

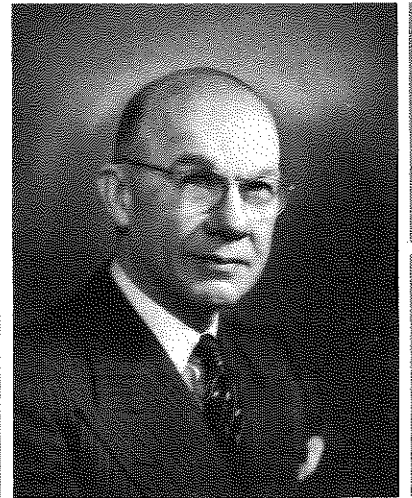
THE FIRST  
FIFTY YEARS


THE WILLIAM T. GRANT  
FOUNDATION

1936 - 1986




*Mr. Grant's original interest  
in establishing the Foundation was  
to "further the understanding of people  
to the end that individual potential  
be more surely realized."*





**The William T. Grant Foundation:  
The First Fifty Years,  
1936-1986**

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## FOREWORD

This excellent account of the first 50 years of the William T. Grant Foundation lacks only the personal touch of familiarity with the individuals involved. Consequently, it cannot reflect adequately the generosity of spirit of the individuals, no longer alive, who contributed so much to the Foundation's successes. Just as Mr. Grant's success as a store manager was related to Mr. Dutton's early encouragement ("Good Boy"), employees of the Grant stores benefited during his leadership from most enlightened personnel management policies. He cared similarly for his personal employees, creating hundreds of trusts for their retirement. He led the Grant Foundation with like concern, setting an example for his fellow trustees. Indeed, those succeeding Mr. Grant, Douglas D. Bond and R. MacAllister Lloyd, who saved the Foundation by his quiet insistence on diversification, always treated everyone at the Grant Foundation as 'family'. In short, Mr. Grant's financial generosity was accompanied by a generosity of spirit which he passed on to others and which we hope will remain with us for many years.

Robert P. Patterson, Jr.  
Chairman, Board of Trustees

## GOLDEN ANNIVERSARIES ARE SPECIAL

Fifty years marks a significant threshold in the life of an individual, as well as that of an institution. It is a time to recognize past accomplishments and a time to re-evaluate goals for the future.

The William T. Grant Foundation was incorporated on October 29, 1936 by the founder of the W.T. Grant Company and namesake of the Foundation, Mr. William T. Grant. In recognition of 50 years of philanthropic activity, the Trustees of the William T. Grant Foundation authorized this history in order to record its accomplishments. They enlisted two scholars from Yale: a distinguished child psychologist, Professor William Kessen, to consult, and an expert on the history of child psychology, Dr. Emily D. Cahan, to write this history of the Foundation. They gave full freedom to them with no strings attached.

We believe that it is important in order to understand the history of any one institution, to place it in the context of its times. No man, nor any institution stands alone, but is influenced by its times. The author has demonstrated these interrelations very well. Institutions such as foundations are particularly the products of their times. While they should provide leadership to sense and then help deal with emerging problems, they can not, indeed, should not, become removed from the issues and problems of their day. They should seek an ecologic niche where they can contribute to the solutions of these problems. Perhaps this is one of the most important lessons to be gained from the history of our Foundation.

The William T. Grant Foundation has had a remarkable consistency of purpose throughout its 50 years—to further understanding of human behavior through research. At the same time it has been flexible to meet special needs such as daycare programs for children displaced by war in London and incentives for minority students in the United States.

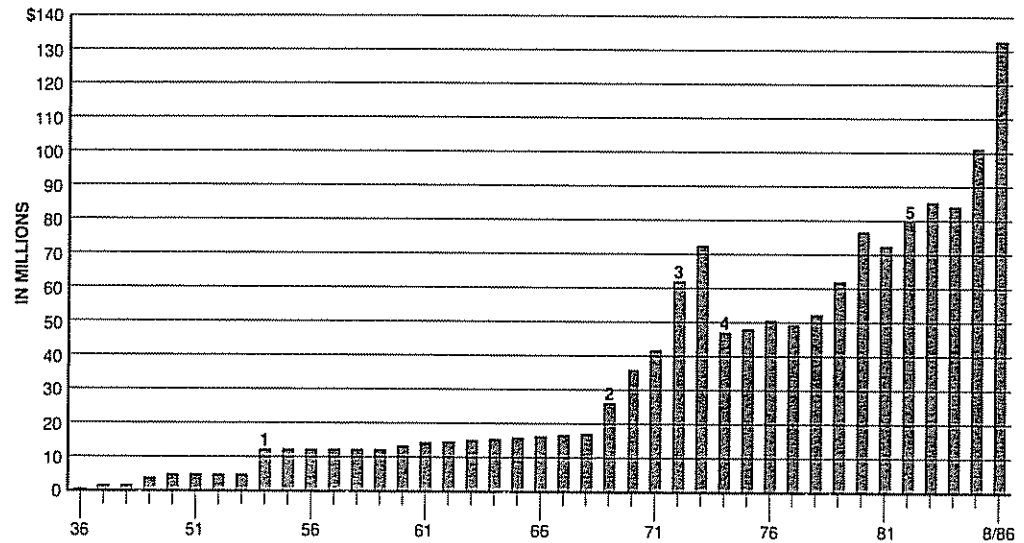
From the initial grant from Mr. Grant for the Harvard Longitudinal Study, the William T. Grant Foundation grew with his subsequent gifts of the founder's company stock as well as trusts created by Mr. Grant for individuals of which the Foundation was the remainderman.

