Looking Back
25 Years


Archive photos by Steve Moriarty
Kellogg Searches for New Director

After serving two five-year terms as Director of the Kellogg Institute, SCOTT MAINWARING will step down at the end of academic year 2006-07. A committee led by the Office of the Provost and comprised of several Faculty Fellows has been formed to conduct a nationwide search for a new director. Mainwaring will be on leave for the 2007-08 and 2008-09 academic years.

“It has been a pleasure and privilege to serve in this position,” said Mainwaring, the Eugene Conley Professor of Political Science. “I am stepping down to pursue several long overdue research projects that I postponed in order to better fulfill my responsibilities as Kellogg Director.”

Maduro Lectures on Governance in Honduras

Soon after RICARDO MADURO JOEST agreed to join the Kellogg Institute’s new Advisory Board, the former President of Honduras spoke at Notre Dame on “New Democracies, Poverty, and Governance” in Central America.

Although Maduro was elected on a platform that stressed fighting crime, his October 10 lecture emphasized the institutional reforms he made as Honduran president from 2002 to 2006. He helped create a universal school lunch program, for example, and promoted legislative changes that opened the political parties and strengthened the rule of law in Honduras.

He also spoke at length about the importance of remittances in Honduras, an issue currently being researched by Visiting Fellow LUIS COSEÑA, who was Maduro’s campaign manager and his Minister of the Presidency. For a country with a gross domestic product of $7.5 billion, the estimated $2.5 billion in remittances sent to the country have an “enormous impact,” Maduro said. The key to fixing Honduras’s problems, he said—and to creating lasting change and a credible government—is continuity. Too often, Latin America’s newly elected governments implement policies that conflict with those of their predecessors. “Unless you have principled leadership…unless you participate, there is no possibility for continuity.”

US-Mexico TIES Garners Top Ranking by Mexican Business Magazine

A prominent business magazine, Expansión, has given a top ranking to the Universidad de Guadalajara under the US-Mexico TIES program, sponsored by the US Agency for International Development (USAID). Guadalajara’s “Maestría en Negocios y Estudios Económicos” is ranked number one among innovative MBA programs, along with other prestigious business schools in Mexico such as ITESM-Monterrey and ITAM, which also made the rankings.

“Two years ago, our program lacked teaching and research in entrepreneurship,” said ADRIAN DE LEON-ARIAS, Dean of the Business School at Universidad de Guadalajara, and a 2005–06 Guest Scholar through the Training, Internships, Exchanges, and Scholarships—or TIES—partnership. “Thanks to the collaborative project we developed with Mendoza College of Business and the Kellogg Institute, we are now offering not only teaching and research in this field, but also address a relevant economic development challenge.

“These actions were acknowledged in the ranking, as well as our relationship with Notre Dame.” As part of the TIES partnership, faculty from the Universidad de Guadalajara spend time as Guest Scholars at the Kellogg Institute, and Notre Dame faculty teach modules to MBA students in Guadalajara. Notre Dame MBA students and selected undergraduates sponsored by the Kellogg Institute also join their Mexican counterparts from Universidad de Guadalajara in summer internships to develop business plans and provide consulting services to small and medium-sized agricultural producers in the Mexican states of Jalisco and Michoacán.
New Advisory Board Holds First Meeting

The Kellogg Institute’s new Advisory Board held its first meeting on September 22. As part of the meeting, two Advisory Board members, ALVARO MARTINEZ-FONTS and TARA KENNEY, joined Faculty Fellow JAIME ROS and Visiting Fellow LUIS COSENZA in a roundtable discussion, “Economic Prospects and Challenges for Latin America.”

Pictured, back row, from left: SANTIAGO ARANGUREN, Director for Business Development, Arancia Industrial, S.A. de C.V.; TOM TINSLEY, Managing Director, General Atlantic LLC; GARY R. GARRABRANT, CEO, Equity International, GATX; KENNETH M. ROBERTS, Professor, Department of Government, Cornell University; MARK MCGRATH, Chair, Senior Director (Retired), McKinsey & Company; RODRIGO CALDERÓN, Vice President, Public Affairs & Communication, Coca-Cola Latin America; BRIAN A. KENNEY, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, GATX; and ALVARO MARTINEZ-FONTS, Chief Executive Officer, JPMorgan Latin America Private Bank.

Front row, from left: TARA KENNEY, Managing Director, Deutsche Asset Management, Inc.; RYAN KERRIGAN, Principal, Kerrigan Capital, LLC, and President, TL Fabrications, LP; TIMOTHY SCULLY, CSC, Professor, Department of Political Science, Notre Dame; and DEBORAH J. YASHAR, Professor, Department of Politics and International Affairs, Princeton University.

Not pictured: ROBERTO GARZA DELGADO, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Gard Corporation; RICARDO MADURO JOEST, Former President of Honduras; JOHN KENNETH JOHNSON, CEO, Sudamtex Group (retired), and RAYMOND C. OFFENHEUSER, JR., President, Oxfam America.

Mack Delivers Notre Dame Prize Lecture

HELEN MACK CHANG, the 2005 recipient of the Notre Dame Prize for Distinguished Public Service in Latin America and founder of the Myrna Mack Foundation, delivered a public lecture on October 31 at Notre Dame.

Titled “La muerte es vida (Death is Life),” Mack recounted her fight to bring members of the Guatemalan military to justice for thousands of political killings, including the assassination of her sister, Myrna, and her ongoing efforts to end the culture of impunity in Guatemala.

“The political and economic powers use [the country’s] institutions to attack, control, and to enrich themselves,” said Mack, assessing the current political environment. “The situation has not changed much although the motivations are different. Those who have participated in the past in the military regime continue to organize groups in order to execute political violence.”

Established in 1999 by Notre Dame’s Kellogg Institute and funded by The Coca-Cola Foundation, the Notre Dame Prize has been awarded to some of the leading political, civil, and religious figures in Latin America.

FIPSE Funds North America Exchange Program

The Kellogg Institute, as part of a consortium of six universities in the US, Mexico, and Canada, has received a $200,000 grant from the US Department of Education’s Fund for Improvement of Post Secondary Education (FIPSE) to support a student exchange program.

Titled, “Mobility, Society and Governance in North America,” the project promotes the exchange of students in the social sciences and the humanities between institutions in the consortium which include: University of Notre Dame, Harvard University, El Colegio de México, Universidad de Las Americas in Puebla (Mexico), the University of Montreal, and the University of British Columbia.

“The main objective of the exchange program is to create a group of young professionals and researchers endowed with a comparative and transnational vision of the processes that characterize the NAFTA region,” explains SHARON SCHIERLING, Associate Director of the Kellogg Institute, who co-directs the project with Faculty Fellow EDWARD BEATTY, Associate Professor of History. “We hope that this vision will allow them to find innovative solutions to the challenges facing the region.

“We also hope to foster a genuine North American debate that links and integrates national-level discussions by training students who will be future leaders in various professions.”

Specifically, the project promotes the exchange of at least 42 students—7 students from each of the participating institutions. Participants will include advanced (junior and senior) undergraduates and postgraduate students. Each participating institution will offer a series of courses related to the topics of the project, grounded in specialized programs or centers at each. In the host institutions, faculty advisors will be assigned to the exchange students and they will strive to include the students in research activities and internships in the professional world.

“This project will allow the partners involved to consolidate our respective research and teaching resources in an effort to maximize the academic training offered to the student participants,” added Schierling.

“The end result will contribute to the development of a new generation of North American leaders.”
New Faculty Fellows Appointed

The Kellogg Institute has named four new Faculty Fellows from theology, political science, and biological sciences.

**DANIEL GROODY, CSC (PhD, Graduate Theological Union), Assistant Professor of Theology and Director of the Center for Latino Spirituality and Culture at the Institute for Latino Studies, has spent many years working in Latin America, particularly along the US-Mexican border. Specializing in the area of systematic theology, Groody focuses his work more broadly on issues of Christian spirituality, globalization, and social justice and more particularly on issues of Hispanic theology and the spirituality of undocumented Mexican immigrants.

He is the author of *Border of Death, Valley of Life: An Immigrant Journey of Heart and Spirit* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), and a forthcoming book, *Globalization, Spirituality and Justice*, and is the executive producer of various films, including *Dying to Live*, which has been chosen as an official selection for several international film festivals. He has organized two major international conferences cosponsored by Kellogg, *“The Option for the Poor in Christian Theology”* (2002) and *“Migration and Theology”* (2004).

