



Reflections on American Philanthropy in the Caribbean and the Influential Role of Caribbean Women

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Abstract

Women's programmes in the Caribbean supported by private American foundations turned upside down the usual working relations between grantor and grantee. By drawing together the historical records of the foundations active in the region with my personal programmatic experiences, in this article I argue that the focus on women in the mid-1970s emerged as a foundation priority in response to societal changes in the United States and global discussions with and led by developing countries. These changes, not heretofore highlighted, brought significant actors from the region to the attention of foundation staff and led to their influential programme-shaping roles. The main premise of my paper is that starting in the mid-1970s and continuing for nearly 20 years, these actors, primarily women scholars and activists, played a significant role in shaping foundation priorities and programmes.

In the introduction I briefly discuss the early twentieth century history of the first two foundations active in the region, the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York. The core of the article focuses on these two American foundations, Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation that in the second half of the century supported programmes in the Caribbean related to women in development. I conclude with recommendations for ways to deepen the understanding of this history and make it accessible for scholars, philanthropic practitioners and policymakers.

Keywords: American philanthropy, Caribbean women, women in development, American foundations, world conferences, Women and Development Unit (WAND), The University of the West Indies (UWI), Peggy Antrobus, Joycelin Massiah, Lucille Mair, Nita Barrow, Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Ford Foundation

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Premises of the Paper

The pathways that Caribbean women have traditionally forged toward achieving more equitable social, economic and political developments were only recognized in the late 1970s by American grant-making foundations, even though they had long been active in the region. In this article, I argue that only following sea changes in domestic and international concerns for social justice in the late 1960s and 1970s did foundation officers hear more distinctly the voices of Caribbean women, with resulting shifts in programmatic strategies. The confluence of these changing conditions, along with new institutional leadership and a decline in assets, resulted in the restructuring of foundation programmes in the Caribbean and elsewhere to support initiatives related to women in development.

As background, in the first section of the paper I introduce the earliest two American foundations working in the Caribbean region, the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York. After World War II, other foundations followed their lead in the region. To amplify my thesis, I discuss the initial efforts of the Ford Foundation, the largest and, eventually, the most active institution concerned with programmes in the Caribbean related to women in development.¹

Next, I argue that in the mid-1970s, leadership changes at the Ford Foundation and Carnegie Corporation along with shifts in global and domestic contexts made these organizations more responsive to concerns articulated by women from the Caribbean in particular, and enabled them to guide foundation staff members in distinctive ways. Because the programme outcomes are familiar to the readers of this journal, I only discuss illustrative examples from their reoriented strategies over the following twenty years.

I write this article from the perspective of a scholar and practitioner of philanthropy, not as a scholar of women's issues or of development in the Caribbean. I have benefited considerably from the insightful articles of Bridget

Brereton and Ellie McDonald and others mentioned in sections below (Brereton 2013; McDonald 2016). These two authors, in particular, make compelling arguments for the study of history in order to understand present conditions and guide future actions. They also highlight the important role of historical archives and oral history in writing about contemporary issues. Their work informs my concluding suggestion about an approach to deepen historical research on American foundations in the region and build on that knowledge to inform both scholarship and local and external philanthropic efforts.

The Beginnings of American Foundation Support for Caribbean-Based Programmes

Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY) and the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) were the first two American foundations to engage in grant-making in the Caribbean. CCNY, established in 1911, was geographically restricted to work in the United States and in the British Commonwealth and Dominions by its founder, Scottish-born Andrew Carnegie. RF, established in 1913, had no such geographic restrictions; it could engage in grant-making anywhere in the world (Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) 2013; Rosenfield 2014). The narrative of their activities in the Caribbean began almost simultaneously with their founding. While contextual challenges such as World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II, of course, constrained grant-making domestically and internationally, the foundations' actions primarily responded to opportunities that contributed toward meeting their institutional missions, not necessarily regional or local priorities.

However, in those earliest years, one external context that the foundations regularly tapped into was colonial governance. Both recognized, for example, that they could not work in the colonies of the British Empire without approval from the Colonial Office in England. In the case of RF, their initial international efforts related to health, one of their main areas of overall concern, with a concentration on sanitation and hookworm control. As work was getting underway in 1913, the lead programme staff member, Wickliffe Rose, received "a cordial invitation from the Colonial authorities to visit the tropical colonies of

Great Britain, with a view to the inauguration of the work under the auspices of the several local governments." Following more visits to London and trips throughout the colonies, the report further notes that, "It was agreed that the Commission's first work in a foreign country should be in the British West Indies" (Rockefeller Foundation 1913-1914, 15). The Foundation's first overseas hookworm treatment programme began in British Guiana. (RAC 2013).

