this Act, the area—where people from different races had lived for generations—was declared for whites only; it still stands mainly barren, more than 50 years later.

ATLANTIC'S FOUNDER AND GIVING WHILE LIVING

Chuck Feeney grew up in a working-class neighbourhood in New Jersey in the United States. His entrepreneurial skills were evident at a young age; he started making money getting his friends to shovel snow and selling Christmas cards door to door. In college, he was known as the "sandwich man" for selling bologna sandwiches to hungry classmates late at night.

The Duty Free Shoppers stores that he co-founded made him and his partners very wealthy. While being successful in business was satisfying, Feeney was uncomfortable with the trappings of great wealth.

His inspiration was his mother's generosity and later Andrew Carnegie's essay Wealth, which argued that the best use of one's wealth was to help others. With support from his lawyer Harvey Dale, Feeney established The Atlantic Foundation in 1982, the first of The Atlantic Philanthropies. Its major investments began in the United States, and ultimately expanded to Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, Bermuda, South Africa, Viet Nam, Australia and Cuba.

From the beginning until 2002, Atlantic operated anonymously. "Chuck wanted to use money for the public good," Dale observed, "and he wanted to not do it in his name. Part of this had to do with his modesty, but part of it was because he did not want people to know how much profit his business was making." Dale became the founding president of Atlantic.

In 2002, the Board established that the foundation would make its last grants in 2016 because of Feeney's philosophy of Giving While Living.

Deploying all of its endowment during Feeney's lifetime is one of Atlantic's distinguishing characteristics. Giving While Living enabled the foundation to make big bets designed to produce major impact within a limited time frame.

Christopher G Oechsli, president and CEO of Atlantic, says: "When this decision was taken, the Board said that we should be more strategic in our focus, and chose four programmes: population health, reconciliation and human rights, ageing, and disadvantaged children and youth. It was at this time that the focus in South Africa shifted towards rights and reconciliation, and health."

Atlantic also invested heavily in higher education because Feeney, the first person in his family to attend college, views education as the ticket to greater opportunities in life. He and the foundation helped establish programmes to advance education at all levels. He gravitated to undervalued institutions with exceptional leaders such as the University of the Western Cape and University of Fort Hare.

Wherever he or Atlantic made bets, they did so believing there was a promising opportunity for something good to happen. In the end, his foundation has invested more than ZAR61.5 billion (\$8 billion) worldwide that has helped improve millions of lives and develop programmes to create opportunity and promote greater dignity, fairness and equity for all.

From the time Atlantic started working in South Africa in the early 1990s until it closed its office in Johannesburg in 2013, Atlantic remained almost anonymous in the country, outside of the NGO sector. This writer, for instance, was not aware of Atlantic's existence before he was approached to write this report.

Yet because of South Africa's history of more than 300 years of colonialism and more than 40 years of apartheid, the country remains challenged by extreme poverty, growing unemployment numbers (more than 27 per cent, according to Statistics South Africa) and huge inequalities between the rich and the poor.

A LOOK AT THE NUMBERS

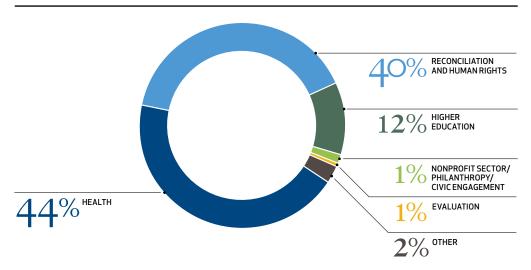
tlantic's grantmaking was impressive. From 1991 until it made its last grant commitments in 2016, the foundation invested ZAR3.8 billion (\$422.3 million) in South Africa. It issued 499 grants to 153 organisations, with an average grant amount of ZAR7.7 million (\$846233).

TOTAL INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

ZAR3.8 billion \$422.3 million 499 total grants 153 total grantees 22% of total investment was capital projects

The numbers also show that the fields of population health, which received ZAR1.7 billion (\$177.9 million), and reconciliation and human rights with ZAR1.5 billion (\$167.9 million), were by far the biggest winners of Atlantic funding. The foundation's influence spread throughout South African society, including substantial grants for, among others, higher education, equality and justice, and peace-building. Atlantic invested ZAR843.4 million (\$85.5 million) on 35 capital grants to provide new buildings, for which the foundation has not sought acknowledgement, and equipment, mostly at higher education institutions.

FUNDING BY FIELD



TEKANO, a new nongovernmental organisation, received the largest single grant, totalling ZAR671.7 million (\$45 million) to establish the new Atlantic Fellows for Health Equity in South Africa, which is a 20-year effort to develop leaders to inspire and sustain changes in the country for all people to enjoy better health and well-being.

The next two largest recipients of Atlantic investments were the University of Cape Town (UCT) with 36 grants, amounting to ZAR451.1 million (\$38.5 million); and the Centre for Education Policy Development, which received ZAR418.6 million (\$56.3 million) for redistribution of smaller grants to many NGOs. Among other things, these funds provided technical assistance and shared learning for many organisations working in the health and human rights sectors. Other recipients of large amounts were the University of the Western Cape (UWC) with 19 grants, totalling ZAR271.9 million (\$35.7 million); followed by the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) with 30 grants, totalling ZAR155.9 million (\$20.4 million).

These categories only touch on what was happening on the ground, which is covered in these pages. The reality is that Atlantic's funding helped ensure that South Africans stay loyal to their young Constitution, which has been hailed as one of the most progressive in the world.

ATLANTIC'S ENTRY TO SOUTH AFRICA

tlantic's involvement in South Africa started simply and modestly. South Africa was not in the line of sight of Atlantic's founder, the philanthropist Charles Francis "Chuck" Feeney, whose business and personal travels had not yet taken him to the country.

Still, South Africa's emergence from apartheid was the kind of opportunity that Feeney generally appreciated: a chance to work quietly to help accelerate the progress of gifted leaders, reformers and educators committed to building a more equitable society. Atlantic's founding president Harvey Dale, who launched Atlantic's exploratory efforts in South Africa, saw the dawn of democracy as a classic Feeney cause.

Dale's deep interest in South Africa and his admiration for the country's first democratically-elected President Nelson Mandela were the catalysts for Atlantic's initial involvement. "Our aim in South Africa was always to promote human rights and to work with a small number of organisations that were best-placed to do this," he says.

South Africa was among the few countries in the world to resolve long-standing civil conflict through democratic means. To make that transition, the young democracy needed help to deliver on the promises of its Constitution.

John R Healy, who was running Atlantic's operations outside of the United States from an office in Dublin in the early 1990s, and who later became its president and CEO, said, "Harvey was very impressed by Mandela's utterances about the importance of the rule of law in the new South Africa in the period between his release [from prison in 1990] and his inauguration as president in 1994."

At Dale's behest, Healy made a trip to South Africa in the early 1990s to explore the possibility of helping black students become lawyers. At the time, the country's bar was predominantly white, which made it harder for black South Africans to access justice. Healy connected with InterFund, a Dutch international fundraising organisation. One of its employees, a passionate young man named Gerald Kraak who was its deputy director in Johannesburg, arranged a two-week programme for Healy to meet with several NGOs and people in universities, especially law schools.

"It was very mysterious initially.... We heard that there was an anonymous donor who was providing funding for important projects. The distinctive thing about it was that the projects were, I thought, visionary, well-grounded, well-planned and very strategically selected."

Constitutional Court Judge Edwin Cameron

"This was an exciting time to be in South Africa, just a month or so before the first democratic elections on 27 April 1994," recalls Healy. He and Dale decided to concentrate on supporting candidate-attorneys, to "deal with the blockages stopping black people from studying law. We quickly expanded our programme to include human rights and higher education."

Among Atlantic's first grants in South Africa was ZAR1 million (\$304400) in 1994 to the Legal Resources Centre (LRC), then a small nonprofit law practice that has become the country's preeminent organisation for high-impact, public-interest litigation. Atlantic invested a total of ZAR57.2 million (\$7.7 million) in the LRC from 1994 until 2013. With this support in the formative years of South African democracy, the LRC created the country's first dedicated constitutional law practice, headed by one of the few lawyers with extensive training in the field. The new unit pursued landmark cases that gave concrete meaning to socioeconomic provisions in the Bill of Rights and defined government obligations under those provisions.



Students in an outreach programme visit the Constitutional Court in Johannesburg.

Another early grant went to the Constitutional Court Trust (CCT), an NPO created in 1995 at Atlantic's instigation that received ZAR12 million (\$1.8 million) over 15 years from the foundation. The Constitutional Court is the highest court in South Africa and operates similar to the Supreme Court in the United States of America, with at least eight judges sitting on all matters.

Atlantic's CCT support had two interlocking purposes: to provide first-hand constitutional-law experience for gifted law graduates—especially black graduates, thus promoting diversity at the Court and in constitutional practice—and to deepen the Court's research capacity. The clerks proved valuable enough that the justices made the positions permanent at the end of the grant, having persuaded the Department of Justice to add them to the Court's personnel budget.

Constitutional Court Judge Edwin Cameron notes the importance of Atlantic's influential support at the very start of the Constitutional Court and its Trust, giving needed money for the library and helping to turn the Old Fort, an infamous prison on Constitution Hill, into an apartheid memorial museum.

"We did not support philanthropy imperialism, and we believed that local people are able to follow more carefully than we the developments in their country."

John R Healy, former president and CEO, The Atlantic Philanthropies

Cameron remembers the initial days of The Atlantic Philanthropies in South Africa. "It was very mysterious initially," he says. "I was involved in several institutions, including the Constitutional Court and Wits University [University of the Witwatersrand], where I was chairman of Council. We heard that there was an anonymous donor who... was providing funding for important projects. The distinctive thing about it was that the projects were, I thought, visionary, well-grounded, well-planned and very strategically selected."

Other grants also focused on helping vulnerable populations secure fundamental rights under the Constitution. The Rural Legal Trust (RLT), founded with Atlantic funding, worked through nine clusters of attorneys to combat the illegal eviction of smallholder farmers and farmworkers from land that their families had occupied, in most cases, for generations. It received ZAR32.5 million (\$4.4 million) from Atlantic between 2001 and 2010. Atlantic's nurturing of RLT, along with its support for the venerable social-justice advocacy and legal advice organisation Black Sash in the amount of ZAR25.2 million (\$3.2 million) from 2002 until 2011, established two formative relationships in what later became a larger and more concentrated foundation effort to secure the rights of poor rural South Africans.

By 2002, Atlantic was ready to open an office in South Africa, and Kraak joined the foundation as its first full-time representative in the country. He passed away at the age of 57 in October 2014, almost immediately after wrapping up most of his Atlantic commitments.

Atlantic always felt that it was better to enlist local expertise when entering a new country; as such, the roles of Kraak and others were important. "We did not support philanthropy imperialism," explains Healy, "and we believed that local people are able to follow more carefully than we the developments in their country."

INNOVATIVE, OFTEN FLEXIBLE, APPROACH

ost of the people that we spoke with for this report mentioned how Atlantic set the bar for other funders with the way that it operated. Among the foundation's distinctive techniques was that they insisted, in the years prior to 2002, on making anonymous grants, so they didn't seek credit or public acknowledgement and did not permit unsolicited applications. "We looked for opportunities that we thought were important," Healy explains, "and then we searched for partners to work with us."

Advocate Geoff Budlender, who played many roles in anti-apartheid organisations and who continues to be active in the NGO sector, says Atlantic

was quite enterprising and innovative in what it supported. In 1994, he became head of the Legal Resources Centre, which provides free legal aid, especially for indigent people and in matters of public interest.

"We asked them to support a fellowship programme for training young, black lawyers," Budlender explains. "We wanted to have 12 candidate attorneys across the country. Healy said that they would fund it but only if we had 18 candidates. They wanted us to expand the programme and would give us more money. I had never seen a donor do that before."

"Once, Healy asked me to close my eyes and imagine what we would like to do at the LRC, that we could not do because we did not have the money. He was looking for something innovative, and he was inviting me to dream a little. I thought that was very skilful."

Geoff Budlender, human rights advocate

An Atlantic trait that Budlender observed in those early interactions was a desire to find gifted leaders with vision, skill and passion, and to back their efforts at making significant change. "They were people-centred in their approach to identifying projects," he concludes. "They made a material difference."

The original programme to train young black lawyers also demonstrates how quickly Atlantic was able to adapt and refocus as events unfolded rapidly in post-apartheid South Africa. The training programme lasted only a brief time, not because the goal was elusive, but because it was soon being achieved even more powerfully through market forces. Blacks began to face lower barriers to practice and advancement, perhaps partly thanks to Atlantic's support for legal apprenticeships, but mostly because of new rules requiring racial diversity at firms doing business with the government.

As market demand for the services of young black attorneys rose, the need for external support diminished. At the same time, both Atlantic and the LRC were starting to think more expansively and ambitiously about how the law and Constitution could accelerate the country's progress toward greater justice and democracy.

In further conversations with Dale and Healy, Budlender soon experienced another Atlantic trait, a fondness for big bets. "On one occasion," he recalls, "Healy asked me to close my eyes and imagine what we would like to do at LRC that we could not do because we did not have the money.... I wanted to start a constitution litigation unit, because most lawyers knew nothing about the Constitution, constitutionalism or constitutional law. We all grew up in a system where there was no such thing. Almost without hesitation, he said they would support it. The unit was enormously successful and effective. They were looking for something new and innovative and were inviting me to dream a little. I thought that was very skilful."

"We wanted to assist government in ensuring that all the aspirations articulated in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution translated into real programmes.... Atlantic saw an opportunity in ensuring that other sectors—civil society, academic institutions, nonprofit organisations and ordinary citizens—were involved in efforts to pursue the accomplishment of those goals."

 $Zola\,Madikizela,\,At lantic's\,former\,programme\,executive\,of\,health$

Phumi Mtetwa, former executive director of the Lesbian and Gay Equality Project, says that another thing that made Atlantic different was that its staff believed in taking risks. "They wanted grantees to debate what needed to be done, as opposed to imposing an agenda on you."



Coordinator Dineo Moshoeshoe in the Hanover office of the Centre for Criminal Justice provides legal advice and support to many clients like Nozipho Pita. The Centre helps thousands of people at 15 support centres in the province of KwaZulu-Natal each year.

Dr Mark Blecher, the National Treasury's chief director for health and social development, says that Atlantic staff "really went out of their way to look for partners with integrity. They were not scared to take on NGO or university partners. Many foreign donors get constrained by just going through government, but [Atlantic's] approach was different. They were also very flexible in their management of grants, which was quite useful and different from government, where procurement procedures can be very bureaucratic," he says.

Judge Cameron says: "Strategic impact of Atlantic's funding is that it came at exactly the right time and went into the right channels. Through their funding, especially in the early 2000s, they played a pivotal role in promoting a greater sense of intellectual life in South Africa."

"[The foundation is] innovative, explorative, risk-taking. They also didn't bog us down in unnecessary administration. It was an organisation that trusted its partners. If you had a position of trust with them and you could deliver, this really helped the productivity."

Piers Pigou, former director of the South African History Archive

Another distinctive aspect of Atlantic's grantmaking was a willingness to provide general operating support, thus giving grantees latitude to pursue their own priorities, unconstrained by dictates from the funder. "There was a political understanding within Atlantic that organisations don't always want to be so publicly tied to their donors," says Yoliswa Dwane, chairperson of Equal Education's National Council. "Equal Education would regard it as a principle that one should be completely transparent and accountable publicly about who funds us. But when we are running a campaign, we want the public to understand that, in the case of Equal Education, this is the voice of young black South Africans, and the voice of schoolchildren without libraries."

FIELDS OF FOCUS

1991-2002

Justice in New Legal System

Rights in Constitution

Higher Education

2002-2013

Reconciliation

Human Rights

Public Health and Nursing

2013-PRESENT

Health Equity

Racial Equity

Social and Economic Equality

Atlantic's grantmaking sought to strike an often-difficult balance between supporting the work of South Africa's young democratic government—investing in improved training and more informed policy-making, for example—while giving its strongest support to leaders and organisations that hold government to account. Speaking of this balancing act, Zola Madikizela, former programme executive of health at The Atlantic Philanthropies, says the foundation intentionally did not want to be too close to government, even though it shared goals and values on many issues with government agencies.

"We wanted to assist government in ensuring that all the aspirations articulated in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution translated into real programmes that addressed the legacy of apartheid," says Madikizela. "The thrust of the work was to ensure that all past injustices, inequalities and inequities were being addressed, even though those were the prerogative of government. Atlantic saw an opportunity in ensuring that other sectors—civil society, academic institutions, nonprofit organisations and ordinary citizens—were involved in efforts to pursue the accomplishment of those goals."

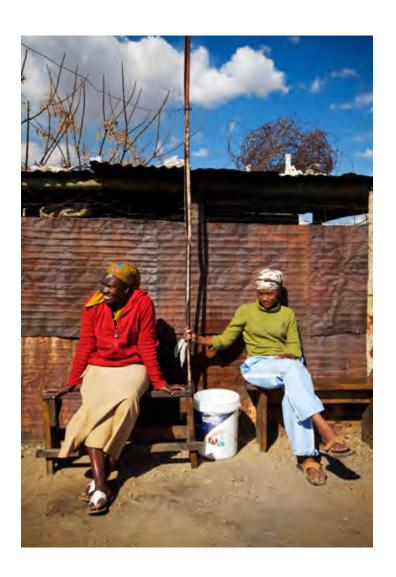
Although Dale and Healy were frequent visitors, they relied on the substantive knowledge of Kraak, Madikizela, and other South African employees to guide their decision-making. As a result, says Janet Love, national director of the Legal Resources Centre, the people she interacted with from The Atlantic Philanthropies understood the South African struggle. "They were incredibly well-informed and displayed a commitment to the kind of democratic aims that the mass democratic movement was fighting for, and the LRC was part of defending and promoting it."

Atlantic in South Africa

	1991-2016						2000		
1982 Founding of The Atlantic Philanthropie		for 33 black Chuck Feeney		rantmaking focus outh Africa 00 000) to the rnational Education 1997 New York Times rev		Jo	to end all		
pr be Af 1948 Apart legali- discri denyi other to the	Soweto students protest at being taught in Afrikaans 1948 Apartheid is legalised, enforcing discrimination and denying economic and other opportunities to the majority black population		1996 Parliament adopts new Constitution and Bill of Rights 1994 Mandela elected President; Government of National Unity formed 1990 Liberation movements unbanned and Nelson Mandela released from prison after 27 years		G	gove for p 98 ugu Dl	Government approves ARV use for public health 2002 Constitutional Court orders government to provide ARVs in public hospitals o Mbeki becomes President. His rnment denies the need for ARVs eople with HIV/AIDS amini stoned to death aling her HIV status		

Piers Pigou also interacted extensively with Atlantic when he was director of the South African History Archive from 2006 to 2009. He describes the foundation as "innovative, explorative, risk taking. They also didn't bog us down in unnecessary administration. It was an organisation that trusted its partners. If you had a position of trust with them and you could deliver, this really helped the productivity. If I had an issue with them, it is that there was not enough engagement with the archival platforms," Pigou explains.