The following graphs indicate the financial resources, income

**FIGURE 1**  
**W.T. GRANT FOUNDATION**  
**GROWTH OF ASSETS**

1936 to August 1986

- 1 1954 Realized Remainderman Interest in various Trusts
- 2 1969 Began sale of Company stock
- 3 1972 Trusts accrued to Foundation upon W.T. Grant's death
- 4 1974 Bankruptcy of Grant Company
- 5 1982 Restructure of Foundation Investments



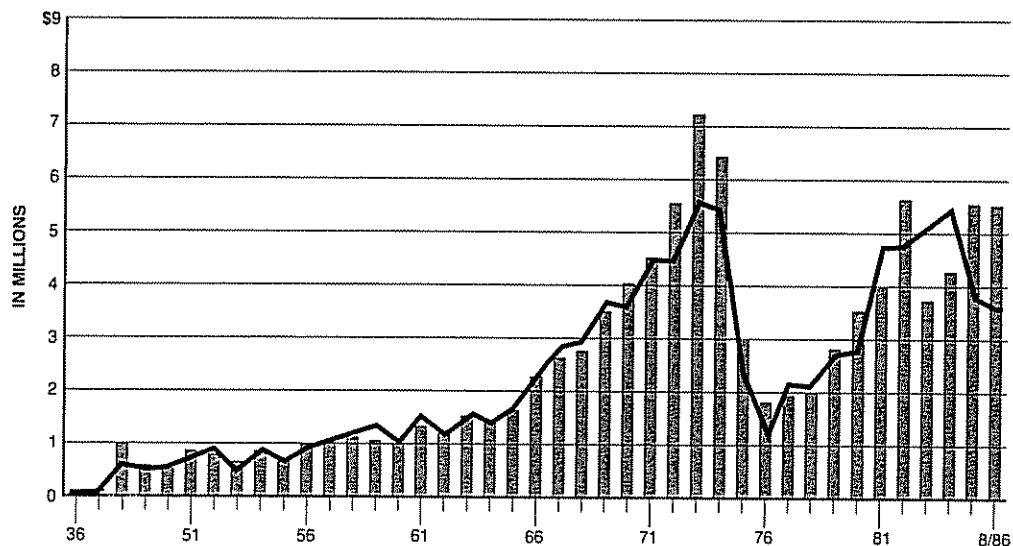
appropriations, and types of grants made by the Foundation over these 50 years and show its evolving nature. Fig. 1 demonstrates the changing assets of the Foundation. During the first decade, its assets were under \$10 million. At point 1 on the figure, several of the trusts created by Mr. Grant, of which the Foundation was remainderman, were turned over to the Foundation, thus increasing its assets. At point 2 the assets were increased by sales of stock and at point 3, Mr. Grant added significantly to its assets through his will, and the Foundation began to diversify by selling W.T. Grant stock and purchasing other securities. At point 4, in 1974, the bankruptcy of the W.T. Grant Company occurred, at which time only a portion of the endowment had been sold. This resulted in a reduction in the Foundation's assets from \$73

**FIGURE 2**  
**W.T. GRANT FOUNDATION**  
**APPROPRIATIONS**

Compared to Income Available 1936 to August 1986

- █ = Income Available
- = Appropriations

1972 — Beginning in '42 a reserve was set up (\$60,000 annually, designated for the Grant Study) to permit continuity of operations during periods of reduced income. This reserve totaled \$1.3 million in '72 and was transferred to Income Available for Appropriations. Also, Foundation became income beneficiary of a trust. This excess was carried forward.



million to \$48 million. During the rest of the 1970's, much of the portfolio was placed in several mutual funds. At point 5, during 1982, many of these were sold and investment counselors were engaged to manage the assets. With the stock market growth in the mid-1980's, the Foundation at the end of its 50 years has about \$130 million in assets.