Not only did RF hope to achieve successful disease control and sanitation improvements in all countries where they were involved, but, as explicitly explained in the *1920 Annual Report*, staff also aimed "to create popular sentiment in support of public health, to increase appropriations for health purposes, and to promote the development of permanent agencies for the control of disease, the cultivation of hygiene as a science, and the training of men for public health service" (Rockefeller Foundation 1920, 86-87). The early RF international health staff clearly understood the components of a successful health and development programme. They continued with these Caribbean initiatives throughout the next two decades.

Early philanthropic efforts of Andrew Carnegie, before he established CCNY, included support for free public libraries. He considered access to knowledge through libraries as one of the most important ways to tackle a prominent root cause of poverty, the lack of access to formal education. Before establishing CCNY and before RF was founded, Carnegie had funded libraries in the Caribbean. Following his criteria, the local community had to request support and provide matching funds for library maintenance. In 1903, the criteria were met by Barbados and Dominica. Like the Rockefeller foray into public health in the Caribbean, the Carnegie Free Library of Barbados was "the first Carnegie Library built outside of Great Britain and North America" (Little Known 2013). The representative of the British Empire, the governor, would usually make the request. CCNY continued support for library programmes in the Caribbean during the interwar years.

During these years, both foundations expanded their work in the Caribbean to include Puerto Rico; RF for malaria control and CCNY for libraries. Both also continued to support projects in British Guiana, which Frederick Keppel, CCNY president from 1923-1941, described as one of the poorest in the colonies in the Empire (Rosenfield 2014, 133). In 1932, CCNY made its first grant in support of Caribbean women, providing \$70,000 to establish a women's Trade Centre in Georgetown, British Guiana (McAlmont 2006). The next one followed forty-five years later.

At the end of World War II, RF and CCNY actively engaged in grant-making that would support peaceful developments in regions where decolonization and independence movements were underway. The Caribbean was no exception. Both foundations, for example, provided support for the University of the West Indies (UWI), CCNY when it was established as a college in 1948 and RF only a few years later in the mid-1950s. CCNY's initial focus was to strengthen capacity in higher education and teacher training; RF's, to strengthen research and training in science and medicine. Soon both were also funding the Institute for Social and Economic Research. They continued to expand their grant-making to the University but without specifically including women in the programmes.

By the late 1950s, RF and CCNY were not the only two American foundations active in the region. The Ford Foundation (FF), founded in 1936 as a domestic foundation, expanded in 1950 to encompass a broad-based international programme (Rosenfield and Wimpee 2015). Like RF, FF had no geographic constraints on its scope for action. In 1959, following its establishment of overseas programmes in South Asia, the Near East, Asia and Africa, FF entered Latin America and the Caribbean as its last major geographic area of attention in that era. Almost immediately, FF's efforts greatly dominated the work of the older foundations.

Ford Foundation (FF) Enters the Caribbean Region

While there is no published history of FF's programmes in the Caribbean, research into its extensive archives yields a considerable amount of source material (grant-related files; staff and consultant assessments; meeting reports; internal memos; even oral histories by some of the early key individuals). Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to relate the detailed history, in order to set the stage for the work on women in development, I will briefly review the rationale for its philanthropic work in the Caribbean and highlight the recommendations that led to continued attention to the region.

As was usually the case, FF initiated its work in a new geographic area with a detailed review of the opportunities and limitations. For the Caribbean review, they hired American historian Richard Morse, based at the University of Puerto Rico and founder of its Institute of Caribbean Studies, and later a founder of the Caribbean Studies Association (Morse 1959).

Morse provided the strategic rationale for the work in the region, especially noting the importance of the transition in many areas from colony to independent country. He wrote about themes that resonated throughout FF's work in the region over the following decades: proximity to and commonalities with the United States; diversity of people, languages, and socio-economic and political conditions; wide varieties of statesmanlike leadership at different levels throughout the societies; and challenges of cooperation across the region balanced by the potential for comparative work. He advised that "in the mid-20th century, it is clear that the dependencies and nations of the Caribbean arc...are entering an era of political autonomy and cultural self-awareness under the impetus of vigorous local leadership" (Morse 1959, 4). He recommended that "For strategic reasons, therefore, if not for historical and traditional ones, it would seem justifiable to include the whole Caribbean area within a development program for Latin America" (Morse 1959, 7). The president and the board were persuaded to support programmes in agriculture, education, social sciences and the humanities, science and technology and population.

Over the next twenty years, the programme areas supported remained fairly consistent. FF expended more than \$25 million throughout the region, including in Puerto Rico and in American universities working with their counterparts in the Caribbean (Shuman undated).

When McGeorge Bundy assumed the FF presidency in 1966 (he served until 1979), he introduced a series of self-studies of the prior grant programmes to determine new directions. The Caribbean was the subject of regular reviews beyond the first self-study in 1966; two more reports were prepared in 1972 and 1973/1975. With the appointment of Franklin Thomas as the foundation's new president in 1979 (serving until 1996), several additional reviews of work in the Caribbean were undertaken in 1981, 1982, 1986, 1989, 1992/93, and 1994 (Hilliard 1966; Ford Foundation (FF) 1972; Caribbean Task Force 1973/1975; Shuman undated; FF 1982a; FF 1986; FF 1989; FF 1992/93; FF 1994; Schnepel 1994).