2016 2005 Largest and last grant commitments: Atlantic Chuck Feeney visits Fellows for Health South Africa; commits Equity in South Africa to invest in Life Sciences at TEKANO (up to **Building at UWC** ZAR671.7M/\$45M) and 2007 Nelson Mandela leadership projects at University Investment in nursing begins 2013 of Cape Town (up to Publication of Feeney biography, Closes office in ZAR323.6M/\$21.7M) The Billionaire Who Wasn't **Johannesburg** 2009 2013 2018 Jacob Zuma becomes President Mandela dies Jacob Zuma recalled; at age 95 Cyril Ramaphosa Economy declines into a recession for becomes country's first time in 17 years fifth democratically-National development elected President plan launched Township residents mount violent 2011 2015 protests over poor living conditions Health reforms introduce Government plans to limit farm 2008 national health insurance sizes, ban foreign farmland Wave of violence against foreigners, causing plan and primary health care ownership and redistribute people from other African countries to flee land to black farmers Thabo Mbeki recalled as President Communal Land Rights 2006 Act struck down by Constitutional Court First African and fifth country worldwide to allow same-sex unions



Two women in Khayelitsha work with the Legal Resources Centre to advocate for better access to clean water for their township.

Widely known human rights activist Zackie Achmat, who co-founded the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) and other organisations supported by the foundation, says that, from the beginning, Atlantic had a threefold approach: "All their efforts were directed at strengthening a constitutional state, so they also funded projects that cooperated with government, particularly through the universities.

"Part of this was linked to Gerald Kraak's history as someone who left the country as a conscientious objector and an ANC member and who was, in exile, instrumental in working with anti-war and funding organisations. He had helped to develop projects in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and other African countries and brought that experience with him to South Africa."

Zackie Achmat, human rights activist and co-founder of several Atlantic grantees

"For instance, through their funding of the Health Systems Trust, Atlantic provided an avenue to seriously understand what was happening in the health care system. The range of their funding included civil society, strengthening democracy, especially participatory democracy, linking that to academic research, which in turn helps government, and assisting government with diagnosing and piloting projects," added Achmat.

He explains: "Part of this was linked to Gerald Kraak's history as someone who left the country as a conscientious objector and an ANC member and who was, in exile, instrumental in working with anti-war organisations and funding organisations. He had helped to develop projects in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and other African countries and brought that experience with him to South Africa.

"I do not generally believe that things depend on the individuals, but individuals supplement and can play a critical role at the beginnings of a programme. Gerald certainly played a critical role in setting a vision.... He was constantly consulting people and listening, so it was not that of an arrogant funder," he says.

"Chuck didn't agree with 'sprinkle philanthropy,' which is why Atlantic made large strategic grants to a relatively small number of organisations that would advance specific objectives."

Martin O'Brien, Atlantic's former senior vice president of programmes

Achmat adds, "The only thing that ever frustrated me about Atlantic is they had too many visitors from abroad."

SELECTING GRANTEES

tlantic adopted an approach of "don't call us, we'll call you" when it came to grantee selection. This practice allowed the small staff to concentrate on fields and projects where they felt they could make the most difference. But it was also something for which the foundation could be criticised, says Neville Gabriel, executive director of The Other Foundation, which supports equality for sexual minorities. "Atlantic is not widely known, and, from my perspective, how to access funding was not very clear publicly."

"People were invited to apply for grants, but we did not offer an open application process," says Martin O'Brien, "because we would have needed a large staff to do justice to all the applications. And Chuck didn't agree with 'sprinkle philanthropy,' which is why Atlantic made large strategic grants

to a relatively small number of organisations that would advance specific objectives." O'Brien was Atlantic's senior vice president of programmes from 2011 until early 2015, and previously he headed the foundation's global programme on reconciliation and human rights, which included work for migrants, LGBTI, rural poverty and constitutionalism in South Africa.

Relationships were key to the foundation's funding. Atlantic's Madikizela says that Atlantic staff invested time and effort in building relationships with new organisations before committing to support them.

"There was a lot of interaction initially between our staff and the prospective grantee, until we developed trust," he explains. "We exercised a lot of due diligence, looking at the leadership of each organisation, its financial management capacity, policies and board, until Atlantic had confidence in the ability of the organisation's staff to manage significantly large grants."

"Atlantic understood that administration is the backbone of an organisation—that any well-functioning NGO has to have board meetings, good governance and an audit; has to pay staff who are not front-line advocacy people."

Marcella Naidoo, former executive director of Black Sash

Atlantic's in-country staff were charged with developing their own programme strategies. "We had to recommend grantees to the Atlantic Board and explain how each grant aligned with the foundation's overall strategies and goals. Once the Board approved a grant, we implemented it. There was absolutely no interference from the head office," says Madikizela.

SUPPORTING STRONG ORGANISATIONS

he Atlantic Philanthropies often provided unrestricted core funding for organisations, enabling them to pay administrative and staff costs. Atlantic support helped several grantees improve their governance structures.

One organisation that benefitted is the Umthombo Youth Development Foundation (originally Friends of Mosvold), based in KwaZulu-Natal, which helps rural young people pursue careers in the health professions and then return home to practise in their communities. Umthombo's executive director, Dr Gavin MacGregor, says that Atlantic stepped into the project at an important time.

"We met Atlantic in 2007 when we had already started our project at several hospitals in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Our organisation... consisted of a few trustees and no staff. Even the founder, Dr Andrew Ross, worked full-time while trying to run this project on the side," says MacGregor.

Atlantic believed the programme was accomplishing something critically important for young people, for poor rural communities and for the health-care workforce. But the organisation needed formal structure, including a strong board, stable staff, and reliable systems for financial and programme

EFFECTIVE RURAL GRANTEES RECOGNISED

In a 2011 review of Atlantic's rural and primary health care grants in South Africa, Professor Steve Reid of the University of Cape Town singled out grants to Africa Health Placements and Umthombo Youth Development Foundation as among the most effective the foundation has made.

"Both of these projects have had outcomes that have far exceeded initial expectations," he wrote,

"and have not only made a significant difference in themselves, but have also been inspirational for a number of other social entrepreneurs. Their success lies in the fact that they have developed key strategies that are complementary to governmental efforts in recruitment and retention of professional staff, and they are showing that they can work effectively in partnership with government."

Africa Health Placements, which places local and international doctors in understaffed areas to give them global health experience, received a ZAR9 million (\$1.3 million) from Atlantic in 2011.

Source: "A Brief Review of Grants Awarded by Atlantic Philanthropies in Rural Health and Primary Health Care between 2005 and 2010," Steve Reid, University of Cape Town, August 2001.



The Treatment Action Campaign organises community training programmes on the treatment and prevention of HIV/AIDS, including explaining the benefits and side effects of antiretroviral treatment.



Former President Nelson Mandela (right) and TAC leader Zackie Achmat addressed the media after meeting at Achmat's home on 27 July 2002. Achmat, who was seriously ill, was refusing to take lifesaving antiretrovirals until the government made them available to all South Africans.

ZACKIE ACHMAT, CHAMPION OF THE OPPRESSED

Abdurrazack "Zackie" Achmat is a lifelong human rights activist in Cape Town whose relentless and selfless actions helped save the lives of millions of South Africans with HIV/AIDS. Achmat is one of the South African leaders with vision that Atlantic has supported through his work with several organisations and movements, and his name appears on several pages of this book.

In the early 1990s, as part of his anti-apartheid activism, he co-founded the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality, which had a central role in ensuring that the new Constitution overturned colonial-era laws banning gay and lesbian sex. Through his efforts, South Africa also became the first African country on the continent to guarantee same-sex marriage as a constitutional right.

In late 1998, Achmat co-founded the Treatment Action Campaign with 10 friends to protest the government's lack of action and to fight the stigma of HIV. He and other TAC leaders started a movement of people who proudly wore T-shirts printed with huge letters, "H.I.V.-Positive," in an effort to raise awareness and reduce the stigma after a young woman was stoned to death when she revealed that she had the virus. Despite HIV rates in South Africa that were the highest in the world, then-President Thabo Mbeki maintained an unbelievable denialism about the cause of HIV/AIDS and the need for lifesaving antiretroviral drugs (ARVs).

Achmat, who had known he was HIV-positive since 1990 and could afford the lifesaving drugs, made a famous pledge not to take ARVs until they were available to all South Africans. It took more than six years of protests, advocacy and litigation before TAC forced the Mbeki regime to make that happen.

As part of this campaign, Achmat also fought the pharmaceutical companies who priced HIV/AIDS treatments out of the reach of most South Africans. He was both condemned and praised for smuggling cheap medicines into the country as part of TAC's challenge to drug companies. TAC's campaigns caused drug prices to plummet from ZAR86000 (\$10000) a year to ZAR17200 (\$2000) and, in 2001, resulted in the withdrawal of a lawsuit by 39 pharmaceutical companies to block South Africa from importing generic versions of patented AIDS drugs.

After falling seriously ill in 2002, Achmat heeded the pleas of Nelson Mandela to abandon his pledge and to begin taking ARV drugs. In April 2004, free drugs became available to all South Africans on public health. According to a 2014 article in *Health-E News*, the government was providing 2.4 million people with the lifesaving drugs compared to none 10 years earlier.

Among his many honours, *Time* magazine named him one of its "35 world heroes" in 2003, and he was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004 by the American Friends Service Commission, a Quaker organisation.

In addition to TAC and the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality, Achmat co-founded and, at various times, led these Atlantic grantees: AIDS Law Project, Social Justice Coalition, Equal Education and others—all in an effort to provide equality for poor and disadvantaged South Africans.

 $Sources: Treatment\ Action\ Campaign\ website, \textit{Health-E News}\ and\ other\ news\ reports$

management. The foundation offered Umthombo a grant to help create these essentials and prepare it to request larger grants in the future.

Another NGO that had been struggling and benefitted from an intervention by Atlantic was the Treatment Action Campaign, a grassroots HIV/AIDS advocacy organisation co-founded by Achmat in 1998. The TAC had no funding in its first year; it ran almost exclusively on volunteer effort, with an entire budget of ZAR15000 (\$2735). In 2002, Atlantic became one of the core funders and provided more than ZAR54.5 million (\$6.7 million) over 11 years.

"Atlantic's funding was... based on, 'You give a plan, and you spend it where you need it, for what you cannot raise funds.' That is, in fundraising, the most important funding that you get."

Zackie Achmat

Atlantic also awarded ZAR5.4 million (\$940000) from 2004 to 2008 to the AIDS Law Project on Access to Treatment and Health Systems Transformation, which Achmat also started. The foundation's grant, he recalls, "was not specific. It worked based on, 'You give a plan, and you spend it where you need it, for what you cannot raise funds.' That is, in fundraising, the most important funding that you get."

In this way, Achmat says, Atlantic "stabilised many organisations across the country, including the Gay and Lesbian Archives [now Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action]."

By helping to build leading organisations, he says, Atlantic was able to fuel whole movements. "It was almost like a continuum of health care funding that Atlantic did. It funded the AIDS Law Project and Health Systems Trust, but it also funded movements, like the TAC."

The movements could rely on good research, because Atlantic also funded the Centre for Health Policy at Wits and similar organisations. This helped the movements with organising, because of their ability to educate people on the signs of HIV, the health system and medicines," he explains.

Mark Heywood, executive director of Section 27, a public-interest law practice that grew out of the AIDS Law Project, says Atlantic's local staff took care to understand the complexity of the fields in which they worked.

"What I've found helpful about Atlantic is that they have been with us on this journey and stuck with us ...both the AIDS Law Project and the TAC... have gone through change. When we decided in 2009 to close the AIDS Law Project and to start another organisation, which became Section 27, Atlantic [staff] were completely open to that. They even made a special grant that helped us through that transitional period, and the support continued until Atlantic stopped funding in South Africa," Heywood says.

Marcella Naidoo, former executive director of the Black Sash, says that Atlantic understood the importance of funding more than campaigns. "They understood that administration is actually the backbone of an organisation—that any well-functioning organisation has to have board meetings, good governance and an audit properly done; has to pay staff who are not your front-line advocacy people. They are the people in the background that keep an organisation afloat and make it stronger.

"So many funders don't understand this, so [in order to raise money for basic operations] people inflate salaries and all sorts of things," Naidoo says. "I liked the fact that I could honestly say that this is what the money was for. But Atlantic was also clear that organisations had to find more than one funder."

DELIVERING CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS THROUGH LITIGATION

ne of the key aspects of Atlantic's funding was to support court challenges, especially those meant to clarify aspects of South Africa's Constitution, which was still new and open to interpretation. For example, Naidoo says that the Black Sash benefitted from Atlantic's support when the organisation challenged certain legislation in court, especially related to refugees' access to social security and social assistance.

In such cases, she explains, Atlantic "believed in taking forward the Constitution and making the law speak to the Constitution. This is why they supported lots of legal challenges. They helped us to refine or clarify our understanding of constitutional law and socio-economic rights," says Naidoo.

"Atlantic believed in taking forward the Constitution and making the law speak to the Constitution. They helped us to refine or clarify our understanding of constitutional law and socio-economic rights."

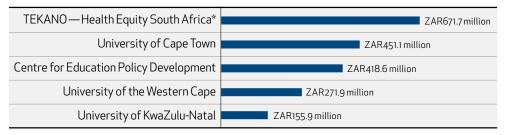
Marcella Naidoo

Phumi Mtetwa says that many funders were reluctant to fund litigation. "Fortunately, or unfortunately, in South Africa, we have always relied a lot on the courts and the law in terms of making legal gains, hoping they could translate into meaningful equality, dignity and freedom in real life. Atlantic is one of the few funders who were able to fund such work," says Mtetwa.

CREATING OPPORTUNITY THROUGH EDUCATION

rom the beginning, Atlantic took a great interest in education, especially higher education, sponsoring several programmes at universities. Atlantic made its first higher education grants to the University of Cape Town, Wits University in Johannesburg and the University of Natal (now the University of KwaZulu-Natal) in Durban. Atlantic focused on helping increase opportunities for black students at these formerly white-only universities. Later, the foundation engaged with what was known in South Africa as historically black universities, such as the University of the North in Pietersburg, the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town, and the University of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape.

ATLANTIC'S TOP FIVE GRANTEES



Atlantic's anonymity early on raised some eyebrows as it set about looking for ways to support education in South Africa. One of the foundation's first staff members, Michael Savage, says he was very suspicious when Healy and Kraak approached him to become involved with The Atlantic Philanthropies.

"I had previously been with the Open Society Foundations; and when I suggested joint funding of some ventures, Healy kept on talking about his 'principal' [the source of his charitable funds] without identifying him," he remembers. "And I was scared that we might be dealing with drug money, or funny money, or underground money. I told my secretary not to put him through to me when he called."

^{*}Atlantic has reserved up to ZAR671.7 million (\$45 million) for TEKANO and its Atlantic Fellows for Health Equity in South Africa programme.



Nursing students work hard to prepare for new careers at the KwaZulu-Natal Nursing College.

However, the next time Healy came to South Africa, Dale accompanied him. During Savage's time at Open Society, he had met Dale and trusted him. With that reassurance, he signed on and started Atlantic's higher education programme that sought to encourage universities and colleges to serve greater numbers of disadvantaged, non-white students.

"Among my favourite projects at UCT," Savage recalls, "was the establishment of the Children's Institute, on which I worked with Professor Marian Jacobs, who became the dean of health. We also supported the university's middle campus development, alterations to the library and graduate student facilities in the law department. We also supported a range of activities in the hard sciences, such as chemistry... microbiology and statistics. Through our support of Ph.D. students, we helped UCT to grow their own timber. We were very successful with developing black students."

One of the more interesting, but unusual, higher education grants was funding Rhodes University to purchase the community newspaper in Grahamstown for the journalism department's David Rabkin Unit of Experiential Journalism.

GRAHAMSTOWN'S NEWSPAPER

Grocott's Mail.

"Grocott's Mail is the heart and soul of Grahamstown. If it's happening in or around Grahamstown, you'll read about it in the Grocott's, whether print or online.

"It's the oldest independent newspaper in South Africa, with the first edition hitting the streets on

 $Source: \textit{Grocott's Mail} \ website \ http://www.grocotts.co.za/about/$

11 May 1870 as a free advertising sheet. *Grocott's Mail* now comes out weekly, on Fridays, and has a cover price of ZAR10 (\$0.84). Grahamstown's favourite community news source has a weekly readership of 10500 (print and digital replica) and 30000 pageviews per month (website)."

"There was an interesting incident when *Grocott's Mail* leaked the short list of people who had applied for the vice-chancellor's position. The registrar was upset. The head of the journalism department summoned the board of the newspaper, which included the registrar, and pointed out that this was a newspaper that had to publish news freely, irrespective of its sources. After that, the registrar just remained quiet. I found it interesting that the newspaper ethos beat the desire for secrecy," says Savage.

"It is not just a relationship between a dependent and a donor, where the one is imposing ideas on the other. We have been able to give ideas to The Atlantic Philanthropies and made them flexible in their approaches."

Dr Mvuyo Tom, former chancellor of the University of Fort Hare

The University of Witwatersrand's vice-chancellor, Professor Adam Habib, remembers his first interaction with Atlantic staff, over 15 years ago, while he was still with the University of Durban–Westville and the University of KwaZulu-Natal. There, Atlantic helped establish the Centre for Civil Society with two grants for a total of ZAR4.2 million (\$482,000) in 2002 and 2003. The Centre "produced several studies," Habib says, "including ones on the state of giving in South Africa and one on social movements" after the end of apartheid.

The Centre was established to promote the study of South African civil society and to develop partnerships for capacity-building and knowledge-sharing. Today, its expanded aim is to work across Africa and internationally to advance social and environmental justice by developing critical knowledge through teaching, research and publishing.

Atlantic also provided ZAR14.8 million (\$1.7 million) for the Witwatersrand Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER) after the university's research committee made the revival of high-quality social-science research a priority in the early 2000s. Established by a noted sociologist, Professor

Deborah Posel, WISER conducts large-scale and wide-ranging investigations into the effects of South Africa's transition from apartheid on the country's social fabric and on the state.

Since 2013, under Professor Sarah Nuttall's directorship, the Institute has grown significantly, drawing global and local audiences with an interest in the pressing political and cultural concerns of the post-apartheid and post-colonial era.

Over the years, The Atlantic Philanthropies encouraged partnerships that involved government and other funding organisations. One such project is at the historically black University of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape, where the Albertina Sisulu Executive Leadership Programme in Health (ASELPH) helps to build the capacity of leaders and managers who drive health system transformation in South Africa.

Atlantic invested ZAR28.3 million (\$3.5 million), alongside contributions from the ELMA Foundation and the U.S. Agency for International Development, to help establish this programme with Fort Hare, University of Pretoria and Harvard University in the United States. Since its inception in 2013, close to 140 ASELPH Fellows have earned post-graduate degrees in health systems management executive leadership from the University of Pretoria, and 67 ASELPH Fellows studying for a master's degree in public health at the University of Fort Hare are set to graduate in 2018, according to the ASELPH website.

ALBERTINA SISULU EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP PROGRAMME IN HEALTH FELLOWS

post-graduates in health systems management at Pretoria by 2018

67 masters in public health in 2018 at Fort Hare

masters in public health scheduled in 2019 at Fort Hare

Dr Mvuyo Tom, former vice-chancellor of the University of Fort Hare, says that the partnership "also involves government, in the form of the Department of Health, both nationally and provincially. It came about through our initial interactions with then Director-General of Health, Dr Ayanda Ntsaluba, who insisted that it should not just be a previously disadvantaged institution that should be involved."

