LAFF

THE LAFF SOCIETY Promoting Social and Professional Contacts Among Former Staff Members of The Ford Foundation

August 2011 / No. 67

LAFFers INVITED!

Plans are moving ahead for the Society's gathering at the Foundation in New York City on November 7, an occasion to meet with former colleagues, share reminiscences and reflect together on the important issues of the day.

Details are being worked out for a panel discussion of the role philanthropy has played in some of the more momentous politico-social transformations that have occurred over the last fifty years in regions where the Foundation has been active. These will include the end of apartheid in South Africa, and the transition in Latin America from military to democratic rule, and in Central Europe from communism to democracy, with a focus on lessons to be learned for our tumultuous times.

The program committee is also considering a second panel on major domestic issues and initiatives. Weigh in with your ideas! And, of course, there will be time between sessions and at the reception for plenty of meeting and greeting!

So watch your mail. An email message will be sent to all members in early Fall with full details on the gathering.

DEMOCRACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

LOWYAT.NET

The LAFFing Parade

Dr. Shekhar Shah, who was program officer for international economics in South Asia in the 1980s and until recently was the World Bank's regional economic advisor for South Asia, has been appointed director general of the National Council for Applied Economic Research in New Delhi. In his capacity at Ford, he helped revive Foundation support for NCAER as one of the key policy research institutes in India that the Foundation had set up in the 1950s. Dr. Shah holds a Ph.D. in economics from Columbia University.

Gina Sanchez, formerly of the investment management staff, is director of equity and asset allocation strategy at RGE (Roubini Global Economics). Before joining RGE, she spent four years as an institutional asset manager, serving at the California Endowment, a Los Angeles-based foundation, and at the Foundation as director of public investments. She was a portfolio manager and strategist

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By Ruth Mayleas with assistance from Sheila Gordon

Beamed via live screen video from Cairo, former staffer **Barbara Ibrahim** joined colleagues **David Arnold** and **Gary Sick** in a special briefing on recent developments in the Middle East. The briefing, held on April 29 at the Institute of International Education (in order to take advantage of its video conferencing equipment), was attended by some 35 New York region LAFFers.

Given her presence on the ground and despite the hour in Cairo (it was midnight), Ibrahim was invited to give her reflections on the factors behind the street protests in Cairo, which resulted in the deposition of President Mubarak and the take over of the government by the Egyptian military.

Ibrahim is the founding director of the **John D. Gerhart** Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement at the American University in Cairo (AUC). Arnold, former president of AUC, is now president of the Asia Foundation, while Sick is senior research scholar at Columbia University's Middle East Institute. The topic of the briefing: "Prospects for Democracy in the Middle East."

Having witnessed the earliest demonstrations in Tahrir Square, Ibrahim described a sharp generational—and attitudinal—shift. The demonstrators, especially those in the first cohorts, were young (typically under 35), with women well represented. Over time, their ranks were increased by older friends and family. The focus was very different from previous outbreaks; those had been led by older people and were focused externally, blaming such outside forces as Israel and the West for Egypt's problems. The recent protests were inward in focus and were aimed at getting control of Egyptian society.

Egypt is now functioning under what is really military rule, Ibrahim stated. There is

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Democracy in the Middle East?

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tacit recognition that the military took power with the support of the protestors. And the protestors are effectively keeping the military in check by consistently holding demonstrations on Fridays.

A remarkable thing about the movement was that it was ideology free, she added. And that it was horizontal, not led by any one faction, and essentially leaderless. This was in some ways a plus. But now it means that there is no one to negotiate.

One must remember that this was still a military coup. She gave credit to the military for realizing early on that they should go along with the protestors. But the military is not capable of the restructuring of society called for by the protestors. The Army needs constant reminders not to revert to some of its previous behaviors.

What may happen with elections in the fall is hard to predict, she said, both because of the youth and attitudes of the protestors and because there have been so many years of single party rule. Although effective in what they achieved, the youth are not organized for electoral politics. Even the Muslim Brotherhood, the best organized group, is fractured; its leadership is primarily older men. A related concern with elections coming so soon is that those who were not there from the beginning are trying to take over, to supplant those who were there early on.

Ibrahim described the general state of uncertainty that the new conditions create. Her deepest concern is that the U.S. is not in a good position to anticipate changing events. She explained that—especially since 9/11 and the concerns for safety—the State Department staff is much less engaged, and thus much less knowledgeable about what is happening on the ground.