Groody is also an adjunct faculty member at the Mexican American Cultural Center in San Antonio and the Tepeyac Institute in El Paso, Texas and a regular contributor to Catholic Television of San Antonio.

**THOMAS G. STREIT, CSC (PhD, University of Notre Dame), is the Director of Notre Dame’s Haiti Program and a Research Assistant Professor in the Center for Global Health and Infectious Diseases in the Department of Biological Sciences. Streit has worked in Haiti since 1993, studying primarily the transmission dynamics for the exotic parasite *Wuchereria bancrofti* and the disease it causes—lymphatic filariasis (LF)—the leading cause of elephantiasis and a leading cause of disability worldwide.

In 1999, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation awarded its first LF grant to Notre Dame for Streit’s work to help a collaborative group—including Holy Cross Hospital (Haiti), the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the Haitian government—build capacity for, and study the efficacy of, various LF elimination strategies in Haiti.

He is a coauthor of several recent articles published in the *American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, including: *“The Leogane, Haiti demonstration project: Decreased microfilaraemia and program costs after three years of mass drug administration”* (2005). He also cowrote *“Participation in three consecutive mass drug administrations in Leogane, Haiti”* in *Tropical Medicine and International Health* 11 (2006).

Among other awards, he was the recipient of a National Institutes of Health postdoctoral fellowship and was the winner of the Young Investigator Award from the American Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene.

**TIN-BOR VICTORIA HUI (PhD, Columbia University), Assistant Professor of Political Science, researches the dynamics of international politics, the origins of constitutional democracy, and the development of trade and capitalism in the broad sweep of history, with a comparative focus on classical China and modern Europe.

Her book *War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2005) won the 2006 Jervis-Schroeder Award from the American Political Science Association for the best book on international history and politics. She also won the 2005 Edgar S. Furniss Book Award from Ohio State University’s Mershon Center for International Security Studies, presented for a first book that makes an exceptional contribution to the study of national and international security.


Hui first came to Notre Dame as a 2004–05 Visiting Fellow at the Kellogg Institute. She also received fellowships from the John M. Olin Institute at Harvard University, the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University, the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, the Institute for the Study of World Politics, and the East Asia Institute in Seoul. She serves on the Academic Advisors Committee of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict.

**BUMBA MUKHERJEE (PhD, Columbia University), Assistant Professor of Political Science, specializes in currency volatility and econometric modeling.


He received a Research Fellowship from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University in 2006 and the Columbia University President’s Fellowship from 1997 to 2001.
**New Visiting Fellows Appointed**

**JOHN FRENCH**, Associate Professor in the Department of History at Duke University, will spend the spring of 2007 at Kellogg.

His research project, “The Origin of Brazil’s Lula: Building Movements in a World in Flux, São Paulo, 1950–1980,” will investigate leadership dynamics among Brazilian metalworkers that led to massive strikes in the late 1970s, headed by Brazil’s current President, LUIS INÁCIO LULA DA SILVA.

French holds a PhD in history from Yale University.

**DANIEL H. LEVINE**, James Orin Murfin Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan, and one of the most highly regarded political scientists on Latin America, will spend the spring 2007 semester at Kellogg.

Through his project “New Dynamics of Religion, Society and Politics in Latin America,” Levine will explore the theoretical and comparative implications of the convergence of pluralism, movements and rights, and research the long-term implications these developments may hold for the relation of religion to the culture and practice of democracy.

Levine holds a PhD in political science from Yale University.

**CECILIA MARTINEZ-GALLARDO**, an Assistant Professor from the Department of Political Science, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) in Mexico, will research, “Designing Cabinets: Presidents, Politics and Policymaking in Latin America” during the spring 2007 semester. Her project will address executive politics in Latin America, and how cabinets are formed and why they change.

She holds a PhD in political science from Columbia University.

**EDUARDO POSADA-CARBÓ** is currently a Research Associate at the Latin American Centre, St. Antony’s College, Oxford. He has been a Visiting Professor and Lecturer at various universities in Europe and the Americas, and more recently, a Tinker Visiting Professor in Latin American History at the University of Chicago.

He was a Visiting Fellow at the Kellogg Institute during the fall of 2004.

He has published and edited several books and essays, including The Colombian Caribbean: A Regional History, 1870–1950 (Oxford, 1996); Ensayos de historia intelectual y política en Colombia (Banco de La Republica Colombia, 2003); Elections Before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America (Basingstoke, 1997).

Before embarking upon an academic career, he was Director of Diario del Caribe (1986–88), a daily published in Barranquilla, Colombia. He writes a regular column for El Tiempo, the leading Colombian newspaper.
What’s Wrong with Democracy in the Andean Region?

Faculty Fellow SCOTT MAINWARING has coedited a new book that analyzes and explains the challenges facing democratic representation in five Andean countries: Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela.

The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes (Stanford University Press, 2006) is coedited by ANA MARIA BEJARANO and EDUARDO PIZARRO LEONGOMEZ, two former Visiting Fellows at the Kellogg Institute. All told, nine of the eleven contributors to the volume were former Visiting Fellows.

Bejarano is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto and Pizarro is Professor at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Bogota.

“Understanding what has gone wrong with democracy in Latin America and many other ‘third wave’ democracies has become one of the outstanding intellectual challenges of our day,” writes Mainwaring, Director of the Kellogg Institute and Eugene Conley Professor of Political Science, along with his two coeditors.

“The widespread dissatisfaction with democratic representation is a core ingredient in the crisis of democracy in the Andes and throughout much of Latin America.”

The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes addresses an important question for Latin America as well as other parts of the world: why does representation sometimes fail to work?

Mainwaring contributed two chapters to the volume: “The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes: An Overview” and “State Deficiencies, Party Competition, and Confidence in Democratic Representation in the Andes.”


Rethinking the Cultural Impact of the Spanish Conquest of Peru

Faculty Fellow SABINE G. MACCORMACK has published a new book, On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru (Princeton 2006), that challenges long-held assumptions of the cultural impact of the Spanish conquest of Peru.

MacCormack, the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, CSC, College of Arts and Letters Professor and a Faculty Fellow of the Kellogg Institute, is an internationally renowned scholar on ancient Rome and the Spanish empire.

Among historians, it has long been taken for granted that the Spanish imposed their culture and religion on the indigenous populations during the 16th and 17th centuries. Using original sources, MacCormack asserts that Peruvian civil society was born of the intellectual endeavors that commenced with the invasion itself, as the invaders sought to understand an array of cultures.

“The book proposes that European and Spanish culture was much less monolithic than is usually supposed,” said MacCormack. “The intellectual and cultural experience of engaging with the Mediterranean ancient world conditioned those Spanish who were interested in Andean cultures to think of cultural multiplicities.”

The inspiration for the book grew out of a series of invited lectures MacCormack delivered in Florence at the Istituto di Studi Umanistici (Institute of Humanistic Studies).

Among other awards, MacCormack received the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation’s Distinguished Achievements Award for scholars in the humanities in 2003, was elected a Fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, and was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1999.

Books and Publications

SAMUEL AMAGO published True Lies: Narrative Self-Consciousness in the Contemporary Spanish Novel (Bucknell University Press, 2006).


J. SAMUEL VALENZUELA authored “Los derechos humanos y la redemocratización en Chile,” in Chile: Política y modernización democrática, edited by Manuel Alcántara and Leticia Rodríguez (Edicions Bellaterra, 2006). His article “Caudillismo, democracia, y la excepcionalidad chilena en América Hispana” appeared in Revista de Occidente 305 (October 2006).


JOSEPH G. HEALEY and JEANNE HINTON (Orbis, 2005).

J. SAMUEL VALENZUELA authored “Los derechos humanos y la redemocratización en Chile,” in Chile: Política y modernización democrática, edited by Manuel Alcántara and Leticia Rodríguez (Edicions Bellaterra, 2006). His article “Caudillismo, democracia, y la excepcionalidad chilena en América Hispana” appeared in Revista de Occidente 305 (October 2006).

New Working Papers Available

Seven new titles have been added to the Kellogg Institute Working Paper Series. The series promotes the quick, wide dissemination, free of charge, of the latest research by current and past Faculty Fellows, Visiting Fellows, and Guest Scholars. Faculty Fellow ROBERT FISHMAN serves as the series editor.