Tom described Fort Hare's relationship with Atlantic as one that is mutually beneficial. "It is not just a relationship between a dependent and a donor," he says, "where the one is imposing ideas on the other. We have been able to give ideas to The Atlantic Philanthropies that made them flexible in their approaches. This has helped tremendously in terms of the leadership programme. They feel they need to listen as much as possible to the person or organisation that they are assisting and get a feel for what is relevant, and then decide how to respond to those issues. In Zola Madikizela, they had a person who provided a valuable link for us and has been very good."

SUPPORTING LEADERS AND CAPITAL PROJECTS

tlantic often identified leaders, particularly from undervalued or underdog institutions, with whom they wanted to work and would then decide on the project afterwards. This happened in the case of the University of the Western Cape (UWC), which Chuck Feeney visited during an Atlantic Board meeting in 2005.

"The buildings that Chuck and Atlantic launched have always been about the people who dreamed them and who inhabit them: the leaders, innovators, scientists, educators, medical doctors, nurses, students, patients, social workers, community and rights activists....

They are the homes, the incubators of change, in the lives of those who come to them."

Christopher G Oechsli, president and CEO of The Atlantic Philanthropies

Feeney was fascinated by UWC's then rector and vice-chancellor, Professor Brian O'Connell, whom Healy describes as "a very impressive and inspirational leader." In a brief slide presentation, O'Connell laid out a vision for what UWC could become and a path for achieving it. It was the quintessential Feeney opportunity: an enterprising, driven leader with a clear plan of action that could deliver enormous progress, and attract much greater support, for relatively modest amounts of money.



The newly constructed School of Public Health, Atlantic's first major investment at UWC, houses approximately 250 master's and Ph.D. students. Overall, the university produces the largest number of black and female science graduates in the country.

The long-standing relationship between Atlantic and UWC resulted in, among other things, the construction of the Life Sciences Building and the School of Public Health (SOPH) on campus.

"It was intended not merely to support O'Connell," says Healy, "but it was to enable him to use our grant to leverage money from the Ministry of Education, which was not investing heavily in universities at the time. It was also to send a signal that world-class work was being done [at UWC] and more could be done in historically black universities, and that it was not necessary to focus exclusively on the historically white universities."

The Life Sciences Building is a state-of-the-art, six-storey building that includes two floors of instructional laboratories and four floors of research labs. It brings together all of the university's sciences under one roof. O'Connell, who retired in 2014, describes it as "undoubtedly the most advanced science building on the continent."

Oechsli says all building projects "that Chuck and Atlantic launched have always been about the people who dreamed them and who inhabit them: the leaders, innovators, scientists, educators, medical doctors, nurses, students, patients, social workers, community and rights activists.... The buildings are intended to house and serve young, vulnerable children; curious and aspiring youth; engaged professionals and dignified elders. They are the homes, the incubators of change, in the lives of those who come to them."

Atlantic also funded UWC's School of Public Health, which opened in 2009 and is now a World Health Organisation Collaborating Centre for Research and Training in Human Resources for Health Development. The public health school also houses the Centre for Research in HIV and AIDS.

These buildings and the research that is coming out of them has changed the stature of, and respect for, UWC. For example, the South African National Research Foundation has ranked the university first in research impact in biology and biochemistry, molecular biology and genetics, and physics. As of 2018, UWC is in the *Times Higher Education's* top 10 universities in Africa and in its top 5 per cent of the 2000 universities in emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.



Nurses are the backbone of South Africa's public health system. At UWC's School of Nursing, Fahar Berhadine from Woodstock, Cape Town, received innovative academic training in primary care to serve poor patients. Atlantic's support for pivotal leaders in South Africa extended beyond heads of large institutions, like Brian O'Connell at UWC and Mvuyo Tom at Fort Hare, and founders of social-justice organisations, like Zackie Achmat at TAC and Geoff Budlender at LRC. It also included many senior figures—but not necessarily chief executives—in other areas of civic and public life. The Foundation supported rising academic and public-policy experts in public health and primary care; it provided strategic research and planning assistance to top civil servants; and it supported the leaders of professional and advocacy coalitions in prime areas of interest like nursing, immigration, rural justice, education and LGBTI rights.

"Atlantic saw nursing colleges as one of the areas that needed attention. Christine [Downton] convinced us to make available millions to improve the infrastructure of nursing colleges, by leveraging their own contribution, which was mainly through educational programmes."

Dr Mark Blecher, chief director for health and social development, National Treasury

In some cases, the purpose of these efforts was to strengthen the hand of individuals whose amplified voices would influence broad areas of policy debate. In other cases, the main goal was to reinforce important institutions and agencies by channelling resources to the innovators and visionaries who led them. Either way, most of Atlantic's important funding relationships involved investments in outstanding people, whether for their own sake or, more often, for the sake of bolstering the institutions and programmes in which they had influence.

INVESTING IN PUBLIC HEALTH AND NURSING

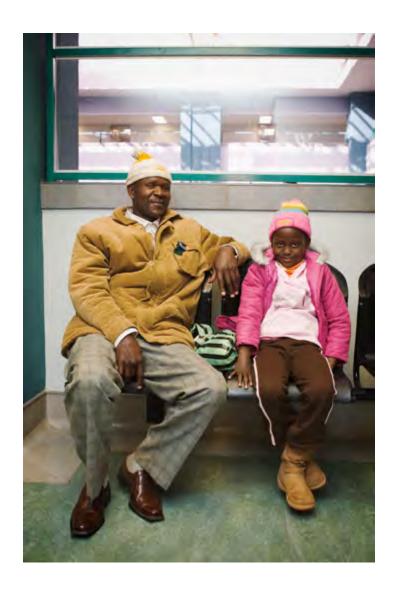
tlantic's creation of a new health programme in the early 2000s in many ways represented an extension of the themes of equality and justice which had been the focus of the foundation's work in South Africa as far back as a decade earlier. Similar to its support for diversifying the legal profession and solidifying equal rights under the Constitution, Atlantic's goal in health was to help reduce a historic inequity in one of the basic necessities of life: access to decent health care.

Not only were poor, black and rural South Africans the heirs of centuries of deliberate neglect under colonial and apartheid systems, but they were disproportionately susceptible to epidemics such as tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. This physical injustice they endured was all but inseparable from the legal injustice; one could not be remedied without the other.

"We helped to develop relationships between university nursing schools and communities. For instance, at the Tshwane University of Technology, we implemented a programme where students at the nursing school could do their practical training in a local community, which fits into the country's primary health care strategy."

Dr Elizabeth Mokaka, CEO of the Forum of University Nursing Deans in South Africa

The need for a more deliberate intervention in the health sector became painfully apparent during Atlantic's early support for the Treatment Action Campaign. What began as a human rights effort quickly revealed the connection between social inequality and unequal access to even the most basic health care for millions of disadvantaged people. Furthermore, the foundation's work in higher education also exposed enormous gaps in the intended purpose to serve poor and remote communities, in areas such as nurses training, public health and career development for health managers.

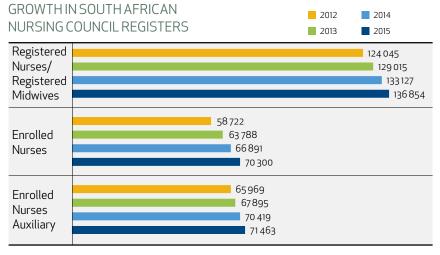


This young girl is being treated by a paediatrician at the Infectious Disease Clinic at the University of Pretoria, thanks to an international doctor recruited there by Atlantic grantee Foundation for Professional Development. The clinic had been closed for several years due to the lack of doctors.

Nursing and primary health care quickly became Atlantic's leading work in South Africa. The foundation invested nearly ZAR251.2 million (\$29.2 million) in its attempts to provide the proper education and training of nurses to improve their stature in medicine in the country.

Dr Mark Blecher, the National Treasury's chief director for health and social development, says that, with the help of Christine Downton, a former member of the Atlantic Board, the foundation contacted a lot of nursing colleges in South Africa to work out their needs. Downton had come to live in South Africa for a few years and took a year's leave of absence from her Board position to work in the foundation's Johannesburg office.

Blecher says, "Atlantic saw nursing colleges as one of the areas that needed attention. Christine convinced us to make available millions to improve the infrastructure of nursing colleges, by leveraging their own contribution, which was mainly through educational programmes. Nobody else was focusing on this area at the time."



Source: AP Monitoring Project Report, Period 2013–2015, Nelouise Geyer, 2016

Since 2012, there has been steady growth of new and specialist nurses on the register of the South African Nursing Council (SANC), as the graph shows.

Another important sign is the decrease in migration of nurses to work elsewhere. According to an Atlantic monitoring report by Nelouise Geyer, the numbers reflected in the SANC statistics indicate that the number of verifications—which are mandatory for a person to migrate but doesn't mean that they actually leave the country—have decreased from 3 938 in 2001 to 570 in 2016. Most were requesting to go to the United Kingdom, Australia or the USA.

One of the organisations that benefitted from Atlantic's contribution to nursing education was the Forum of University Nursing Deans in South Africa, which represents 23 universities that offer nursing education. FUNDISA received ZAR27.2 million (\$2.9 million) over more than six years to enable it to become a national professional organisation and to provide technical support and capacity-building programmes to enable the nursing sector to leverage resources that would improve its members' knowledge, skills and reputation.

"Atlantic helped us, in 2008, to put in place a nursing strategy that involved working with the Nursing Council, nursing units at several hospitals and academic institutions."

Dr Percy Mahlati, former deputy director-general of the national Department of Health

FUNDISA's CEO, Dr Elizabeth Mokaka, says that the forum promotes nursing scholarships, clinical practice, education and research. "We helped to develop relationships between university nursing schools and communities," she says. "For instance, at the Tshwane University of Technology, we implemented a programme where students at the nursing school could do their practical training in a local community, which fits into the country's primary health care strategy. We also encouraged the development of master's and Ph.D. programmes in nursing."



Field researchers for the PURE Project locate individuals and households who have registered for the study. The two-year project, based at the UWC School of Public Health, tracked basic health indicators, such as diet, exercise habits and family relationships, to monitor and improve population health.



A teacher offers a lesson in the importance of contraceptive use at the KwaZulu-Natal College of Nursing.

Dr Percy Mahlati, former deputy director-general in the national Department of Health responsible for human resources, says that Atlantic funding assisted government with developing nursing programmes. "They helped us, in 2008, to put in place a nursing strategy that involved working with the Nursing Council, nursing units at several hospitals and academic institutions."

Mahlati says the foundation had a good relationship with government, and particularly with the Department of Health. Its support of organisations that put pressure on government was never a source of controversy. "I would not know at a political level, but at an administrative level, where I was functioning, there was never a big issue," he says.

"Atlantic identified that, while South Africa had strong policies, we sometimes lacked the capacity to implement these policies. They assisted in building up capacity, especially of people in public service and in public health."

David Sanders, emeritus professor at the University of the Western Cape

There were two reasons for the good relationship with government, says Mahlati. "Personal relationships were important. For instance, I got on very well with Zola Madikizela, who worked for Atlantic. We knew and respected each other. The other reason is that the minister at the time did not micromanage the department, which meant that we were free to engage with NGOs as long as it fit into the government's broad framework."

University of the Western Cape's Professor David Sanders, former head of the School of Public Health, says Atlantic helped to build the school's human resources capacity, and gave money for the new building for public health.

"Before Atlantic embarked on funding public or population health," Sanders explains, "they not only scoped the field but also identified key people who could give them insights into the areas in South Africa that needed strengthening. They funded government as well as civil society groups."

"Atlantic identified that, while South Africa had strong policies, we sometimes lacked the capacity to implement these policies," he says. "They assisted in building up capacity, especially of people in public service and in public health."

UWC was one of four schools of public health that Atlantic invested in: The others were the University of the Witwatersrand, University of Cape Town and University of Pretoria. For each of these institutions, Atlantic's strategy was the same: Better buildings and programming become a vehicle for attracting quality staff and students. "These grants were vital developmental components of the university strategy and trajectory," Oechsli says.

These institutions have become strong, with credible, international reputations. "They are training the next generation of this country's public health leaders," says Madikizela, "who are producing significant policy research that informs government on public health initiatives."

ACHIEVEMENTS: STRENGTHENING NURSING EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Nursing strategy adopted in 2013

First chief nursing officer appointed in 2014

Programme of action approved, funds secured for implementation

National Nursing Education Policy Framework developed

National competency-based nursing and midwifery core curriculum in use

Capacity of teaching and clinical facilitators strengthened at 3 colleges

Public colleges ready to offer first national nursing qualifications

Source: Dr Nonhlanhla Makhanya, chief nursing officer, Department of Health, 2018

As part of the public health strategy, Atlantic funded efforts that led to revitalisation of primary health care through data and training. "We took a delegation led by the health minister and several national and provincial government leaders for a 10-day study visit to Brazil," Madikizela explains, "which led to a complete re-engineering of primary care." They also received data, advice and ideas from other countries, including Malaysia, England, Mexico and Chile.

Afterward, the government piloted a three-pronged programme in 10 districts: community outreach with home visits, a nurse-driven school health programme and teams of health specialists in district hospitals. As this book was going to print, the pilot was nearing completion, and a draft primary-care policy had been submitted to Parliament for its review.





Immediately after major heart surgery and fully recovered: Tristan Adams with his mother as he wakes up in the Paediatric Intensive Care Unit at the Red Cross War Memorial Children's Hospital in Cape Town. Atlantic funded new operating theatres for the hospital. (Bottom) Tristan is a healthy, active young boy several months into his recovery.

ADVANCING THE RIGHTS OF SEXUAL MINORITIES

tlantic made a primary goal of its work ensuring that the country's progressive Constitution became more than just a document with rights, but that those promised rights became part of people's lives. That is why the foundation supported a range of NGOs dedicated to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender/transsexual and intersexed (LGBTI) rights. These smaller organisations were at the forefront of making certain the guarantees became a reality.

"Nobody was funding LGBTI activism in post-apartheid South Africa," says Melanie Judge, a well-known LGBTI activist who has worked with several NGOs in the field. "But Atlantic was prepared to take the risk. They recognised that it's great to have the equality clause in the Constitution, but unless you build a movement that can make sure that constitutional principles and rights are realised, it's rendered meaningless."

"Atlantic did incomparable work in the area around LGBTI rights. This is not only in South Africa but in the whole of Africa. Its impact is almost inestimable because it was the most generous, consistent and free-flowing donor."

Constitutional Court Judge Edwin Cameron

Judge started as a grantee with Atlantic in the early 2000s and later became a consultant to the foundation. She has also worked on the formation of The Other Foundation, which is an African trust launched by Atlantic to support organisations focusing on sexual orientation and gender identity.

"Atlantic came with substantial financial resources," Judge says, "and a real commitment to the fact that social-justice change does not happen overnight, but over time.



The Atlantic-funded Out In Africa Film Festival in 2011 provided an opportunity for showcasing LGBTI films and drew audiences throughout the country.

"The commitment to core funding helped to build strong movements that would, in the long haul, be able to push for and advance social justice and human rights issues," she explains. "They helped to create a lot of space for local activists and leaders to determine the agendas of their advocacy pursuits and how to spend the funding without being prescriptive."

Constitutional Court Justice Edwin Cameron, an openly gay man, says: "Atlantic did incomparable work in the area around LGBTI rights. This is not only in South Africa but in the whole of Africa. Its impact is almost inestimable because it was the most generous, consistent and free-flowing donor.

"Atlantic's strength was the agility to be able to respond and support groups that were on the cutting edge and, I guess, that required personnel... who were well connected to activist communities. Flexibility was an important character of Atlantic's funding."

Neville Gabriel, executive director of The Other Foundation

"One of the reasons why it was so important is that we had this fantastic clause... which we got into the Constitution, somewhat against our own expectation. Suddenly we became the first country in the world that had constitutionally secured sexual orientation, non-discrimination and equality," he explains.

"The gay and lesbian movement in South Africa would not be where it is today and have achieved so much success without that kind of support and closeness from a person like [former Atlantic Programme Director] Gerald Kraak," says Neville Gabriel, executive director of The Other Foundation. "Atlantic's strength was the agility to be able to respond and support groups that were on the cutting edge and, I guess, that required personnel... who were well connected to activist communities. Flexibility was an important character of Atlantic's funding. They did some strategic grantmaking and funded key human rights causes."

The Lesbian and Gay Equality Project was one LGBTI organisation that benefitted from Atlantic's support. Its four grants, totalling ZAR11.6 million (\$1.6 million) from 2002 to 2012, were mainly for unrestricted general administrative support and a demonstration project.

"One of the reasons why [Atlantic's support] was so important is that we had this fantastic clause... which we got into the Constitution, somewhat against our own expectation. Suddenly we became the first country in the world that had constitutionally secured sexual orientation, non-discrimination and equality."

Constitutional Court Judge Edwin Cameron

"Atlantic not only saved the organisation to be able to maintain a political presence in the public domain," says Phumi Mtetwa, the Equality Project's former executive director and current Social Change Initiative Fellow, "but also to support movement-building and the hate-crime cases that we were working on. I still maintain that the Equality Project was the one organisation that really engaged very broadly with the queer perspective in South African society."

SECURING WOMEN'S LAND RIGHTS

tlantic was not afraid to support new organisations, when the prospective leaders demonstrated a persuasive strategy and an ability to make a difference, and when the cause clearly called for a new champion in the field. The Rural Women's Action Research (RWAR) Programme at the University of Cape Town, under the leadership of the Department of Law's Professor Aninka Claassens, is one such organisation that benefitted as a result. RWAR challenges legislation that affects rural communities in three



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. main areas: land rights, traditional governance and the harmful consequences of mining. The programme also holds authorities, particularly traditional tribal leaders, accountable.

"Atlantic was our first funder and, initially, our only funder," Claassens says. "If it was not for their help, we would not have gotten other funders. They gave us a generous three-year grant and then a follow-up grant, but at that point they were already closing their operations. They introduced us to other funders."

Atlantic provided a total of ZAR12.6 million (\$1.4 million) to the Rural Women's Action Research Programme, which has been at the forefront of efforts to secure the constitutional land rights of people living in the regions known as Bantustans, which had been created under the apartheid regime to concentrate and segregate black South Africans.

RURAL WOMEN'S ACTION RESEARCH PROGRAMME

RWAR's work holds traditional tribal leaders accountable and challenges legislation that affects:

Land rights

Traditional governance

Mining in rural communities

RWAR played a major role in the campaign against the controversial Traditional Courts Bill, which would have granted unconstitutionally broad powers to traditional leaders in rural communities, leaving many residents, especially women, with limited recourse when their rights were impeded. The bill lapsed in 2014; then it was reinstituted and improved in 2017, but it still has flaws. The revised bill requires that women are part of the litigants and members of the courts.

TAKING RISKS

acob van Garderen, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) until early 2018, says that Atlantic helped them by providing much of the funding to buy their own building. LHR obtained a smaller amount from another funder and the rest from a bank loan. The building now houses about 15 civil society groups, many of them dealing with refugees.

"If you measure Messina Legal Advice Office's impact against the resources that they have, they put the rest of us to shame. For a funder to spend money on something like this is brave, because [small organisations] don't have much infrastructure."

Jacob van Garderen, former national director of Lawyers for Human Rights

"If you look at who gets funding, it's often the prestigious organisations, like ourselves and the Legal Resources Centre," says van Garderen. "It was very difficult for smaller and community-based organisations to benefit from that.... But Atlantic has supported some small initiatives, like the Messina Legal Advice Office; and they were brave in taking them on, because, if you know community advice offices, they are survivors and many of them do incredible stuff with very little funding.