Ibrahim stated that Egypt is now functioning under what is really military rule; there is tacit recognition that the military took power with the support of the protestors.

In the ensuing discussion David Arnold, who later spoke on the same topic at Stanford University, was asked "Did he see it coming?" His answer: "Yes," but not this suddenly. It was caused by a sudden convergence of factors, aided by social media. He went on to say that the protest really was youth led, with others joining later. And by young he meant the age of AUC students, and it is they who continue to place demands upon the military.

He added that political factors, not economic ones, were predominant. At base, he thinks the movements in Tunisia and elsewhere are political movements. Further, he said that we don't know where it's going and that there are no guarantees. The Muslim Brotherhood played it smartly and was important in pushing the military. The Brotherhood may play a strong government role.

Gary Sick introduced his remarks with the comment that in the entire region, "Things are moving fast and we're having trouble keeping up." The Obama administration seems to be following the Bush administration in pursuing bad policies, he remarked.

He emphasized that what is happening in the region is a real re-ordering to be compared to what happened after WW I. It's a time for real thinking—and tomorrow isn't necessarily going to be like today. To which Arnold added that "each situation is unique" and we must look at the specificity of the new uprisings.

In looking at the broad region, Sick noted:

- Islamism took a big hit in all of it. Extremists had nothing to say in these movements. They will have to find new approaches.
- Iran is another big loser. It is being silent on Syria now.
- Egypt has not thus far played a dominant role, but it will have a dominant voice.
- Our diplomacy, which is based on our not understanding these new circumstances, will have to change—e.g., Egypt-Israel situation.
- Sectarian card-playing: It is dangerous—opening a Pandora's box—for us to use a sectarian lens. He hopes we don't join the Saudi's in the sectarian game.

Among the audience questions:

Q: What did the U.S. government do right and wrong? Cited as an example was the reluctance of the young protesters to meet with Hillary Clinton who was in Cairo on a visit. There was the feeling that the U.S. was waffling in the beginning; our early expressions of Mubarak support didn't sit well.

Q: Curiosity about the future of the Muslim Brotherhood. Arnold replied: "That is THE QUESTION; we don't know." The Brotherhood says it will be involved in parliamentary elections, but won't run anyone. The Brotherhood is not in touch with youth—but it still is one of the only games in town. None of the old political parties have a grass-roots network. And none of the new groups have enough organization.

Q: Will there be a quota of women represented in parliament? Ibrahim said we'll see, adding that if what emerges is a true meritocracy, there are plenty of qualified women to participate. Even the Muslim Brotherhood is changing.

Q: What about Egypt-Israeli relations? Ibrahim responded that the majority of Egyptians don't want to abrogate the treaty —but they resent Israel's behavior in not being an honest broker, in hindering rather

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The LAFF Society
c/o Nellie Toma
PO Box 701107
East Elmhurst, NY 11370

E-Mail: treasurer@laffsociety.org
www.laffsociety.org

Shepard Forman, *President*
Barry D. Gaberman, *Vice President*
Nellie Toma, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Dorothy Nixon, *Administrative Secretary*

China's Migrant Workers

by Andrew Watson

Since leaving the Ford Foundation in April 2008 after being its representative in Beijing for nine years, I have been an adviser to the China-Australia Governance Program (CAGP) funded by Australia's international aid agency, AusAID. The program works on issues related to governance and public policy, and my project has focused on the development of social security for migrant workers.

A key feature of China's reform and opening since 1978 has been the huge expansion of rural-to-urban migration. Once the people's communes were disbanded, China's farmers gained the freedom to control their own labor. They began to move in ever-increasing numbers to off-farm employment, working in small rural enterprises and in manufacturing, construction and services in cities.

There are now as many as 150 million cross-regional migrants and a further 120 million in the local enterprises. Of the 150 million, some 20 percent are settled semipermanently in cities, another 60 percent remain mobile, moving between cities and employment sectors, and the others are temporary migrants who leave their villages to find work during the slack agricultural seasons. It is estimated that more than 30 percent of the migrants are women.

These migrants have made a huge contribution to China's economic restructuring and growth: They represent China's comparative advantage in labor-intensive manufacturing. They have promoted the export of manufactures. They have provided the workforce for the development of infrastructure. They have stimulated the growth of the service sector. They have been the source of growth in rural incomes. And they have promoted urbanization.

Migration has been one of the key factors creating prosperity in China's urban and coastal areas and helping the emergence of a strong, internationally-competitive economy.

