LAFF

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

Fall 2017, No. 88

Meeting New Challenges

Change is constant, and Foundations are just as constant in finding ways to meet evolving challenges and remain relevant.

Three articles in this issue explore disparate ways in which the demands of a changing time can be, and are being, met.

Mary McClymont describes how one Foundation is advancing a social justice agenda by pursuing racial and ethnic diversity among asset managers.

Rusty Stahl urges a greater investment in the training and treatment of nonprofit workers, the "first responders and last bulwark of our democracy".

And **Michael Seltzer** explores how foundations can work with government, corporations and the public to use their resources to the greatest effect in dealing with the devastation of natural disasters.

LAFFing Parade

Natalia Kanem has been named executive director of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).

She became the Fund's representative in Tanzania in 2014, and two years later was appointed a United Nations Assistant Secretary-General and UNFPA's deputy executive director (Programme). She was named the Fund's acting executive director in June and then its director in October.

Kanem worked for the Ford Foundation from 1992 to 2005, working on grants promoting women's reproductive health and sexuality issues as the representative for West Africa. She later served as deputy vice president of the Foundation for worldwide peace and social justice programs in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and South and North America.

After leaving Ford, Kanem was founding president of ELMA Philanthropies, which provides support for programs helping children and youth in Africa. She left in 2012 to become a senior associate of the Lloyd Best Institute of the West Indies, which supports development in the Caribbean.

She graduated magna cum laude from Harvard University, has a master's degree in public health from the University of Washington, and earned a medical degree from Columbia University.

Mary McClymont has left her position as president and CEO of the Public Welfare Foundation to pursue "new ways I can contribute to social justice and human rights concerns".

Initially she will be a senior fellow at the Justice Lab of the Georgetown Law Center and co-teach a course on access to justice. Then, after "some travel and time with family and friends", she expects to "begin to engage with several new boards and philanthropy projects about which I feel passionate".

She became the top officer of the Public Welfare Foundation in 2011, guiding its

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PROMOTING DIVERSITY IN ENDOWMENT ASSETS

By Mary McClymont

Many philanthropic leaders are considering ways to advance a social justice agenda by going beyond grant making and using endowment dollars more fully to advance our missions.

Given the deeply uneven playing field in so many aspects of American society because of abiding race-based disparities rooted in structural racism, many of us are also reviewing our grant-making and organizational practices to better understand and amplify how we can bring a much stronger racial emphasis to all we do.

These two strands come together in one area that has not really been embraced by philanthropy to date: analyzing who is managing those critical investment assets.

As in the larger world of finance, the share of foundations that hire minority-owned companies to manage their assets is woefully low. A recent study commissioned by the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation found that in the $71 trillion asset-management industry, women- and minority-owned firms managed only 1.1 percent of the total assets. That's even though those companies have achieved financial performance on par with those managed by white men.

This is especially disturbing because philanthropy, after all, is the sphere in which one would normally expect a strong push to bring mission-related concerns to the investment arena. For example, the Center for Effective Philanthropy reported in 2015 that 41 percent of foundations engage in impact investing. Unfortunately, however, foundations are paying only minimal attention to the diversity of asset managers, as compared to such other big investors as public pension funds.

The good news is that in recent years organizations such as the Association of Black Foundation Executives and the Diverse Asset Managers Initiative have been among those leading the charge to educate many more in philanthropy and beyond about this issue. One example is the recently published DAMI Fiduciary Guide, a tool designed for institutional investors that recognize the importance of diversity in asset management.

We at the Public Welfare Foundation recently joined a small but growing number of foundations, such as the Knight Foundation, Silicon Valley Community Foundation and W.K. Kellogg Foundation, that are seeking to diversify our lineup of investment managers to better reflect inclusion and diversity.

The Public Welfare Foundation is a privately endowed grant-making institution that works nationally to advance justice and opportunity for people in need. Our grant making includes reform of the criminal and youth justice systems, which are perforce racial-justice concerns.

The foundation's $500 million endowment is managed by Commonfund, an organization that manages the investments of colleges, hospitals, foundations and other mission-oriented institutions.

Our finance committee and board of directors, diverse bodies themselves, are committed to bringing racial and ethnic diversity to all aspects of our work. It was an astute suggestion from one of our finance-committee members that caused us to take up the challenge and explore how inclusive was the group of asset managers handling our investment portfolio.

Our exploration recently led Public Welfare to adopt a concerted goal to increase the diversity among our pool of asset managers and to encourage and enhance this approach in the investment-management practices of Commonfund as well. Our motivation emanates from a fiduciary responsibility to seek and engage the best talent available, but it is also mission driven, with a desire to ensure that our investment portfolio reflects a commitment to our value of racial equity, just like our grant making.

What course did we chart to reach the goal?

Our chief financial and administrative officer and I worked with the finance committee to learn as much as we could during the course of four committee meetings over 15 months. During our sessions, we brought in perspectives from influential leaders, including major foundation financial executives (Juan Martinez of Knight and Joel Wittenberg of Kellogg), along with prominent managers and consultants (John Rogers of Ariel Investments, Robert Raben of DAMI and Thurman

Senior officers of Progress Investment Management. At left, Thurman White, CEO, was one of the financial leaders consulted during the drive to increase diversity in asset management.

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White of Progress Investment Management). We also shared compelling research and studies on the subject with our committee.

During these discussions, the committee had an aha moment, a recognition that the pursuit of diverse asset managers was in no way contradictory to maximizing returns and meeting the board's fiduciary standard of care. With that settled, the committee decided, with full board support, to increase the number of diverse asset managers.

We then took up the mechanics of how to do it. After considered conversation, we decided to focus on our target group: majority-owned African-American and Latino firms, given their historic underrepresentation and our own long-standing concern of racial equity. Of course, we will learn, adjust and, in time, perhaps, broaden our definition. The committee then resolved to ask Commonfund to hire such managers to oversee parts of our portfolio, rather than carving out a separate fund. We believe this will help Commonfund engage directly, enhance its expertise through the process and encourage it to be a champion for this concern in the industry.