"If you measure Messina's impact against the resources that they have, they put the rest of us to shame," he adds. "But for a funder to spend money on something like this is brave, because [small organisations] don't have the financial and administrative infrastructure where you can be sure that your money will be spent according to exact budget lines and that you will get audited reports."

Atlantic's openness to risk extended beyond simply backing the formation of new organisations and programmes. It also supported grassroots efforts that, in some cases, directly confronted government agencies and leaders, sometimes in court. These were often the very government agencies that Atlantic was simultaneously helping to improve their delivery of services and formulation of policy.

The resulting balancing act posed many strategic risks: The foundation needed to maintain a collegial and trusting relationship with both official and grassroots leaders. It had to keep its focus on reaching a just and effective outcome that, eventually, both sides could endorse. Failing to preserve that balance could easily have depleted Atlantic's reserve of goodwill and trust with either side (or both)—and thus ruined its chances of being an effective partner and negotiator.

"Atlantic had reflection sessions, where they would invite all the grantees in the rural sector.... These discussions were often very important in terms of enhancing cooperation among all the rural grantees."

Aninka Claassens, director of the Rural Women's Action Research Programme

That risk had discouraged other international donors from following Atlantic's course. While many funders were willing to work through government channels to improve conditions in South Africa, as Atlantic did, few were also willing to support the citizen-led campaigns that held government to account.

PROMOTING SUSTAINABILITY

ne of the major issues for Atlantic, as a limited life foundation, is how organisations that depended on its support for many years would carry on after the foundation ceases operations. One of the ways in which Atlantic tried to ensure some continuity support for grantees was by supporting Inyathelo: The South African Institute for Advancement. Atlantic views Inyathelo as a kind of public-interest consultancy to help strengthen organisations and equip them to attract allies, perform better, demonstrate their effectiveness and raise ongoing resources. It is, in the foundation's words, "a general resource for civil society, to promote philanthropy and build fundraising capacity of key Atlantic anchor institutions."

"It is good, however, that Atlantic is working with several organisations to ensure sustainability for those whom they have supported over the years. I have also heard that other foundations are now beginning to support core funding."

Marcella Naidoo

Atlantic had long promoted an increase in the size and ambition of South African philanthropy as an alternative to international support, and Inyathelo took up that cause. It consequently helps organisations reach out to prospective donors with a compelling appeal both for financial contributions and for advocacy in the public sphere. Alongside its work on alliance-building and fundraising, Inyathelo also works to strengthen the management and corporate governance in grantee organisations.

"We were chosen as one of the groups that Inyathelo would support in becoming more self-sufficient after Atlantic had left," says RWAR's Claassens. "Atlantic had reflection sessions, where they would invite all the grantees in the rural sector, and we would have discussions with the other people whom they were funding. These discussions were often very important in terms of enhancing cooperation among all the rural grantees." In addition to its support of Inyathelo, Atlantic provided a range of grants designed to specifically address its exit and the sustainability of key areas of work. Some efforts included:

- The Social Justice Initiative, which had successfully mobilised ZAR60 million (\$4.6 million) as of early 2018, from local sources and provided grants to 50 organisations that promote active citizenry, accountability and fair access to rights. SJI continues to raise and distribute funds
- The Other Foundation, which has raised ZAR43 million (\$3.3 million) in new match-support money for the LGBTI sector
- The Constitutionalism Fund, which leveraged in new money, including a total of ZAR319 million (\$25 million) from the Atlantic, Ford and Open Society foundations
- A grant to the CS Mott Foundation, one of the key funders of legal advice offices, that was used to bring new investments into that sector
- A challenge grant to Hivos, which attracted additional resources for the migrant rights sector
- A challenge grant to set up the first autonomous indigenous branch of Oxfam in South Africa that included securing new funds of ZAR44 million (\$4.5 million) to support work in the field of rural poverty and health
- Grants for buildings to help support the long-term future of several organisations, including Inyathelo, Treatment Action Campaign, Equal Education and Lawyers for Human Rights.

"These efforts, thanks to the hard work of our grantees, were quite successful. Some have exceeded our expectations in obtaining additional money. Of course, some organisations have struggled," says Martin O'Brien, former senior vice president of programmes.

Not everyone appreciated Atlantic's approach to the sustainability of its former grantee organisations; several felt its sustainability didn't go far enough. Among the foundation's critics is Shaun Samuels, who serves as a consultant to the Constitutionalism Fund, launched by Atlantic as part of this sustainability strategy.

"Their attempt to work through Inyathelo around resource mobilisation was a feeble attempt to get their grantees less dependent on them," says Samuels. "As a donor, one of the key lessons is the issue around dependency and how you work towards self-sustainability, not only because you are leaving, but in general. How do you reduce the dependency on your funding as the main source and, in some cases, the single source of funding?

"Atlantic tried to do this by forming an alliance of donors. They said to some grantees that they would cover a percentage if they could get the rest covered by other funding. They have been trying to force grantees to have more than one source of funding," he says.

"As a donor, one of the key lessons is the issue around dependency.... How do you reduce the dependency on your funding as the main source and, in some cases, the single source of funding?"

Shaun Samuels, consultant to the Constitutionalism Fund

The Other Foundation is another initiative meant to promote sustainability for LGBTI and other gender- and sexual-rights organisations that has secured new funding. Gabriel also felt that Atlantic could have handled its exit better.

"They should have managed their exit as part of their routine programming, and not as part of an exit strategy. Organisations that depended on them should have known that they would receive funding only for a certain number of years, after which they would be on their own. They would then have to establish sustainability," he says.

While Atlantic did, in reality, inform its grantees of its impending departure roughly a decade before, and up until, it closed its doors, some of its executives and partners believe that the message could have been delivered more forcefully and consistently. Grantees could, they believe, have been given greater guidance about how to prepare for the loss of Atlantic funding, and services like those now provided by Inyathelo could have been offered sooner and to more organisations.

Gabriel was sceptical of Atlantic's decision to fund a building for Inyathelo. "This was something that could have been managed better, especially at a time when Atlantic was busy withdrawing from South Africa."

Marcella Naidoo, former executive director of the Black Sash, was also critical of the way Atlantic handled its exit plan.

"I appreciate that they are working with Inyathelo and others. They should have put in a lot more work around a sustainability plan. The original idea was that each organisation would have a plan. We put in a lot of work into developing a plan and then they decided not to fund it. This was disappointing. The good thing is that many organisations were forced to think about how they could become sustainable," she says.

"It is good, however, that Atlantic is working with several organisations to ensure sustainability for those whom they have supported over the years. I have also heard that other foundations are now beginning to support core funding, which is probably something that they learnt from Atlantic."

TOWARD THE FUTURE

s Atlantic sees it, the foundation's experience in South Africa has enabled progress on at least four broad areas of public concern there, but all still cry out for more resources, effort and leadership. These are: constitutionalism, health equity, social and economic inequality, and race. As the National Development Plan makes abundantly clear, there are many other big issues on South Africa's agenda. But these are four areas on which Atlantic worked intensively over more than 20 years, and even after its departure, it still has hopes of making a difference.

Among its final acts in South Africa, the foundation funded big initiatives that are intended to continue contributing to solutions in these areas for at least several years beyond Atlantic's lifespan. One of these, the **Isivivana Centre**, provides a much-needed community centre and office space in a central location with better opportunity for collaboration and security for NGOs, including several Atlantic grantees, in Khayelitsha.

Another is the ZAR319 million (\$25 million) **Constitutionalism Fund**, a joint effort organised and funded by the Atlantic, Ford and Open Society foundations. Atlantic's portion was ZAR127.6 million (\$10 million). It aims, as its website explains, to help stabilise and sustain organisations working to ensure the "substantive promotion and realisation of rights, with particular attention to those who are poor, stigmatised or marginalised."

The foundation's work in South Africa has contributed progress on at least four broad areas of public concern there, but all still cry out for more resources, effort and leadership.

Barbara Klugman, who serves as a coordinator of the Constitutionalism Fund, emphasises that it exists principally to ensure that organisations effective at promoting justice and equality receive the resources they need to continue and grow. For example, she notes, the Fund "supports Ndifuna Ukwazi, which translates to 'dare to know,' and which campaigns for spatial justice in Cape Town. They work with groups on the margins of society, such as people who have been forcibly removed from their homes.

"The Ndifuna Ukwazi staff discovered that the government was going to sell off 15 pieces of state-owned land, and on one of those pieces of land is the Tafelberg School in Sea Point. They looked at this and said, here we have an area with no housing for workers, and this land is being sold off to private investors. This is outrageous in terms of national constitutional commitments and the city's own ostensible interests. Now they have shifted their focus and made this an extraordinary campaign on which they have mobilised domestic workers and others who live in Sea Point," she says.

In the other three focus areas, beyond constitutionalism, Atlantic is introducing a roster of fellowship programmes for social-change leaders from many continents and professional disciplines, committed to advancing fairer, healthier and more inclusive societies. Participants in these programmes,

known as Atlantic Fellows, are generally mid-career leaders with outstanding potential who spend time studying, learning from one another, forming relationships with more seasoned mentors and developing projects in their various fields of expertise.

One of these programmes is the **Atlantic Fellows for Health Equity in South Africa**, based at TEKANO, a newly formed nongovernment organisation. It will enrol up to 30 fellows annually for a year of learning and experience to enhance their ability to inspire and secure progressive social change, followed by ongoing opportunities for networking and collaboration. As Oechsli explains: "We propose to invest for a period of about 15 years, building leaders who come from multiple sectors, around the issues of developing a more equitable health system in South Africa. That is going to extend for a long period, and the work may carry on for another 10 to 20 years."

"Through the fellows programmes, we hope to foster leaders who come from multiple sectors, around the issues of developing more equitable health systems and solutions to race, social and economic issues confronting South Africa and other key countries."

Christopher G Oechsli

Another Atlantic Fellows programme with strong connections in South Africa is the one focused on addressing the escalation of inequalities that threaten social cohesion and put the future of democratic societies at risk. **Atlantic Fellows for Social and Economic Equity** aims to understand the complex causes, nature and consequences of inequalities and develop solutions for some of the most pressing issues of our time. The programme, based at the International Inequalities Institute of the London School of Economics, has a strong partnership with the University of Cape Town. Oechsli hopes that they "will build leadership—thinkers and actors—to address the global challenges and issues of social and economic inequalities."



One of Atlantic's last investments in South Africa was the Isivivana Centre in Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

A third programme is the **Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity**, based at the Nelson Mandela Foundation in Johannesburg and at Columbia University in New York City. The 10-year, \$60 million programme seeks "to dismantle anti-black racism in South Africa and the United States, two nations where the legacies of racial exclusion and discrimination still endure." Participants in this programme will spend a year in "learning tours" in both countries, along with sessions dedicated to study and to developing practical solutions to racism and white supremacy. Oechsli says, "We are partnering with the Nelson Mandela Foundation, and learning from their approaches to race and dialogue."

PREPARING THE NEXT GENERATION OF LEADERS

Half of the six Atlantic Fellows programmes are operating in South Africa Atlantic Fellows for Health Equity in South Africa Atlantic Fellows for Social and Economic Equity Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity

These final initiatives are part of six global, interconnected Atlantic Fellows programmes to empower catalytic communities of emerging leaders who are also supported by the Atlantic Institute. This Institute is a hub for all the Fellows, enabling them to learn from one another and to connect and collaborate across borders, cultures and disciplines. Although the efforts are large and are designed to carry on for decades, they ultimately are, like Atlantic itself, time-limited.

The final initiatives focus on what may be the most enduring target of any kind of philanthropy: human talent, wisdom and leadership. Initiatives such as the Atlantic Fellows and the Constitutionalism Fund, even if they do not continue beyond Atlantic's support, will have seeded multiple fields of social activism in South Africa with gifted, seasoned leaders who will, in turn, be better equipped to pilot effective organisations, raise new resources, devise new solutions to social problems, and mentor yet another generation of visionaries.

LASTING BENEFITS

he Atlantic Philanthropies operated in South Africa, and elsewhere in the world, for a relatively short period of time. The foundation's impact, however, will be felt for decades to come, not only because of the programmes that benefitted from its funding, but because of the new ideas Atlantic introduced into philanthropy.

Atlantic's legacy will live on in the organisations it helped, especially those post-democracy NGOs that continue to play a meaningful role in protecting South Africa's democracy.

Some of what Atlantic sought to accomplish may prove to be, like the foundation itself, of limited duration. But much will, as van Garderen put it, carry on in the people, facilities and networks that Atlantic helped organise and strengthen. Foundations almost never solve society's problems; at best, they empower others to do so. The value of Atlantic's contribution, and how long that value lasts, will therefore best be judged not now, but in a generation or two, when the foundation is long gone but the legacy of those it supported is visible across the country.

Many of the people interviewed for this book spoke about Atlantic in the present tense, which shows it hasn't yet sunk in that the foundation has completed its work in South Africa. Technically, some work continues for the next 10 to 20 years through its three Atlantic Fellows programmes that are training the next generation of socially responsible leaders to work toward a fairer, healthier, more inclusive South Africa.

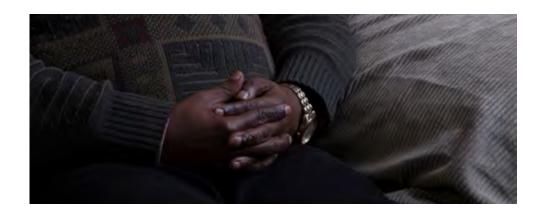
As such, Atlantic's impact will be felt for decades to come in South Africa. Its legacy will live on in the organisations it helped, especially those post-democracy NGOs that continue to play a meaningful role in protecting the country's democracy.



The Atlantic Fellows for Health Equity in South Africa, based at TEKANO, aim to inspire and sustain the changes South Africa needs to bridge the enormous gulf between rich and poor and build a healthier nation.



On the following pages are a few of the hundreds of Atlantic grantee stories in South Africa. You can see a full grants list at atlanticphilanthropies.org/SouthAfrica. Mrs Mosehe seeks advice at the Atlantic-grantee Centre for Criminal Justice on the appropriate documents to receive her pension.



Foundations almost never solve society's problems on their own. At best, they empower others to do so. The value of Atlantic's contribution to South Africa will therefore best be judged not now, but in a generation or two, when the legacy of those it supported is visible across the country.

Black Sash and Community Advice Offices

CAPE TOWN, JOHANNESBURG AND 300 MOSTLY RURAL LOCATIONS

For many years, community advice offices have played an important role in struggling for free basic legal and human rights problems in poor communities, but the sector has often been under-resourced and underfunded. Atlantic's funding, in many ways, helped to breathe new life into the sector.

In addition to rights-based information, advice offices educate communities on how and where to access services offered by government departments and agencies. They work to ensure that the justice system functions better and that the Constitution becomes a reality for vulnerable individuals and communities. Clients receive assistance on issues ranging from government grant access and civil matters to labour disputes and land entitlements.

The case of Mziwonke Yikane is one that an advice office would typically handle. Yikane was working as a ticket official on trains between Cape Town and Mitchells Plain when a passenger shot him, apparently for no reason. He sustained at least five bullet wounds and was off work for several months.

But he struggled to get worker's compensation during the time he couldn't work and approached the Black Sash for help. After a few months, he received ZAR20000 (\$2450) from the government to compensate him for the injury. He is also back at work, but is now doing a desk job.

"I initially only received ZAR800 (\$98) but, after I approached the Black Sash in 2012, I received more money from the Compensation Fund," says Yikane.

Black Sash, one of the oldest human rights organisations in the country, focused early on helping rural people access their pensions.



Mziwonke Yikane, a ticket official who suffered a serious gunshot wound on the job, received help from an advice office to obtain back compensation.

The Black Sash was formed in 1955 by a group of liberal white women, and through the years they have opposed government policies, beginning with various apartheid laws. They have continued in this role in democratic South Africa, and helped to establish several advice offices throughout the country.

Marcella Naidoo, who was executive director of the Black Sash from 2002 to 2012, says when she joined the organisation, they had just received a grant for ZAR3.5 million (\$305 350) from The Atlantic Philanthropies that helped cover administrative costs, support the seven existing paralegal advice offices and fund a feasibility study on whether to expand into new regions.

Advice offices are centres for the provision of free legal advice, information and related services to people in communities who are marginalised through poverty, geographic location and social circumstances.

One condition of the grant was that the Black Sash appoint a high-calibre black woman as executive director. Despite the organisation's difficulties, Atlantic was aware of the historical importance of its role.

"At the time, we were working mainly in the area of social security, making people aware of their right to social security and social assistance," says Naidoo. "For instance, we took up a court case linked to the backlog in processing people's grant applications. The case resulted in people receiving back pay if their grants were delayed. The government had to pay back more than ZAR2 billion (\$192 million)."

The Black Sash works closely with organisations such as the Legal Resources Centre, which would tackle court cases on the Sash's behalf. Some cases tested constitutional principles.

Naidoo says that Atlantic did not initially want to get involved in the advice office sector because it was in disarray. However, Atlantic was keen to strengthen the pipeline between front-line advice and advocacy organisations and the more elite institutions that influence policy and legislation bringing major cases to the Judiciary.

legal advice offices help rural people identify and advocate for their rights.

The National Alliance for the Development of Community Advice Offices (NADCAO) worked to sort out many sector issues and to have a consolidated, institutionalised sector where access to justice is available to the poor and marginalised.

NADCAO came about because of the intervention of several groups: the Black Sash, Centre for Human Rights, Community Law and Rural Development Centre in KwaZulu-Natal and iThemba Labantu. There were three primary donors: the Foundation for Human Rights, the CS Mott Foundation and The Atlantic Philanthropies.

"We brought funders and government together and argued that advice offices were providing a service that government should have been providing."

Marcella Naidoo, former executive director of the Black Sash

Nomboniso Nangu, director of NADCAO, agreed that the organisation, which focuses on the long-term development of community advice offices, was formed in about 2004 because of a crisis in the sector. At present, there are more than 300 advice offices throughout the country, and many have benefitted from Atlantic's funding at some point.

"Advice offices are centres for the provision of free legal advice, information and related services to communities who are marginalised through poverty, geographic location and social circumstances," says Nangu. "Paralegals are the people who mainly provide these services, but in 2004 the paralegal network had collapsed, so there was a need for us to review it."

One of the people who was involved at the formation of NADCAO is Shaun Samuels, managing director of Technical Support and Dialogue Platform and a consultant on community liaison and social justice. He says that advice offices suffered after South Africa's first democratic elections, in 1994, when many NGOs began losing overseas funding.

"Many donors wanted to work directly with the democratic government. They felt they should not fund parallel activities to what the government was doing. NGOs lost not only funding but also many creative people who joined government," explains Samuels.

Many of the community advice offices survived this lean period because their paralegals are committed and resilient; many worked as volunteers, without any income, but they carried on the work. It was a few years after 1994 that others realised the importance of this sector. Atlantic challenged others, including government, to match the foundation's investment in the advice offices.

"We brought funders and government together and argued that advice offices were providing a service that government should have been providing," says Naidoo. "To Atlantic's credit, they were always interested in investing in the grassroots and finding solutions to societal problems."