But despite their contributions, the migrants face discrimination and have to bear all the risks as individuals. They work in arduous, dirty and dangerous jobs. Their wages are half the level of urban people. They have no security of employment. Their rural household registration means that they cannot enjoy the same levels of social services and social security as urban residents. They cannot get access to urban housing schemes. Their children face difficulties getting into the urban school system and, even if they do, have to go back to their home villages for the university entrance examination.

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Because China's decentralized fiscal and administrative system delivers social security through the local government where one is registered, social security remains tied to place of household registration *(hukou)* and type of employment. As a result, it is fragmented. There are some 2,000 social insurance pool areas, with different schemes for different categories of people and variations in the operation of schemes in different localities. Such a system cannot meet the needs of a mobile workforce. Except where reform experiments are under way, their rural household registration means that migrants remain excluded from services in the urban areas where they live and work, and they face many disadvantages.

Since 2006 the Chinese government has embarked on a series of policy initiatives and experiments to provide better social security for migrant workers. In various places, it has introduced systems covering health, work injury, unemployment, maternity and old-age insurance. The extent of coverage, however, remains very low. Local governments and local communities tend to put obstacles in the way.

During 2008, the development of old-age insurance for migrant workers became a government priority, and the CAGP responded by developing the migrant project. The formulation of effective policies to promote an equitable system of social security for all citizens is a major challenge facing China's social development and essential to eliminate the disparities between rural and urban areas.

But the challenges are formidable:

- Migrants are very mobile, but the basic urban old-age insurance is based on contributions to local social insurance pools.
- That social pools are subject to local policy variations means there is diversity in standards and benefits between different cities.
- Designing systems to serve the mobile migrant population makes heavy demands on such things as database design and management and insurance fund management. They have to be able to track people reliably over time and across locations.
- The fact that old-age insurance lasts a lifetime for each member requires a robust, dependable and integrated system.
- Social security needs transparent, reliable and accountable management in ways that earn the trust of those it serves.
- Migrants earn low incomes and are often employed in the informal sector. Large

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

As Leona and I summer in Brazil, helping at a distance with the Program Committee's plans for LAFF's Fall gathering in New York, I've been thinking about what makes our society so special. Two things come to mind: first, the shared experience of working on important issues at a remarkable institution; and, second, the quality of people who have worked there. LAFF is organized, and hopefully being strengthened, to promote the social and professional contacts we so value. And, through the Newsletter, an enhanced interactive website, and periodic face-to-face gatherings, the Society provides us with the stimulating food for thought we became so accustomed to during our time at the Foundation.

Our modest dues enable us to keep the LAFF machinery running, and so I ask you to keep your membership current and to encourage former colleagues to join as we near the 500 members mark! For those of you in arrears, we are offering an amnesty program! And, to be certain that we embrace everyone, please be in touch with our Secretary-Treasurer, Nellie Toma, if for any reason you find the new dues schedule too onerous. Most importantly, let us know what we can do to make LAFF your most prized social network!

I look forward to seeing you in New York on November 7.

All best, Shep

AN UNCOMMON WOMAN

Running for the presidency in 2008, Barack Obama often referred to his parentage in an abbreviated way: "I am a son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas." The black man from Kenya was Barack Obama Senior, a student at the University of Hawaii who came to the U.S. for advanced study. The white woman was Stanley Ann Dunham, also a student at the university who became enamored with and then pregnant by the charismatic Obama Senior, would marry him, and then divorce him when he left wife and child to study at Harvard and return to Kenya.

Stanley Ann Dunham (she rarely used Stanley, a name borrowed from her father who wanted a son) was indeed a white woman from Kansas and a half dozen other places across the continental U.S. and even the far Pacific. She spent more than half of her adult life studying village life and the role of women in Indonesia. Nearly four years of that expatriate life were spent as a program officer in the offices of the Ford Foundation in Jakarta. The unusual details of Ann Dunham's life are now the subject of a biography, exhaustive in its detail, titled *A Singular Woman: The Untold Story of the Mother of Barack Obama*, written by Janny Scott, a perceptive reporter for *The New York Times* from the years 1994 to 2008 when she went on leave to write the book.