Our motivation emanates from a fiduciary responsibility to seek and engage the best talent available, but it is also mission driven, with a desire to ensure that our investment portfolio reflects a commitment to our value of racial equity, just like our grant making.

Finally, teeing off of excellent work done by the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, we developed a set of metrics to measure progress in achieving our goal to better hold ourselves and Commonfund accountable. As of March 31, a baseline set of data had been created to enable us to assess annual progress.

We recognize there's much left to do: encourage a recruitment effort for more diverse asset managers; tweak our metrics; perhaps set an overall goal for minority participation in the portfolio management; and reconcile ourselves to the fact that progress will be incremental.

Although we are in the early stages, we believe there will be real advantages for both Public Welfare and Commonfund. Given its role working with other foundations and big endowments, there should be a multiplier effect beyond our own portfolio. We also plan to join with other foundations that are pursuing the same goal, share our experience and encourage additional peers in philanthropy to adopt this approach. In that way, we can all work together to expand the universe of talented asset managers who guide the allocation of the nation's vast financial wealth. ■

***Mary McClymont** stepped down as president and CEO of the Public Welfare Foundation in September. She worked in the Peace and Social Justice program at the Ford Foundation from 1988 to 2000, and again from 2006 to 2008. This is a slightly edited version of an article published by The Chronicle of Philanthropy on July 31.*

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

This issue of the Newsletter highlights in photos LAFF's recent, highly successful holiday party. I am sorry that I could not have been there to greet those who attended. I certainly would have lamented not seeing those who were unable to come.

The report on the party leads me to reflect on what LAFF is all about, and the people who make it possible. I'll cite three—**Michael Seltzer, Nellie Toma** and **John LaHoud**—and then circle back to the work the Executive Committee is undertaking to strengthen LAFF and its appeal for current and future members.

Michael has been our dedicated program chair, conceiving and implementing an innovative and joyful set of periodic LAFF meetings in New York. He's done this with creativity and verve, and the unfailing support of our Secretary-Treasurer, Nellie Toma. Michael and Nellie have ensured a vibrancy in the New York chapter, and we all welcome your thoughts on what kinds of meetings and events have worked best and will appeal most to you in the years ahead. We also are eager to help provide whatever thoughts and assistance we can to promote similar experiences in our chapters elsewhere in the United States and around the world.

Of course, part of the appeal of LAFF is the welcoming embrace it enjoys from the Foundation's president, Darren Walker, and his staff. This coming together of LAFF and the Foundation is an extremely welcome development. It allows LAFF members to meet current Foundation staff (and future LAFF colleagues) to exchange ideas about Foundation programs and past experiences, imbuing our events with more depth than nostalgia and, as Darren reminds us, enriching current staff's efforts with historic insight. We can and should make a special effort to bring current staff together with our LAFF colleagues as they travel to chapter designations around the world.

Which brings me to the third person I want to cite, our editor, John LaHoud. LAFF is, after all, an international organization, with four chapters in this country and five abroad. Our nearly 500 members are bound over time and distance by the news about each other and the Foundation that John puts together in the Newsletter and on our website with the help of Susan Huyser, our designer; Peter Ford, our web page administrator, and Nellie. The compliments we receive with each issue are testimony to John's efforts, but we need our members' help to maintain the richness and diversity of these important communications. We need a steady flow of content, and we need editorial assistance. So please write to John and tell him how you are willing to help.

Last month, the Executive Committee met at length to talk about the future of LAFF and how we can invigorate it in the face of ever new social media channels of communication, the changing demographics of our membership and philanthropy itself, and a deluge of distractions that pull us in different directions when we most need to come together. Our concern is not simply a matter of attracting new members, but providing a rich menu of options that can better fulfill our mission of "promoting social and professional contacts" among former (and current) staff of the Ford Foundation.

We brainstormed questions of structure and organization; enhanced and more interactive communications; outreach to colleagues beyond New York and the continental United States, including program assistants, consultants and administrative and support staff; and a variety of services ranging from consulting to mentoring to house exchanges. It was an eye-opening discussion, which we intend to continue and expand to ensure that the widest range of views and ideas inform our thinking. We need your feedback, not simply the welcome notes of appreciation for the most recent newsletter or event, which are most welcome, but your thoughts about how you see LAFF's role in the years to come.

LAFF's original purpose has altered over the 25 years since its founding. The culture of the Foundation has changed too. Social media have modified the ways we think about culture and politics, economics and the environment, and the ways in which we talk to each other about the essential matters of the day. Our institutional identities also shift with the times.

Where and how can LAFF continue to fulfill a vital role in your busy lives in the years to come? The Executive Committee fully believes that role is there to be played. We need you to help us define it.

Let me take this opportunity to wish you all a happy holiday season, and a hopeful new year. **Shep**

THE NEED TO MAXIMIZE INVESTMENT IN THE NONPROFIT WORKFORCE

By Rusty Stahl

The 11 million professionals who work in the nonprofit sector, and the millions more activists and volunteers they support, are the first responders and last bulwark of our democracy. If there was ever a moment, now is the time to start treating nonprofit leaders at all levels with the decency, respect and support they deserve.

A growing body of evidence—and common sense—tells us that significant investments in nonprofit people can dramatically increase performance, impact and sustainability. Yet for a long time, funders, as well as nonprofits themselves, have under-invested in the nonprofit workforce. Most funders are great people trying to do the right thing, but they inherit harmful myths and practices that maintain the "starvation cycle" in the organizations and movements they seek to support.

As a result, nonprofits often produce poor working conditions for the people who fight for workers' rights, injustice within the social justice community, and poverty wages for those who serve the poor, all of which undermine performance, impact and sustainability. And the Trump era is putting unprecedented additional strain on these workers.

In 2014, I founded Fund the People, a national campaign to maximize investment in the nonprofit workforce. This past September, we launched Fund the People Toolkit, a free online resource to help funders and nonprofit leaders integrate talent-investing into their work. As funders, fundraisers, advisors and mentors, LAFF Society members are well-positioned to share the idea and practice of "talent-investing" across the field.