KEY GRANTS

2002-2009	ZAR25.2 million (\$3.2 million) to Black Sash for advice offices and core support and to generate public participation in the national health insurance policy development
2008–2014	ZAR15.5 million (\$1.9 million) to National Alliance for the Development of Community Advice Offices for operating expenses and to develop a sector development plan
2013–2016	ZAR20 million (\$1.9 million) to CS Mott Foundation Advice Office Programme for a sustainability initiative of poor people living in rural areas

Legal Resources Centre

JOHANNESBURG, CAPE TOWN, DURBAN AND GRAHAMSTOWN

he Legal Resources Centre (LRC) has dealt with public-interest legal cases since 1979. The LRC has always focused on the most vulnerable in society, including people in rural areas, providing them with free legal advice and representation.

Humphrey Magukula is a community leader from Makuleke, near Kruger National Park, who has worked with the LRC and has benefitted from its help. For most of the past 20 years or more, he and his community have been fighting to return to land from which they were removed in the 1960s and to be freed from the rule of a traditional leader whom they do not recognise.

"We were introduced to the Legal Resources Centre in 1993. They told us that we have two issues, the chieftaincy issue and the land claim. They advised us to first focus on the land claim, even though the two issues are linked," says Magukula.

"I'm more than happy with our relationship with the LRC. They are our partners and legal advisors; they have been our ears, our eyes, our mouths and everything. Our relationship with them is inseparable."

Humphrey Magukula, a community leader of the Makuleke people

"The Makuleke people had lived on our land since the 18th century until we were removed in 1969. We were always independent... and did not have a chief. In the early 1900s, a chief called Mhinga tried to place us under his authority. The Mhinga people were also involved in having us removed from our land in 1969. We have been fighting to be reinstated on our land since then, but accelerated our fight with the help of the LRC."

PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE LIVING IN COMMUNAL AREAS

In 2010, the LRC and private, pro-bono counsel challenged the Communal Land Rights Act, which would have subjected 23 million people living in "communal areas" to the authority of tribal chiefs and traditional systems of law.

Women, in particular, would have been barred from owning or inheriting land under traditional provisions of communal law. Citing the Legal Resources Centre's challenge, the Constitutional Court struck down that legal vestige of ethnic and gender inequity.

Source: "The Atlantic Philanthropies in South Africa 1991–2013," Susan Parker, 2013

The Makuleke land claim was resolved in 1999, when the community reached agreement with the Kruger National Park.

"I'm more than happy with our relationship with the LRC," says Magukula. "They are our partners and legal advisors; they have been our ears, our eyes, our mouths and everything. Our relationship with them is inseparable."

Janet Love, national director of the Legal Resources Centre, says that a lot of the support they received from Atlantic initially was for core operating costs.

"More recently, we have started to look at the whole question of water as a resource, not just in the sense of water allocation and water management, but ensuring that there was equity in rural areas in terms of access, and to combat the negative effects that the mining industry has had on the water resource."

Janet Love, national director of the Legal Resources Centre

"However, the real support has been for our work on rural development and land reform. At the time, Atlantic was supporting other organisations that, like the LRC, worked around refugees or sexual orientation and gender, trying to overcome gender discrimination. Our rural and land reform programme has always been our major focus," Love says.



Humphrey Magukula, a community leader from Makuleke, says the Legal Resources Centre has helped his people regain their land and be free of an unwanted, self-appointed chief. Part of LRC's focus, with Atlantic's assistance, was to develop a sense of constitutionalism in South Africa. In the early years after the adoption of the Constitution, everybody in the legal sector was faced with a novel situation of pursuing justice and the rule of law as a tool in a manner that had a constitutional framework. South Africans had to understand the process, the differences, opportunities and difficulties. This led to the LRC setting up its Constitutional Litigation Unit, which still exists.

With help from LRC lawyers, Richtersveld had its land ownership returned and received financial compensation. In addition, it is the only community that has had—as part of the settlement—a shareholding in the mineral resource itself, in Alexkor (Ltd).

The LRC first received support in 1994—for Atlantic's initial work in South Africa—to fund education for black attorneys. LRC provided four years of training for candidate attorneys to help black students become lawyers in the newly democratic state.

"More recently, with Atlantic's support, we have started to look at the whole question of water as a resource, not just in the sense of water allocation and water management, but ensuring that there was equity, for example, in rural areas in terms of access, and also to combat the negative effects that the mining industry has had on the water resource," says Love.

The Environmental Justice Programme of the Legal Resources Centre has dealt with other issues of equality, including the use of pesticides and irrigation. LRC has looked at the questions small-scale agricultural operations face

1979

Legal Resources Centre started to exploit apartheid-era laws in innovative ways to advance human rights. The
Atlantic

and how local government needs to support poor people to enable food security and food production. Important work subsequently has unfolded around challenging and raising the activism and consciousness of people and awareness of local people about some significant dangers connected to mining.

"Nobody had focused on the impact of mining on the natural resources, on the land and water, but also on the community," says Love. "Atlantic has supported this programme, and we have worked with organisations in Mpumalanga, where there's a whole belt of coal mines that are undermining a very delicate, environmentally delicate, structure. It is a water-stressed area that has a sponge-like formation underground which can catch the water, to preserve and purify it through natural processes. But the mining operations on that escarpment have a hugely negative effect.

"In terms of land reform, some of the seminal case work that the Legal Resources Centre has done on land was significantly built on the back of support from Atlantic," she adds. "For example, Richtersveld, in addition to ensuring that it had land ownership returned and had financial compensation, is also the only community that has had—as part of the settlement—a shareholding in the mineral resource itself, in Alexkor (Ltd)."

KEY GRANTS

I994–2010 ZAR57.2 million (\$7.7 million) for a range of legal services and operating support

University of the Western Cape

or many years, the School of Public Health (SOPH) at the University of the Western Cape was housed in a pre-fabricated building, and its life sciences were in similar buildings, until the intervention of The Atlantic Philanthropies. Now both the SOPH and the Life Sciences Buildings stand proudly and strikingly on the university grounds.

One person who remembers the old SOPH Building is Theresa Boulle, a public health educator who first attended courses at the SOPH in 2004.

"The staff always took huge pride in their work, and there was always an amazing ethos around the staff. With the new building, it is almost as if, at last, their work is being recognised and rewarded."

Theresa Boulle, UWC alumna and public health educator

"We still had summer schools in those days, and we would absolutely swelter. The aircon often did not work. In winter, we would be freezing cold," says Boulle. "As a master's student, I got to know the staff well, and I used to visit them in their tiny offices that were so cramped. Even the lecture rooms were small. It has been phenomenal to see them in this beautiful new building with state-of-the-art technology. None of that was available where they were."

She recently taught a winter school workshop on health committees for health professionals at the School of Public Health Building. Her day job is to establish health committees, a requirement of South Africa's Primary Health Care Act, at facilities in Nelson Mandela Bay in the Eastern Cape.

"The staff always took huge pride in their work, and there was always an amazing ethos around the staff. With the new building, it is almost as if, at last, their work is being recognised and rewarded," says Boulle.

Apartheid government

started UWC to educate people classified as "coloured" for lower-level positions.

"Remember that UWC was always known as the bush college. It is not a bush college anymore.... As you drive in, past the Life Sciences Building, and come to the Public Health building, they are such beautiful buildings," she adds.

Professor David Sanders, founder and former director of the School of Public Health, says that Atlantic's support for both the SOPH and the Life Sciences Buildings came about only after he had convinced Atlantic to fund some contract posts for professors at the school.

"At UWC, we found a strong School of Public Health and... a very impressive, inspirational leader in its rector, Professor Brian O'Connell. We decided to look for ways to strengthen the university's ability to take a leadership role in public health education and in life sciences."

John R Healy, former president and CEO of Atlantic

"Professor Michael Savage, who worked with Atlantic [on its higher education programme], had asked me to put in a proposal for a new building, but I felt that we needed to stabilise and increase our staff first. We had only four full-time academic posts at the time, and most of our staff were employed on the basis of grant money that we raised," explains Sanders.

John R Healy, former president of the foundation, says the staff decided to develop a significant relationship with UWC when Atlantic redesigned its programmes in 2002.

"At UWC, we found a School of Public Health which was quite strong and well led, and we found a very impressive and inspirational leader in the institution's rector, Professor Brian O'Connell. We decided to look for ways to strengthen the ability of UWC to take a leadership role in public health education and in life sciences," says Healy.

The Atlantic Philanthropies gave about ZAR66 million (\$9.2 million) to build the School of Public Health and ZAR123.7 million (\$16.7 million) for a new Life Sciences Building. The SOPH Building opened in 2008, after a lot of planning, which included a sponsored visit to Brisbane, Australia,



Therese Boulle, a UWC alumna, enjoys opportunities to return to campus to teach workshops and attend professional meetings.



The Life Sciences Building and the increased research production has been a game-changer for UWC, increasing its stature throughout Africa and globally.

for O'Connell and key SOPH staff, to see similar projects that Feeney had supported. Other human rights research and the School of Nursing funding by Atlantic provided for several additional improvements at UWC.

Following the foundation's due diligence, Chuck Feeney requested that UWC develop an iconic building for life sciences, saying, "You'll be surprised what will happen—people will come streaming into your building." They certainly have... more than 1 000 students a day, many world-class scientists and people from all over the world come for classes, workshops and its Ph.D. programme. Even Nobel laureates have accepted honorary degrees, something that would have been unthinkable in 2005, says O'Connell.

UWC's Evolution

APARTHEID REGIME 1960-1994

Underfunded bush college that became the ideological hub of the anti-apartheid movement

Site of drafting of part of country's new Constitution

Produced many of Nelson Mandela's cabinet members in 1994

POST-APARTHEID 1994-2000

Serious financial and organisational struggles; fell into bankruptcy in the late 1990s, and was threatened with insolvency

Argued against government-proposed merger with another university on basis of its strong legacy of resistance against apartheid

Kept independence but had few resources and damaged self-confidence

EARLY 2000s

Adopted a new mission: To transform from a low-ranking university into a world-class research institution, while simultaneously serving students from South Africa's historically oppressed communities

2010-PRESENT

Two iconic buildings and strong research

Current ranking in the *Times Higher Education's* top 10 universities in Africa and in the top 5 per cent of 2000 universities in the emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

About Atlantic's grant for the Life Sciences Building, Healy says, "It also was to enable Brian to use our grant to leverage money from the Ministry of Education, which was not investing heavily in universities at the time."

"It was to send a signal that world-class work was being done and more could be done in historically black universities, and that it was not necessary to focus exclusively on the historically white universities."

John R Healy

The investments helped UWC to shed its "disadvantaged institution" shackles to attain stature as one of the top university programmes in Africa. UWC continues to produce the largest number of black scientists in the country.

In addition to UWC, Atlantic has also made an impact on several higher education institutions, investing in three other schools of public health in the country. It found one opportunity after another for funding at the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Fort Hare, Pretoria and Walter Sisulu. Atlantic also invested in three additional schools of public health: University of Cape Town, University of Pretoria and Wits.

KEY GRANTS

ZAR91.4 million (\$12.2 million) for a new School of Public Health Building, hiring
additional professors and a sustainability fund for attracting and retaining staff
ZAR123.7 million (\$16.7 million) for the new Life Sciences Building
ZAR39 million (\$4.8 million) for improvements in the School of Nursing, district
health systems, visiting scholars and other institutional priorities
ZAR17.7 million (\$2 million) for various human rights programmes and research at UWC
ZAR75 million (\$10 million) to support other universities' public health schools
ZAR441.2 million (\$56.7 million) to 21 universities for operating, capital, scholarship and programme support



A lecture room in the Life Sciences Building at the University of the Western Cape draws interested students.

Lawyers for Human Rights

PRETORIA, JOHANNESBURG, CAPE TOWN, DURBAN, MUSINA AND UPINGTON

rom the minute refugees arrive in South Africa, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) is ready to help them navigate the legal system; avoid improper detention; and gain access to health care, education and other basic rights. The organisation is a lifeline for desperate people, providing legal services free of charge, and part of a network of other agencies that protect families at a time of maximum vulnerability. Many of those agencies, operating in Pretoria, now work in a single building, owned by LHR.

"Lawyers for Human Rights have used [the space] in very interesting ways. First, they've invited other legal clinics, so when somebody comes there for help, if LHR can't help, the others might be able to. LHR runs a migration and asylum seekers law clinic... also a social security clinic there. They are using it to better service their clients."

Barbara Klugman, consultant to Atlantic

"There are a lot of cases where asylum seekers' and refugees' rights are violated," explains Faith Munyati, an attorney working for LHR. "If they are denied access to health care or education, we intervene. If we can't succeed by liaising with the different departments or institutions, we litigate to have the rights of the asylum seekers and refugees realised."

Lawyers for Human Rights is based in the Kutlwanong Democracy Centre in central Pretoria, the capital of South Africa. The building houses several nongovernmental organisations, many of them dealing with refugees. The purchase of the building was made possible by an initial injection of cash from The Atlantic Philanthropies and was part of the foundation's exit strategy to sustain key organisations.



Faith Munyati is an LHR attorney working to help refugees and asylum seekers obtain their rightful services.

"It helps to be located where we are," says Munyati. "Our location is very central. A lot of asylum seekers stay in this area. Most of them walk to us because we are easily accessible. We even find some people come all the way from Johannesburg to us because we are centrally located. If they use the taxi system, they can get to us quite easily.

"There are a lot of cases where asylum seekers' and refugees' rights are violated. If they are denied access to health care or education, we intervene. If we can't succeed by liaising with the different departments or institutions, we litigate to have the rights of the asylum seekers and refugees realised."

Faith Munyati, an LHR attorney

"It helps to have different organisations here, especially if you look at asylum seekers," she adds. "When they come to Lawyers for Human Rights, they sometimes need social assistance, and we then refer them to Future Families, which is right next to us."

"I have a level of understanding, even though I have never been a refugee. I feel quite passionately about the issues of migrants," she explains. Munyati's father is Zimbabwean and her mother is South African. The young attorney grew up in Zimbabwe and Botswana, which is partly what drew her to study refugee and immigration law at the University of Cape Town.

Jacob van Garderen, national director of LHR until early 2018, says he began interacting with The Atlantic Philanthropies when he was doing background research on migration and the organisations doing work on migration. He discovered that the foundation had commissioned several studies on the topic.

"Atlantic funded several LHR projects and made the purchase of this complex possible. They gave us ZAR7 million [\$675 000] as a contribution to buy this complex. We got another ZAR3 million [\$275 000] from the Ford Foundation, and we took out a bank loan for the rest," says van Garderen.

After purchasing the building from the liquidators of Idasa (Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa), LHR started to develop a civil society hub. Now, 15 organisations operate in the centre and provide support to refugees and others. The services include trauma counsellors, social workers and lawyers.

There are a number of diaspora associations, such as the Zimbabwe Exiles Forum and the Nigerian Union of South Africa. Others are the Dikeletsong Citizens Advice Bureau, which is a community advice office; Pro Bono legal services; Future Families social work; AgriAid that works to reduce the effects of HIV and AIDS, tuberculosis and noncommunicable diseases in agriculture; the African Policy Research Institute; and the International Federation of Human Rights.

Barbara Klugman, who works as a consultant with Atlantic, says the funding of the building was meant to assist with making LHR self-sustainable.

"If you go to their place in Pretoria, you will see that Lawyers for Human Rights have used it in very interesting ways. First, they've invited other legal clinics, so when somebody comes there for help, if LHR can't help, the others might be able to. LHR runs a migration and asylum seekers law clinic. But they've also got a social security clinic there. They are using it to better service their clients," says Klugman.

"It is not just about sharing offices and having a presence. It is also about the possibility of collaborating," explains van Garderen.

KEY GRANTS

2003-2014

ZAR14.2 million (\$1.8 million) to help purchase the Kutlwanong Democracy Centre and to support refugee support projects

organisations have offices in LHR's main building in Pretoria.



Sphamandla Mngomezulu is so grateful for the opportunity to study medicine that he mentors young students in his village about medical careers and Umthombo scholarship opportunities.

Umthombo Youth Development Foundation

HILLCREST AND MULTIPLE LOCATIONS IN KWAZULU-NATAL

phamandla Mngomezulu is a clinical psychologist who grew up in Ingwavuma in rural KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), an area where access to education is limited and where young people find it difficult to dream of a career in medicine or health care. He attributes part of his success to the Umthombo Youth Development Foundation, an organisation that helps rural young people study health sciences and pursue careers in the caring professions. Mngomezulu is one of many who have gone through this programme.

"I was raised by a single parent. My mother was a community health care worker, who could not afford to send me to university," says Mngomezulu. "My dad left when I was very young, and we believe that he was working on the mines in Johannesburg. I thought that was going to be my fate too after I matriculated.

"It was quite something, this boy from a rural village coming back as a clinician. I started a psychology department and had to service five hospitals because there were no other psychologists."

Sphamandla Mngomezulu, clinical psychologist and recipient of an Umthombo scholarship

"When I was in matric, in 2002, I heard that Friends of Mosvold [later named Umthombo Youth Development Foundation] had helped many students who were studying medicine, dentistry or health-related subjects," he says. "I eventually got supported for four years of study. Because I was a top student, I got two other bursaries along the way."

In his fourth year, he received a bursary from the African American Institute, which gives students an opportunity to study anywhere in the world. He did

hospitals are covered today, up from only the Mosvold Hospital in 1995.

a degree with the School of Psychology in London and the University of Johannesburg. While in London, he received an Oxford Scholarship.

Mngomezulu says he had an offer to stay at Oxford to do his Ph.D., but he turned it down because of his commitment to give back to Umthombo and work for his community, as he had agreed when he received his initial funding.

"What about all the youth in the area who had no opportunity? ... Andrew [founder of Friends of Mosvold] offered that if young people got into university to study for a health science degree, he would fund their studies on condition, when they qualify, they would come back and address the shortages."

Dr Gavin MacGregor, director of the Umthombo Youth Development Foundation

"I then began to work in one of the rural hospitals in Hlabisa. It was quite something, this boy from a rural village coming back as a clinician. I started a psychology department and had to service five hospitals because there were no other psychologists," he says.

Eventually the hospitals could recruit more psychologists to the area, some of them through the Umthombo programme. After his four years of community service, he moved to a lecturing post at the University of Zululand and began a private practice.

"I am still involved [with Umthombo], however, and most of my Ph.D. research is based on this programme. I'm looking at decentralising health services to previously disadvantaged communities," says Mngomezulu, who continues to mentor students from his former village and surrounds, some of whom followed him in the Umthombo programme.

Dr Gavin MacGregor, director of the Umthombo Youth Development Foundation, says they started out wanting to address staff shortages at rural hospitals. Today, 43.6 per cent of South Africa's population is rural, but only 12 per cent of doctors and 19 per cent of nurses work in rural clinics and hospitals.

RURAL HEALTH STAFF SHORTAGES

43.6% of country's

12% of doctors

population

19%

"We began working in northern KZN, right up to the border with Swaziland and Mozambique. Mosvold Hospital was the first place we worked. In 1999, they should have had six doctors, but they ended up with two. It was a continual problem, trying to recruit staff," says MacGregor.

"Everyone else gave money for students.... But Atlantic said they would give us organisational costs, so that we could develop and employ people, and develop the systems that we needed."

Dr Gavin MacGregor

Dr Andrew Ross, who was then medical superintendent at the hospital, felt there had to be a better way of dealing with this shortage problem, rather than bringing in people for short stints from the United Kingdom, and that was only doctors. He established the predecessor organisation, Friends of Mosvold Trust, in 1995, with the commitment to provide at least four scholarships annually.

"What about all the youth in the area who had no opportunity?" says MacGregor. "They matriculate, they sit around, they look for work but there's not much. Andrew discussed with the community that if young people got into university to study for a health science degree, he would fund them for their studies on condition, when they qualify, they would come back and address the shortages. That's really how it started."