Ann's life was unconventional in many ways. A mother at age 18, she raised her son during his early years as a single mother in both the United States and Indonesia, studied for her doctorate in anthropology at the University of Hawaii (and eventually obtained it 15 years later), had another multiracial child, a daughter, by an Indonesian father whom she also later divorced, became an expert on micro-finance as a means of raising up the rural poor, worked for international aid agencies while struggling to earn enough money to educate her children, and, seeing the potential in her son, sent him off at a tender age to live with his grandparents and attend private school in Hawaii. The story ends with the death of Ann Dunham at age 52 in 1995, a dozen years before Obama became President of the United States.

In writing her book Janny Scott traveled the continental U.S., to Hawaii and Indonesia, all the places that Ann had lived, to interview friends, colleagues, and relatives (nearly 200 in all). Ann's growing up years were spent in Kansas, California, Texas, the state of Washington, and ultimately Hawaii as she followed her father's restless search for employment.

Ann lived with her parents in those first years after her son was born in Hawaii. She first arrived in Indonesia in 1967 with Barack, age six, (she called him Barry) to join her second husband, Lolo Soetoro, an Indonesian graduate student whom she had met through the East-West Center.

INDONESIA KATAKAMI

The unusual details of Ann Dunham's life are now the subject of a biography titled *A Singular Woman: The Untold Story of the Mother of Barack Obama,* written by Janny Scott, a perceptive reporter for *The New York Times*.

Because Lolo's salary as an army conscript was so low, she went to work at the U.S. Information Service library supervising a group of Indonesians teaching English to Indonesian government employees and businessmen. Unhappy in this job, she next went to work for a private nonprofit management training school.

Once in Jakarta, Ann quickly began to pick up Bahasa Indonesian. Young as she was (27), "she was quite mature intellectually," said a fellow teacher. She and Barry also began to adopt Javanese ways where great emphasis is placed on keeping the surface of social relations smooth. "Problems don't exist among Javanese people," Ann told a friend as her marriage to Lolo began to fray.

It also became evident during these early years that Ann had high expectations and standards of behavior for Barry. As Obama tells it in his book, *Dreams from My Father,* she taught him to be extremely well mannered when compared with other American children and to disdain the blend of ignorance and arrogance that often characterize Americans abroad.

Back in Hawaii, Ann had begun to concentrate her studies on anthropology. In Indonesia, Ann would continue with her field research as time permitted, starting out early in the morning riding on the back of a motorcycle operated by a research assistant (she never learned how to drive). One village interested her particularly, Kajar, a cluster of hamlets where hundreds of village men worked as blacksmiths at backyard forges, hammering agricultural tools out of old railroad rails and scrap iron.

From Barack's earliest years, Scott writes, Ann and her mother, Madelyn, put great emphasis on the value of education. For generations, members on both sides of the family were teachers. Ann's mother, who regretted not having a college degree but who eventually rose to a senior position in a Hawaii bank, made sure Barry would have that opportunity by subsidizing his education.

According to Scott, friends, relatives, and colleagues of Ann described her differently. She was tough, sharp, and worldly and at the same time a person of acute sensitivity and empathy and naively idealistic; in short "a softie," according to Maya, Obama's half sister. Others described her as more open than many people, both intellectually and emotionally. She was unusually curious and wanted to understand the reasons for things.

"In *Dreams from My Father,* she comes across as a romantic, dreamer, an innocent abroad, working in villages helping women buy a sewing machine or a milk cow or an education," Scott writes. She suggests Obama, in writing his book, was engaged in a search for his father who abandoned him at such an early age, while giving unequal attention to his mother who left him in the care of her parents in order to pursue her own ambitions.

At the time that Ann was approached by the Ford Foundation, she was working with the provincial planning departments as

a consultant on small- scale industry and rural development funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development. She supervised a team of researchers from the local university collecting data and monitoring the participation of women in local projects. Scott notes the work was not unlike the work that her son who was entering college in California would take up in Chicago four or five years later.

The job came with a salary, a house in the centuries-old trading post and commercial hub of Semarand on the north coast of Java, and a car and driver. As a single white American woman (Lolo was living elsewhere) setting up her own household and educating her daughter, Maya, at home, she was considered unusual. House guests would come and go. Friends described her as gregarious, entertaining, and fun. She accumulated Indonesian as well as expatriate friends and ran her household in open Indonesian style. With a half-Indonesian daughter at home and a half-African son in college thousands of miles away, "she was the odd person out in the expatriate community." Within a year, she and Lolo had agreed to divorce.