In 1998, I was fortunate to be selected for the Jane Addams–Andrew Carnegie Fellowship, a one-year, non-degree granting liberal arts introduction to the ideas, traditions, values and challenges of the nonprofit and philanthropic community. With funding from a then-anonymous funder (now known as The Atlantic Philanthropies), this generous fellowship covered tuition, books, living costs and conference travel for six students who had just completed their undergraduate studies. It also provided graduate credits that I was able to apply to a Master of Arts in philanthropic studies the following year.

The fellowship reinforced the idea that the price for an elite education is a life of service, a worthy principle. But who helps to support public service careers for millions of young people who do not have access to elite education? What about the majority of students who are never adequately or comprehensively introduced to civil society? And what about non-college bound youth who are written off as problems and who are *served by* nonprofits, but who are rarely developed to *serve as* the staff and board members of these same organizations?

How could the nonprofit sector create a more intentional system for recruiting diverse, young people into social-change jobs and careers? And how could we do this in a manner that is affordable and has the economy of scale needed to reach millions of Americans? These questions offer a complex and meaningful puzzle, and they have guided my career.

After the Fellowship, I was fortunate to be selected for the two-year, cohort-based Program Associate (PA) apprenticeship at the Ford Foundation. I will always be thankful to **Michael Edwards, Marcia Smith** and **Christopher Harris** for hiring me and, along with **Urvashi Vaid** and **Michael Lipsky,** managing and mentoring me. Along with many other PAs, I am thankful to **Jan Jaffe, John Naughton** and **Kyle Reis** for their leadership in establishing, growing and sustaining the Program Associate program.

I brought the guiding questions discussed above to my role as a Program Associate, where I supported grantmaking to strengthen United States philanthropy, civil society and social justice movements. Unfortunately, there were not many answers. During my time at Ford, the Foundation engaged consultant **Susan Stroud** to explore the direction of Ford's support of the national and community service movement. And Program Officer **Inca Mohamed** was supporting youth organizing as a social justice approach to youth development.

But Susan's recommendations did not lead to significant action, and when Inca left, the youth development program officer seat was left vacant. It seemed there was no intellectual or practical framework in which the Foundation would support young people to move from youth organizing and youth service into lifelong careers of organizing and service.

Program Associates were given the opportunity to propose a project that was aligned with the work they supported; many such projects produced a paper or convening. My project evolved into a network of young and new foundation professionals. I thought if I could organize one thousand emerging grantmakers, a segment of them would be interested in building a stronger pipeline into nonprofit careers. The project grew into Emerging Practitioners in Philanthropy (EPIP) and, with support later from Ford Senior Program Officer **Linetta Gilbert,** it became a full-fledged funder network that is housed at the Tides Center, and remains vital to this day under new leadership. During the ten years I spent on the EPIP staff, the focus was primarily professional development to help members become good grantmakers and advance social justice through philanthropy.

While EPIP primarily focuses on leadership development within foundations, I continued to participate in field-wide conversations about the nonprofit workforce, including the White House Forum on

Funding the nonprofit workforce: Eshe Glover, Yolanda Caldera-Durant and Rusty Stahl of Fund the People.

Nonprofit Leadership in 2011. That same year, the Kresge Foundation and W.K. Kellogg Foundation supported EPIP for the Generating Change Initiative, research implemented by Putnam Consulting Group that explored how funders were investing in the staff of grantee organizations.

By this time, the prospects of Baby Boomer mass retirements had sent shockwaves through the field, yet most organizations remained unprepared for executive transitions and Boomers remained unsure about when and how they would step back. I realized that the issue was not just about young people, but under-investment at every stage of the career life cycle, which impacts every age cohort and every generation.

Recruitment is wasted if we don't fix retention, fixing retention is pointless if we don't enable advancement, and advancement cannot happen if we don't fix retirement and executive transitions. If we don't address the whole leadership pathway, the flow of nonprofit human capital is stuck in a brutal bottleneck. The Generating Change research paper reflects this holistic approach, and informs my work today.

When it came time for my own executive transition from EPIP in 2012, the Annie E. Casey Foundation offered a critical lifeline with access to guidance from the aptly named Transition Guides (now part of the Raffa consultancy). The coaching I got through that process, combined with separate career coaching and participation in the Selah Leadership Program—an initiative of the Rockwood Institute and Bend the Arc—helped me decide to pursue solutions to my "guiding questions" on a full-time basis.

In 2013, I dove into a year of research and writing supported by New York University's Wagner School of Public Service, the Tides Center and Public Welfare Foundation. This resulted in an article called "Talent Philanthropy" in The Foundation Review. Creation of Fund for the People, (initially known as Talent Philanthropy Project) followed, with initial major support coming from the Kresge Foundation.

Fund the People is now entering its third year of support from the Ford Foundation through Program Officer **Chris Cardona.** Investing in the nonprofit and social justice workforce is a logical place for Ford to be, particularly given the emphasis placed by its president, **Darren Walker,** on strengthening the ideas, individuals and institutions of social movements.

As mentors and leaders in U.S. and global civil society, members of The LAFF Society can contribute to systems that increase the accessibility, effectiveness and sustainability of careers in nonprofit and social justice leadership. I invite you to use the Fund for the People Toolkit (fundthepeopletoolkit.org), follow us on Twitter (@fundthepeople) and contact me directly (rusty@fundthepeople.org) if I can be of any further assistance. ■

Rusty Stahl *worked in the Ford Foundation's Governance and Civil Society and Peace and Justice programs from 2000 to 2002.*

THE THREE RS (AND ONE H) FOR RESPONDING TO DISASTERS: RELIEF, RECOVERY, REBUILDING AND HEALING

By Michael Seltzer

While media outlets, both online and print, have been quick to offer suggestions how individuals should channel their charitable impulses to help those affected by the recent calamitous hurricanes, many Americans have been inspired by the stirring images of neighbors and strangers lending a hand to help each other.

Alexis de Tocqueville, the Frenchman who documented our voluntary impulse during a tour of a young America in the 1830s, would nod knowingly if he were around to see the extraordinary outpouring of generosity we have witnessed since the first days of flooding in Texas, Florida, Puerto Rico and throughout the Caribbean.