Papers published this fall include:

“Radical Democracy in the Andes: Indigenous Parties and the Quality of Democracy in Latin America,” by DONNA LEE VAN COTT (Tulane University)

“Latin American Catholicism in an Age of Religious and Political Pluralism: A Framework for Analysis,” by FRANCES HAGOPIAN (Notre Dame)


“The Past and Present of Comparative Politics,” by GERARDO L. MUNCK (University of Southern California)

“Capital Flows and Banking System Fragility,” by JORGE PAZZI (Universidad Nacional del Sur, Argentina)

“A Tale of Two Priests: Three Decades of Liberation Theology in the Brazilian Northeast,” by JAN HOFFMAN FRENCH (University of Richmond)

“Xenophobia Towards Palestinian Citizens of Israel Among Russian Immigrants in Israel: Heightened by Failure to Make Gains in a New Democratic Society” by DAPHNA CANETTI-NISIM (University of Haifa), ERAN HALPERIN (University of Haifa), STEVAN E. HOBFOLL (Kent State University), and ROBERT E. JOHNSON (University of Miami)

The papers are available at http://kellogg.nd.edu/publications/workingpapers/.

Grants, Honors & Awards

JEFFREY H. BERGSTRAND was a visiting scholar at the University of Nottingham, England, in April, and at the Center for Economic Studies (CES) at the University of Munich, Germany, in October and November 2006. He gave the keynote “Causes and Consequences of the Growth of Regionalism” at the conference “Understanding the Latest Wave of Regional Trade Agreements,” sponsored by CESifo at Venice International University in Italy in July.

MICHAEL COPPEDGE has been appointed to the editorial board of The Journal of Politics. He gave the invited lecture “Democratization: The Impact on Latin America” for the MSC Wiley Lecture Series at Texas A&M University in College Station, TX, on February 23, 2006. In summer 2006, he presented a series of lectures on “Measuring and Explaining Democracy” at FLACSO in Ecuador.

FRANCES HAGOPIAN has become a member of the Editorial Board of the Latin American Research Review. She also presented the keynote address at the eighth annual conference of the Chilean Political Science Association in Santiago on November 15, 2006.

TIN-BOR VICTORIA HUI was awarded a 2006–07 Fellowship by the East Asia Institute, Seoul, Korea. Her 2005 work, War and State Formation in Ancient China and Early Modern Europe (Cambridge University Press), won the American Political Science Association’s 2006 Robert L. Jervis and Paul W. Schroeder Best Book Award on International History and Politics. It also garnered the 2006 Edgar S. Furniss Book Award, presented by the Mershon Center for International Studies, Ohio State University.

SCOTT MAINWARING was a member of the committee that awarded the Jewell-Loewenberg Prize for the best article published in Legislative Studies Quarterly Volume XXX (2005).

JEFFREY H. BERGSTRAND, FRANCES HAGOPIAN, TIN-BOR VICTORIA HUI, and SCOTT MAINWARING were also featured in an essay in Hannah Storm’s book Notre Dame Inspirations (Random House, 2006). Written by Pelton’s close friend and college roommate Rabbi Albert Poltkin (’42), the essay describes how Pelton’s friendship and Notre Dame helped him cope with the Holocaust years.

ROBERT FISHMAN served as a member of the 2006 American Sociological Association Political Sociology Section Prize Committee for Best Book in Political Sociology. Recently, he was asked to join the Editorial Board of the Temple University Press Series on the Social Logic of Politics.

MARY ELLEN O’CONNELL was appointed chair of the International Law Association’s Study Committee on the Meaning of War, which has a four-year mandate to report on the meaning of war in international law.

Hartke Joins Staff; Dinovo Promoted

DEAN HARTKE has been named Assistant Program Director, Publications and Communications, responsible for the graphic design, visual identity, and project management of the Institute’s publications. Hartke comes to Kellogg from a major musical instrument retailer.

DAWN DINOCO has been promoted to Events Coordinator at Kellogg. In her new role, she is responsible for planning and implementation of conferences, cultural events, and the lecture series. Previously, she was Assistant Program Director, Publications and Communications.
In Memoriam: Goulet, a Pioneer in Development Ethics

Faculty Fellow DENIS A. GOULET, 75, died December 26, 2006 after a long battle with cancer. Goulet was Professor Emeritus and O’Neill Chair in the Department of Economics and Policy Studies, where he had taught since 1979. In addition to serving as a Faculty Fellow of the Kellogg Institute, he was also a Fellow of the Kroc Institute and of the Nanovic Institute for European Studies.

A pioneer in the interdisciplinary study of development ethics, Goulet recently published his collected essays in Development Ethics at Work: Explorations 1960-2002 (Routledge, 2006).

“Denis was a pioneer in the interdisciplinary study of development ethics, writing the foundational works in the field,” said Charles K. Wilber, Emeritus Professor in the Department of Economics and Policy Studies.

“He steadfast determination to emphasize justice in development, to put people at the center of decision-making, to insist on respect for cultural differences, and to challenge us to an ethical commitment that recognizes the equal rights of all peoples everywhere; these were a result of his first-hand experiences and have come to form the basis for the field of development ethics.”

Goulet’s longtime friend and colleague David A. Crocker, Senior Research Scholar at the University of Maryland’s Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy, reflected on his legacy in the foreword to Development Ethics at Work.

“Pioneers often view those following as rivals, trespassers, or adversaries. Not Denis. Rather, he viewed us as friends and colleagues who were joining him in the noble cause of humanizing development. For Denis the good is not a zero-sum game but something to be shared in solidarity. His personal and professional example stimulated many to take up the challenges of development ethics.”


He received MA degrees in Philosophy (St. Paul’s College, 1956) and Social Planning (IRFED, Paris, 1960) and a PhD in Political Science from the University of São Paulo, Brazil (1963).

He is survived by his loving wife, AnaMaria; daughters, Andrea and Sinane; and four grandchildren. The family requests that, in lieu of flowers, contributions in Goulet’s memory be made to Amnesty International or Doctors Without Borders.

Dowd Named to Lead Notre Dame Millennium Development Initiative

Faculty Fellow REV. ROBERT DOWD, CSC, Assistant Professor of Political Science, has been named Director of University of Notre Dame’s Millennium Development Initiative.

Adopted by world leaders in September 2000 during the United Nations Millennium Summit, the Millennium Development Initiative focuses on combating poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation, and discrimination against women.

The University of Notre Dame’s component, the Millennium Village Project, will seek to end extreme poverty by working with the poor, village by village, in sub-Saharan Africa, providing affordable and science-based solutions to help people to lift themselves out of poverty. These community-led interventions focus on increasing agricultural productivity, improving infrastructure, and expanding access to healthcare and education.

The University will focus on Uganda, where Notre Dame, through the Congregation of Holy Cross, has strong ties.

As Director, Dowd will be assembling a task force consisting of faculty, staff, students and alumni to further develop the vision and goals of the initiative and help guide its actions during this first year. Later, Dowd will organize information sessions and form working groups.

Kellogg Awards Faculty Grants

The Kellogg Institute has awarded funding to nine Notre Dame faculty members.

SAMUEL AMAGO, Assistant Professor of Spanish in Romance Languages and Literatures, received research funding for a project entitled “Immigration, Transnationalism and the Globalization of New Spanish Cinema.”

ROBERT DOWD, Assistant Professor of Political Science, was awarded research funding for the project, “Religiosity and Political Culture: Christians, Muslims and Spiritual Capital in Sub-Saharan Africa.”

CHRISTOPHER FOX, Director of the Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies and Professor of English, received funding for an interdisciplinary conference titled “Race, Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Ireland”, planned for October 14–17, 2007 at the University of Notre Dame.

BEN HELLER, Associate Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, received funding for the Hispanic Caribbean Lecture Series held in fall 2006.

ISABEL FERREIRA GOULD, Assistant Professor of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies and Director of the Portuguese Language Program, received travel funding to participate in an international conference on female slavery, orphanages, and poverty in Portugal in November 2006.

DEBRA JAVELINE, Assistant Professor of Political Science, was awarded research funding to gather survey data from the victims of the 2004 siege on the Russian school in Beslan, North Ossetia.

PAUL KOLLMAN, Assistant Professor of Theology, received funding for the Africa Working Group.