Umthombo Youth Development Programme was originally called the Friends of Mosvold Scholarship Scheme because that was the name of the hospital. Four young men got into university and they came back to him with their acceptance letters. They said, "We've got a place at university. You said you'll fund us."

"Suddenly, things had to happen," says MacGregor. "[Ross] had very little money, so he approached the community and wrote letters for funding. That's how those first four guys landed at university and, despite everyone's expectation, they passed."

Within a few years, Umthombo spread to the other hospitals in the district. Ross asked them to identify youth, and the organisation would support them. "When they qualify, they'll come back. From one hospital in 1999, we are now working with 17 hospitals," says MacGregor, who joined in 2008 to set up the correct administrative and financial systems, and fundraising plans to grow the scheme.

The Atlantic Philanthropies, which invested in health care in rural areas, liked that rural-origin graduates returned into their communities to work and chose to stay. The foundation became involved with Umthombo in 2008, when the organisation consisted only of volunteer trustees and no staff.



"Atlantic gave us a grant to cover organisational expenses," says MacGregor. "Everyone else gave money for students... because they get results and they've got a face. But Atlantic said they would give us organisational costs, so that we could develop and employ people, and develop the systems that we needed. They gave us a few million rand a year."

As of 2017, the legacy of Ross's dream has resulted in more than 300 graduates of the Umthombo programme, covering 17 health fields, and another 230 students are in various phases of their education. For the past five years, they have had a 94 per cent pass rate. According to the 2016 Umthombo annual report, 66 per cent of the graduates work in rural hospitals, and only 25 per cent have moved to the private sector.

On so many levels, Umthombo is a success for rural South Africans.

KEY GRANTS

2008-2015

ZAR17.8 million (\$2.2 million) for core support to recruit and train students from rural KwaZulu-Natal to study medicine and related health services

Archives and the Importance of Memory

JOHANNESBURG, CAPE TOWN AND MULTIPLE LOCATIONS

hroughout South Africa, there are sites of struggle that are reminders of its past, but that also serve as an inspiration for building its future. The Atlantic Philanthropies supported a number of sites and archives, including the Constitution Hill precinct in Johannesburg, the District Six Museum in Cape Town, the South African History Archive (SAHA) and other repositories of memory.

The Constitution Hill precinct was built on the site of two of Johannesburg's most notorious apartheid-era prisons. Some of the stones from the former men's prison were used in the building of the Constitutional Court, and the complex, which also included a women's prison, now houses several organisations dealing with issues related to democracy-building.

"The stark juxtaposition of the abuses of the past [as symbolised by the prison buildings] with the hope and enlightenment of the future [as symbolised by the Constitutional Court] lies at the heart of this site."

Dawn Robertson, CEO of Constitution Hill

The city of Johannesburg and the Gauteng provincial government own the land on which the Court and surrounding buildings stand. Where people used to be imprisoned, often unfairly, under apartheid, now stands the court that protects South Africa's democracy. Next to it is the heritage precinct called Constitution Hill, which includes a museum, offices and meeting space. The South African government built the Constitutional Court, while Atlantic supported the heritage precinct, which attracted more than 250000 visitors in 2004, its first year.

Dawn Robertson, CEO of Constitution Hill, points out that Atlantic contributed ZAR2 5 million (\$4.4 million) toward a capital fund for both the refurbishment of the precinct and the development of its educational programmes.



Dawn Robertson, CEO of Constitution Hill, is a strong proponent of its multi-use spaces.

"It helped with the establishment of the museum—more specifically with the rejuvenation of memory—and public awareness of human rights, democracy and constitutionalism," she says. "The stark juxtaposition of the abuses of the past [as symbolised by the prison buildings] with the hope and enlightenment of the future [as symbolised by the Constitutional Court] lies at the heart of the site."

"The Constitutional Court judges believed that you couldn't open the site of the Court without having the heritage precinct in place... [T]he point about choosing that site was that it was about the past and the present."

Lauren Segal, a developer of Constitution Hill in the 1990s

Constitution Hill is a unique mixed-use development. Around the core of the old prisons and the new Constitutional Court is a precinct consisting of public open space, retail and hospitality, a visitors' centre, a conferencing centre, digital archives, middle-income residential units and office space.

Some of the organisations housed at Constitutional Hill are Awethu Project, which incubates entrepreneurs; the Commission for Gender Equality, which promotes and protects access to rights for men and women; ProBono, which provides free legal services to the poor; South African History Archive (SAHA), a human rights repository dedicated to documenting and promoting awareness of struggles for justice; and the South African Institute for Advanced Constitutional, Public, Human Rights and International Law (SAIFAC), a research centre at the University of Johannesburg. ProBono and SAHA were also Atlantic grantees.

"The Constitutional Court judges believed that you couldn't open the site of the Court without having the heritage precinct in place," says Lauren Segal, whose company won the contract to develop the precinct. "The whole world media's attention was on the Constitutional Court at that time, and the point about choosing that site was that it was about the past and the present."

Segal says she used Atlantic as leverage with other donors, including the Ford and CS Mott foundations, to match the investment of ZAR25 million (\$4.4 million).



Schoolchildren arrive at the Nelson Mandela Gateway in Cape Town before boarding the ferry to Robben Island, where the late former President was imprisoned for many years. Archives and history have always been an important part of Atlantic's funding strategy, says Michael Savage, who headed the foundation's education work in the early years.

Atlantic has "always displayed an appreciation for the importance of memory work. This work is more than telling a story.... It is about locating and preserving and making available reliable archival records, to support the transition process and continuing struggles for justice."

Verne Harris, director of research and archive at the Nelson Mandela Foundation

"We did some extraordinary things. For example, in Cape Town we provided the grant for the District Six Museum to buy the Sacks Futeran Building for about ZAR3.3 million (\$380000)," Savage says. "It's an enormous building that contains the Fugard Theatre. It has a whole range of reconstructed offices which were meant to generate income for the District Six Museum."

Atlantic also supported the building of the Nelson Mandela Gateway to Robben Island at the waterfront in Cape Town. This building is the Robben Island Museum's "front door" where visitors shop and see exhibits about the island's long history during apartheid, before boarding the ferry to the former maximum security prison.

CONSTITUTION HILL

"We South Africans have the only prison in the world, we can say with dubious pride, where both Gandhi and Mandela were locked up," said Albie Sachs, former justice on the Constitutional Court and anti-apartheid activist. "And that's where we decided to build our [Constitutional] Court, in the heart of that prison.

"And we needed something that would conserve those buildings, that could tell the stories of people who were locked up there and also the stories of people who were hoping and dreaming of a new, good, decent, humane South Africa that embraced everybody. Well that's not the easiest thing to get from government, when you need money for health, for housing, for education, for everything else. If government could not afford to spend money on preservation where would the money come from? As it happened, there was a source that did not wish to call attention to itself. And this mysterious organisation — Atlantic Philanthropies we learned afterwards — was there."

Source: The Atlantic Philanthropies in South Africa 1991-2013, Susan Parker, 2013

The Atlantic Philanthropies

Verne Harris, director of research and archive at the Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF), says that Atlantic supported many projects in which he has been involved, including ones at NMF, SAHA, Wits University and the University of Cape Town. There also is the Archival Platform Project, which is a joint UCT and NMF effort.

"We're part of challenging and engaging with past and contemporary history and the struggle for justice."

PIERS PIGOU, FORMER DIRECTOR OF SAHA "They have always displayed an appreciation for the importance of memory work. This work is more than just telling a story, although that is part of it. It is about locating and preserving and making available reliable archival records, to support the transition process and continuing struggles for justice," says Harris. "The Gay and Lesbian Archive [GALA] was a special project of SAHA when I was its director. GALA would not have taken off and would not have survived without Atlantic's support."

Piers Pigou, former director of SAHA, says that the foundation helped to stabilise the organisation and played a role in moving SAHA to the Constitutional Court precinct.

"Atlantic Philanthropies were a catalyst to liberate us to be able to do really critical work which also benefitted other funders. They provided us with support at a time when we didn't have a proven track record. Now, SAHA sits at the top of Constitution Hill where it should have been," says Pigou. "That was Atlantic's vision. We're part of challenging and engaging with past and contemporary history and the struggle for justice."

KEY GRANTS

2000-2015	ZAR19 million (\$2.6 million) for operating costs, and to research major memorials and purchase collections of apartheid materials for the South African History Archive
2001	ZAR4.7 million (\$579760) to build the Gateway to Robben Island facility at the Waterfront in Cape Town, comprising commercial and exhibition spaces
2001-2003	ZAR3.3 million (\$380 000) to purchase the Sacks Futeran building for expansion space for the District Six Museum
2004–2005	ZAR25 million (\$4.4 million) to support nation-building and reconciliation by investing in turning three former prisons into an apartheid memorial and museum on Constitution Hill
2001–2015	ZAR60.3 million (\$7.5 million) to support several other archival efforts to protect apartheid memories, including photos, videos and music



A group of students tours the solitary confinement cells in Number Four Museum, now part of Constitution Hill. These cells housed black prisoners who were allowed outside for just one hour each day.



Yvonne Mokgaladi, nurse and manager in the national Department of Health, believes in decentralising health care, taking it to communities.

CAPE TOWN, JOHANNESBURG, KWAZULU-NATAL AND OTHER LOCATIONS

ealth care equity has always been a priority for The Atlantic Philanthropies, but for this to become a reality, it was important to make sure that nurses had access to the best possible education in South Africa. For nursing, Atlantic spent a total of ZAR217.9 million (\$26.9 million), through 28 grants, to help improve the education, numbers and stature of nurses as health professionals because they serve the most poor and vulnerable people.

Yvonne Mokgaladi is a manager in the national Department of Health, responsible for 52 districts. She believes in continually upgrading her skills as a nurse and as a manager.

"One of our responsibilities is to ensure that the health system is effective and efficient. Decentralised management is where things are happening in primary health care."

Yvonne Mokgaladi, manager at the Department of Health

"I trained as a nurse, which means I trained as a general nurse practitioner and as a midwife, and in community health nursing, where we take services to the patients. You have to understand community needs and how to respond to them," says Mokgaladi, who is from Mafikeng in the Northwest province.

"One of our responsibilities is to ensure that the health system is effective and efficient. Decentralised management is where things are happening in primary health care. I've got so much confidence, when I go to facilities like clinics and community health centres in the districts, knowing that I've been well-capacitated."

28%

increase in professional nurses to 55 309 from 2002 to 2010 Dr Elizabeth Mokaka, programme manager at FUNDISA (Forum of University Nursing Deans of South Africa), says Atlantic had sponsored the four-year University-based Nursing Education South Africa (UNEDSA) programme.

UNEDSA was a FUNDISA project, a collaboration of six nursing universities that Atlantic and ELMA Foundation funded. Atlantic helped four institutions: Tshwane University of Technology, University of the Free State, University of Fort Hare and University of the Western Cape. The other two, the nursing schools at the University of Pretoria and the University of Limpopo, were funded by ELMA Foundation.

"We put forward the idea of a leaders programme because, 15 years into democracy, we had not created the kind of cadre of health leadership in the country that was needed to take the public health system forward. We wanted to develop a programme to change that space."

Professor Eric Buch, dean of the Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Pretoria

"It was a total grant of about ZAR40.3 million (\$4.6 million) to support universities to put in place programme management systems, financial management, budgets, and just running and implementation of the programme based on the objectives that they submitted to the two foundations," says Mokaka.

FUNDISA is a platform for all 23 universities that have nursing schools. It promotes nursing scholarship, clinical practice, education and research. She says, "It is a voice for nursing education in universities."

Professor Eunice "Pinky" Seekoe, dean of the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Fort Hare, says at the time of the UNEDSA funding she had just been appointed to head the university's Department of Nursing.



Nursing students participate in an anatomy class at the Life Sciences Building at the University of the Western Cape.

Seekoe says: "That programme lasted four years. Since then, we have also engaged them on the Albertina Sisulu Executive Leadership Programme in Health (ASELPH), which is our partnership with the University of Pretoria and the Harvard School of Public Health."

Professor Eric Buch, dean of the Faculty of Health Sciences at Pretoria, was part of the group putting the proposal to Atlantic for ASELPH. He had also been involved with the UNEDSA project and Health Equity South Africa, both of which were funded by Atlantic.

"We put forward the idea of ASELPH because, 15 years into democracy, we had not created the kind of cadre of health leadership in the country that was needed to take the public health system forward," says Buch. "We wanted to develop a programme that could start to change that space. It was also our idea that the academic programmes in health management were not really providing the learning environment that would be successful."

Professor Nomthandazo Gwele was executive head of the Faculty of Health Sciences at Durban University of Technology (DUT) before becoming deputy vice-chancellor (academic). She negotiated grants from Atlantic more than 10 years ago, which provided for a feasibility study and a five-year grant to help establish the first undergraduate nursing training programme focused on primary health care in the country.

"We needed to create learning spaces that would make it possible for lecturers to move around and students to sit in groups."

Professor Nomthandazo Gwele, deputy vice-chancellor, Durban University of Technology

DUT had to identify and re-purpose facilities for health education, including clinical, anatomy and physiology laboratories and a computer lab for students. Another necessity was to negotiate with communities that would partner with DUT for the community-based learning aspect of the programme.

"We had to have special classrooms," says Gwele, "because we didn't want the old lecture, theatre-type seating. We needed to create learning spaces that would make it possible for lecturers to move around and students to sit in groups. And it's not easy accessing communities. You must be very diplomatic in your conversations with counsellors and izinDunas [Zulu for 'advisors']."

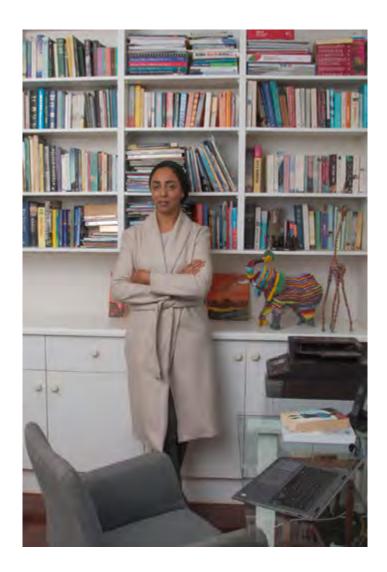
In an effort to move nursing forward as a profession, Atlantic funded the Department of Health to prepare a comprehensive human resources plan. "Atlantic gave us a grant of ZAR5 million (\$735000) to work on developing a nursing strategy, which involved the nursing profession and many other nursing units and academic institutions across the country," says Dr Percy Mahlathi, the former deputy director-general, responsible for human resources at the national Department of Health.

Dr Mark Blecher, chief director for health and social development at the National Treasury, says Atlantic saw nursing as an important area needing development, mainly because of the work of Christine Downton, a former Atlantic Board member who lived in South Africa for two years.

"They built up links with several of the nursing colleges. Christine came to see us and asked whether we had seen the physical condition of some of these colleges. She eventually persuaded us, from the Treasury side and at the request of the Department of Health, to approve a grant of several hundred million rand for the upgrading of nursing colleges," says Blecher. "Atlantic knew how to leverage their own funding. We had to upgrade the colleges, and they supported them in a number of ways, especially with educational programmes."

KEY GRANTS

2008–2016	ZAR46.8 million (\$6.2 million) to support the establishment of FUNDISA, UNESDA
	and other professional organisations to improve the nursing profession
2011–2016	ZAR28.3 million (\$3.5 million) to establish the Albertina Sisulu Executive Leadership Programme in Health with a partnership among Fort Hare and Pretoria universities in South Africa and Harvard in the United States
2008–2017	ZAR140.7 million (\$16.5 million) to upgrade the nursing school programmes and to provide student scholarships



Waasila Jassat, former senior programme manager of Health Systems Trust, says Atlantic supported stronger health systems effectively.

Health Care Systems

COUNTRYWIDE

ealth care in South Africa has always had many dimensions. There is the need for qualified personnel, especially nurses; the need for proper research and data to inform public policy; and the need to engage with health as it relates to human rights, especially when it comes to the rights of people with HIV/AIDS and people in the rural areas.

One person who has been central to many of the debates on health within Atlantic, especially as it relates to its impact on health coverage and public policy, is public health specialist Dr Waasila Jassat, who started out as a grantee in 2011 at the Health Systems Trust (HST), a research and policy development organisation, but eventually began to do more substantial work for the foundation. At the time, she was the senior programme manager at HST in charge of health-system strengthening projects.

"Atlantic took the broad approach to strengthen South Africa's health system: by having people work with the Department of Health, while having advocacy groups hold them accountable. It is a perfect balance of placing funding in different pots to get the same ideal."

Dr Waasila Jassat, former senior programme manager of Health Systems Trust

"They funded the *District Health Barometer* and the *South African Health Review*, and they also funded some district and sub-district projects to strengthen information systems and district manager planning," says Jassat. "There was always this commitment of funding from Atlantic to strengthen the district."

The South African Health Review and the District Health Barometer are key publications that researchers, district managers and programme people rely on for planning and accurate information. The South African Health Review provides a view of how the country's health system is performing. The District Health Barometer ranks each district's performance over many indicators.

They were threatened because of a lack of funding from the national Department of Health, but Atlantic stepped in to help for a few years and then the national department again committed to longer-term funding.

"When I joined HST, there were new developments in the South African health system to move towards a primary care orientation, and the minister wanted to implement the primary health care reengineering strategy," explains Jassat.

"We look at the work we supported on advocacy, to strengthen health care.... Our grantees have put government on their toes and made them accountable. That is important progress."

Zola Madikizela, Atlantic's former health programme executive

She says that Atlantic's funding was based on local priorities and in line with policy developments in South Africa. "They were very responsive to local needs, there was no agenda from a foreign donor. Looking at the population health programme and the broad goals around human resource strengthening... there was no prescription from the funder in terms of what you had to do. This was very different from other funders."

One highlight relates to work on primary health care. "Atlantic also had a broader approach that they should strengthen the South African health system by having people working alongside the Department of Health," Jassat adds, "while having people on the outside holding them accountable. This is why they funded advocacy movements. It is a perfect balance of placing your funding in different pots to get the same ideal."

Atlantic's Zola Madikizela, former health programme executive, says Atlantic had many success stories. "For example, we took a delegation led by the minister of health to Brazil, and that led to a complete transformation of ideas and policy around primary health care revitalisation in this country."

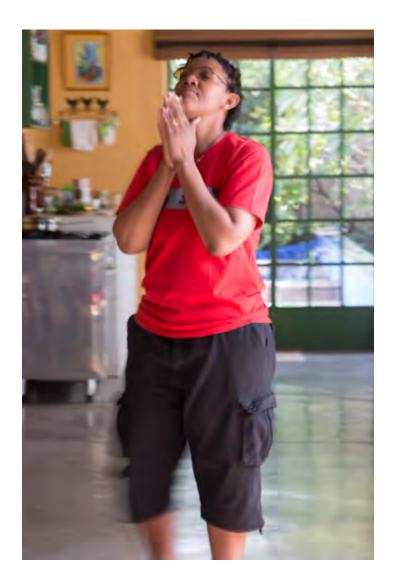
Reflecting on the other important work in health, Madikizela brings up the Treatment Action Campaign, an NGO working for quality public health care that Atlantic supported from 2002 to 2016. "Probably our biggest success was when the TAC took the government to court due to its denialism of the HIV/AIDS crisis. The court required that the government make available free antiretrovirals (ARVs) to anyone who needed them," he says. "Today, more than two million people on public health are on ARVs, largely because of the work of TAC and other advocacy groups.