Time and again over the last 20 years, I've watched Americans respond quickly and generously to a series of natural and man-made disasters. Corporations and foundations also have risen to the occasion, and the lessons they've learned from their responses are of considerable value as we all weigh how to use our resources to the greatest effect in the wake of disasters like Harvey, Irene and Maria.

But I've also learned a few things of my own from the responses to destruction caused by Hurricane Katrina and the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, and would like to share them with you.

First, businesses, foundations, civic and fraternal associations, faith communities and the public at large must be prepared to invest in both relief and rebuilding efforts. Relief from the immediate suffering and dislocation caused by an unprecedented rain event like Harvey is, rightfully, the first order of business, and Texans know that the road ahead will be long and winding. But the rest of us must be willing to hang in with them for the long haul. As Texas governor Greg Abbott said, "Digging out of this catastrophe is going to be a multiyear project for Texas."

After the hurricanes Katrina and Rita devastated the Gulf Coast in the summer of 2005, Nancy Anthony, executive director of the Oklahoma City Community Foundation, recounted how her community was still responding to the mental health needs of

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After a disaster, community-based organizations can be most attuned to local residents' needs. Project Open Hand, a local meals-on-wheels provider, got meals to many of the 12,000-plus residents of San Francisco's Marina district who had lost their homes during an earthquake in 1989.

first responders and survivors of the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in downtown Oklahoma City 10 years earlier.

Because they're seen as entities with significant resources, corporations are always under pressure to "get the money out the door" after a disaster occurs. But many companies have discovered while a pledge or commitment with a dollar amount attached to it can be announced immediately, the actual funds can be distributed for different phases of the recovery and rebuilding process over time. In fact, that was the course of action taken by the Toshiba Corporation after Hurricane Katrina.

It was also heartening to see the pledge of $36 million made by the Michael & Susan Dell Foundation, the largest to date for Harvey relief and recovery efforts. In announcing the gift, Michael Dell noted that "[i]t will take all of us together, over the long term, to rebuild our Texas communities." Interestingly, the foundation has chosen to pool its resources with others by seeding the Rebuild Texas Fund under the aegis of a charitable intermediary, the OneStar Foundation.

The approach is consistent with the one taken after 9/11 by the New York Community Trust and the United Way of New York City, when they joined forces to create the September 11 Fund to both maximize the impact of their own resources and create a vehicle for thousands of others eager to contribute to recovery efforts.

Second, given the scale of the destruction caused by the recent hurricanes, and regardless of the truly impressive scope of the charitable response, charity cannot presume to be a substitute for action by government at the local, state and federal levels. It is estimated, for example, that rebuilding the flood-ravaged parts of Texas and Louisiana will far exceed the $50 billion in funds allocated by Congress to states in the Northeast after Superstorm Sandy in 2012, and that figure is likely to increase as the full scope of the devastation becomes apparent.

Third, while the dollar amounts attached to relief, recovery and rebuilding efforts in Texas truly are staggering, small acts of kindness should not be discounted. The images of Houstonians helping neighbors through flooded streets will stick in people's minds for decades. Something similar happened after the Indian Ocean tsunami created devastation from Thailand to Kenya in December 2004 when many tourists were stranded without access to telephones or other means of communication. American Express was able to track many survivors through their credit card charges and notified their loved ones back home, bringing unimaginable relief to countless families.

Fourth, though national organizations like the American Red Cross are vital front line responders, the hard work of recovery and rebuilding inevitably falls on the shoulders of community-based organizations that are most attuned to local residents' needs. While most such organizations are unknown to the general public and almost always are under-resourced, they are in the best position to make a small contribution go a long way.

After the Loma Prieta/Bay Area earthquake on October 17, 1989, the only large kitchen in the area in good operating shape belonged to Project Open Hand, the local Meals-on-Wheels organization for homebound people living with AIDS. Over the next few days, its staff and volunteers were able to get meals to many of the 12,000-plus residents of San Francisco's Marina district who had lost their homes.

Fifth, rebuilding efforts, at their best, must address underlying factors that contribute to a disaster's destructive impact, whatever they may be. While New Orleans cannot hope to avoid hurricanes in the future, the strengthening of the city's levees after Katrina should help to mitigate the damage and dislocation caused by future storms. Such efforts require stakeholders to raise their voices and make the case to government at all levels for the funding of preventive measures.

Finally, government, businesses, foundations and the public must act to ensure that the lessons learned from previous disasters, and the stories of those who lost their lives or were profoundly affected, are not forgotten. In the fourth decade of the AIDS epidemic in the U.S., many local foundations were sufficiently moved to erect a memorial in a park in Greenwich Village to the 100,000-plus New Yorkers who have died from AIDS, while memorials and museums like those in Oklahoma City and on the site of the destroyed World Trade Center serve as much-needed reminders of those tragedies for future generations.

Recovery, rebuilding and healing after a disaster know no timetable. However, small and big acts can ease the suffering of the survivors and help build stronger and more resilient communities. We just have to pay attention to the lessons learned by those who have already been through it. ■

Michael Seltzer *directs the New York Community Trust Leadership Fellows program at Baruch College's Austin Marxe School of Public and International Affairs in New York City. A version of this post appears on the Philanthropy New York site.*

EASY AND HARD: DEVELOPING A STRATEGIC ANTI-CORRUPTION PRESENCE IN THE U.S.

By Zoe Reiter
Zoe Reiter *is acting representative to the United States for Transparency International, and its senior project leader on major international anti-corruption initiatives.*

It has been nearly 10 years since I last worked for Ford as a consultant, doing so almost non-stop for 12 years. Since then I have been working for Transparency International (TI), the network of more than 100 independent civil society organizations, or "national chapters", battling corruption and defending democracy around the world.

Two-thirds of TI's national chapters are in the Global South. Unfortunately, we have never had a strong presence in the United States, which is why TI is the largest and most powerful anti-corruption organization that most Americans have never heard of.