Echoing Morse, the reports elaborated on the rationale for maintaining a programme in the Caribbean: the region's wide-ranging diversity; (usually but not always) excellent leadership; and distinctive proximity to the United States, resulting in the extensive migration linking the two regions. For Ford staff, the first two characteristics indicated the likelihood of achieving and sustaining success; the third gave the region special resonance for an American-based foundation. The 1966 and 1970s reports, for example, highlighted the resulting successes in agriculture, population, and social sciences. The combination would justify the arguments for support, even though other problematic issues were also raised: economic fragmentation, political instability or lack of cooperation across the island states. Despite the recommendations to continue work in the region, the reports often ended by commenting that if budgetary pressures became too great or FF leadership interest in the region did not increase, the work in the Caribbean could be terminated. That is, staff members were concerned that the region might not be considered significant enough in relation to other geographic areas or priorities. If FF leadership chose to continue the programme, however, staff members often recommended that regional

specialists needed to be hired. In this era, the programmes continued but specialists were never hired.

The FF formed the Caribbean Task Force in January 1973 to review the work and recommend next steps.. The Task Force comprised staff members whose responsibilities reflected the oft-highlighted linkages between the United States and the Caribbean region. They were drawn from the U.S.-focused National Affairs and Education and Research Programs, as well as from the International Division. The Task Force recommended a series of options for continuing the work that helped shape new programme approaches proposed in a 1975 memo prepared by James Gardner, programme officer responsible for the work in the Caribbean, to the head of Latin America and the Caribbean office, William D. Carmichael (Gardner 1975).

Gardner recommended narrowing the programme focus in its three main fields of activity—agriculture, population and development management planning—to "capacity building" projects and "exemplary projects." He emphasized that his plans were "(B)uttressed by the momentum of the Caribbean Task Force" (Gardner 1975, 2). Capacity building would aim to strengthen "development of institutional, human, community and conceptual resources in the region," including strengthening of networks across institutions, fellowships and travel grants. Exemplary projects, he suggested, could address: "the Caribbean State;" "Race, Culture, and Politics in the Caribbean;" and "Movement of Caribbean peoples." He saw these as having "overriding trans-regional and international importance," requiring focused research and engagement with policy. While he briefly discussed reproductive biology and "sex roles," nowhere in his seven-page memo is there an explicit discussion of women in development or of gender (Gardner 1975, 3-4).

At this time, in fact, no American foundation was explicitly working on women in the Caribbean. That would change over the following year.

American Foundation Focus on Women and Development in the Caribbean: Rationales, Results, and Reflection

Before discussing FF and CCNY's women in development activities, I want to elucidate my argument about the enabling factors that led to these new activities. Additionally, I want to emphasize that this article draws on issues identified in the various archival documents prepared by key actors at the time. It also draws on my own experiences as a programme officer and participant in comparable decision-making at CCNY, as well as my direct participation in some of the international activities. I want to note, however, that the discussion below would benefit from more in-depth primary and secondary research, a topic I return to in the concluding section.

The first enabling factor is a result of changes in the U.S. domestic context that facilitated the foundations' engagement with women's issues. The second relates to the radical changes in the international context that gave prominence to new ideas about development and new leading players from developing countries. Caribbean intellectuals and activists, men and women, were often at the forefront of these changes.

Factor 1. The changing U.S. domestic context in the 1960s influences foundation policies

The first contextual change relates to U.S. and internal foundation conditions. U.S. civil rights legislation in the 1960s, along with civil rights activism and the reinvigorated women's movement, provided the impetus (and the internal permission) to fund more action-oriented projects, including ones that were riskier and more wide ranging (Ferguson 2013; Wimpee 2016). This began to happen in a significant way when, near the end of the 1960s, both FF and CCNY elected new presidents, McGeorge Bundy, referred to earlier, and Alan Pifer, formally installed as CCNY president in 1967 (he served until 1982). Both endorsed grant-making related to civil rights; they wrote about and acted on promoting social justice. Moreover, at this time, as indicated above, both institutions began to shift their traditional focus on higher education toward

increased support for non-governmental organizations, including those aimed at advancing public policy advocacy and civil rights litigation. The civil rights and social justice thrusts combined with new foundation leadership opened the door to programmes about women and their rights.

Changes at FF

In September, 1972, FF's leaders walked through that opened door. Yet another task force was created, this one to examine, as they put it, "The Ford Foundation's Program in the Changing Role of Women." The Task Force's charge was to assess the growing women's movement and to determine how best FF could respond with regard to women's needs, including how women's changing roles in society might affect the family (Ford Foundation, 1973). The Task Force comprised twelve members (nine women and three men), from all levels of the foundation (two vice presidents, six programme officers, a staff assistant, the assistant treasurer and the assistant general counsel). Although primarily reviewing the situation of American women in meetings with American scholars, activists and leaders, they also met with one key international advisor, Dr. Alva Myrdal, the Swedish scholar and politician. Overseas staff provided additional input from discussions with women in their settings. The Task Force reviewed the slightly more than \$2.5 million worth of grants that had been made since 1960 to promote women's equal opportunity. Of the thirty-five projects and fellowships relating to women, none was made directly to an overseas institution or individual.