Scott devotes a complete chapter to the Ford years, drawing heavily on the Foundation's grant files and interviews with former staffers including **Tom Kessinger**, who had just arrived in 1980 to head the Jakarta office, **Terry Bigalke, Bill Carmichael, Adrienne Germain, Sidney Jones, David** and **Frances Korten, Suzanne Siskel,** and **Mary Zurbuchen.** She begins with an anecdote, describing a visit to a dense and chaotic street vendor's market Ann made with Kessinger and **Franklin Thomas,** the Foundation's new president who was visiting the field offices. Ann strode into the chaos, leading the way, explaining "the obscure logic of the place, the relationships and patterns of organization," Kessinger recalled 30 years later.

Scott notes that in the spring of 1980, staff in Jakarta and New York had been talking about creating a position in the Jakarta office that would encourage research at the village level on rural employment and the role of women. The staff had suggested that the new program officer would spend half of her time in the office and the remainder at the Bogor Agricultural Institute helping Indonesian researchers analyze village-level data on women and teaching younger scholars to do field research.

Sidney Jones, the only female program officer in the office, wrote a memo listing the names of six people, including Ann, all fluent in Indonesian, suggested by an American anthropologist who was a classmate of Alice Dewey, Ann's friend and thesis advisor. Ann was selected for the job.

Within a week or so of her arrival, Scott writes, Ann flew to India to observe microcredit projects there with Adrienne Germain, who had been working with international staff on the advancement of women. The visit made a big impression on Ann. Asked many years later by Scott for her impressions of Ann, Germain said she believed that you could not help people unless you learned from them first. She was not "thinking at the top, which is where most of Ford was."

By 1984, Ann was nearing the end of her contract with Ford. In a letter to her dissertation advisor at the University of Hawaii Alice Dewey (a granddaughter of John Dewey, the Columbia University philosopher), she listed more than a dozen projects in the areas of women, employment, and industry she had been working on at Ford. The projects involved women on plantations in West Java and North Sumatra, street food sellers and scavengers in Jakarta and other cities, women in credit and cottage industry cooperatives, women in electronics factories, hand-loom weavers, and slum dwellers in Jakarta and Bandung. The Bogor project on which she had worked over several years had laid the groundwork for a network of Indonesian researchers experienced in the study of village women. Ann claimed the project "forces us to change some of our basic perceptions about Indonesian women."

Her assignment at an end, Ann made plans in 1984 to return to Honolulu where she would finish her dissertation (when completed, it would total 1,000 pages),* enroll Maya in Punahou, the private school Barry had attended, get a job and pay off her debts, lose weight, and possibly, remarry. She had spent a total of nine years in Indonesia. By then her mother had become one of the first female vice presidents of the Bank of Hawaii. Her financial support for Ann and family would still be necessary.

During the remaining years of her life, Ann continued to work, first as a consultant on a rural credit project in the Punjab in Pakistan, and then, moving back to Jakarta, working for a highly successful micro-finance project run by the People's Bank of Indonesia. The job paid well. "How's that for revolutionary fever," she jested to a friend.

She worked on an off for the bank for the next four years. Deciding to return to the United States, she was able through the good offices of Mary Houghton, president of ShoreBank in Chicago, to obtain a job in New York with an organization called Women's World Banking. Moving to New York for the first time at age 50 was not easy. Finding herself increasingly in debt and not feeling well, she did not stay long. She would return to Jakarta with the intention of continuing to work as a development consultant. Before she left, she went to see a gynecologist in Manhattan who suspected that Ann was seriously ill.

Ann returned to Jakarta where she was operated on for appendicitis, but the abdominal pain returned, forcing her to rejoin her family in Honolulu. "On January 25, 1995, twenty-seven years after first arriving in Indonesia with Barry, Ann left for the last time." The doctors in Hawaii confirmed a diagnosis of uterine cancer and by November, despite strenuous efforts to ward off the illness, she died. With her at the end was her daughter, Maya. Barack, who was getting ready to run for the State Senate in Chicago, got there too late, admitting that not being at his mother's side was a huge mistake. The fact that his mother was turned down for disability payments by the insurance company of the Bethesda firm that had hired her as a consultant because she had a pre-existing condition became a heated issue in her son's efforts to pass health insurance reform.

Word spread quickly among Ann's colleagues and friends. In Honolulu several dozen gathered in the Japanese garden behind the East-West Center, "the institution that embodied, more than any other, the spirit of the time that Ann had come of age and the values by which she had lived," Scott writes. At a scenic lookout above the Pacific, Barack and Maya consigned their mother's ashes to the waves.