Appropriations and Income Available are graphically displayed in Figure 2. Appropriations averaged only about \$100,000 per year for the first ten years, reached a peak average of \$5 million in 1973, then fell due to the bankruptcy of the W.T. Grant Company in 1975, and subsequently increased to between \$4 and \$5 million per year.

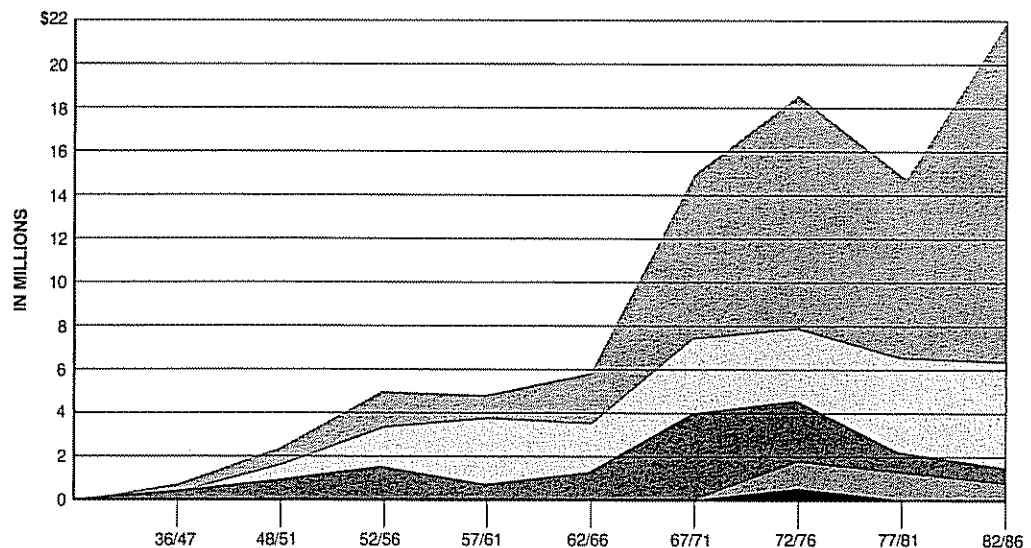
Fig. 3 illustrates the distribution of awards by type and demonstrates that, consistent with the policy of the Foundation, the largest amount has been awarded for research grants, with training programs next, and lesser sums expended for service and social policy projects.

Consistency with flexibility to reach the goal, in Mr. Grant's terms, of "... helping people to live more contentedly and peacefully and well in body and mind ..." is still a wise use of the resources so generously given by Mr. Grant. We hope that those of us charged with this responsibility now will discharge these duties as well as those who managed the Foundation's affairs for the first 50 years.

Robert J. Haggerty, M.D.  
President

FIGURE 3  
W.T. GRANT FOUNDATION  
TOTAL AWARDS 1936-1986:  
PROJECT TYPES

-  Research
-  Training
-  Service
-  Social Policy
-  Endowment





'36

'48

## THE EARLY YEARS *Establishment and Definition.*

Established from profits from the chain of Grant dry goods stores, the Grant Foundation was incorporated in 1936. With a first grant to Harvard University to study patterns of adaptation in young, healthy men, the Grant Foundation began its continuing commitment to enhance the mental health of children and youth. The Grant Foundation joined a growing movement to professionalize child study and guidance that was largely sustained by private philanthropy. Like some other philanthropists of his time, William T. Grant focused his Foundation on the need for scientific research. Scientific research promised to illuminate the causes of maladaptation rather than simply to relieve some of its symptoms. Through an understanding of cause, prevention could be attained. Thus, by supporting the search for prevention of social maladaptation, the Foundation could contribute to human betterment and social progress.