The Task Force report to the Trustees, nonetheless, highlighted international issues, particularly related to participation of women in society and their access to education. The report also pointed out the differences in the foundation's grant-making: for some time, its domestic programmes had been allocating resources for enhancing women's opportunities, whereas none had been allocated by the international division. Only the separate Population Program had supported projects related to "the interrelationships between the full social participation of women and fertility control" (Ford Foundation 1973, C-7). Despite recognizing the gap in FF's programming, they advised proceeding with caution

outside of the United States, fearing they would step on culturally sensitive toes.

Before making any grant recommendations, the Task Force first recommended that FF itself institute a vigorous internal affirmative action programme. It was not that they necessarily anticipated that women programme officers would be more open to funding women's activities, [A side note: one such officer effectively advocated for the Foundation to provide equal pay for women staff members (The LAFF Society 2009)]. They saw the ethical importance of consistency with their promoting affirmative action in their grantee institutions and activities. They recognized that they needed to act on the same concern in their own institution.

Their programmatic recommendations included increasing the opportunities for women in grants and fellowships; focusing on the multiple dimensions of women's economic role through programmes "supported by the National Affairs, Education and Research, and International Divisions"; and maintaining "a standing committee of staff from the several divisions" to ensure that FF give sufficient attention to the "newly emerging needs of women"(Ford Foundation March 1973, 23-24). This Task Force led to a wide range of programmes focused on women and increasing opportunities for women, first in the United States and then slowly expanding around the world. Four years following the Trustee review of the Task Force, the focus on women in the Caribbean began to feature in FF's portfolio, as discussed further below.

Changes at CCNY

In the case of CCNY, since the 1920s support for women had been scattered throughout the domestic programme and international travel grants, and, for the most part, specifically related to education. As at FF, however, the overseas programme, then called the Commonwealth Program, had not incorporated any of the social justice concerns that permeated domestic grant-making in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Pifer, like Bundy, was also tackling a need to refresh programmes while making cuts due to the economic downturns of the 1970s. In 1974, he asked the Trustees to undertake an extensive review of the Commonwealth Program. The Trustees established a review committee with a completely open-ended charge. They could keep the programme the same, change it drastically, or recommend ending it. They had the resources to commission historical studies and undertake site visits; they also paid close attention to contemporary global concerns.

As Pifer reported to CCNY staff in 1975, the Trustees recommended bringing to a close the long-term undertakings in higher education, teacher training and child development despite their internationally recognized successes. They recommended reorienting the programme from the widespread work in tropical Africa and elsewhere in the Commonwealth world to focus more intently on southern Africa, the Caribbean and the South Pacific. Pifer further reported on their recommendation that the university-based educational development and research activities be greatly reduced and support increased for "smaller, facilitative grants for a wider range of activities in such fields as leadership development, social planning, regional and international communication, indigenous culture, and others" (Rosenfield 2014, 295-296).

The two main themes they endorsed reflected the social justice and civil rights perspectives. CCNY should: (1) tackle more energetically the egregious situation with apartheid in southern Africa; and (2) initiate a new programme thrust on "a brand-new topic...the promotion of women in development." They also urged that in each of the two areas, CCNY staff identify more effective ways to enhance communications about development to American policymakers and the public (Rosenfield 2014, 295-296).

The Implications for Both Institutions

By 1975, I argue that for both FF and CCNY, the fortuitous combination of engagement with the rights-oriented domestic situation, in-depth reviews of international conditions and considerably reduced financial assets, further

opened their doors to respond positively to the new agenda for women defined by new (to them) actors in the international community.

Factor 2. The 1970s: New Voices and New Issues from Developing Countries Transformed International Debates and Actions

Starting in 1968, leaders, scholars and activists from both developing and developed countries who were concerned about the state of human development began to meet periodically under the auspices of different international organization. Their aim was to move forward international and local actions on social, economic and governance issues within developing countries and transnationally. At this time, the international community turned to the creation of multi-national commissions as a way of addressing a multitude of global problems. These commissions would produce reports of their deliberations, disseminate them widely and, often, prepare them as background for UN-sponsored conferences bringing together participants from national governments and non-governmental organizations.

Beginning in 1968, Lester Pearson, Nobel Laureate and former prime minister of Canada, formed the Pearson Commission on International Development, with funding from the World Bank to examine its work. The Commission's deliberations resulted in *Partners in Development*, a report that set the standard for many to follow (Pearson Report 1969). In the years after the report was issued and continuing until the present day, international commissions and UN conferences have initiated and sustained discussions on global concerns related to the environment, population, international development, culture, water supply and sanitation, humanitarian issues, global governance, human security and other themes (Lapeyre 2004).