Obama spoke with unusual candor about

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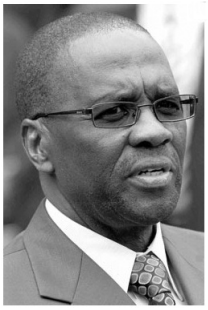
**Peasant Blacksmithing in Indonesia: Surviving and Thriving Against all Odds.* A reduced version of the work was published by Duke University Press in 2009. Michael Dove, a Yale anthropologist and longtime friend of Ann's, wrote in a review that her study of Kajar "is one of the richest ethnographic studies to come out of Java in the past generation." Ann dedicated the work to her mother, Madelyn, and Alice (Dewey) and to Barack and Maya "who seldom complained when their mother was in the field."

NASA Honors Dassin

Joan Dassin, who began her Foundation service as program officer for social sciences and human rights in the Brazil office in 1988 and is currently executive director of the Foundation's International Fellowships Program (IFP) now headquartered at the Institute of International Education, has been awarded NAFSA's Martha Houlihan award for distinguished service to the field of international education. NAFSA, an association of international educators representing 10,000 members worldwide, made the presentation at its annual meeting June 1 in Vancouver, British Columbia. The award is given in recognition of the outstanding contribution of the IFP in providing graduate-level educational opportunities for advanced study to more than 4,000 emerging leaders from marginal groups and communities in nearly two dozen countries.

Dr. Dassin has headed IFP since its founding by the Foundation in 2001 and its transfer to IIE in 2003. Previously, she served as the Foundation's Brazil representative from 1988 until 1992 and as regional representative for Latin America from 1992 to 1996. She has also been a Fulbright scholar in Brazil and is a recognized expert in higher education and international exchange policy. ■

Mutunga Named Kenya Chief Justice



Dr. Willy Mutunga, who has served as the Foundation's representative for Eastern Africa in Nairobi since 2009, has been appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court of Kenya. He was nominated for the position by Kenya's Judicial Services Commission, approved by President Kibaki, and confirmed by Kenya's Parliament in June.

As chief justice, Dr. Mutunga will lead the nation's judiciary and serve as head of the Supreme Court for a ten-year term. He will preside over the appointment of justices to a totally new supreme court and will play a pivotal role in the implementation of Kenya's new constitution.

Kenya is on the verge of having a "Gene Robinson" moment "as parliament prepares to debate and confirm Kenya's first gay rights chief justice and deputy chief justice."

Before his appointment as the Foundation's representative, he was the program officer in the Nairobi office for human and women's rights. "A key area of his work involved inclusive and transparent constitution building in the region," according to a Foundation press release hailing the appointment.

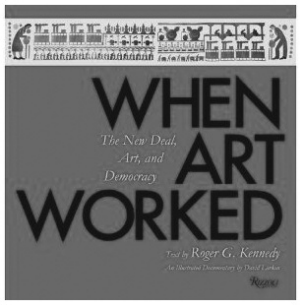
Earlier in his career, he was executive director of the Kenya Human Rights Commission and from 1975 to 1998 held positions in a range of civil society organizations in Kenya. He taught law at the University of Nairobi and engaged in the private practice of law. He holds degrees from the Osgood School, York University in Toronto and LL.B.and LL.M.s from the University of Dar Es Salaam.

In an article written before his confirmation and circulated over the internet, Peter Anaminyi of the *Guardian* newspaper in the U.K, writes that Kenya is on the verge of having a "Gene Robinson" moment "as parliament prepares to debate and confirm Kenya's first gay rights chief justice and deputy chief justice." Anaminyi claims that Dr. Mutunga had been involved in facilitating the registration of a gay rights organization. "Needless to say, Protestant church leaders on the basis of their Christian values and beliefs opposed the nomination." The "Gene Robinson" moment refers to the appointment by the Episcopal Church of an openly gay bishop. Dr. Mutunga later announced that "he is not gay and he does not discriminate against gay people."

The *Daily Monitor* of Uganda noted in an internet filing that Dr. Mutunga was jailed in the 1980s by the then Kenyan president Daniel Moi for his pro-democracy activities. It said that he "actively supported the campaign for gay rights in Uganda too." ■

The New Deal Artists

Roger Kennedy, who managed the Foundation's investments during the Bundy era and later headed the Office of the Arts, has a new book out: *When Art Worked: The New Deal, Art, and Democracy*, an illustrated text describing how Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal subsidized the work of artists, photographers, post office muralists, travel guide writers, and other interpreters of American culture to regenerate pride in our democracy. The book is illustrated with more than 400 images—from the faces of dust bowl farmers forced to leave their lands to jobless youth building woodland hiking trails.