### Introduction

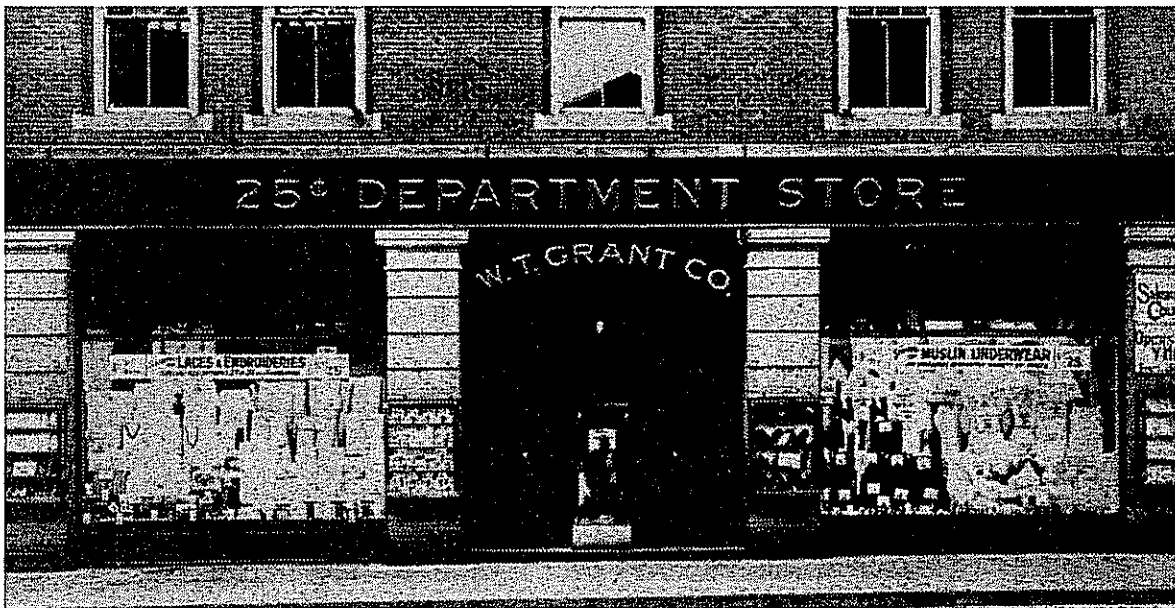
In 1937, Mr. William Thomas Grant, entrepreneur and philanthropist, met with the director of the Harvard University Health Service, Dr. Arlie V. Bock. Both men had decided that medical research was too heavily weighted in the direction of disease. "Large endowments have been given and schemes put into effect for the study of the ill, the mentally and physically handicapped ... very few have thought it pertinent to make a systematic inquiry into the kinds of people who are well and do well." Dr. Bock and Mr. Grant decided to select a small sample of healthy young men who had achieved good standing in the competitive, liberal arts environment of Harvard College. With the selection of this group of normal young men whose reactions to the pleasures and pains of life from college onwards would be studied, the Grant Foundation began its program of support for research in the mental health of children and youth.

For the past fifty years the William T. Grant Foundation has supported research across the life span of the young from infancy to adolescence and across different problem areas of child psychology from studies in infant visual perception to peer relations in the school. In truth, the Foundation has played a role in all aspects of recent and contemporary child psychology. Through the years, the Foundation has maintained a steady balance between support of the needs for understanding through research; application of research through the provision of service and demonstration programs; and social policy studies and advocacy efforts for the young who cannot advocate for themselves. In this process, the Foundation has cultivated many of the different sorts of activities that characterize the multi-faceted field of child psychology. Included in the definition of child psychology are such diverse activities as basic research in subhuman primates, investigations of the child's social and cognitive development, and social policy studies on public policy issues affecting children and families. The Foundation has maintained a commitment to supporting "usable knowledge" — knowledge from a variety of sources that promises to help illuminate social policy issues involving the welfare of children. The task of identifying and providing the best for children easily cuts through political differences. John Dewey expressed this well when he wrote "What the best and wisest parent wants for his child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon it destroys our democracy."

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John Dewey

The history of any foundation is the story of the coming together of many other stories. First, and perhaps foremost, it is the story of the founder's wishes for the bestowal of his fortune. Second, the history of any foundation relates to the history of that unique American institution—the private foundation. The institutional freedom of a foundation provides it with the opportunity and responsibility to support innovative areas that might otherwise go unsupported by more traditional funding agencies. Third, insofar as a foundation supports a specific area of scholarly inquiry, the foundation's program commitments are best seen in relation to trends and traditions in that field of research. Hence, the history of the William T. Grant Foundation can best be understood in relation to the personal vision of Mr. William T. Grant, the changing character of American philanthropy during the twentieth century, and changes in the strategies and core problems of professional child psychology.



The first of what became a chain of over 1,100 WT. Grant Stores specializing in low-priced household wares is shown above. Profits from the chain provided the principal for establishing the William T. Grant Foundation.

While this narrative, selective as it must be, highlights apparent shifts in program priorities, it is vital to recognize that these shifts represent relative shifts in emphasis in response to perceived needs at any given moment in the Foundation's history. While different problems have received more or less emphasis in different times, the Foundation's constitutional flexibility has allowed it always to remain sensitive to innovations in all areas relating to the mental health of children and youth. Specific program foci can be characterized by "concentration with diversity"—foci on particular issues in child psychology accompanied by varied responses in the forms of research, demonstration, training, and social policy implications.

### **William Thomas Grant, Entrepreneur and Philanthropist**

William Thomas Grant was born in 1876 to parents of Scottish, Dutch, and French descent. At the time of Grant's birth, his father owned a small flour mill in their hometown of Stevensville, Pennsylvania. When the flour mill failed to

prosper, the family moved to Fall River, Massachusetts where his father owned and managed a tea and spice store. When the tea and spice store failed, the family moved to Lynn, Massachusetts where the elder Grant worked as a salesman in a Boston furniture store.