The issues raised by these global, developing country-focused conferences, often receiving considerable press coverage, helped define new agendas for FF and CCNY, and enabled staff members to hear from people unfamiliar to them from their earlier efforts. Specifically, for this paper, I contend the turning point for

FF and CCNY that led to programmes on women in development in the Caribbean and other developing countries was the first World Conference on Women, held in the summer of 1975 in Mexico City. With participation from governments and nongovernmental organizations, the deliberations resulted in the first World Plan of Action and guidelines for a decade devoted to the advancement of women. Now there was an action agenda that could provide the template against which FF and CCNY could develop and assess their own programmes in this new area of women in development (UN Women undated).

Peggy Antrobus, the Grenada-born scholar, author and feminist activist, is one of the pioneering global leaders on women's issues. Well-known to the readers of this journal, Antrobus has published an outstanding analysis of the global women's movement, including the impacts of the UN Conferences on Women (Antrobus 2004). She provides additional personal perspectives in a 2007 interview with Michelle Rowley, one of the editors of this special issue (Rowley 2007) on the effects of the 1980 World Conference on Women, held in Copenhagen, where the pioneering scholar on women in the Caribbean, Ambassador Lucille Mair, served as Secretary-General. Antrobus also referred to the next World Conference on Women, held in 1985 in Nairobi, where the equally distinguished and influential Dame Nita Barrow, also from the Caribbean, chaired the NGO Forum (Rowley 2007, 70). In addition, these conferences and subsequent gatherings engaged staff members from FF and CCNY, and increasingly other foundations, enlarging the influence of those who were designing and implementing the local and international agendas for action with those who were eager to find ways to support it.

The Programmatic Response: What did the foundations actually do?

How did they do it? What happened?

Both FF and CCNY archival records are replete with material from their efforts in the Caribbean. The records, especially the analytical recommendations for grant action in the grant files and complementary reports and memos, indicate ways the international agenda and domestic policy changes influenced

programmes. These documents also reveal ways the officers within and across foundations were in touch with each other and benefited from sharing knowledge.

My central argument is that these developments provided the preconditions that enabled the women scholars and activists from the Caribbean to help shape not only global action plans for the international community but also new grant-making activities at the foundations. Despite the historical experiences of both foundations in the region, it was only following site visits to the region and participation at the world conferences, when programme staff encountered the leading Caribbean scholars and activists of the time, such as those noted above, that they began to develop new programmes to address concerns about women.

To reiterate, my reasoning is based on the archival evidence that I reviewed, as well as my experience working on these issues in the late 1980s and 1990s. For so many years foundation staff were actively working on and in the Caribbean, identifying and supporting grants on issues closely related to the concerns about women, such as the forces affecting migration and racism as well as economic and educational inequities in the region. With the increasing attention to women's issues in the U.S. paralleling in time the Caribbean work, it is surprising that they did not have the programmatic foresight to identify women's issues as a key area for enlarging and deepening their grant-making in the region. This is yet another reason why I argue that for the area of women in development, even with the internal changes in both institutions, FF and CCNY programme staff only moved forward with the Caribbean women's programme after they had heard and learned from the knowledgeable actors from the region. These interlocutors then helped frame the rationale and the opportunities for them.

While today American foundation programme staff may develop their programmes by listening to and learning from local actors, in the 1970s, foundation staff did not ordinarily design their program strategies around the

ideas and plans suggested by the potential grantees. The relationship between these local actors and foundation staff was qualitatively different.

Massiah emphatically reinforces this point:

In the context of the present project the main issues we wanted donors to consider were:

- we wanted to do the work ourselves;
- we wanted to fashion our own conceptual framework; and
- we wanted to be judged by the record of achievements of the host Institute and not by the donors' experience of other regions.

We were extremely fortunate to obtain major support from donors who were willing to consider these terms. Assistance was made available for every stage of the project by agencies from both within and outside of the region" (Massiah 1982, 19).

To reinforce my arguments, in the following pages, I discuss how FF and CCNY programmes in support of Caribbean women in development mirrored each other in the 1970s and 1980s, and then how and why they began to differ.

The grants made by the foundations are fairly well known and have been written about elsewhere, including in this journal. For example, the December 2016 *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies* is a testament to the legacy of the pioneering Caribbean women scholars and activists who promoted the work on and by women in the Caribbean region and whose voices were heard loud and clear by the staff in these two foundations (Bean and Sukhu 2016). In their introduction, Dalia Bean and Raquel Sukhu, issue coeditors, illustrate the impact of the vision on the region and beyond of Peggy Antrobus, first as the effective head of the Jamaica Women's Bureau; Joycelin Massiah, leading light of UWI's Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) at The UWI; Lucille Mair, a pioneering scholar on women's issues, recognized as well for her diplomatic acumen; and others in the 1970s such as Nita Barrow, courageous in her tackling

of conflict issues through the World Council of Churches and persistent advocate for women's health. The papers and the earlier work referred to all contribute to understanding how the work on Caribbean women in development evolved at FF and CCNY.