In an appreciation written by David Boilier of the On the Commons organization, "Kennedy calls his subject 'actionable' art. Whether it was murals in post offices, writers hired to write region travel guides, or the Civilian Conservation Corps building public amenities in the national parks, the net effect was to engage large numbers of citizens to work on behalf of large numbers of citizens." The art created helped express the "peoplehood of America and the constructive role the government could play to alleviate misery. Art became a vital tool in rallying pride, illuminating vital necessities, arousing awareness of the suffering of people, and drawing attention to the need for natural resource preservation."

Ken Burns, who created the PBS series on the Civil War, says that Kennedy has produced "a remarkably clear look at the art that came out of one of our darkest hours, an art that not only expressed the struggle but now stands for much of how we understand it."

Kennedy is former director of the National Park Service in Washington. He currently is director emeritus of the National Museum of American History. Among his other books are *Burr, Hamilton and Jefferson: A Study in Character,* published in 1999, and *Historic Homes in Minnesota,* published in 2006. He lives in Rockville, Md. ■

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for eight years at American Century Investment Management in Mountain View, California. RGE is headed by Nouriel Roubini, professor of economics at the NYU Stern School of Business and one of the first investment experts to warn about the "bubble" in housing prices and mortgages.

Henry A. J. Ramos who worked as an assistant program officer in the section on Human Rights and Governance from 1985 to 1988, was appointed in early May by the newly elected California Governor Edmund J. Brown Jr., to the board of governors of the California Community Colleges. He currently serves on the board of the Foundation for California Community Colleges. Previously he was a program officer at the James Irvine Foundation, a U.S. Fellow in Germany for the Robert Bosch Foundation, and an assistant for government and public affairs at the American GI Forum. He is a resident of Creston, California,

Gustav Ranis, the Frank Altschul professor emeritus of international economics at Yale, has been elected a member of the advisory board of the Forum for Transregional Studies at the Institute of Advanced Study in Berlin. Ranis worked on India for the Overseas Development Program in New York in 1957-58 and then was sent to Pakistan where he became the first director of the newly created Pakistan Institute of Development Economics in Karachi, a Ford-supported project.

Diana L. Morris, who was an assistant program officer in human rights and governance in the 1980s and currently is director of the Open Society Institute-Baltimore, has been named acting executive director for U.S. Programs at the Open Society Foundations in New York. In her work in Baltimore, she has focused on the root causes of three intertwined urban problems—drug addiction, an over-reliance on incarceration, and the obstacles that keep youth from succeeding inside and outside the classroom. She has worked with Open Society Foundations for 14 years.

William Duggan, who has spent more than two decades in Africa as an economist and international development specialist with the Ford Foundation, USAID, the World Bank, and the UN Development Program, argues in an article published in the on-line publication Afrik-News that the Marshall Plan, the world's most successful aid project, could well work in Africa by fostering entrepreneurs and local businesses. "Most people don't know that the Marshall Plan was specifically and explicitly a mechanism to support the local business sector in the post-war countries of Europe." The same strategy could totally transform the African continent by aid agencies devoting half of the cumulative aid budget to the development of local business, he argues. Duggan, currently a senior lecturer at the Columbia Business School teaching courses on strategy formulation and intuition, is co-author with Dean Glenn Hubbard of *The Aid Trap: Hard Truth About Ending Poverty.* From 1993 until 2001, he reports he was an internal strategy advisor to the global grant-making staff of the Foundation. From 1987 until 1993 he was a program officer and then representative of the Foundation's West African office. ■

Hardin Greets New CIAT Head

Ruben Echeverriua (left), director general of CIAT (Center for International Agricultural Research) in Colombia) paid a visit to Lowell Hardin, the Foundation's former senior agricultural advisor now at Purdue University where Lowell at age 94 is an emeritus professor of agricultural economics. Mr. Echeverria was looking for information on the circumstances leading to the founding of CIAT in 1966 and Lowell was able to give him the original "Proposal for Creating an International Institute for Research and Training" in Colombia that had been written by Lowell and Lewis M. Roberts of the Rockefeller Foundation. A year later the Government of Colombia, the Ford Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation, and later the Kellogg Foundation, agreed to launch CIAT. Mr. Echeverria writes in the CIAT blog that "Lowell still remembers all the key details of the creation process and how a great vision together with funding made it possible." Lowell comments that Colombia's CIAT is one of the first four of today's global international agricultural research and training centers developed and brought on stream by Rockefeller and Ford and their host countries. A Uruguayan with a doctorate in agricultural economics from the University of Minnesota, Mr. Echeverria came to CIAT from the Inter-American Development Bank.