AARON MAGNAN-PARK, Assistant Professor of Film, Television, and Theatre, received support for the Asian Film Festival at Notre Dame, held October 1–4, 2006.

GERARD POWERS, Director of Policy Studies at the Kroc Institute, was awarded conference funding for a Catholic peace–building conference scheduled to be held in Bogota, Colombia, June 24–30, 2007.
Twenty-five years ago, much of Latin America was mired in political repression. In the US, the Reagan administration was engaged in an ambivalent policy of support for both democratic and authoritarian regimes. The Vatican was growing increasingly concerned about the clergy who were giving voice to liberation theology.

Meanwhile, Notre Dame’s long-standing interest in Latin America was converging with the goal, outlined by REV. THEODORE HESBURGH, CSC, of making Notre Dame a top-notch research university. The former president had a vision for three institutes that would consider the challenges of peace, human rights, and how to create the conditions for democracy and social justice around the world.

“A university should respond to the needs of the times, and it was obvious we were living in perilous times,” said Fr. Hesburgh, who served as President of the University from 1952–1987. “It had been on my mind for a long time that we should study peace, democracy, social justice, human rights, and the conditions that make it possible, from different points of view.”

Against this backdrop, Fr. Hesburgh began to lay the foundations for what would become the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, the Center for Civil and Human Rights, and the Kellogg Institute.

With the contribution of $10 million from the John L. and Helen Kellogg Foundation in 1980, it was not long before the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies began to take shape. (See related story, “Who Was Helen Kellogg?” page 16)

The Three Fathers

A natural choice to start the Institute was REV. ERNEST J. BARTELL, CSC, an economist who had an established intellectual interest in Latin America and a profound desire to focus scholarly research on the social and political inequalities of Latin America.

He had recently returned from several months of travel through urban and rural areas of South America, East and West Africa, and South Asia as part of a fact-finding mission on the status of educational and service institutions and related programs of the Congregation of the Holy Cross.

In Washington, DC he had also served as Director of the Fund for the Improvement of Secondary Education (FIPSE), a federal government office that supports programs intended to improve teaching, student learning, or access to postsecondary education.

By November 1981, when Bartell was named Executive Director of the Institute, he had caught wind of two scholars who proved vital to its future development: GUILLERMO O’DONNELL and ALEJANDRO FOXLEY.

Having decided to leave the repressive conditions in his home country of Argentina, O’Donnell was living in self-imposed exile in Rio de Janeiro, where he was a visiting professor at the Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ). O’Donnell was already internationally distinguished as a political scientist for his seminal work on bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes and had been the Director of the Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (CEDES) in Argentina, as well as a Visiting Professor at the universities of Michigan and California at Berkeley and a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey.
Foxley, who was the Director of the Corporación de Estudios para Latinoamérica (CIEPLAN) in Chile, was already known by the Holy Cross Fathers at Notre Dame and in Chile, and had earned an international reputation for CIEPLAN's trenchant analyses of economic and social policies. Foxley had been a Visiting Professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the universities of Oxford, Sussex, and California at Berkeley. His work would later influence policy and program determination in the first democratic government to replace the Chilean dictatorship.

Although the two scholars were acquainted and respected one another's scholarship, the task of attracting them to a fledgling research institute at a distant foreign university was a significant challenge.

Both, however, were enthusiastic about developing a base of academic research at a Catholic university, grounded in the social values to which they were committed.

“So, sitting on Leblon Beach in Rio, one said to the other, ‘Should we do it?’ They said, ‘Why not?’ and we all shook hands on it,” recalled Bartell.

‘Without a hint of intervention’

Early on, the directors set out to create an Institute with a distinct identity and mission.

In the publication, Kellogg Institute: The First Five Years, they articulated these views.

“From its inception, the Institute has pursued a dual charge that makes it distinctive among North American institutions. It has aspired to work that both meets the highest standards of excellence and is also explicitly informed by concern for basic human values. Its commitment to value-relevant research distinguishes Kellogg from many academic centers in the United States. At the same time, the commitment to academic excellence distinguishes it from most policy institutes.

“By collaborating closely with some of the best social science research centers in Latin America, Kellogg is part of a continual interchange of ideas with Latin American scholars and jointly organized long-term research projects with Latin American institutions…The Institute’s links with Latin America also permit it to play a role in strengthening social science research in the region and in contributing to a research agenda which reflects commitment to basic human values.”

Beginning in 1982, with O’Donnell as Academic Director and Foxley serving as Senior Fellow while also retaining his leadership of CIEPLAN, the Institute began to tap into a formidable network of scholars and policymakers whose efforts would contribute to the establishment of viable democratic governments, especially in the Southern Cone and Brazil.

Also joining the new Institute was Alexander Wilde, fresh from serving as the Secretary of the Latin American Program at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington. Wilde served as Senior Fellow, and provided valuable leadership during the early years.

In the next five years, several scholars who further helped define the Institute—Jorge Bustamante and J. Samuel Valenzuela in sociology and Roberto Damatta in anthropology—came to Notre Dame as Fellows. Others already on the University faculty, such as Kwang Kim and Denis Goulet in economics and Lee Tavis, in the college of business, were also among the Institute’s first Faculty Fellows.

Two of Kellogg’s future directors, Scott Mainwaring and Frances Hagopian, both political scientists, have also been associated with the Institute since its early days. Mainwaring came as an Assistant Faculty Fellow in 1983, while Hagopian was a 1985 Guest Scholar. In addition to serving as chair of the Political Science Department, Mainwaring was Director of the Institute from 1997 to 2002 and since 2003. James Holston, an Assistant Fellow who joined the Institute at the same time as Mainwaring, is currently Associate Professor of Anthropology at University of California, San Diego.

In the first five years, the Institute created the Working Paper Series and the Latin American Studies Program, began funding graduate student and faculty research, and started its Monograph Series with the University of Notre Dame Press.

For O’Donnell, the intellectual autonomy of the Institute proved to be a critical reason for its success. “We could discuss, consult, and decide on our intellectual preferences and academic views and projects, without there ever being a hint of intervention or censorship by anyone within the University.”

Academia and Policy

If the initial inspiration was to create a research center that would have an impact on policy and the academic study of Latin America, the newly formed Institute eschewed becoming solely a think tank or a public policy institute.

“We did not want to become an inward-looking university-based academic think tank. Notre Dame’s larger mission is to have a social impact consistent with its identity as a Catholic university. Our hope was to attract scholars with strong academic credentials, whose academic work would have distinctive policy relevance,” said Bartell.

Striking a balance between the Institute’s institutional interest in Latin America and studies of other areas of the developing world would prove to be another challenge. In the final analysis, O’Donnell said, “We tried to open our comparative lens to other regions of the world. This is shown in the significant number of conferences, seminars, and fellows concerned with issues beyond Latin America.”

Gauging the Impact

The impact of the Institute, although difficult to quantify, can certainly be seen today through the number of citations in the literature for O’Donnell as well as for fellows and visitors to the Institute. For example, a Google-Scholar search of O’Donnell’s seminal work written with Philippe Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), returns over 800 citations alone.

In his subsequent works, including Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Argentina, 1966–1973 in Comparative Perspective (UC Berkeley, 1988), O’Donnell solidified his reputation as the preeminent scholar of democracy in Latin America.

Another sign that the Kellogg Institute had earned a reputation as a nationally recognized institute happened in 1992 when The Coca-Cola Company gave the Institute its first major grant, a $2 million gift for an initiative called Project Latin America 2000 (PLA 2000).

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At first glance, DIEGO ABENTE BRUN may look like a scholar who stumbled into politics. On closer examination, it is clear that politics has defined his scholarship.

Abente’s introduction to the passions and punishments of politics came early on as a high-school student, and continued into his days at the Catholic University of Asunción in Paraguay. Like other idealistic members of his generation, he wanted to see greater openness on the part of the Alfredo Stroessner regime and feared for the future of his homeland. And, like so many others, he came face-to-face with the security apparatus that kept Stroessner in power for 35 years.

In 1976, Abente was imprisoned and tortured for his student activism. By the time he emerged from prison, few options remained for him as a political activist, and with the help of relatives and faculty members at Ohio University, he was allowed to leave Paraguay and travel to the United States in 1979. He completed a master’s degree at Ohio University and earned a PhD from the University of New Mexico in 1984.