In 1976, CCNY jump-started its programmatic work by hiring Kristin Anderson from the Ford Foundation. There, she had worked on related communication and other development issues. At CCNY, she was responsible for developing grants aimed at "improving conditions for women, including networks to bring women scholars together to develop targeted research and major international conferences on the theme" (Rosenfield 2014, 309). Hiring a staff member away from another foundation was a relatively rare action in those days. As evidence of the close working relationship between the two foundations, in this instance, instead of leading to antagonism or competition between them, Anderson's appointment facilitated communication and complementary programming.

As further evidence, both in the Caribbean and on the African continent, starting with the efforts of Anderson, CCNY and FF's activities related to strengthening the role of women in development were either jointly or sequentially funded by one or the other foundation. This cooperation persisted even with changing staff throughout the 1980s and the 1990s, and into the twenty-first century. In 1977 and 1978, responding particularly to the initiatives of Antrobus and Massiah, both foundations provided funding for the Jamaica Women's Bureau and its grassroots programming (Germain 1978, 6; Rosenfield 2014, 312). Similarly, CCNY supported communications activities of the Women's Bureau of the Government of Belize and research and training programmes for women through for the women's desk in the Commonwealth of Dominica.

CCNY also supported a 1977 networking meeting on issues confronting women in the region that resulted in the establishment in 1978 of the breakthrough extramural organization, headed by Peggy Antrobus, known as the Women and Development Unit (WAND), based at The University of the West Indies in

Barbados. Although CCNY was the first donor, FF soon participated (The University of the West Indies 2004-2014). Illustrating the influential role of Antrobus and her colleagues, both foundations responded regularly to their ideas and initiatives (Heisler 1987, 5-11; Rosenfield 2014, 311). Both were committed to funding WAND's plans for regional networking, grassroots programmes, training, research and convenings, as well as requests for technical assistance such as to enhance evaluation activities and to identify other donors.

FF also funded WAND's documentation and outreach efforts and all that this entailed, including training materials, curriculum development and teaching and training programmes related to a wide range of issues associated with promoting women in development. CCNY continued to fund WAND throughout the 1980s and to work with staff there until the Caribbean programme came to a close in 1994. FF worked with WAND for over twenty years, through leadership and programmatic changes in both institutions. FF and CCNY were also eager to back Antrobus's efforts to expand WAND's donor base. Soon other foundations and agencies also became committed to funding its efforts.

Responding to conversations with Antrobus and Massiah, as noted above, FF and CCNY also supported a two-year project at the ISER to review issues on women in the Caribbean, the "Women in the Caribbean Project." (Ford Foundation 1982b). Both FF and CCNY staff participated in different meetings of the project and acted positively to address the concerns identified by Massiah and her colleagues. They emphasized "the general neglect of women's issues within the official curriculum of the University," despite "the impact, over several years, of the ISER 'Women in the Caribbean' research project and of the more action-oriented activities carried out by the University's Women and Development Unit (WAND)" (Puryear/McClure 1983, 2).

In a recommendation for grant action to the Board of Trustees, FF staff members highlighted the fact that, "both projects have increased knowledge and awareness of the problems women face in the Caribbean, and both have been

sufficiently successful to draw the attention of a wide variety of university faculty members" (Puryear/McClure 1983, 2). Following the discussions with Massiah and her colleagues, they also pointed out that despite the successes with the research and action projects, the university had not opened up its curriculum in a significant way to focus on women's studies.

FF then financed a meeting convened by WAND and ISER to bring together faculty from the three UWI campuses, in Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad, with other Caribbean universities from Guyana, St. Vincent and even the Caribbean Examinations Council. The participants reviewed experiences in other regions, including other parts of the Caribbean and Latin America, and developed an action plan for moving forward on each of the three campuses. With support from university leadership, they launched the secretariat in 1983. FF provided a modest grant for the secretariat and, in 1985, provided another one to establish the Women and Development curriculum on the three UWI campuses. They also responded positively to the request for a regional coordinator. All realized they needed one significant coordinator to provide intellectual and persuasive oversight for this initiative. Not surprisingly, they asked Ambassador Mair to take on this task, which she did (Kubisch 1985, 2). FF provided support over the next ten years.

In 2016, Massiah and her colleagues, Barbara Bailey and Elsie Leo-Rhynie, published *The UWI Gender Journey*, which details the dedicated efforts behind this story (Massiah, Leo-Rhynie and Bailey 2016). Their insightful narrative shines a light on how the key players effectively influenced foundation grant-making.