This will change, hopefully. Since earlier this year, I have been tasked by TI's leadership to work with U.S.-based stakeholders to develop a strategy for a renewed TI presence in the United States with two goals: One, to support the reduction of domestic corruption in the U.S. and, two, amplify regional and global efforts to tackle systemic corruption by connecting the dots between US-based stakeholders and the TI movement and partners throughout the world around shared areas of concern.

The latter goal, connecting the dots to amplify global and regional anti-corruption efforts, is a fairly straightforward pursuit. Figuring out how best to support efforts to tackle domestic abuse of power for private gain, which is TI's definition of corruption, is a bit more complicated. As one friend suggested, this is both an easy and a hard job.

What about this job is easy? First, and foremost, in the wake of the 2016 elections corruption is much more on the radar of U.S. civil society organizations. President Donald Trump's election has been a wake-up call on multiple levels.

It became clear in the election that establishment political rhetoric was no longer convincing to a large portion of the American electorate. Whether you were a Bernie Bro calling out oligarchy and claiming the system is rigged, a Trumpian seeking to drain the swamp or someone who merely chose to sit out the election, it has become difficult to disagree with the argument that a considerable portion of voters has little faith in the ability of elected officials to consider their needs rather than those of special interests.

This problem analysis, that the political class is largely captured by special, typically corporate and hyper-wealthy interests, increasingly guides the strategic interventions of many of TI's chapters.

Second, Trump's practices since becoming president have illuminated some of the systemic problems that weaken the capacity of our democracy to reflect the interests and voices of its people. Case in point: How many of us had heard, much less understood, the word "emoluments" before?

I won't outline all the ways in which engaged Americans today have a much clearer understanding of how our legislative frameworks are actually quite limited in their capacity to fight what we at TI call "legal corruption". But just to begin with, our conflict of interest codes, capacity to hide illicit connections in anonymous off-shore accounts, and such recent Supreme Court decisions as McConnell and Citizens United, underscore our failure as a society to make politics more resilient against incursions by the super-wealthy to control political outcomes.

This is not just about our campaign finance laws. Much of the tactics of this capture have been in the making for decades, including the dark arts of influencing public opinion long before a voter gets to the polls. Consider, for examples, the Koch Brother's funding of think tanks and covertly-funded opinion shapers, and the media moguls and other actors who hide their own interests in wealth-accrual behind a "personal responsibility" spin that has successfully divided the working class along color lines.

The dark arts involve the backing of media pundits and news stories that misconstrue facts to paint a picture of refugees as a threat to national security, and the African-American poor and Latino immigrants as a drain on the economy.

The dark arts also include the systematic disenfranchisement of American voters. Whether through gerrymandering or voter suppression tactics, America is cutting a disenfranchisement path of its own. In most of the countries where TI works, the problem is at the polls themselves, tinkering with the results or paying off voters overtly or through clientelistic practices to sustain one candidate over the other. But many U.S. states, with the support of the White House, are working along multiple lines of voter suppression in order to disenfranchise particular groups of people within the electorate, especially African-Americans.

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So, this is what is hard: The evidence-based advocacy which has been the bread and butter of U.S. civil society has hit a wall of punditry so high that simply "speaking truth to power" is not enough.

If TI is going to support U.S.-based efforts to reduce corruption we need to work with our civil society organization partners to create new narratives that engage not only the traditional base of supporters for anti-corruption efforts, but also effectively engage the "persuadables" across the country, regardless of party affiliation.

But in order to engage those persuadables, we need to understand the issue from their perspective. We need to understand what persuadables mean and feel when they talk about the system being rigged and draining the swamp, and we need to find our shared values regarding the role of democracy in America.

Which brings me to something else that is tricky about my work in the U.S. For many Americans (not to mention donors and other civil society organizations) the word "corruption" traditionally has been understood in its more basic sense of bribery. For TI, bribery, both small and large, is of course a bread and butter issue. But as a movement, we have evolved over the decades to take a much more aggressive and systemic look at corruption writ large, especially grand corruption epitomized by the systemic political capture by kleptocrats, despots and oligarchs.

So, fundamentally this is a question of defending democracy. If the experience of TI around the world has demonstrated anything, it is that the abuse of power undermines democracy and consolidates wealth into the hands of kleptocrats, authoritarians and nativist populists, and that anti-corruption approaches are an essential component for rights-based outcomes.

This is why TI is delighted to collaborate with Global Integrity and the Sunlight Foundation to host several "Democracy Dialogues" in Washington, D.C. and around the country, bringing civil society representatives from around the world to share their experiences with U.S. democracy defenders along three inter-related lines: media, corruption and elections.

There is much more to say about what is hard and what is easy about working with U.S. civil society to identify what might be the best role TI can play in tackling domestic corruption. One major challenge is that open governance activists are largely urban and largely white. We need to engage Americans on this issue in a way that does not doubly marginalize communities of color while creating in-roads to engage white, non-urban Americans as well, many of whom themselves live in conditions of poverty and weak access to health care, education and transportation.

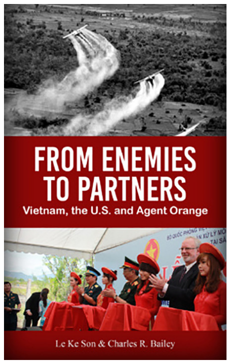
Clearly it is time to start networking the activists who have been tackling and identifying the abuse of power from different angles in the U.S. But that work can only be built slowly, based on a shared understanding both of the problem at hand and the values that unite us.

For any information regarding our work in the U.S., to make suggestions or voice concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me at zreiter@transparency.org ■

Zoe Reiter *went to work for the Ford Foundation in 1996 as a consultant for the Human Resources office, and beginning in 1998 consulted for several offices, primarily the Education, Sexuality and Religion unit. She coordinated the Women and Social Change Task Force, and wrote an internal report for the Higher Education program on the history of the Foundation's social science funding.*

NEW BOOK ON IMPACT OF AGENT ORANGE IN VIETNAM

A new book on the lingering effects of the use of Agent Orange/dioxin during the Vietnam war, co-written by **Charles Bailey,** a former Ford Foundation representative in that country, explores "current scientific understandings of the chemical and…the promising solutions to addressing the consequences of its use".