From 1984 to 1992, he led a quiet academic life as an associate professor of political science at Miami University (Ohio). In 1987, he received a visiting fellowship from the Kellogg Institute. After the fall of the Stroessner regime in 1989, Abente began to give serious consideration to picking up where he had left off 10 years earlier.

In 1993, he returned to Paraguay to form a new political party, Encuentro Nacional (National Encounter Party, or PeN), as a challenge to the dominant Colorado Party that had kept Stroessner in power for so many years.

Although the agenda of Encuentro Nacional met with limited success, Abente held various positions in government, as a Senator (1993–2003), Minister of Justice and Labor (2002), Paraguay’s Ambassador to the Organization of American States (1999–2002), and most recently Senior Cabinet Advisor to the Minister of Finance (2003–2005).

Today, he seems ready to leave politics behind and return to the less hectic pace of academia. He is currently Professor of Sociology and Politics at the Catholic University of Paraguay and a Senior Researcher at Centro de Análisis y Difusión de Economía Paraguaya (CADEP), and spent the fall 2006 semester at Notre Dame as a Kellogg Visiting Fellow.

His project during his visiting fellowship, “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Dilemmas of Democracy in a Small South American Country,” explores the causes of the political and economic malaise in Paraguay and the variables likely to contribute to the development of a quality democratic system.

*KI: Why, in your opinion, did the Stroessner regime fall? Why wasn’t there a greater backlash against the ruling Colorado Party?

The fall of the Stroessner regime was the result of internal contradictions. We were not able as a civil society or political society to set up a challenge strong enough to bring down the regime. The regime basically began to unravel primarily because of a succession crisis, a crisis within the dominant coalition, secondarily due to external pressures, and lastly because of a limited degree of domestic pressure.

To understand that you have to keep in mind that the Stroessner regime was not a military regime or a personal dictatorship, but rather a particular kind of authoritarian regime that combined the presence of a strong traditional party with well-developed roots in the countryside that created a very strong system of patronage. Even today, the Colorado Party remains the majority party thanks to a vast network of state clientelism which translates into the fact that more than 55 percent of the registered voters are card-carrying members of the ruling party.

When you have 40 percent of the population living in poverty, the people prefer the short-term benefits that the Colorado Party provided, instead of the long-term benefits of a better system for the future. In a sense, the people are risk-averse: the clientelist apparatus provides them tangible, if insignificant, benefits in a country where 75 percent of the urban labor force is informal and only 17 percent of the population has access to health insurance. That’s goes a long way to explaining why the Colorado Party has been in power and has retained power for 17 years since the fall of the regime.

*KI: Why did you return to Paraguay after the fall of Stroessner?

As an academic, I could have made a contribution, but then I thought that I had spent my entire life working in all sorts of political movements with one objective: to bring down the dictatorship. Once the dictatorship had fallen, how could I not participate in the construction of a new system? So, I decided to give up my academic position and my green card, and go back to Paraguay.

*KI: How successful were you?

We were quite successful in the 1993 presidential elections, in spite of the fact that the elections were rigged by fraud everywhere. In a way we [Encuentro Nacional] were naïve in that we were not able to deal with that fraud effectively and it cost us that election. In spite of that, we were able to win a significant presence in Congress in the Chamber

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The First Fellows: Where Are They Now?

Catalina Romero

Since her first Kellogg visiting fellowship, the Peruvian scholar Catalina Romero has gone on to become Dean of the Social Sciences Faculty at Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

She has visited the Institute many times and collaborated on a number of projects, most recently on one concerning the democratic crisis in the Andean region, which resulted in an edited volume, *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes* (Stanford, 2006). In 2001, she returned as a Visiting Fellow and Title VI Professor in the Department of Sociology. She also contributed to a conference on “Contemporary Catholicism, Religious Pluralism, and Democracy in Latin America,” which will yield an edited volume in 2007.

Among other activities, Romero has participated in comparative research projects such as the World Values Survey and the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, served as chair of her department, and helped create a master’s degree and an undergraduate program in political science at La Católica.

“I have accompanied in some way the process of institutionalization of the Kellogg Institute, following it through the different buildings where it has been located,” says Romero.

“I have kept in touch with members of the staff, and with the associate members, professors, and fellows that I have had the opportunity to meet.

“Today the Kellogg Institute is an academic reference for scholars in Latin America,” Romero reflects.

“The Kellogg Institute contributes to building a Latin American space for scholars from around the world, where one can find the literature on each country, engage in comparative analyses, and enjoy multicultural encounters with colleagues and friends.

“Academic resources, such as the Latin American section in the library, and the special attention to the fellows are invaluable for the scholar that aims to get involved in intense research and writing in a short time.”

In the spring semester of 1983, the Kellogg Institute hosted its first class of Visiting Fellows. Back then, the goals of the program were very much as they are today: to support scholarship related to Kellogg’s research agenda, while enriching the academic life of the Institute. On Kellogg’s 25th anniversary, we look back at what happened to several of those first Visiting Fellows.

Oscar Muñoz Gómá

From 1996 to 2000, Oscar Muñoz served in Chile’s Ministry of Economic Affairs as Executive Secretary of the Social Dialogue Program, focused on business-labor relations. Since then, he has been working on an independent basis, teaching at several universities and consulting and writing on recent Chilean economic development.

After his visit to Kellogg in 1983, Muñoz was a researcher at the Chilean think tank CIEPLAN—where ALEJANDRO FOXLEY was Director—until the mid-1990s.

“We kept producing critical analysis of the economic policies of the Pinochet dictatorship and by the late 1980s, we started preparing new proposals for an eventual democratic government,” said Muñoz.

With the democratic election of President Aylwin in 1989, Foxley left CIEPLAN to become the Minister of Finance and Muñoz assumed the presidency of the board of CIEPLAN.

“Personally, I undertook a new academic challenge, which was the analysis of the new requirements for international competitiveness, and especially the private-public relationships that were emerging in the globalizing Chilean economy,” said Muñoz. “I published several books on that subject in the 1990s and after 2000.”

During his stay at Kellogg more than 20 years ago, Muñoz taught a course on the political economy of industrialization in Latin America, a subject he had researched since writing his dissertation at Yale.

His work prompted him to realize that big changes were taking place in the world political economy and also in Latin America.

“De-industrialization was then one of the most popular terms, not only because of the crisis, but also because of deeper changes in technology, world trade, and ideologies,” said Muñoz.

As for his time at the Kellogg Institute, Muñoz said it helped him “understand some of the new challenges, the new views, and discuss them both with my students and some of the staff.

“I particularly remember our talks with Fr. Bartell, who was very interested in the emergence of a new kind of entrepreneurship in Latin America,” said Muñoz.

Paulo José Krischke

Brazilian Paulo Krischke is now a Professor in the interdisciplinary graduate program in human sciences at Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina and a Senior Researcher at the National Commission of Research and Technological Development (CNPq) in the Ministry of Science and Technology of Brazil.

Krischke used his Kellogg fellowship to prepare his PhD dissertation for his doctorate at York University in Canada. Since his fellowship, he has returned to the US for postdoctoral work at the New School for Social Research in 1993, and went to Oxford as a research scholar in 2003.

Among his activities during his stay was a Kellogg seminar on the “New Church in Latin America” and a research project on the Church’s “base communities” in Brazil.

In looking back at Kellogg’s academic contribution over the years, Krischke says, “I believe Kellogg engendered new links of cooperation between civil society in the US and in Latin America.”
How free and fair were Uganda’s first multiparty elections? Can music and dance provide healing for children scarred by Rwanda’s bloody civil war? Is there a role for western missionaries in East Africa?

These are a few of the fascinating array of questions Notre Dame undergraduate students asked last summer. Their research projects were among the five grants and four internships Kellogg awarded for study in Africa.

Although Kellogg has long funded student research and internships in Latin America, only since 2005 has the Institute offered summer internships in Africa and significantly increased the number of grants offered to students conducting research there. In fact, an estimated 40 percent of undergraduates in the International Scholars Program are conducting research projects related to Africa.

There seems little doubt that interest in the political, social, and economic dimensions of Africa continues to grow on campus. REV. JOHN L. JENKINS, CSC, President of the University, has committed Notre Dame to the Millennium Development Initiative, a far-reaching effort to address education, health care, and development. Jenkins has named Faculty Fellow REV. ROBERT DOWD, CSC, Assistant Professor of Political Science, to lead the project. Student activists have also taken up the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, while organizations such as the Africa Faith and Justice Network have been bringing students and faculty together to address the long-term challenges facing Africa.