At FF, the 1980s work in the Caribbean, much like the efforts in the late 1960s and 1970s, was subject to extensive reviews that revisited the concerns raised in those earlier reports, including the diversity and fragmentation in the region, limited high-level attention within FF and lack of staff expertise. But they also identified the same opportunities, namely, strong leadership, promising opportunities for comparative work, in-depth expertise in social and economic

development and the ever present "interpenetration" between Caribbean countries and the U.S. With positive assessments, the work with WAND and ISER continued but new dimensions, albeit still related to supporting improvements in women's lives, began to take on greater prominence in FF's programmes.

When Franklin Thomas became FF's president in 1979, he instituted a reorganization of the programmes around several themes where women featured in prominent ways but were not the main component of the programme: urban poverty and the disadvantaged; rural poverty and resources; and human rights and social justice. The latter area was becoming increasingly prominent on the international and domestic agendas as well as the Foundation's. As a result, in the mid-1980s, FF staff began to shift their grant-making on women and development to situating those issues in the context of human rights programmes in the Caribbean. These new efforts included grants for women's rights specifically in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica. As discussed in several programme papers, the focus on defining women's rights as human rights and promoting access to the law soon became the main thrust of women-related grant activities, along with a few initiatives related to research and action on feminism (Busby 1989).

FF's population-related work in the Caribbean, at the same time, shifted from reproductive health to reproductive rights and increasingly responded to the destructive new health problem for women, HIV/AIDS. Grant activities, for example, included work with prostitutes and other disadvantaged women in Haiti. Nonetheless, even as FF began to extend its work on reproductive health and reproductive rights and to move into new areas of women's rights programming in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, staff still sought advice from their long-standing guides for work in the region, the leadership at WAND and ISER.

For example, a staff member with new responsibilities for work in the region, Cynthia Sanborn, first sought advice from Antrobus and Massiah, as well as from

others at ISER, J. Edward Greene and Elsie Le Franc, before developing the new programmes. She also suggested to FF staff newly responsible for reproductive health that they start their exploratory efforts in the region with the same colleagues (Sanborn 1990).

In the mid-1980s, along with the increasing concern for human rights and HIV/AIDS prevention, another new issue emerged on the global agenda that reshaped both FF and CCNY's programmes, namely, the concern about the excessive deaths of women in childbirth in developing countries. While this issue was spotlighted at the 1974 World Conference on Population in Bucharest and the 1985 World Conference on Women in Nairobi; for the next decade, remained a secondary issue under the more prominent work related to maternal and child health, which usually emphasized the child health concerns. Addressing specifically what happens to women in childbirth rose to the top of the agenda with the publication of a key scientific advocacy paper (Rosenfield and Maine 1985). Globally, as well as in the Caribbean, that concern further contributed to shifting both FF and CCNY away from the broader-based focus on women in development and gender studies. The effect on CCNY is discussed below.

Yet another new global theme, environment and development, emerged in the early 1990s as a result of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro (UN 1997). Moving away from women's reproductive rights and specific health concerns, this new theme predominated in a 1994 FF programme review of the Caribbean work (Schnepel 1994; Ford Foundation 1992/93). FF's Caribbean grant-making began to address these concerns under the rubric of urban poverty and rural poverty. While women were included in the action-oriented focus of this programme, they were not the central theme. A few activities related to women in the arts also began to enter into FF's regional grant-making. Based on my limited archival research on this era, FF's Caribbean grant-making now seemed to be shaped more from the

initiatives emanating from New York than by local advisors. More extensive archival investigation would help substantiate this change in approach.

At CCNY, the new global focus on women's health also attracted the attention of the new president, Dr. David Hamburg (1982-1997) and his colleagues. Following the 1985 Nairobi Conference, for example, as described in a 1986 memo for the Board, Commonwealth Program staff proposed working with WAND on a new women's health agenda. Both WAND and CCNY were responding to a request from the Pan-American Health Organization to broaden the focus on reproductive health, which both FF and CCNY had funded in the past, and include under-addressed lifestyle-related concerns, such as "stress, violence against women, drug use, prostitution, and occupational hazards" (Sheffield 1986, 2).

CCNY staff also recommended funding the first international Safe Motherhood Conference that gave visibility to the high rates of maternal mortality in developing countries. Held in Nairobi in early 1987, the Conference launched the International Safe Motherhood Initiative (Starrs 2006). The outcomes led the new leadership of CCNY's Strengthening Human Resources to refocus the efforts on women in development and the wider range of women's health-related concerns to preventing maternal mortality in the context of maternal and child health efforts (Rosenfield 2014, 350, 356).

While this work concentrated primarily on projects in Africa, staff members also responded positively to the "Caribbean Cooperation and Health" initiative of the new Director-General of the Pan-American Health Organization, Sir Dr. George Alleyne (originally from Barbados), to deepen the work on maternal and child health in the region, with mothers as a central focus. The grant entailed promoting "a program on intra-technical cooperation for maternal and child health" and was co-sponsored by Pew Charitable Trusts. It included "networking of Caribbean institutions, professional exchanges, workshops and courses, and a special experiment in distance teaching" (Rosenfield 2014, 367). The network was housed at The UWI but in different departments from its traditional partners.