William did not receive his education from school or books; "I was never a good student," he declared, and managed to stay in school until the tenth grade only "because for some reason my teachers seemed to like me in spite of my lagging interest in my lessons." From school, William went to work briefly for three Boston lawyers and then to Parker Holmes, a wholesale shoe house on Federal Street in Boston. Reflecting on his youth, Grant reported feeling "bullied" by employers who would "drive and criticize and browbeat their employees with the deliberate purpose of striking fear into their hearts." When he went to work for Ed Dutton at the Houghton-Dutton department store, Grant learned another way for supervisors to treat their employees. When Mr. Dutton placed a hand on Grant's shoulder and said "Good Boy!" Grant decided that "Maybe I can amount to something after all." Dutton's gesture of encouragement both inspired the young Grant and provided an early lesson for him in the importance of good human relationships in both life and business.

In 1906, at the age of 30, the young William T. Grant invested his \$1,000 savings and opened the first Grant store in Lynn, Massachusetts. From that first store, Grant proceeded to build a nationwide mercantile structure. The early stores specialized in selling all sorts of small household wares and Grant derived much pride from having been the first merchant of goods costing the consumer no more than 25 cents. In 1953, Grant presided over the opening of the 500th Grant store in Levittown, Pennsylvania. When he retired in 1966, there were over 1,100 Grant stores stretching from New England to the Pacific coast.

Unlike many foundations in which the area of benefaction bears little clear relation to facts of the founder's life, the direction assumed by the William T. Grant Foundation was to be closely related to the personal experiences of the founder. In building his nationwide chain of stores, Grant acquired extensive experience in recruiting, training, and supervising both sales and management personnel. Grant began to use aptitude analyses for the selection of store personnel. These aptitude profiles for employment selection were based upon the aptitude tests given to army recruits during the First World War. In spite of his having selected from among the best and brightest and hence most promising of young men to become managers, Grant was not always pleased with what he saw. Pete, for example, was a store manager who, in Grant's words "had a fatal fault—he could not get along with people. He made enemies of the store's employees and its customers." Pete had to go. Experiences such as this fostered Grant's developing interest in the social and psychological difficulties of the normal individual. He was deeply struck that so many otherwise promising young men failed to lead happy, successful lives. This inability, Grant felt, stemmed from difficulties managing interpersonal relations. He became convinced that if the cause for distress could be discerned, then prevention could be discovered. Never satisfied until he could do something that would benefit the nation as a whole, William T. Grant incorporated the Grant Foundation in 1936. The first task of his philanthropic endeavor was to declare and define a field of interest.

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## The Foundation's Field

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After reviewing the work of many other foundations, Grant felt that most of their contributions had not been preventive, but had been "along the patching line." Instead of focusing on charitable work to alleviate the symptoms surrounding poverty, Grant wished to focus the foundation on efforts to "assist research, education, and training through the sciences which have their focus in the study of man." He stated briefly and clearly his formal intention for the Foundation:

**What I have in mind is to assist, by some means, in helping people or peoples to live more contentedly and peacefully and well in body and mind through a better knowledge of how to use and enjoy all the good things that the world has to offer them. Charitable work designed to alleviate helpless poverty, sickness and distress gets popular attention. Economics is being well covered by various organizations but there remains a vast field in sociology for foundation activity.**

Furthermore, "the well-being of people depends in large part on the discovery and comprehension of the fundamental principles of human relations which contribute to all." Mr. Grant's vision for his Foundation resembled that of Yale's Institute for Human Relations in being both comprehensive in scope and based upon a union between science and progress. The Foundation, Grant felt, could be an instrument of social progress because the social sciences could "contribute to our knowledge of normal man and his betterment." So having defined the field as that of the social sciences and the object of support as research, education, and training, Grant set out to develop "a cumulative body of knowledge which will have comprehensive social value." To comprehend the pathfinding proposals Grant made for the Foundation, we should take a look at the early history of American eleemosynary organizations.

### **A Brief Look at American Foundations in the Early 20th Century**

The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a phenomenal set of unprecedented social changes in the character and composition of American society. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants provided a population of both workers for the newly industrialized economy and students for the rapidly expanding urban educational system in the United States. In the wake of this immigration, urbanization, and industrialization, a number of social problems became visible. Many suffered under the burden of a poverty never before apparent while a few enjoyed riches equally new to the nation. Children's labor was widely exploited for use in the recently industrialized factories.

Relief agencies, charities, a growing reformist movement, and a new class of philanthropists all began, in different ways, to address the problems of the poor and exploited. Traditional charitable institutions focused rather narrowly on particular problems; they were committed to cautious and well-tried courses of action. A small, newly emerging group of ambitious philanthropists, on the other hand,

believed that charity could alleviate only the immediate effects of "social dysfunction" including poverty and sickness. The traditional institutions and goals of American charity no longer met the reformist ambitions of this group of philanthropists.