In Memoriam

Andrew T. Bisagna, who worked at the Foundation from 1987 until 1995 as building services manager, died on March 31 at his home in Ashburn, Virginia. He is survived by three children and five grandchildren. He was born in 1929 in the Bronx, raised in New York, and was a graduate of Pace College. He previously resided in Pleasantville, New York. Interment was in Hawthorne, New York.

Word also has been received of the death on May 28 in Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, of **Jeremiah T. Flynn,** who preceded Mr. Bisagna as building services manager during the 1970s and 1980s

Carmel Leonard, a staff accountant in the Office of Controller from 10/1/84 through 2/28/95 died in January.

Mariam Gooden, a legal assistant in the Office of General Counsel from January 11, 1993 until February 4, 2000.

Carmen Ali who worked in General Accounting, Office of the Controller from January 29, 1980 until March 31, 1994, died in June. ■

An Uncommon Woman

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his mother in the Oval Office when he met with Scott in July 2010. "She was a very strong person in her own way, resilient, able to bounce back from setbacks, persistent. Yet she was not a well-organized person. Particularly in her handling of financial matters, he told Scott, she put herself in vulnerable positions.

Yet many of his life choices were informed by her example. His decision to go into public service grew out of values she instilled, "a sense that the greatest thing you can do in the world is to help somebody else." On the other hand, his decision to settle in Chicago, to marry a woman with roots in the city, was in part a reaction to "the constant motion that was my childhood."

But he did not hold his mother's choices against her, he said. As it was, she gave him the single most important gift a parent can give—"a sense of unconditional love that was big enough that, with all the surface disturbances of our lives, it sustained me entirely." ■

Democracy in the Middle East?

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than helping. They should be saying "Come see the new Egypt. We need your tourist dollars."

As the session drew to an end, from the audience Shep Forman echoed a point made earlier—the need to pay attention to what's happening in other parts of the world—Indonesia, the Balkans—and particularly democratic changes going on there. A fitting closing note.

Arnold Later Spoke at Stanford

In a talk given the following week at the Center for Development, Democracy, and the Rule of Law and the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center of Stanford University, Arnold emphasized the role of Arab youth, the secular nature of the uprisings, and the empowerment of women through their participation. He contrasted the image of the protestors wrapped in Egyptian flags calling for the fall of the Mubarak regime with that of the protestors who rose up against the war in Vietnam.

According to the *Stanford Daily,* he ultimately blamed the "freedom deficit in the Arab world" as the "primary and proximate cause of the Arab revolts." He cited the 30 years of emergency rule, the systematic repression of the opposition, arbitrary detentions and torture, and a rigged election system as catalysts for the movement.

"There's an enormous sense of national pride in the fact that ordinary people were able to rise up and throw off the shackles of repression. The same national pride as Libyans, Syrians, Yemenis, and Bahrainis who are struggling to rid their countries of rulers whom they view as illegitimate."

"Fundamental human rights and democracy are not as culturally bound...as some analysts would lead us to believe." ■

China's Migrant Workers

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contributions to insurance schemes that reduce current income can seem a heavy burden to them.

- Women, in particular, earn less than men and retire earlier, with lower contribution levels. However, they live longer and depend on their retirement income for more time than men. System design needs to take this into account.
- Alongside these structural issues are also political conflicts over policy development. Employers tend to resist increasing their labor costs by registering migrant workers for social insurance schemes. Local governments are concerned to protect their local social pools in order to meet future obligations. Local residents may also resent migrants taking their social insurance pool contributions with them. Local and central governments are concerned about potential future fiscal burdens.
- Policy development needs to be sensitive to the preferences of the migrants who may choose to settle long term in cities or return to their original home areas.

The project has been completed and its outputs stressed the need to move towards a more unified national system, with equitable arrangements for all citizens. It sought to underline the importance of good governance for sustainable and balanced development and to demonstrate that transparent and consultative policy-making processes, drawing on evidence-based research, trialing of policy initiatives and reliable analysis of data, are essential to build governance capacity and formulate effective social policy. ■

The LAFF Society
c/o Nellie Toma
PO Box 701107
East Elmhurst, NY 11370