“Africa attracts our students because it appeals to their idealism,” said Faculty Fellow PAUL KOLLMAN, CSC, Assistant Professor of Theology and a key member of the Africa Working Group. “Our students believe that the needs of Africa and its people are great.”

“Intellectually Africa attracts them as a place, concept, and people where many of the complex and pressing issues facing the world get addressed.”

Kollman points to global health, Christian vitality, inter-religious dialogue, challenges to civil society, environmental sustainability, rapid urbanization, long-running ethnic conflicts, and global trade as few of the major issues attracting students.

Beyond Uganda’s Elections

In the fall of 2005, undergraduate COLLEEN MALLAHAN first traveled to Uganda to study abroad with the School for International Training. She became interested in the country’s political system and began researching the challenges to democracy as the country moved to a multiparty system. A nationwide referendum had recently overturned a 19-year ban on multiparty politics, and international observers were watching the country closely to see if its elections would be free and fair.

In her initial research she explored the implications of multiparty politics in the run-up to the February 2006 elections, but she wanted to return to Uganda for a post-election analysis. Through funding from Kellogg’s undergraduate grants, she went back during the summer of 2006.

“I worked with the African Leadership Institute, an indigenous think tank which tackles governance and security issues,” said Mallahan, a senior economics and peace studies double major. “I interviewed over 30 politicians, aid workers, taxi drivers, teachers, and others in my quest to find out more about the political situation in the country.”

Her conclusions confirm that the elections were relatively free and fair, although they were marred by notable irregularities, such as the imprisonment of opposition leader Dr. Kizza Besigye.

Mallahan has also been in Kellogg’s International Scholars Program, which identifies outstanding students early on in their Notre Dame education and pairs them with Faculty Fellows, who guide their research. Because of her work with Faculty Fellow NAUNIHAL SINGH, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Mallahan was chosen as a student member for Notre Dame’s Millennium Development Task Force.

“This has been an amazing summer, and I owe it all to the Kellogg Institute,” wrote Mallahan after the experience. “Without this research, my senior project for my peace studies major would have missed so many issues.”

As a postscript, Mallahan’s research and study in Uganda was featured in a December 18 article in the Wall Street Journal, “Studies Abroad Go Off Limits”.

‘Healing through Dance and Song’

As a senior anthropology and music major, DANICE BROWN also wanted to return to Africa after a 2005 internship to Uganda. With the encouragement of Faculty Fellow CAROLYN NORDSTROM, Professor of Anthropology, she proposed a senior thesis project—“Dancing the Darkness Away: A Study of Identity and Healing through the Arts among Children of Rwanda”—that focused on children orphaned by the conflict.

Through a Kellogg research grant, she traveled in the summer 2006 to an orphanage in Gitarama, Rwanda, where she lived and worked with 10 young girls. She also interviewed teachers, a primary school superintendent, and a few social organizations that assist children, to get a more complete picture of their lives.

“I learned how they use music, dance, and other forms of artistic expression in the formation of their own identity and a community,” said Brown. “This was especially important, since without family, the children had to find other ways instead of family to form their cultural identities.”

Since returning from Africa, Brown has become active in the Africa Faith and Justice Network, among other organizations.
On the Ground

For his thesis “The Role of Expatriate Christian Missionaries in Contemporary East Africa,” senior MICHAEL ROSSMANN, an economics and theology major, received a research grant from Kellogg to travel to Tanzania and Uganda.

The experience fundamentally altered his perspective on his research project. “Rather than merely theorizing about the role of expatriates in the Church, I can think back to all of the different priests, sisters, and others I actually met and the conversations I had with them about their lives,” said Rossmann. “I can’t help but notice how many of my ideas were confirmed and articulated by a number of people on the ground.”

Rossmann is an International Scholar and has been working closely with Kollman for over two years. He plans to return to Africa after graduation. “This summer was an incredible experience for me personally and academically,” said Rossmann. “My experience from this summer will continue to shape both my senior year and my life beyond.”

‘Advocates for Africa’

For senior LINDSAY HERO, her experience in Uganda as an intern for the Association for World Education (through the Foundation for Sustainable Development), proved to be a challenging learning experience, but equally rewarding.

As part of her Kellogg Internship in the summer 2006, she worked on a large-scale research project that studied the causes of student strikes in secondary schools in the Mbale region. As originally outlined, the project entailed surveying students, teachers, and headmasters at roughly 40–50 schools in five districts, and documenting their findings.

“It became clear that the project we had taken on was probably more suited to the country’s Ministry of Education than a small community-based organization,” said Hero, a political science major and peace studies minor.

To improve the survey, Hero traveled to Kampala to meet with professors at Makerere University.

Based on advice from the faculty members, “we decided to hold a focus-group discussion—among 15 students, 5 teachers, and 2 headmasters in each of our case study districts—which was to be attended by the District Education Officer.

“Although I left before the focus-group discussion took place, I felt that the project was headed in a much more positive direction.”

Beyond the academic experience, Hero considers the personal experience to be “life changing.” She has organized two Gulu Walks in South Bend, part of an international effort to raise awareness of abandoned children in northern Uganda, who are forced to trek up to 12 ½ miles to avoid abduction or attack.

“While I was undoubtedly frustrated and discouraged at various points during my internship, the experience I had in Uganda was one of the most, if not the most, valuable experience thus far in my life, both personally and academically.”

It is a sentiment echoed by Kollman, “Students who come to Africa with enough patience with themselves and others, and who are open to the complexity they will find, bring back a broader worldview, which can be infectious.

“They can become advocates for Africa, calling the University, the Church, and the US to healthier responsibility.”
Who Was Helen Kellogg?

In the mid-1970s REV. EDMUND “NED” JOYCE, CSC, Executive Vice President of the University and right-hand man to then-President REV. THEODORE HESBURGH, CSC, had been cultivating a relationship with HELEN KELLOGG regarding an endowment to Notre Dame, possibly to start an international institute at the University.

Helen was the daughter-in-law of W. K. Kellogg, the breakfast cereal magnate who had given away much of his fortune to philanthropic causes, and the wife of John Kellogg, who had started the General Packing Company, makers of Waxtite paper.

When John died in 1950, a philanthropic foundation was created in his name to dispense his considerable fortune. By the time of Helen’s death in 1978, the John L. and Helen Kellogg Foundation had amassed close to $50 million in assets.

Unfortunately for Notre Dame, in her will, Helen Kellogg had only specified a “precatory” wish (one that need not be obeyed in a will) that money should be donated to the University.

Fr. Joyce arranged for a meeting with the foundation directors to discuss the possibility of a donation, and he called Fr. Hesburgh to help present his plans. By the time of the meeting in 1979, the foundation board had distributed all but about $10 million in assets, much of it to Northwestern University and its School of Management and Business. Neither priest was confident they would receive much from a foundation board with such strong connections to Northwestern.

Nevertheless, Hesburgh had a rare ability to sell his vision of Notre Dame as research institution and its potential to be a leader in the study of peace, justice, and social equality.

“After the presentation, they asked Ned and me to wait outside for their decision,” recalls Hesburgh. “After 45 minutes of waiting, Hesburgh told Joyce, “the longer this goes on, the less we’re going to get.”

When they were finally called back into the room for the decision, the board had agreed to give the Notre Dame the entire $10 million they had asked for.

“These two great ladies,” said Hesburgh of Helen Kellogg and Joan B. Kroc—who endowed the Kroc Institute—“were responsible for the creation of these two highly regarded institutes.”

Fr. Joyce died in October 2004 at age 87 due to complications from a stroke. Hesburgh, still very much alive, continues to provide inspiration and leadership to the University as President Emeritus.

Abente Interview

(Continued from page 12)

of Deputies and the Senate. The good thing was, for the first time the ruling party lost a majority in Congress. Therefore we had a majority in Congress, along with the Liberal Party, and a unique opportunity to bring about change.

We also had a new constitution (1992) that included a number of new institutions: the renewal and establishment of a new judiciary, the creation of a comptrollership, an office of ombudsman, and a new electoral system. Even though we didn’t control the presidency, we had sufficient influence to change the system.