From Enemies to Partners: Vietnam, the U.S. and Agent Orange has been described by the authors, Bailey and Le Ke Son, who led the Vietnam government's efforts to deal with the legacy of the chemical, as a result of their studies of the historical era when the two countries were making the painful and difficult transition from enemies to partners in trying to resolve the impact of Agent Orange on human health and the environment.

The authors, as described by the publisher, G. Anton, "outline the moral reasoning for a fuller American response and present further steps the United States and Vietnam can each take in a joint humanitarian initiative to resolve the legacy of Agent Orange/dioxin in Vietnam.

"They address the critical issues of whether dioxin pollution still exists in Vietnam, what needs to be done to finish the job of cleanup, how many victims of Agent Orange carry out their lives today and the impact of Agent Orange on relations between the United States and Vietnam."

Bailey worked at Ford from 1972 to 1976 and again from 1982 to 2011 in several overseas offices, including Hanoi from 1997 to 2007. He led the Foundation's study of Agent Orange while in New York and moved with it to the Aspen Institute in 2011.

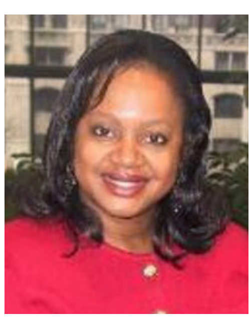
(An article by Bailey, "Agent Orange: Looking Forward", detailing his work with the Aspen study, appeared in the Spring 2015 issue of the newsletter.)

He and Le Ke Son met in Hanoi in 2006 and collaborated over the next several years on work that led to the book, drawing on "their firsthand experiences with Agent Orange and its legacy accumulated over the last two decades. They also interviewed nearly 40 other Americans and Vietnamese to unearth their insights on what has happened and the way ahead".

One of the early reviewers, Edwin A. Martini, whose own studies on Agent Orange led to the book, *Agent Orange: History, Science and the Politics of Uncertainty,* wrote, "This is exactly the book that is needed to advance the conversations surrounding Agent Orange, dioxin and the legacies of the American war in Vietnam….This book should be read by leaders, policy makers and all students of wars and their legacies." ■

WOMEN OF COLOR GROUP FORMED

A new organization that "advances the leadership and professional development of women of color in the fields of international peace, security and conflict transformation" has been formed, and scheduled its inaugural event on December 7 in Washington, D.C., to explain its purpose and plans.



Women of Color Advancing Peace and Security (WCAPS) intends to create "a platform devoted to women of color that cultivates a strong voice and network for its members while encouraging dialogue and strategies for engaging in policy discussions on an international scale".

One of its founders, **Bonnie Jenkins,** above, is the Coordinator for Threat Reduction Programs in the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation in the U.S. State Department. Before joining the government in 2009 she had been a program officer at Ford for U.S. foreign and security policy.

In its mission statement, WCAPS said its goal is to "provide mentors to young women and a valuable vehicle for networking. It will promote exchanges among professional women of color who are already working in the fields of peace, security, and conflict transformation, as well as those women of color who are considering entering these areas….

"The network will partner with other relevant groups, organizations, and institutions to build synergy. WCAPS will promote sensitivity to cultural differences and emphasize the intersections between theory, research, practice, and policy." ■

THE IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL: AN INTERVIEW

"There is at least one thing worse than fighting with allies, and that is to fight without them. Winston Churchill with that statement summed up a basic truth of international politics and war."

That observation was made by **Arthur I. Cyr** in an interview with the Irani news agency Mehr soon after the decision by President Donald Trump to "decertify" the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), the multilateral agreement on Iran's development of nuclear weapons that was signed in 2015.

"Churchill's words bear directly on the current debate over the nuclear agreement with Iran," Cyr said. "United States leaders seem to be pre-occupied with talking to themselves, while ignoring partners in the agreement, including our most vital durable allies."

Cyr worked at Ford from 1971 to 1974 in the Education and Research program, the European and International Affairs office and the Public Policy Committee. He now is director of the Clausen Center for World Business at Carthage College in Kenosha, Wis.

Mehr, which is based in Tehran, describes itself as a private and non-official media agency, which was begun in 2004.

"President Donald Trump," said Cyr, "has dramatically 'decertified' Iran, arguing they are not abiding by the international agreement to deter developing nuclear weapons. This means Congress can now decide whether to re-impose economic sanctions. In fact, the Tehran government has carefully remained within the limits of the accord, while pressing at the margins….

"The United States remains institutionally bound by membership in a range of international and regional organizations. As a current example, the U.S. remains within the international agreement on Iran's nuclear program, despite the dramatic statement by President Trump.

"Not many years ago, there was strong political sentiment in the U.S. for leaving the United Nations. That is no longer the case." ■

Celebrating the Holidays

The holiday season has always been a special occasion at the Ford Foundation, and the LAFF Society added to the tradition December 11 with a party in the Foundation's temporary offices in mid-Manhattan, home while the headquarters building is being renovated.

Of course, there were carolers: Leila Hessini on the left, with her back to the camera, and, moving to the right, Rebecca Nichols, Margaret Hempel, Ellen Brown, Marilyn Reichstein, Lisa Mensah, Dayna Bealy, Anna Wadia, Michele Kahane, Betsy Campbell and, the current Ford staff member, who led the singers, Jeff Leatherwood.

Nellie Toma, LAFF's secretary-treasurer, and Sonali Mukerjee on the right. And that's Butch Montes in the background.

Gathered around the tree, small perhaps but festive, are, from left, Carolee Iltis, Bruce Stuckey, Sheila Gordon and Terry Smith.

Jennifer Powell, on the left, Sonali Mukerjee and Mary Lampson Gutierrez.

From the left, Inca Mohamed, Michael Seltzer, Natalia Kanem, Betsy Campbell and Ellen Brown.

LAFFing Parade

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work to advance justice and opportunity for people in need.

Earlier this year she received the Champion of Justice award from the Alliance for Justice for her commitment to "progressive values and the creation of an equitable, just and free society".