These new philanthropists were "newly minted captains of industry, self-made men riding the crest of America's surge to industrial prosperity" (Katz and Katz, 1981, p. 243). Committed to notions of rationality, organization, and efficiency, they felt the time had arrived when these principles should rule not just their business, but their philanthropic work as well. A more rational and effective approach to social problems would, according to the new philanthropists, attack the root causes of social dysfunction directly. These foundations represented a change in attitude and strategy from directing charitable activities to the relief of specific cases of misery, distress, or the amelioration of the social problems of the "lower orders" of society, to a more effective institutional response to the root problems of a complex, recently industrialized, and increasingly urban society.



A strong believer in the "family" concept of employee-employer relations, Mr. Grant is shown informally discussing "the old days" of the company with his Assistant Managers in New York.

Imbued with the ethic of modern science which taught the distinction between causes and results, these men perceived the inefficiency of the general goal of charity. And how could one discern *causes* in contrast to relieving *symptoms* of social dysfunction? By the turn of the century, the answer seemed clear. The scientific investigation of social and physical well-being would reveal the true causes and therefore promise a real cure for social ills. The answers lay in *research*—just

the sort of investigations that were being carried out by natural and social scientists in the emerging American system of graduate universities founded on the model of German research institutions. "Economically, philosophically, and politically, . . . philanthropy and the modern university with its emphasis on research are the products of the same era and the same impulses" (ibid., p.244).

These sentiments for reform through science met head on with a general political culture that could not accept a national government committed to social welfare reform. Government at the time rejected the responsibility for changing society, tied as it was to a tradition that still defined the causes of social disorder and misery as local problems amenable to local solutions. Into the gap between inadequate local charity and a passive Federal position stepped the modern foundation — a system "of national philanthropy privately devoted to increasing the welfare of mankind."

**Foundations came into existence because American society was unable to maintain a social order which corresponded to its passionately held localist ideals. The ideals are as real as the political history which prevented their fulfillment. In the process, however, foundations helped create a voice which transcended politics, even when they were engaged in influencing them (ibid., p. 269).**

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With the invention of the modern foundation, Americans had found a way to do "privately" what governments in other industrial societies were beginning to do publicly. The creation of the modern foundation and its acceptance as a national system of social reform, a privately supported system operating in lieu of a federal system, carried the United States through a crucial period — the first third of the twentieth century.

### **Some Early Foundations**

With the creation of the Russell Sage Foundation in 1907, the Carnegie Corporation in 1911, the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913, and the Commonwealth Fund in 1918, the modern philanthropic foundation came into existence. The invention of the modern philanthropic foundation was a "noble and heroic endeavor, and it was also unique to the United States" (ibid., p. 246). The purposes for which these new foundations were organized were stated in very general terms. Collectively, the purpose of these private trusts was to advance public welfare. The Russell Sage Foundation sought the "improvement of living and social conditions in the United States of America"; the Carnegie Corporation was organized "to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding"; the Rockefeller Foundation sought to "promote the well-being of mankind"; and the Commonwealth Fund sought to "do something for the welfare of mankind." Despite various changes in legal status, the essential guiding idea for private foundations has remained the same: large economic resources generated by private means are devoted in perpetuity to the advancement of the general welfare of society and distributed according to the changing wishes of the trustees who are the legal custodians of the fund (ibid.). From early on, the process of awarding

grants developed links between the philanthropic organizations themselves, university research workers, social reformers, public policy makers, and government funding agencies. The lines between public and private began to blur, especially as foundations also supported research on questions of public policy by both private and public institutions. Institutions as varied as the Brookings Institute in Washington, D.C., the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, and the National Bureau of Economic Research all received support from the new private foundations.

### A Skeptical Public

Public acceptance of this institution for administering large sums of privately earned revenue came neither quickly nor easily. Distrust was felt by many—a kind of distrust that one can still find in some quarters today. Some felt that the allocation of foundation resources ought to be publicly controlled by democratic institutions rather than privately controlled by a few. The academic freedom of universities was felt by some to be threatened by the potential control coming from foundation support. In baldest form, “foundations are bastions of an elite group of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant managers holding out against the normal development of a pluralistic and ethnic society” (ibid., p. 249). Some degree of skeptical distrust towards the concentration of any form of wealth in the hands of a few is a healthy indicator of a democratic society. In response, legislative measures to protect the public interest against potential and some actual cases of abuse by private foundations have been made repeatedly throughout the twentieth century.

Slowly, skepticism and distrust of the private foundation yielded to public acceptance.