Unfortunately, that was not possible. We had difficulty putting together positions between the two major opposition parties and even inside each of the parties. The Liberal Party developed an independent strategy of just dealing directly with the government, and getting some benefits in exchange.

In hindsight, the institutions that were created, especially those related to the electoral process, were a true disappointment and only promoted fragmentation, incentives to particularistic bargaining, and clientelism. By early 1998, it became clear that we had not done a good job, despite our good intentions.

As for our party, it had a clear agenda, but lacked discipline and firmer leadership to put it into practice. On the other hand, the Liberal Party relied on a strategy of power sharing that backfired, as was demonstrated when we supported its presidential candidate in the presidential election of 1998 only to be handed a clear defeat.

Kt: What were the major issues facing your party?

We were concentrating mainly on political and economic reforms. This was during the period of the Washington Consensus when international institutions handed countries a common economic recipe to be followed scrupulously, regardless of local peculiarities. There was some debate, but the majority of the political leadership was in favor of following the Washington Consensus almost blindly. And yet, even though Paraguay adopted the majority of the measures, development did not follow.

On the political front, we had a really heavy agenda: the renewal of the judiciary branch, development of a new electoral system, establishment of a comptrollership to control corruption, improving local governments, and creating an ombudsman. Of these five tasks, only one was a relative success, the establishment of the new electoral authority.

Kt: The Washington Consensus was billed as a way to lift many from poverty. As someone who was intimately involved in applying the policies, what is your view in retrospect?

The diagnostic on which that recipe was based had nothing to do with the reality of Paraguay. In the last 20 years, with all the policies of the Washington Consensus, we now have a country that is in the exact same condition—or worse, for our GDP per capita is slightly lower now—compared to where we were 20 years ago. And, of those 20 years, 17 of them were in democracy. Paraguay has had two lost decades, not one. These all-encompassing recipes are not useful; on the contrary, they are counter-productive.

I think we have to be pragmatic and look at the situation in each country on its own merits. Of course, market reforms are necessary, but the way in which the Washington Consensus was applied led to “una economía de mercaderes no de mercado” (an economy of merchants, not a market economy). Take privatization. Paraguay did not have many state-owned enterprises, and yet the few that were privatized were the least relevant and more money-losing ones. We socialized the losses and privatized the gains, and all through a rather corrupt process. We didn’t have the regulatory framework in place, nor the capacity to create it. So rather than privatizing, we should have opened up the enterprises to private sector participation.
KI: What are you researching at the moment?

There is a great deal of disenchantment with democracy in Latin America in general. In some countries, that disenchantment is greater than others. Chile, Uruguay, and Costa Rica enjoy a high degree of support, but there are countries that have extremely low levels of support and are extremely dissatisfied, such as Paraguay. People are not happy because the system is not producing results. You have 40 percent of the population living below the poverty line in Paraguay; 60 percent of Bolivia’s population lives beneath the poverty line. In general, about half the population lives in poverty and there is also a great deal of inequality in the distribution of income. You have economies that don’t grow, and that don’t generate employment, and political parties and movements quite successful in mobilizing electoral support through clientelism but completely insensitive to the real needs and demands of common people. So we have a set of problems in these countries that democracy has not been able to solve, and I am afraid, in some cases has worsened.

We are between a rock and hard place. The rock is the reality we have now, bad, low-quality democracy, and the hard place is the possibility of the emergence of people like Lucio Gutiérrez in Ecuador, Lino Oviedo in Paraguay, who are basically populist, militaristic leaders that will lead our countries to regimes with the appearance of democracy but none of its content.

KI: As you look back on your time in politics, what have you learned?

The lesson is that democracy cannot be constructed overnight with only goodwill and good intentions, and even good people. These are countries with a low level of socioeconomic development and large portions of the population in the informal sector. This results in a socioeconomic matrix detrimental to the emergence of collective actors that fosters the development of clientelistic politics and patronage. Not surprisingly, a party system like the Paraguayan one is thoroughly clientelistic, with strong roots in the countryside and a strong organization. The peculiarity of the Paraguayan case is the main legacy of the Stroessner regime: an extremely strong system of ruling party—administered and state-delivered clientelism. That is the main force against change.

How do you change a society like that? Change will come eventually, but we need a dose of patience. We have more than 50 percent of the population in rural areas and a very small middle class and working class, and we don’t have the social actors that will press for the development of a quality democracy.

There is a phrase that [Simón] Bolívar coined at the end of his life, “I have plowed in the sea.” Often one is tempted to share that view. And yet we must be reminded that, as [Max] Weber put it, “Politics is a strong and hard boring of hard boards. It takes both passion and perspective…Men must arm themselves with steadfastness of heart to brave even the crumbling of all hopes. This is necessary right now or else men will not be able to attain even that which is possible today.”

Kellogg Turns 25

With this grant, the Institute funded most of its major conferences throughout the 1990s, and the publication of several edited volumes, including The Child in Latin America: Health, Development, and Rights (University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), edited by Bartell and Alejandro O’Donnell; and The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America (University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), edited by Juan E. Méndez, Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, and Guillermo O’Donnell.

The funding also provided valuable support for some of the University’s top-notch graduate students.

PLA 2000 initiated an ongoing collaboration with Coca-Cola that would eventually include The Coca-Cola Foundation, and would make it possible for the Institute to launch the Notre Dame Prize for Distinguished Public Service in Latin America, which was first awarded in 2000.

Networks of the Future

The initial goal was to leverage existing networks in Latin America through partnerships with research institutions such as IUPERJ, CEDES, and CIEPLAN.

“We began an active program of networking with Latin American institutional scholars from contacts we already had. We had the prestige of Fr. Hesburgh and the University of Notre Dame to help us,” said Bartell.

These networks attracted promising and established academics who were studying the conditions for democracy and social equity in Latin America, among other topics, to Kellogg’s conferences and lectures.

It also spurred the creation of the Visiting Fellowship Program to bring to Notre Dame scholars who could enrich the intellectual life of the Institute while further helping to establish networks in the region. The first class of visitors, who came in the spring of 1983, included the prominent Peruvian scholar CATALINA ROMERO. (See related story, “Where Are They Now?” page 13.)

“As result, many of the visitors to the Institute had some roots here. They often sent their better colleagues and graduate students as residential fellows, and that set a precedent for the future,” said Bartell.

Another outcome of this program was the number of scholars who came to Kellogg and then went on to take prominent positions in the newly democratic governments that emerged from the wave of democratization in the region.

At the time of the first democratic government to follow the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, Bartell counted at least 17 ranking members of the new government in administrative and legislative positions that had some affiliation with, and presence at, the Kellogg Institute.

Among those who became influential in policy circles, RENÉ CORTAZAR, Visiting Fellow 1986–87, became Minister of Labor in Chile; IGNACIO WALKER, Visiting Fellow 1987, became Foreign Minister in Chile; and RUTH CARDOSO, Visiting Fellow 1989, became President of the Comunidade Solidária and First Lady of Brazil. FRANCISCO WEFFORT, Visiting Fellow 1991–92 and 2003, became Minister of Culture in Brazil, while ANTONIO KANDIR, Visiting Fellow 1987, became a member of Congress and Minister of Planning, Brazil; and DIEGO ABENTE BRUN, Visiting Fellow 1987 and 2006, became a Senator, Minister and Ambassador from Paraguay. (See related story, “When Democracy Is Between a Rock and a Hard Place” page 12.)

After leaving Kellogg in 1989, Foxley was part of the first cabinet of the government formed after the restoration of democracy in Chile, serving in President Patricio Aylwin’s administration as Finance Minister from 1990–94. He is currently Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of Michelle Bachelet.

Since stepping down as Executive Director in 1997, Bartell has remained active on the Institute’s Faculty Committee, chaired the Kellogg Advisory Council from 2003 to 2006, and is Professor Emeritus of Economics and Policy Studies. Alexander Wild now holds the position of Vice President of Communications for the Ford Foundation.

O’Donnell continues to play an active role in shaping the Institute through his participation in the Faculty Committee, and by publishing on democracy, most recently in The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications (University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), edited with Jorge Vargas Gullif and Osvaldo M. Iazzetta.

Today, as democracy has taken root in Latin America, the need to understand why democracy has not delivered political stability, rising living standards, and openness in civil society continues to drive the Institute’s research agenda.