Throughout her career she has helped refugees reach the United States, assisted undocumented immigrants secure legal status, litigated cases against poor conditions in American prisons, advocated for humanitarian relief and development and worked to promote women's rights and access to justice in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Much of that work was achieved while she worked in the Ford Foundation's Peace and Social Justice program, from 1988 to 2000 and again from 2006 to 2008.

She has a law degree from Georgetown University Law Center and a master's in law degree in International Legal Studies from American University's Washington College of Law.

Among the positions she held before joining Ford was national director for legalization of the Migration and Refugee Services of the U.S. Catholic Conference, senior staff counsel for the National Prison Project of the American Civil Liberties Union, trial attorney for the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, and assistant director for corrections of the National Street Law Institute at the Georgetown University Law Center.

She is co-founder of Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees; a member of The New Perimeter Advisory Board, a global pro bono program of the DLA Piper law firm; and a member of the board and executive committee of the Washington Regional Association of Grantmakers.

She previously was chair of the board of the Migration Policy Institute, and served on the boards of Physicians for Human Rights, Amnesty International, the Advisory Committee of Elma Philanthropic Services and the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of USAID.

(An article she has written titled "Promoting Diversity in Endowment Assets" appears on page 2 of this issue.)

Terry McGovern has been appointed chair of the Heilbrunn Department of Population and Family Health at Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health, having served as its interim chair since January.

McGovern was a senior program officer at Ford in its Human Rights and Social Justice program from 2006 to 2012, where she led a global team addressing HIV and human rights in the Middle East and North Africa, Latin America, Southern Africa and the United States. She also co-led the first global cross-initiative funding collaborative for LGBT rights.

She began her career as a lawyer involved with issues stemming from the widespread disparities for low-income women and communities of color with HIV and has been involved with similar issues since.

In 1989, she founded the HIV Law Project, the first and only legal agency providing comprehensive services to low-income people living with HIV/AIDS in New York City, and was its first executive director for 10 years.

She left the project to join the Mailman School and, as an Open Society Fellow, has concentrated on the health impact of fundamentalist violence, working in particular with women in Rwanda, Sri Lanka and India to change discriminatory norms, policies and laws. She led the Women's Health and Human Rights Advocacy Project to improve reproductive and overall health of low-income women.

She has worked on several international efforts, including the 2016 Lancet Commission on Adolescent Health and Wellbeing. She was the leader of the inequalities section for the Standing Commission on Adolescent Health and Wellbeing, and co-leader of the Law and Human Rights section on the Lancet Commission on Humanitarian Assistance and Forced Migration. She has also served with the UNAIDS Human Rights Reference Group, the HIV Immigration Task Force, the Global HIV Prevention Task Force and several United Nations initiatives on women's equality and health issues.

As head of the Heilbrunn department she works to continue its scholarship, research and teaching aims "to prevent and disrupt the impacts of a multitude of negative life course exposures exacerbated by injustice, such as forced migration crises, climate change and environmental injustice, gender based violence, and racial and gender disparities".

In other news from the Mailman School, **Geetanjali Misra,** co-founder and executive director of the New Delhi-based Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action (CREA), is teaching a course this fall on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Health.

CREA, which she helped found in 2000, is a feminist human rights organization working with other rights movements and networks to advance the rights of women and girls, and the sexual and reproductive freedoms of all people. It "advocates for positive social change…and provides training and learning opportunities to global activists and leaders through its institutes".

Before creating her organization, she was a program officer for Sexuality and Reproductive Health in the Ford Foundation's New Delhi office from 1995 to 2001, supporting programs in India, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Prior to joining Ford, she co-founded SAKHI, a non-profit organization committed to ending violence against women of South Asian origin.

She is a board member of Reproductive Health Matters, United Kingdom, and a member of the advisory board of FHI360, a nonprofit human development organization formerly known as Family Health International. She was president of the Board of Association for Women's Rights in Development from 2006 to 2008.

She writes frequently on issues of sexuality, gender and rights, and co-edited *Sexuality, Gender and Rights: Exploring Theory and Practice in South and Southeast Asia.*

Geeta has a master's degree in economics from Syracuse University and a master's in international affairs from Columbia University.

Urvashi Vaid is serving as interim executive director of the Lesbian Political Action Committee (LPAC) as the search for a permanent director begins.

LPAC, founded in 2012, is dedicated to providing assistance "to the LGBT community, women and all those impacted by the hostile political climate in Washington, D.C., and across the nation. LPAC must grow and be even more engaged in supporting progressive candidates who advance our core values of LGBT equality, women's rights and gender, social and racial justice".

Vaid is president of the New York-based Vaid group, which "advises socially engaged innovators on domestic and global initiatives to advance equity justice and inclusion".
She worked at Ford from 2001 to 2005 in its Governance and Civil Society program.

She is also co-author of a report from the People of Color Donor Collaborative exploring how "high-net-worth individuals of color give philanthropically, but tend to be isolated from each other and absent from networks that connect wealthy white donors".

An article in Inside Philanthropy notes that she and her co-author, Ashindi Maxon, found that "donors of color give differently from wealthy white individuals and from each other. Every ethnicity has a 'culture of giving'…but the culture and habits differed by ethnicity and even generation….

"Donors of color are looking to increase opportunity," the authors say. "Most of them have made their own wealth. They didn't inherit, for the most part….They're conscious of the opportunity that allowed them to make that wealth. So they're giving to create opportunity….

When friends get together...

▲ **Radhika Balakrishnan,** left, and **Natalia Kanem,** are pictured outside the United Nations headquarters building in New York City during a recent get-together. Radhika heads the Center for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers, in New Jersey, and Natalia recently was named executive director of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).

▼ Radhika then had a reunion with two other old friends and colleagues from Ford, **Anne Kubisch,** in the center, and **Nicola Jones** on the right. Anne was with the Foundation from 1984 to 1996 in the Latin America and Caribbean program, the Lagos office and the Urban Poverty program. Nicola worked at Ford from 1988 to 1998 in the Lagos and Manila offices and in the Reproductive Health program.