"There has always been a tendency to talk about problems in this country, but Atlantic has contributed towards solutions. It is not just about a policy-making effort, but this was more about supporting institutions that would develop models for addressing the need," he says.

"We look at the work we supported on advocacy, to strengthen health care," says Madikizela, "the likes of TAC, the Rural Health Advocacy Project, the Southern African HIV Clinicians Society, *Health-E News* [an online news agency covering health-related issues] and various other organisations. They have put government on their toes and made them accountable. That is important progress."

KEY GRANTS

2003-2015	ZAR70.9 million (\$10 million) to help Health Systems Trust strengthen government capacity at district and sub-district levels to manage and implement primary health care services
2008	ZAR5.5 million (\$750000) to the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation for a leadership development programme for the national and provincial ministers and department heads that culminated in revitalization of the country's primary health care system and reform of the national health insurance scheme policy
2002–2013	ZAR56.4 million (\$7 million) to the Treatment Action Campaign to advocate for improved health system performance that effectively and efficiently delivers health care, especially HIV/AIDS programmes



Phumi Mtetwa is an activist and the former head of the Lesbian and Gay Equality Project, which focused on the expansion of LGBTI civil rights in South Africa and other sub-Saharan African countries. It shut down in 2014.

LGBTI Rights

JOHANNESBURG, CAPE TOWN AND MANY RURAL LOCATIONS

he rights of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) communities were often considered a peripheral issue, but much of this changed because of Atlantic's support of organisations operating in these communities.

One of the people who played a key role in these struggles is Phumi Mtetwa, who has a long history of activism against apartheid. She has been active in campaigning for LGBTI rights and has been in the leadership of many organisations in the sector.

"Nowadays, not many funders are prepared to support our cause. This is the situation internationally. Many organisations in the LGBT sector have shut down, and many are in crisis."

Phumi Mtetwa, LGBTI activist and former head of the Lesbian and Gay Equality Project

Mtetwa, who returned from Ecuador to take over the Lesbian and Gay Equality Project (LGEP), says that between 2007 and 2010, the organisation experienced major mismanagement problems. The Project's work included law reform, lobbying and advocacy, litigation, employment equality and leadership development.

"The Atlantic Philanthropies staff were very supportive," she says. "They had confidence that we would come through this horrible experience. They funded a strategic planning process that involved consulting people throughout



the continent. It not only saved the Equality Project to be able to maintain a political presence in the public domain, but also supported movementbuilding and helped with litigation on hate crime cases that we were working on."

Mtetwa says that Atlantic provided operating funds for many organisations in the LGBTI sector. They were prepared to take risks and didn't impose an agenda. The result was a vast expansion of activity, but at a level that would be difficult to sustain after Atlantic's departure.

"Nobody funded LGBTI activism in South Africa. Atlantic came along and was prepared to take the risk because they realised its importance. You can have an equality clause in the Constitution, but you need to build a movement to make this a reality."

Melanie Judge, LGBTI activist and consultant

"Many of us probably got spoiled because of this funding," Mtetwa acknowledges. "Nowadays, not many funders are prepared to support our cause. This is the situation internationally. Many organisations did not diversify their funding base, so... have shut down, and many are in crisis." LGEP closed its doors in 2014.

Neville Gabriel is chief executive officer and a founding member of The Other Foundation, which advances equality and freedom in Southern Africa, with a focus on sexual orientation and gender identity. He says the gay and lesbian movement would not be where it is today without Atlantic's support. "It was an activist funder," he adds.

The Other Foundation was started with a generous grant over five years from Atlantic, which was another part of its sustainability strategy. The Foundation needs to attract enough other money to match Atlantic's contribution. "Atlantic gave us \$4.5 million [ZAR33.5 million] in 2012 to establish the Foundation.... It is a matching grant, so we have to annually raise the equivalent amount to unlock what Atlantic has given," says Gabriel.

LGBTI activist and academic Melanie Judge says the first time she worked with Atlantic was on the campaign for the legalisation of same-sex marriages, which was before the Supreme Court of Appeal in the early 2000s.

"I've worn different hats over the past 15 or 16 years in my relationship with Atlantic—as a grantee and then as a consultant on various programmes," she says. "Nobody funded LGBTI activism in South Africa. Atlantic came along and was prepared to take the risk because they realised its importance. You can have an equality clause in the Constitution, but you need to build a movement to make this a reality."

KEY GRANTS

2002-2012	ZAR11.6 million (\$1.6 million) for operating and programme costs for the Lesbian and Gay Equality Project
2012-2018	ZAR36 million (\$4.6 million) to establish and provide operating costs for The Other Foundation for five years
2004–2010	ZAR78.4 million (\$10.8 million) to support all other LGBTI efforts in the country

Social Justice Coalition

KHAYELITSHA AND OTHER TOWNSHIPS IN CAPE TOWN

here are many organisations that have mushroomed in the postdemocracy era in South Africa because of support from The Atlantic Philanthropies. One of them is the Social Justice Coalition (SJC), which started in 2008 in the informal settlements in Khayelitsha.

The Social Justice Coalition is a membership-based community organisation with 2 500 members in 17 branches across Khayelitsha, Kraaifontein, Crossroads and Gugulethu in Cape Town. SJC strives to advance the constitutional rights to life, dignity, equality, freedom and safety in the lives of all people, but especially those living in informal settlements in South Africa.

"Our cities remain deeply segregated. Informal households, mostly located on urban peripheries, make up around 20 per cent of each of South Africa's major cities. Informal settlements... continue to be treated as temporary and transitory by those in government, even though many have existed for decades."

SJC's website, www.sjc.org.za

SJC OBJECTIVE

To use the
Constitution to
hold government
to account
for all people,
especially those
in informal
settlements.

Phumeza Mlungwana was involved in the SJC for more than six years, in various capacities, leading to her becoming its general secretary for four years. She is currently a Social Change Initiative Fellow—also an Atlantic grantee—working toward an Mphil degree at the University of Cape Town, and examining the particular challenges leaders and activists face in building mass movements and campaigns for transformational change.

Mlungwana became involved in SJC because, as a member of the Khayelitsha community, "it deals with the issues that have always been closest to my heart, in which I had been trying to engage through some other organisations. The objective of the organisation is to use the Constitution to hold government to account."

SJC currently advocates for improved access to dignified infrastructure for informal settlements, such as water, sanitation and public safety.

Safety is not simply about the criminal justice system. The first thing SJC volunteers did was to look at how to make people feel safe.... They discovered the number one issue in the community was toilets.

Veteran activist Zackie Achmat founded and has been involved with many of the organisations, including SJC, which have been supported by Atlantic.

"My understanding of Atlantic was that they would strengthen civil society organisations to help implement the Constitution of South Africa, that they would help to operationalise the Constitution for ordinary people," Achmat says.

"That would include helping the State where necessary, but where the State becomes an obstacle, whether it is for good or bad reasons, it can be challenged," he explains. "Atlantic also funded movements. Their funding of research-based organisations, like SJC, meant that the movements could rely on good research."

Achmat says: "One of our members was murdered in Khayelitsha because she had HIV. Her body was found in a toilet. The way the courts handled this case was shocking. Then another lesbian woman got killed and TAC became involved in anti–gender-based violence work.



Phumeza Mlungwana, former SJC general secretary, grew up in an informal settlement in Khayelitsha and wants to make life better for its residents.

"All of these things speak to the heart of safety, and safety is not simply about the criminal justice system. The first thing we had to look at was how to make people safe, and it would be a mistake to start a separate campaign for immigrants and a separate campaign for queer people," Achmat adds.

Out of that came the Social Justice Coalition, and the first thing the SJC volunteers did was go around the community and ask people what made them feel safe or unsafe. They discovered that the number one issue in the community was toilets. "This was really how the Social Justice Coalition was born," he explains.

"If you go to a [communal] toilet, you fear it because you have to walk a distance. You may not have a toilet, and you have to go to the bush, and you fear that you are going to get robbed on the way there," says Achmat. "When you are in the toilet, you fear you are going to be locked in, and if you are a woman, you face sexual violence as well as robbery, and the fear of murder."

So SJC began a campaign for safe and decent toilets, with Atlantic funding. Out of that came a Commission of Inquiry into policing in Khayelitsha, and SJC demanded safe streets as well as safe toilets.

Today, they campaign for safety and security for all with two main focuses: a Local Government Programme to ensure dignity, equality and justice for those living in informal settlements and a Safety and Justice Programme to ensure all people have access to a democratic and effective police and criminal justice system. SJC now works with several international funding agencies.

KEY GRANTS

ZAR5.5 million (\$695000) for core and programme support



Ntshadi Mofokeng, chief operations officer of Equal Education, has praise for the dedication and tenacity of the students who "pour their hearts and souls" into advocating for better schools.

Equal Education

KHAYELITSHA, KING WILLIAM'S TOWN, JOHANNESBURG AND CAPE TOWN

ducation was the earliest area of interest for The Atlantic Philanthropies in South Africa. The foundation has supported several higher education institutions as well as activist groups operating in the high school sector, such as Equal Education (EE), which mobilises students and communities to fight for better quality and equality in education for all South Africans through research and activism.

Ntshadi Mofokeng, chief operations officer of Equal Education, first got involved with the organisation in 2011, shortly after returning from the United States of America where she had completed a degree in political science at Bryn Mawr University in Pennsylvania.

"Our relationship with government is well-balanced. There are times when we have to challenge and hold them accountable, but there also times when we have to say to government that they have innovated something great and made some progress."

Ntshadi Mofokeng, chief operations officer of Equal Education

"Equal Education has more than 70 full-time staff, but we have a large pool of facilitators, post-school youth who facilitate the youth group meetings in which learners participate. We easily have 100 to 120 volunteers who are engaging in education issues so that they can convey these to equalisers, who are high school members," she explains. "What we do is not possible without these young people who are dedicated and who care so much about the issues. They completely delve into EE and pour their heart and soul into it."

EQUAL EDUCATION'S FORCE

5 088

members in five provinces

12 O volunteers

70 staff

150 youth facilitators

Source: Equal Education

National School Standards

The norms and standards for school infrastructure, adopted in 2013, are the first comprehensive guide for the physical resources every school must have.

IN 3 YEARS 2016

All schools made of mud, asbestos, metal or wood must be replaced by new schools.

Schools with no water, electricity or sanitation must be provided with these basics.

IN 7 YEARS

All schools must be provided with an adequate supply of classrooms, electricity, water and sanitation.

Electronic connectivity and perimeter security must be provided to all schools.

IN 10 YEARS 2023

Libraries and laboratories must be provided to all schools. IN 17 YEARS 2030

All other norms must be completely provided. This includes school halls, sports fields, walkways and parking lots.

"Our relationship with government is well-balanced," Mofokeng says. "There are times when we have to challenge and hold them accountable, but there are also times when we have to say to government that they have innovated something great and made some progress. There has been a lot of progress in the education system, but it is obviously not enough."

One example of EE's far-reaching work has been sustained advocacy for better school infrastructure, and on 29 November 2013, there was a positive and historic development. Minister of Basic Education Angie Motshekga published the legally binding "Norms and Standards for Public School Infrastructure." For the first time ever, it was the law that every school must have water, electricity, internet, working toilets, safe classrooms with a maximum of 40 learners, security and thereafter libraries, laboratories and sports facilities.

According to EE's website, in 2011 there were more than 400 schools in the Eastern Cape classified as "mud schools," which means many of them consist of mud and shacks. In terms of the "Norms and Standards", the



Equal Education fights for children's equal access to free primary and secondary education.

146 The Atlantic Philanthropies

provincial departments have three years to eradicate schools made from inappropriate materials such as mud, wood, metal and asbestos. EE has continued to advocate and lobby due to a lack of progress and, as this book was going to press, returned to court in March 2018, challenging the "Norms" law loopholes. They were seeking a court order requiring the Minister to take certain minimum steps to oversee and monitor implementation of binding infrastructure standards.

Doron Isaacs, former treasurer of Equal Education, started with the organisation's forerunner on a research project with schoolchildren's issues in 2006, when he was a law student at the University of Cape Town.

"We started in Khayelitsha, where Yoliswa [Dwane, EE's chairperson] lived and where the Treatment Action Campaign, our partner organisation, was also very strong," says Isaacs. "We quickly recruited people to our ranks, but we didn't have any money. Christine Downton gave us money from her discretionary fund as a Board member and motivated us to get more support from Atlantic. The relationship continues [as the] new Atlantic-funded building, Isivivana Centre, is where our offices are."

KEY GRANTS

ZAR3.8 million (\$471642) for operating and programme support

Isivivana Centre

KHAYELITSHA TOWNSHIP, CAPE TOWN

hayelitsha, which means "our new home" in Xhosa, is an informal temporary township built in 1985, towards the end of apartheid. Originally intended as a township where people from other provinces could find places to live in the Western Cape, Khayelitsha still houses far more makeshift structures of plywood and corrugated metal, plastic sheets or cardboard than brick homes. It is also where many of the province's nongovernmental organisations find demand for their work, making it the ideal home for the Isivivana Centre.

"Isivivana Centre encompasses all of our work in health, education and rights. Here was an opportunity to create a facility that would house effective social-change leaders to bring meaningful, tangible change for the Khayelitsha community, which reflects the challenges we face globally."

Christopher G Oechsli, Atlantic's president and CEO

Isivivana came about because of a long relationship between Atlantic and some organisations located there. Iain Watermeyer, building manager, says the idea for the building was the result of Equal Education and the Social Justice Coalition realising that there was a need for office space in Khayelitsha, where many NGOs operate, and they needed a safer environment due to security issues.

"EE and SJC had both been held up at gunpoint on more than one occasion and had their offices cleared out. Guns pose a very serious risk in this area," says Watermeyer.

In many ways, this project, which took six years to accomplish, was for Atlantic a merger of founder Chuck Feeney's recognition of the value of capital projects with support for critical social-change movements.

people live in Khayelitsha, South Africa's largest and fastest growing township, and 50% are under 19 years old.

148 The Atlantic Philanthropies

> "Isivivana Centre encompasses all of our work in health, education and rights," says Atlantic CEO Oechsli. "Here was an opportunity to create a facility that would house effective, active social-change leaders and bring meaningful, tangible change to the Khavelitsha community which reflects the challenges we face globally."

"Our previous office was a bit isolated, and we had our fair share of crime, which affected the morale of staff and members. The new space has created a comfortable and safe working environment. People can now focus on the important work that needs to be done."

Honjiswa Raba, Equal Education's human resources officer

ISIVIVANA **FACILITIES FOR** THE COMMUNITY

> seat Bertha Movie House and auditorium

seat meeting hall

seat classroom and library

seat outdoor amphitheatre For the late 2016 opening of Isivivana Centre, an office and community complex funded principally by ZAR125 million (\$9.9 million) in grants from Atlantic, there was huge celebration, bringing together NGOs who are housed there, and other community organisations and leaders from Khayelitsha township.

In true African tradition, there was lots of singing, dancing and eating, and celebrated author Zakes Mda was the keynote speaker. He spoke about the meaning of "Isivivana," which, roughly, is a cairn or a pile of stones cast down at the roadside by African travellers in order to bring good luck on a long journey. As more travellers pass, they place their stones, building the pile.

The three-storey building provides a home for several NGOs, including Equal Education and its Law Centre, Social Justice Coalition, TEKANO, Treatment Action Campaign, Médecins Sans Frontières, Thope Foundation and Workers World Media Production.

The building has a 200-seat meeting hall, a 112-seat auditorium that also serves as the community movie house, a library with an attached classroom, three private meeting rooms and an outdoor amphitheatre, all of which are available for use by the community. On the ground floor, there is a mix of Khayelitsha businesses, entrepreneurs and retail outlets to draw people to the building.

"This is a real community centre, and we want to help develop some smaller businesses to get them on their feet," says Watermeyer. "We've created this space, and we've provided security and all the basic fittings... to make it easy for someone to get going."

Honjiswa Raba, the human resources officer at Equal Education, says moving to the centre has been positive. "People from the community have a better reach to us because the building is situated in a central part of Khayelitsha, which is easily accessible. The location is also much safer because it is in the business hub of Khayelitsha, where there is much activity.

"Personally, I feel safer at the new building," Raba explains. "Our previous office was a bit isolated and, as a result, we had our fair share of incidents of crime, which affected the morale of staff and members. The new space has created a comfortable and safe working environment. People can now focus on the important work that needs to be done rather than having to constantly worry about their safety."

She says that it is great having all these other great organisations sharing the building and a common goal of social justice. They can strengthen the working relationships that already existed with partner organisations. It also

Isivivana Centre

WHY?

A scarcity of safe office and community space in Khayelitsha township for social change organisations. Their clients needed easier access to their health, education and rights support and services.

HOW?

Atlantic and others provided funds for the project and a trust to support the facility long term.

Architects and general contractor hired mostly local labour to create a sustainable office building and community centre, on time and under budget.

WHO?

The Centre houses NGOs, including Equal Education and its Law Centre, Social Justice Coalition, TEKANO, Treatment Action Campaign, Médecins Sans Frontières, Thope Foundation and Workers World Media Production.

The Centre welcomes the community to use the space for meetings, entertainment and events.

provides an opportunity to build new partnerships with the other organisations in the building doing equally important work for the community.

"The response from the community has been positive. What has stood out for me is seeing how the new building has already benefitted so many people from the community within a short space of time. It has already created opportunities of employment, and I'm proud to have been part of that process," Raba adds.

"This is a real community centre, and we want to help develop some smaller businesses to get them on their feet. We've created this space, and we've provided security and all the basic fittings... to make it easy for someone to get going."

lain Watermeyer, building manager at Isivivana

Phumeza Mlungawana, former general secretary of the Social Justice Coalition, says that being in the new building made a huge difference to the organisation's work.

"You don't want to see our offices before this," Mlungawana says. SJC rented a small house at Z Section, Khayelitsha, for two years that was accessible but very small. The staff of 25 worked in a 70-square-metre house. They couldn't implement certain programmes that needed more space.

"When we moved here, it provided us with decent office space that is central and accessible. It has given us the space to launch programmes that we wanted to launch a long time ago," she explains.

Pointing out another major benefit, Mlungawana says: "We have also started cooperating with other people who are in the building, like Workers World. We had a relationship in the past, but never joint programmes. Now the communication is better. We have facilities in the same building that we can use for our programmes."

Isaacs explains that care has been taken to support the building for a long time. "Atlantic funded it 99 per cent. We raised small amounts from other sources. A large part of the money has been set aside [in a trust] to fund the building for the next few decades."



Honjiswa Raba, head of human resources at Equal Education and a trustee of the Khayelitsha Youth & Community Centre Trust, is proud of Isivivana's new office space and early contributions to the community.



A giant mural, known as "Boniswa" by Breeze Yoko, adorns one wall on the Isivivana Centre. In Xhosa, Boniswa is a female name that means "show." Isaacs points out that ultimately the struggle of tens of thousands of activists in Khayelitsha built Isivivana. Were it not for them, Atlantic would not have made the investment, and the building would not exist. Isivivana is therefore a widely shared achievement, which shows in the way it has been embraced by the thousands of people who have visited it.

At the launch of the building, he delivered the vote of thanks and said many people had gone beyond the call of duty, including the contractors who used mainly local labour and came in under budget.