“The core problems are still there, and in some cases, such as social inequality, the failure of economic policy to produce better results, and the need to improve these shaky democracies, are even more acute than they were 25 years ago when there was no democracy,” said O’Donnell.
In the Economics and Econometrics Department at Notre Dame, the work of four Kellogg Faculty Fellows tackles some key issues in the developing world: free trade, exchange rates, environmental policy, and tax and monetary policy.

“If there is any unifying thing that we [in the Economics and Econometrics Department] do, it’s to bring to bear state-of-the-art analytical techniques on social problems,” explained RICHARD A. JENSEN, Professor of Economics and Econometrics and the department’s chair. “Our approach is to analyze a social problem using the best available techniques so we can learn something about it, and something about the policies that might be used to address it, before we even think about taking a stand on that problem.”

Understanding International Debt

NELSON MARK specializes in international macroeconomics and is working to understand “the joint determination of the current account”—roughly the change in a nation’s international indebtedness—and the real exchange rate.

“Poor debt management and unfavorable exchange rate valuation have potentially disastrous consequences for people’s welfare, as we saw in the late 1990s after financial crises swept through East Asia, and from 2001 to 2003 following the financial crisis in Argentina,” said Mark, the Alfred C. DeGrane Jr. Professor of International Economics and Concurrent Professor of Finance. “Understanding the causes and consequences of acquiring unsustainable levels of international debt is an important source of information for policymakers to avoid taking huge backward steps.”

For example, Mark said, researchers now understand what factors are important for growth and development—well-established rule of law, political stability, low levels of capital taxation, universal primary and secondary education, honest government, and international openness.

“One very interesting thing that we’ve learned is that an open and democratic society is not a necessary nor sufficient condition for growth and development,” said Mark. “India has been a democracy since independence but has had a terrible growth experience until only very recently, whereas growth miracles like South Korea, Thailand, China, and Singapore are not places we would hold up as models of democratic institutions, but these countries have succeeded in lifting millions out of absolute poverty.

“We’ve also learned that a one-shot move towards openness, such as the Washington Consensus, is bad. There are issues about the sequencing of liberalization that are important and also very important is to have a thorough understanding of pre-existing market distortions (taxes and subsidies) since opening up in the presence of these distortions can leave the entire society worse off.”

Currently, Mark is collaborating with DONGGYU SUL, a fall 2006 Visiting Fellow. “Having Sul in residence this term has been enormously useful,” notes Mark.

Saving the Rainforest

As an environmental economist, Jensen applies the rigor of systematic economic study to policy questions. For example, he has been studying what it might take to preserve the rainforest in Brazil. While there is widespread support in the US and Europe for preserving the rainforest, the picture is much more complex within Brazil.

For many of the poor, clear-cutting the rainforest with the prospect of arable land to farm is preferable to living in the slums of São Paulo. In essence, explained Jensen, we are asking Brazil and its people to consider the long-term benefit to the world in preserving the rainforest, when those people have immediate needs for food and shelter. “We are asking them to preserve the environment for our benefit, but they aren’t getting much in return,” said Jensen. “There has to be some compensation in exchange for this.”

To explore what it might take, Jensen has designed a survey that asks Notre Dame students what they might pay to preserve a hypothetical 1000 acres of rainforest. As it turned out, in a pilot study, students on average would be willing to pay nine cents per acre to prevent it from being sold for timbering rights, and 11 cents per acre to prevent it from being used for subsistence farming.

His research was supported by a research grant from the Kellogg Institute. As part of this research, he is working closely with undergraduate Brian Carlisle, an economics major who is in Kellogg’s International Scholars Program.

In his view, these research methods can be applied to problems ranging from the development of oil reserves in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) to the environmental impact studies that many companies must conduct in order to develop land or resources.
International Tax Policies

THOMAS GRESIK, Professor of Economics and Econometrics, has been conducting research on international tax policy, and how different tax policies attract foreign direct investment and the benefits of that investment.

One current policy issue that has potentially enormous implications is “transfer pricing,” the amount a division within a multinational company charges another division within the same company for components used in production.

Consider the case of a multinational pharmaceutical company that in the United States produces a chemical for a medication, which it then ships to its Latin American division for the manufacture of the drug. By manipulating the transfer price, the company can affect the profitability of the Latin American division, which may have significant tax implications. If a high transfer price is set for the chemical, it will make the Latin American division seem less profitable and therefore reduce its tax burden.

“Firms use transfer pricing to shift tax burdens around,” said Gresik. “You charge high transfer prices if the component is being transferred into a high-tax region, because then the profits of the recipient division seem lower.”

The European Union is currently debating the elimination of transfer pricing and a proposal to use formula apportionment, a taxation system employed by US and Canadian provinces.

“Under formula apportionment, multinationals report their total global income, then use a formula to determine what fraction each country taxes,” said Gresik. “This system brings with it important incentives for where countries locate.”

From Monetary Theory to Microfinance

What role can microfinance play in the developing world and what prevents it from working properly? How do you design monetary institutions in the developing world that keep inflation in check?

As an economist specializing in monetary economics, Faculty Fellow CHRISTOPHER WALLER addresses these questions using monetary theory and the political economy of central banking.

From the theory standpoint, consider the case of microfinance in developing economies.

“What frictions make it difficult to get credit in these countries? Information frictions —absence of credit histories —and a lack of contract enforcement are the key problems.”

However, the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh has found ways to get around these frictions, and the bank and its founder, Muhammad Yunus, recently won the Nobel Peace Prize for the success of this program in lifting poor women out of poverty.

“In these environments people have effectively introduced credit by relying on the small village structure to provide detailed information about each other and the use of social norms as an enforcement mechanism,” said Waller, Gilbert Schaefer Professor of Economics.

“Yet, in large villages or cities, information frictions and enforcement cannot be replaced by using personal ties to the community. So, microcredit isn’t feasible. In these environments, payments must be done in an impersonal fashion, which is what money allows us to do.”

In 2006, Waller received a three-year grant from Kellogg to fund research on the role of money and credit in overcoming frictions affecting trade between agents. This research draws on a monetary search model to understand the key frictions that make money “essential” in trade outcomes, and how credit and money can coexist.

Moreover, inflation has plagued Latin America throughout its history, and with his research he hopes to shed light on how developing countries can create institutions to keep it in check.

“It inevitably comes down to using monetary policy in the wrong way,” said Waller. “There are different models in macroeconomics in which inflation doesn’t have any consequences so you may not care about the institutional design.”

“Then, there are other models that say that inflation can be bad; the question is, how much inflation can you have before it causes problems?”

One critical aspect to controlling inflation is to have an independent central bank. “You make the central bank focus purely on keeping inflation low; that’s the best thing you can do. When they do that they eliminate uncertainty,” said Waller.

“That way, people can make better decisions about investment, purchasing goods, and jobs.”

If a country cannot do this, then it must resort to extreme methods such as pegging its currency to the US dollar. “Back in the early 1990s, this was how Argentina acted to keep inflation low,” said Waller.

This proved successful for 10 years or so, until a strong dollar hurt the Argentine economy. “But, when it unraveled it unraveled in a bad way. For us, this shows that extreme methods such as fixing exchange rates are always a problem,” Waller said.
Romero Days Commemoration to Be Held March 26–29

Mark your calendar for the annual Romero Days scheduled for March 26–29, 2007 to commemorate the assassination of El Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero (above).

As part of Romero Days, El Salvadoran Supreme Court Justice VICTORIA MARINA DE AVILÉS will deliver a lecture titled “El Salvador’s Reform of the Judiciary.”

Romero Days will also feature a roundtable discussion and a special Mass among other events.

Party Brazilian Style with Carnaval!

For dancing, fabulous costumes and live samba music in a family-friendly environment, don’t miss the Kellogg Institute’s ninth annual Brazilian Carnaval. The festivities begin at 8 pm on February 9 at the South Dining Hall on the University of Notre Dame campus. Admission is free and the event is open to the public.

This year’s Carnaval, a Brazilian celebration of Mardi Gras, will feature the samba and axé music of Chicago Samba. Professional Brazilian dancers will perform and teach steps to both samba and axé rhythms.

Chicago Samba features Brazilian musicians who have performed together for over eight years. The band is under the direction of Moacyr Marchini, who has been playing in the Chicago area for over 15 years.

Party Brazilian Style with Carnaval!

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