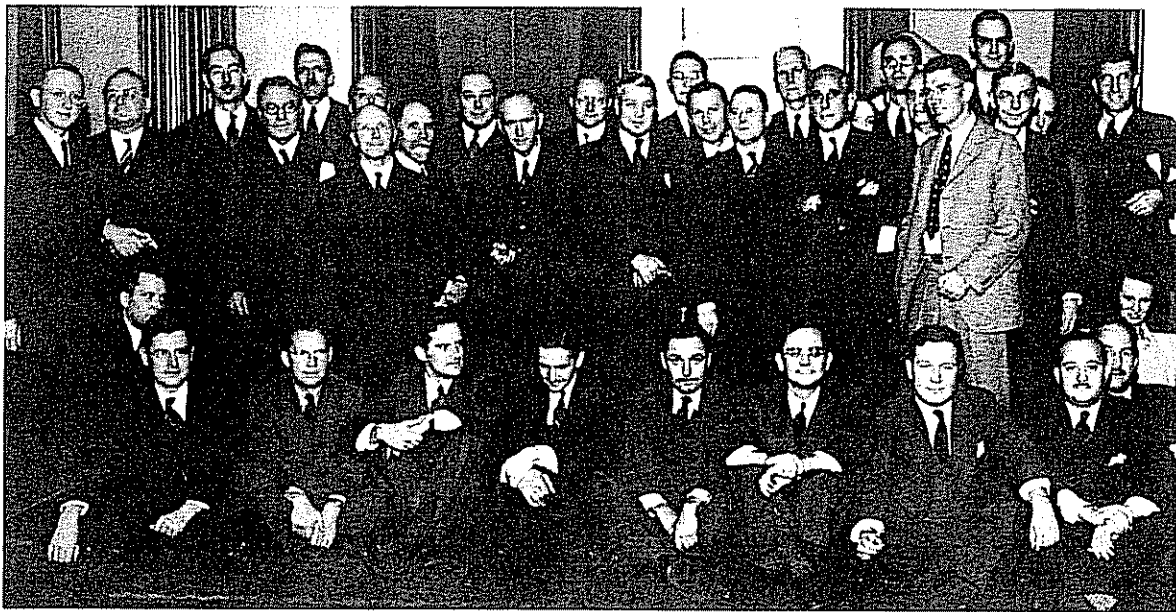
Slowly, skepticism and distrust of the private foundation yielded to public acceptance. The singlemost factor facilitating the acceptance of foundations by both taxpayer and congressman alike was the growing record of successes claimed by many foundations. It could be claimed that “the grants and initiative of the foundations had eliminated pellagra, hookworm, typhoid, yellow fever, malaria, and numerous other physical ailments which had, throughout history, damaged and shortened life” (ibid.). In addition to facilitating these and other breakthroughs in medical science, foundations had contributed to the search for international peace following the First World War, helped to improve the social survey as an instrument of demographic research on which much reform was based, and pointed to numerous schemes of social reform. By the 1920’s it was generally accepted that the foundations were, indeed, benefiting humanity.

With these perceptions of philanthropy in mind, William T. Grant saw a special place for his Foundation. It would, in broad terms, help people put to positive use “all the good things the world has to offer them” and “to help children develop what is in them.” Specific programs would concentrate on the healthy social and emotional development of children and youth, the preservation of family integrity, the enhancement of professional training in the social sciences, the provision of protective services to those children and families most vulnerable, the application of our understanding through demonstration programs and projects, and the dissemination of social science knowledge through public education efforts. There was an enormous ground to cover. In making research the cornerstone on which the Foundation’s work would be built, Mr. Grant followed the lead established by some of the larger foundations. These early leaders of American philan-

thropy shared a conviction that science promised to illuminate the sources of cure for social dysfunction. And in the understanding of cure, lay the promise and the possibility of prevention.

### Early Programs and Administration of the Grant Foundation

The Harvard Grant Study in Social Adjustments was typical in its substantive focus of early program support. It was undertaken to “determine what factors have made it possible for an individual to live in harmony with his environment as well as what factors have made it difficult to do so.” The study was concerned with discerning “the methods and means by which individuals reach maturity, may be aided to handle their problems, may exercise their capacities and adjust to the world in which they live.” The emphasis was normative, the method was longitudinal, and the staff was interdisciplinary.



Some of the attendees at this 1939 Conference on the Harvard Study on social adjustment include: Mr. James B. Conant, President of Harvard University; Dr Arlie V Bock, Director of the study; Dr. Earl Bond, psychiatric consultant to the project; and Miss Adele Morrison, Trustee of the Foundation.

Scholarly motivation for undertaking the project included a growing psychology of adjustment and adaptation. A 1937 monograph by Heinz Hartmann, *Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation*, suggested the usefulness of the concept of adaptation for understanding the psychology of both normal and abnormal individuals. Early on, Dr. Arlie Bock, first director of the project, turned to a friend and colleague, the psychiatrist Dr. Earl Bond for consultation on staff selection. Dr. Bond was then the Director of the Institute at the Pennsylvania Hospital. Bond's role as a consultant on the first Foundation project was to begin a long association between the Bond family and the William T. Grant Foundation.