"When we moved here, it provided us with decent office space that is central and accessible. It is very safe. It has given us the space to launch programmes that we wanted to launch a long time ago."

Phumeza Mlungawana, former general secretary of the Social Justice Coalition

Finally, they hired a couple of local artists to liven up the building, including large murals on the outside walls. "There's also a beautiful mosaic in the hall of trees... [which] ties in with the fact that the pillars on the building and the awning outside are not all straight. They were put in skew deliberately to mimic the way trees grow," he explains. "That theme is carried on through inside into the hall."

In an effort to reduce the blowing sand and high temperatures a little, well-established orange and avocado trees were planted in front of the building. The architect and designers want to encourage the planting and care of trees in Khayelitsha because it's typically sand dunes, and the wind howls. They hope to improve the environment both inside and outside of the Isivivana Centre.

"This building is the best legacy that Atlantic could have left," says Mlungawana.

KEY GRANTS

2014-2019

ZAR125.4 million (\$9.9 million) for the land purchase and building construction of Isivivana Centre





The foundation's efforts featured many discrete accomplishments—research and community facilities built, successful litigation and policy initiatives completed, professionals trained and deployed. But the overarching goals were more open-ended and long term.

The women and men in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, seek their rights promised in the Constitution.

Lessons from the Past, and a Look Toward the Future

tlantic was first drawn to South Africa in 1991, in the time of negotiations that would lead to the country's first democratic elections and the beginning of a long, historic transformation. Like much of the world, Atlantic's Founding President Harvey Dale had come to believe, as he put it many years later, "that there was going to be a miracle." Amid the cascade of surprising and hopeful events, he concluded that "South Africa seemed on its way, in a very short time, to becoming a democratic, multiracial society."

Philanthropy works best "not when it steers the grantee's ship, but when it helps put the wind in their sails."

Chuck Feeney, founder of The Atlantic Philanthropies

Compared with the early rush of positive changes and soaring expectations, later years showed that the transformation to a truly equitable democratic society would be more of a slow-motion miracle. Nonetheless, Atlantic's determination to

play a helpful role in that process took root in a time of unparalleled optimism, and it persisted into the foundation's final years of grantmaking. Goals that began to take shape at Atlantic in the mid-1990s, such as commitments to public-interest law, constitutional defence, reconciliation, health equity and equal access to higher education, continued and even expanded throughout the ensuing two decades.

The most consistent feature of Atlantic's work in the country has been a commitment to the vigorous pursuit of equality, justice and human rights, as enshrined in the South African Bill of Rights. According to the interpretation of the Constitutional Court, the Bill of Rights obliges the government to take reasonable, persistent measures to alleviate the worst conditions of poverty and inequality, within available resources.

TRAITS OF THE ATLANTIC PHILANTHROPIES



Source: The Atlantic Philanthropies Stakeholder Assessment by Artemis Strategy Group, 2014 That interpretation is due in significant measure to the work of the public-interest law firms that brought and argued the earliest cases; the grassroots organisations that mobilised aggrieved communities to pursue their rights; and the scholars, researchers and organisers who compiled the evidence to bolster their arguments. All of them were the recipients of a sustained, systematic Atlantic investment in the basic architecture of constitutionalism, citizen participation, and public-interest research and advocacy.

Forging alliances and helping to seed and strengthen organisations, mobilise movements and fortify essential institutions can all be slow and exacting work. Time was scarce, the road ahead uncertain, and the danger of hubris or naïveté ever present.

That same approach soon carried over into the pursuit of more equitable health care. After a period of exploration that yielded some important work in HIV/AIDS advocacy, public health education and management of health systems, Atlantic began to focus squarely on three broad areas that most affect the ability of poor, rural and disadvantaged South Africans to get basic health care.

The first of these is the ability to see a competent primary health-care worker, who in nearly all poor communities is most likely to be a nurse. The second is the government's ability to direct resources efficiently to the places that most need them, in a way that will produce better results. The third is a voice for ordinary people, with enough information, organisation and determination to make their needs known. All these strands of work are illustrated in the earlier sections of this book.

The expansiveness of these goals was both a strength and a challenge. On one hand, for an institution dedicated to making "big bets"—large, ambitious contributions aimed at achieving major change—here was a roster of truly big issues on which to place those bets, and a society determined to accomplish big things.

On the other hand, societies tend not to withstand too much sweeping change at once, and with Atlantic's lifespan set to end in a couple of decades, the time for making far-reaching and enduring changes would be brief.

"Funders cannot resolve inclusive development outcomes on their own. The only player that has those resources is the state. You must get society, the state and corporate sector to work together."

Adam Habib, Wits University vice-chancellor

Forging alliances and helping to seed and strengthen organisations, mobilise movements and fortify essential institutions can all be slow and exacting work. Time was scarce, the road ahead uncertain, and the danger of hubris or naïveté ever present.

Atlantic did not, of course, navigate this mixture of opportunities and risks perfectly. "Organisations doing good work have limited access to funds," Atlantic's CEO Christopher G Oechsli says. "It is not something that we can resolve. We can only try our best to be fair and graceful in the exit, and I would hope that in some instances we get it right. I recognise that maybe in other instances, people will have felt we did not."

As the earlier sections make clear, it helped a sizeable cadre of South African leaders, educators and civil society organisations gain ground on all the major goals on its list. And in that process, it learned several lessons, of which six seem especially useful for other, similarly ambitious, funders.



Temoso Moseki attends a class as part of the Clinical Associates programme at the training centre of Zeerust-Lehurutshe District Hospital, North West Province. 1. Even very big bets from foreign donors are, at most, a small part of the overall equation of social change in a country as complex as South Africa. The real challenge, therefore, is to improve the way other, much larger resources are used—and that, almost inevitably, means changing public policy.

As Wits University Vice-Chancellor Adam Habib put it, "Funders do not have enough money" to pay for far-reaching social change on their own. "You cannot resolve inclusive development outcomes, if that's your goal, and you do not have the resources to enable those outcomes. The only player that has those resources is the state. You must get society, the state and corporate sector to work together."

The funder's challenge is to find the strongest leaders, understand their needs, help them connect with one another and equip them with the resources that can propel their success.

Sometimes that means supporting activist and grassroots movements that can press for improvements in government policy, as Atlantic did in backing organisations like the Treatment Action Campaign and a roster of LGBTI advocacy groups. In other cases, it may mean supporting litigation to pursue change through the courts, as the Legal Resources Centre, Section 27, Lawyers for Human Rights and others did with Atlantic support.

But it can also mean collaborating with reformists in government to help them overcome obstacles that block their path to better policies. For example, this kind of collaboration characterises Atlantic's long partnership with the Ministry of Health and the foundation's pivotal role in establishing and nurturing the Health Systems Trust. In both cases, the goal was to help public officials make improvements to which they were already committed, but for which they lacked the technical or financial resources to make significant progress.

2. It is often better to invest in a country's existing assets than to try to create new ones.

In a country with tremendous needs and enormous gaps in public services and support for disadvantaged people, it can be tempting for funders to try to create brand new organisations and programmes. This is not only among the highest-risk kinds of philanthropy, but it is often unnecessary.

As in South Africa, most countries already have leaders and organisations with the knowledge, talent and vision to solve problems. The funder's challenge is to find the strongest of these, understand their needs, help them connect with one another and equip them with the resources that can propel their success.

Atlantic's investments overwhelmingly went toward strengthening, expanding and amplifying work that South African human rights and education leaders and their organisations were already undertaking, with underlying visions that came from the grantees, not primarily from Atlantic.

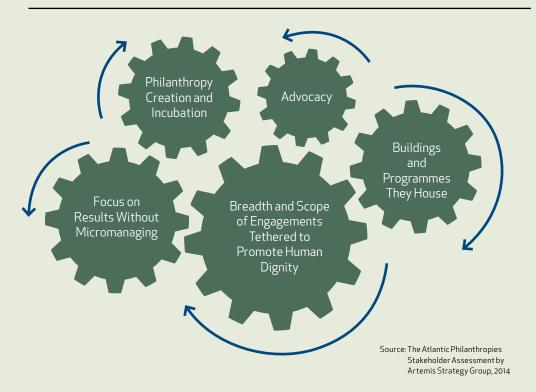
Activist and academic Barbara Klugman, an Atlantic consultant, believes that the foundation has excelled in this practice. "Instead of following a pattern that many donors have, in which people must commit in advance to what they are going to do and to their outcomes, Atlantic assesses the group, its strategic capacity and commitment to the issues, whether it is working on issues that Atlantic is interested in, and then funds them on the basis of trust."

Finding grantees who can work with a funder in this way isn't always easy. It takes foundation offices with an intimate understanding of their environment and field of practice, and an ability to adapt to new and changing developments. But it offers a funder some reassurance that new ideas and projects

are rooted in reality, backed by leaders who have spent time at the front lines, and consistent with the aspirations of local people and communities.

This is the course that Atlantic took, for example, in backing the Legal Resources Centre, the leading South African universities and nursing colleges, community advice offices and many other home-grown organisations and institutions. Some were already strong, though many were small and struggling at the time Atlantic began to work with them. In nearly every case, however, the relationship between foundation and grantee was based on an initial inquiry very much like the question former Atlantic President John R Healy first posed to Geoffrey Budlender when he was then

ATLANTIC'S FIVE DIFFERENTIATING FACTORS



director of the fledgling Legal Resources Centre: "What would you most like to do that you currently cannot do because of a lack of money?"

"Inclusivity is a never-ending challenge. It requires a trade-off between openness to new and different perspectives and a drive to focus and achieve meaningful impact and desired change."

Christopher G Oechsli, Atlantic's president and CEO

To be sure, Atlantic did occasionally take the riskier course of promoting entirely new organisations—most notably The Other Foundation and Inyathelo: The South African Institute for Advancement. In these cases, Atlantic believed strongly that it had identified a need that no one was yet supplying or trying to supply: long-term funding for sexual- and gender-equality organisations in the first case, organisational development consulting for nongovernment organisations in the second.

These start-ups were complicated and took time to mature, and it is worth noting that both have sparked some controversy, even among people who are otherwise supportive of Atlantic's work. But new launches such as these were a small exception to a solidly predominant rule: Atlantic's investments overwhelmingly helped strengthen, expand and amplify work that South African educational, health and human rights organisations were already undertaking, with underlying visions that came from their leaders, not primarily from Atlantic.

3. Maintain a wide network of local contacts and advisors in your fields of interest, and refresh that network continuously.

This principle is, in some respects, a corollary of the previous one: The best ideas are often already present in the field, but finding them takes time, attentiveness, judgment and openness. This is a long-cherished principle at Atlantic, but one that some believe the foundation followed too sporadically in South Africa.

"Atlantic was, in effect, an activist funder. The advantage of their approach was that they could be strategic and really target their funding without too much scrutiny. But when you are funding in a community of activism, the accountability works differently. The downside was that they were not open to people outside of this activist community."

Neville Gabriel, executive director of The Other Foundation

Atlantic's wide-ranging relationships with activists, academic experts, NGOs, legal and health care professionals, labour organisations and government agencies provided a huge web of perspectives, backgrounds, experience and types of expertise. Foundation staff met constantly with people from various parts of the fields in which they worked.

"Inclusivity is a never-ending challenge," says Atlantic's CEO Christopher G Oechsli. "It requires a trade-off between openness to new and different perspectives and a drive to focus and achieve meaningful impact and desired change."



This wall in White City, Jabavu, features a montage tracing the route of the 1976 march that started the Soweto uprising. It is one of 40 memorials commissioned by the *Sunday Times* for its centenary and based on research conducted by Atlantic grantee, the South African History Archive.

However, several people interviewed for this book suspect that Atlantic's commitment to its projects and grantees ultimately caused it to narrow its circle of advisors, leading to intellectual and strategic relationships that were deeper than they were broad. This may, some feel, have closed off the foundation's access to voices of dissent or contrasting ways of thinking.

As Neville Gabriel, executive director of The Other Foundation, points out, a narrowing circle of interaction is a particular risk in social-change philanthropy, where organisations are fuelled by passion and conviction, and contrary opinions sometimes end up relegated to the periphery.

Some funders prefer to aim their resources at scoring specific achievements—construction of a building, for example, or the training of cohorts of experts or leaders. Other funders, however, hope to nurture and sustain some ongoing capacity for social improvement.

"Atlantic was, in effect, an activist funder," Gabriel notes. "The advantage of their approach was that they could be strategic and really target their funding without too much scrutiny. But when you are funding in a community of activism, the accountability works differently. The downside was that they were not open to people outside of this activist community."

4. Know whether your goal is to produce a set of discrete accomplishments, or to fuel ongoing capacity. The former is more likely than the latter to be achievable in a limited time.

Some funders aim their resources at scoring specific achievements—constructing a building, for example, or training cohorts of experts or leaders, or the enactment of a specific change in public policy. Chuck Feeney, it should be noted, was just such a philanthropist, though he welcomed other perspectives from the foundation's staff and Board. In these cases, success has a defined end-point: "A completed building, trained leaders, victory in court, or legislation enacted."

A funder with a time limit may find this kind of philanthropy more satisfying, because it can be easier to match the expected duration of funding with the expected time needed to complete the task.

Other funders, however, hope to nurture and sustain some ongoing capacity for social improvement. They may want to widen access to higher education, improve the way health care is delivered, strengthen civil society with a more vigorous network of grassroots organisations or make the provision of human services more effective.

Some of these goals are close to perpetual (things can always be improved), but in any case, they do not have a clear endpoint. Even partial, incremental success in endeavours like these can take much longer than seems likely at first. If a funder is working on a fixed time schedule and runs out of time, grantees may find themselves stranded with their work far from finished and their long-trusted source of support suddenly gone.



Delegates gather during an annual HIV conference in 2014 at the University of the Western Cape's School of Public Health. The facility's open spaces encourage interaction and collaboration.

That is, in fact, how some South African grantees viewed their relationship with Atlantic. The foundation's efforts in the country featured many accomplishments—research and community facilities built, successful litigation and policy initiatives completed, professionals trained and deployed.

But the overarching goals were more open-ended and long term, including more equitable access to health care and education; greater equality for disadvantaged racial, ethnic and sexual groups; and a stronger body of service and advocacy organisations to pursue these objectives. These causes continue, with success still far in the distance. But they now continue largely without direct support from Atlantic. That fact gives rise to a fifth and related lesson.

A funder who wishes to make a lasting difference in a limited period may find capital projects, if carefully chosen and designed, a useful route to that goal.

5. One way a time-limited donor can support discrete projects is to invest in buildings and equipment for institutions that provide critical social benefits.

Among many capital projects in South Africa, Atlantic invested in research and classroom buildings at universities, with the aim of strengthening the disciplines and professional fields they house. It supported facilities for cultural and public-interest organisations, which both elevated their stature and drew public attention to the messages they convey. And it funded buildings, such as the headquarters of Lawyers for Human Rights, that provide a base for the grantee's operations and a stream of rental income for its ongoing support.

One of Atlantic's last grants in South Africa provided a variation on this last approach: The Isivivana Centre in Khayelitsha, where Equal Education, Treatment Action Campaign, the Social Justice Coalition and others share offices, and where commercial tenants pay rent that helps support the organisations' work.

However, as Klugman notes, the rental income was not the main purpose of the building. "They are all Atlantic grantees," she says, "but this was not done to help those groups make money. It was done because those groups have had such major security problems in Khayelitsha. And, by putting them together, they can get the added value of being in contact."

The key point is that buildings and equipment are not just physical assets. They are often fundamental requisites of effective social change—the indispensable platform on which many kinds of societal progress can be built. A funder who wishes to make a lasting difference in a limited period may find capital projects, if carefully chosen and designed, a useful route to that goal.

6. A foundation operating on a limited life should start planning its conclusion from the very beginning of its operations. And it needs to ensure that its grantees are planning for that conclusion as well.

Although Atlantic had been clear in stating that its grants would eventually come to an end, grantees who were focused on long-term visions tended not to reckon with that promised ending until the last two or three years, at which point there was too little time to adjust. Indeed, Atlantic itself did not begin charting a detailed course for its conclusion until 2011, barely three years before making its last regular-programme grant in South Africa. At that point, some grantees say they felt cut adrift and left to fend for themselves.

Shaun Samuels, a consultant to the Atlantic-supported Constitutionalism Fund, points out that these kinds of frustrations are "a normal reaction to something ending, even if you give people a five-year lead time." Nonetheless, he adds, "some of us felt that there should have been more of a targeted exit approach. Many organisations were quite dependent on Atlantic Philanthropies' money, and, by withdrawing, they seriously hurt key players in the NGO sector."

Atlantic has enabled progress on at least four broad areas of public concern in South Africa, but all still cry out for more resources, effort and leadership. They are: constitutionalism, health equity, social and economic inequality, and race.

Particularly for a foundation like Atlantic, devoted to placing "big bets" on major social goals, the prospect of a final departure can too easily create a steep funding cliff for grantees: a long stream of support in very large amounts, abruptly followed by no support at all.

Geoff Budlender, who generally expresses support for the value of Giving While Living, is still uncertain whether "Atlantic handled the spending down properly. In the early years, they spent a lot of money, but they were not spending down. It was only after some years that they came to this decision. This created some pressure to spend a lot of money in a short time. I'm not convinced that it was the right decision."

He notes that Atlantic, in its final years, has endeavoured to create what he describes as "legacy funds"—pooled contributions from Atlantic and other foundations for distribution over several years, giving some grantees an extended period of support, even if at a lower level. Still, Budlender concludes, "Sustainability is very difficult, and I am not sure that these will help."

"There is never an end point to improving the human condition. What is success? It is a process, a journey, with both mistakes and gains along the way. Investment in the people, facilities and values to fuel that process with integrity, to improve people's lives, has always been the goal."

Christopher G Oechsli

It should be noted that several observers believe the timelimited approach to philanthropy, if handled well, can be a good match for circumstances like South Africa's, where many needs are acute and a sense of urgency can be a plus. Also, if "big bets" are well-aimed and if the projects they support are large and consequential, the benefits of those projects will continue to ripple forward for many years.

Jacob van Garderen, formerly national director of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), used his organisation's building as an example of this kind of long-term benefit. "To some extent the limited lifespan makes sense to me," he says, "because, although their funding injection is limited, [the grants] have a lifespan beyond this. As a result of Atlantic's support for the LHR building in Pretoria, the networks and the work that they allowed us to do during that period carry on in many ways."

Oechsli acknowledges all these points of view and says that the foundation recognised that its time-limited operation in South Africa would create both opportunities and difficulties. Among the latter is the reality that Atlantic would never be able to ensure the sustainability of every NGO it supported.

"It is interesting, we get two kinds of responses from grantees," concludes Oechsli. "Some grantees say that Atlantic has been great. They say, if it had not been for us, they could not have done what they have done. Other grantees said that we were leaving them in the lurch. Same actions, two different reactions.

"There is never an end point to improving the human condition," says Oechsli. "What is success? It is a process, a journey, with both mistakes and gains along the way. Investment in the people, facilities and values to fuel that process with integrity, to improve people's lives, has always been the goal."

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One of the joys of working on this project was visiting organisations and projects that had been supported by The Atlantic Philanthropies in various parts of South Africa. Atlantic did not only interact with civil society organisations but also many government officials, with whom they appear to have had a good relationship. Some of these officials agreed to be interviewed.

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Benny Gool: 76
Isivivana website: 86
TEKANO: 89
dhk architects: 106
Ashraf Hendricks: 154
Mikhael Subotzky: 156
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