Another new advisor, Dr. Wynant Patterson, one of the leading staff members of the Ministry of Health in Jamaica, began to work closely with staff. While the initiative to promote maternal and child health networking in the region emerged from the changing international and internal institutional contexts, it did not emerge from consultation on the ground with local advisors. Rather, it was a specific response to plans presented by an international organization (albeit the plans focused on the Caribbean and the organization was led by the dynamic and highly respected Alleyne).

In 1987, I became the programme officer for the developing countries programme and then assumed programme leadership in 1990. My role in supporting these grants leads me to close this section with some personal reflections. In contrast to the sequence of reports prepared by FF staff that were available to staff and made it clear where to turn for advice on women-related grant-making in the region, such information was not readily available at CCNY. Even though my colleagues and I were well aware of the global reputations of WAND and The UWI women's studies programmes, we were not aware of the prior CCNY connections and, therefore, did not consider consulting them on the women's health initiative. Not only was continuity broken in the region but the understanding of past lessons was not incorporated into the new initiatives and possibly influenced the scope of their impact.

Even more regrettably, when asked by the CCNY Board of Trustees to bring the Caribbean programme to a close in 1993-1994 (primarily because of overall budget cuts), we were constrained in our case for maintaining it by the lack of access to the deep history. The programme was unable to keep even a small set of activities in the region, despite engaging in themes elsewhere that resonated with the history of working on women's issues in the Caribbean, including health and development.

Closing Comments: the State of Philanthropy in the Region and Opportunities to Reinforce the Efforts of Caribbean Women

Beyond the three foundations discussed in this paper, there are now other private grant-making international foundations active in the Caribbean. Importantly, there are also now local grant-making foundations sustaining local initiatives. The former tend to focus on specific areas, such as environment, governance and child survival. The American WestWind Foundation, for example, is one of the few to sustain a commitment to reproductive health and reproductive rights. The Bernard Van Leer Foundation from the Netherlands has been a mainstay in support of early childhood initiatives. Increasingly, local foundations such as the JB Fernandes Trust and the Sandals Foundation are sustaining broader-based grassroots activities (Caribbean Philanthropy Network 2017).

The priorities of all these grant-makers are compelling but they also echo earlier work in the region. Unfortunately, these foundations have little or no access to the history of American foundation involvement in the region and the lessons learned. To date, there is no comprehensive analytical work on the broad historical role of American (or other) foundations in the Caribbean.

Two publications on specific themes stand out, one on the early Rockefeller Foundation work in public health by Steven Palmer, and another on Carnegie Corporation's efforts in public libraries by Alma Jordan (Palmer 2010; Jordan 1964). William Moody, responsible for international activities of the Rockefeller Brothers fund (RBF) from 1968-2001, provides both analytical and personal insights into the RBF environmental grant-making in the region over the period 1969-1988 (Moody 2014). In my book on the history of CCNY's international philanthropy, the work in the Caribbean appears under different time frames (Rosenfield 2014).

Two additional publications detail the broader work of foundations and nonprofits in the region. Notably, the *Palgrave Handbook of Philanthropy*

includes an informative chapter telescoping the historical antecedents and institutional arrangements of foundations and nonprofits (Weipking and Hamdy 2015). In a report written for FF and published by the Caribbean Philanthropy Network, Etha Henry compares and contrasts attributes of the historically active foundations and nonprofits in the region (Henry 2008).

With the increasing diversity of philanthropic activity in the region, I want to conclude by emphasizing the value of additional research into the central arguments of this paper. Further research could illuminate in more detail, first, how the confluence of international and domestic contextual changes in the U.S. led to internal policy change for U.S. foundations. Second, researchers and activists could elaborate on how all those changes set the stage for women scholars and activists from the Caribbean to play a significant role in guiding and implementing foundations' strategies for the region. A systematic, comprehensive study, including oral histories with former foundation officers and their Caribbean advisors, would contribute considerably to understanding more fully the advantages and limitations of philanthropic initiatives in promoting and sustaining the role of Caribbean women in national and regional social, political and economic developments over the last 100 years. A multi-layered analysis of how American foundations reoriented their programmes to concentrate more directly on the central role of women in development could help inform new scholarship on women's issues in the region.

Harking back to the 1970s, those early leaders together with their foundation counterparts could share lessons learned to inform and promote continued leadership among the next generation of Caribbean women for shaping philanthropy, not only in the region but, as in the past, in the United States and globally.

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¹ The Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation archival collections are accessible at the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), Sleepy Hollow, New York. For conducting research online or with the assistance of an archivist, consult the RAC website, www.rockarch.org. Carnegie Corporation's archival collections are accessible through the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries. For assistance in finding material, consult the Curator, Carnegie Collections, <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/archives/rbml/Carnegie/index.html>.