▲ And Natalia Kanem was off to chair the Ninth Asia and Pacific Conference on Sexual and Reproductive Rights, in Vietnam, where she re-connected with **Lia Sciortino,** who worked in the Jakarta and Manila offices from 1993 to 2000 and now is director of Southeast Asia Junction in Bangkok, an organization she founded to foster "understanding and appreciation" of the region.

"Donors of color give to promote opportunity. They're not necessarily giving to change systems."

Michael Conroy, who worked at Ford from 1994 through 2003 in Community and Resource Development and in New York and the Mexico City office, has received a leadership award from the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) for his "decades of commitment to the organization".

He helped create FSC, described as the "world's leading forest certification system", and is chair of the board of FSC US and of FSC International.

The organization was founded in 1993 in Toronto when, after the Earth Summit the previous year in Rio de Janeiro "failed to produce an agreement to stop deforestation", a group of businesses, environmentalists and community leaders vowed to create "a voluntary, market-based approach that would improve forest practices worldwide".

Its mission is to "promote environmentally sound, socially beneficial and economically prosperous management of the world's forests".

Its United States chapter was founded in 1995 and now is headquartered in Minneapolis. It operates in 80 countries, "wherever forests are present". Its "vision" is to "meet our current needs for forest products without compromising the health of the world's forests for future generations".

Among its operating principles is that forest management "shall conserve biological diversity and its associated values, water resources, soils and unique and fragile ecosystems and landscapes, and, by so doing, maintain the ecological functions and the integrity of the forest".

Hanny Megally, director of the Middle East and North Africa Program of the International Center for Transnational Justice, has been appointed to the three-member Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic.

The commission was set up in 2011 by the Human Rights Council to investigate all alleged violations of human rights law in Syria since March 2011.

He worked in the Peace and Social Justice program at Ford from 1994 to 1997 and since then has worked with several international non-governmental organizations investigating human rights violations and humanitarian emergencies.

He was the executive director for the Middle East and North Africa for Human Rights Watch from 1997 to 2003 and director for the Middle East and North Africa for the International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) from 2003 to 2006. He was acting president of the organization in 2010 and then vice president of programs.

From 2011 to 2015 he was director of the Asia, Pacific, Middle East and North Africa Branch of the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

In announcing the appointment, the Council noted that Megally, a native of Egypt, "brings to this position over 40 years of experience conducting and directing investigations and advocacy on human rights violations and humanitarian emergencies".

He has a bachelor's degree in Middle Eastern History and Politics from the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, and has done graduate work at the London School of Economics.

Willy Mutunga, former Chief Justice and President of Kenya's Supreme Court, gave the annual lecture on Media and Politics in Africa at the meeting of the African Centre for Media Excellence, which "seeks to explore the relationship between the media and politics amidst changing technological, demographic and political conditions on the continent".

He spoke on "Politics, Media and Judicial Independence in Africa" at the gathering in Kampala, Uganda.

The lectures are funded by the Democratic Governance Facility, a "basket fund that supports state and non-state partners to strengthen democratization, protect human rights, improve access to justice and enhance accountability in Uganda".

Dr. Mutunga worked at Ford from 2004 to 2011, in its Human Rights and Governance program and as its representative for East Africa, based in Nairobi.

He became chief justice after leaving the Foundation, serving in that capacity from 2011 to 2016. Most recently he has been the

Continued on next page

The LAFF Society
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LAFFing Parade

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Commonwealth Secretary General's special envoy to the Maldives, and a distinguished scholar-in-residence at the Leitner Center for International Law and Justice at Fordham Law School.

Luis Ubiñas, who was president of the Foundation from 2008 to 2016, has been appointed to the Board of Directors of Boston Private Financial Holdings, a national financial services organization.

He serves on several multilateral, governmental and nonprofit boards and advisory committees, including the Advisory Board of the United Nations Fund for International Partnerships, and is president of the Board of Trustees of the Pan American Development Foundation.

Lia Sciortino received "my first medal, ever" when she was honored by the Vietnam Society of Social Science for her "contribution to social sciences in Vietnam".

Lia is a founder and the director of Southeast Asia Junction (SEA Junction), with headquarters in Bangkok, Thailand. Its purpose is to foster understanding and appreciation of Southeast Asia, including its arts and crafts, economy, politics and development.

She has lived in the region for more than 25 years, and worked in the Jakarta and Manila offices of the Ford Foundation from 1993 to 2000. She also has been regional director for Asia of the Rockefeller Foundation and for the International Development Research Centre, in Singapore, and senior advisor to AusAID in Indonesia.

Jill Hill, widow of **Arthur Hill,** the Foundation's representative in the Philippines in the 1970s, is receiving praise for her memoir, *In the Afternoon Sun: My Alexandria,* recollections that, in the words of one reviewer, "are all the more poignant since the city she describes, for all intents and purposes, no longer exists except in the memories of its surviving inhabitants".

Hill, who has written several travel books about Greece, Afghanistan and the Silk Road, was born in Alexandria to emigrant Greek parents and spent the first two decades of her life there, until the political situation forced her family to return to Greece and she won a scholarship to study in the United States, where she met her husband.

"When I am asked where I am from," she told an interviewer for The Philippine Daily Inquirer, "I would say Alexandria, which is not the same as Egypt. I am a citizen of that city. 'Alexandria' is a word that is a key, opening up the imagination to a vivid dream that brings the ancient past and the more recent future together….

"The city, inhabited by these memories of mine, moves not only backwards into history, studded with so many great names, but also back and forth in the living present, to the familiar and commonplace, to my family, to myself."

The Alexandria of her youth, she says, was "a mosaic of peoples of all nationalities. Everyone was living independently. We had our own schools, our own churches, our own hospitals, our own sporting events. Somehow we didn't intermingle—the Swiss with the Greeks, the British with the Italians, and so on. Everyone looked down on the Arabs. It was during the colonial times." ■

TELL US YOUR STORIES

The newsletter is always in need of articles and pictures that provide an opportunity for members to share their reminiscences, working at the Foundation or since.

The special nature of LAFF is demonstrated through the lives of its members, who committed themselves to causes as diverse as the needs of the people they served and who continue to do so in myriad ways and places.

These stories of professional and personal encounters shape the newsletter. So here's your chance to stay in touch.