The early administration of the Grant Study in Social Adjustments reflected the zeal, enthusiasm, and involvement of Mr. Grant with his Foundation. Bock informed Mr. Grant of every step undertaken on the project—from the selection of plumbing fixtures to the selection of the sample for study. Mr. Grant and his

Far from being distant observers, Mr. Grant and Miss Morrison frequently and freely offered their advice on how best to conduct the study.

longtime personal secretary and one of the original three Foundation Trustees, Miss Adele Morrison, occasionally traveled to Cambridge in order to attend the project's weekly conferences. Far from being distant observers, Mr. Grant and Miss Morrison frequently and freely offered their advice on how best to conduct the study. Some members of the project staff questioned the conduct of the Foundation in these matters convinced as they were that "the foundation doesn't quite know what it wants and wants it in a great hurry." Finally, in 1944, Dr. Bock wrote to Dr. Earl Bond, that "I had to tell Mr. Grant that the trustees of the foundation could not expect to run the Grant study." Mr. Grant's enthusiastic involvement had to be contained. The surrounding tensions resulted in periods of support and periods of withdrawal on the part of the Foundation. Dr. Bond, however, took the concerns of investigators such as Bock to his later role as a trustee for the Foundation.

Scores of books, monographs, and articles emanated from the project. In its first 18 years, massive amounts of data were collected from the sample. These data included: results of physical examinations and medical histories; electroencephalograms and electrocardiograms; elaborate anthropometric measurements; measurements of oxygen consumption, pulse rate, and lactic acid production at work and at rest; family histories and interviews; psychiatric interviews at age 30; histories of children of sample members; information on wives and their backgrounds; annual questionnaires on career, marriage, health, political beliefs, alcohol and tobacco consumption and general outlook on life. In fact, it was not until Dr. George Vaillant joined the project staff in 1966 and brought a theoretical framework to bear on this overwhelming collection of facts and observations, that a synthetic story of the lives observed could be told. Vaillant's two books to date, *Adaptation to Life* (1977) and *The Natural History of Alcoholism* (1983) remain the most coherent and illuminating accounts of the vicissitudes and patterns of adaptation of the original group. The continuity of the Foundation's support of the Harvard Study is an unusual example of long-term foundation support of a project. It reveals the essential continuity in the Foundation's commitment to its original field of inquiry.

### Other Early Studies

Some other early studies funded by the Foundation included a five year grant to Philips Andover Academy to support the research of the school physician, Dr. J. Roswell Gallagher, on adolescence; a grant to the Pennsylvania Hospital to support Dr. Earl Bond's own research on members of the student councils of Bryn Mawr, Haverford, and Swarthmore Colleges; a grant to the American Council on Education to support the preparation of a book by Dr. E.F. Lindquist on the theory and technique of educational measurement; and a grant to Tufts University to support an investigation directed by Dr. A. Warren Stearns on the factors contributing to human failure in the form of admission to the Tewksbury State Hospital and Infirmary. It was consistent with both a psychodynamic climate in psychiatry and the lack of demographic information for such studies to stress intrapsychic factors more than social factors. The conclusions, for example, in the Tufts study indicated "the possibility of poverty often being secondarily economic and primarily due to chronic illness or a behavior disorder."



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## THE MIDDLE YEARS *Diversity in Research on Youth.*

... the Foundation supported a variety of research projects on the effects of daycare on child development, professional training programs for childcare workers and administrators, and innovative service projects.


With a commitment to youth firmly established, the Grant Foundation turned its resources to supporting investigations of all those who dealt with children. This broad reach led to an ambitious program of support for community mental health programs. These programs helped turn attention towards an understanding of the individual in the social worlds of family, school, and community. An entire generation of researchers investigating early social and emotional development in the child also received Foundation support during this time. In response to the increasing numbers of mothers entering the workforce and using daycare facilities to care for their preschool-aged children, the Foundation supported a variety of research projects on the effects of daycare on child development, professional training programs for childcare workers and administrators, and innovative service projects.

### **From Business to Professional Guidance**

In 1947-1948, the Grant Foundation underwent a series of administrative changes. The original Board of Trustees were only three in number and were all related to the W.T. Grant Company. They were: Mr. Grant; Mr. Frederick Hansen, Research Director for the Company; and Miss Adele W. Morrison, personal secretary to Mr. Grant. In 1938, Mr. Howland Davis became a trustee, as did Mr. Raymond Fogler in 1942. Both men were also from the Grant Company. In 1947, Hansen and Morrison left the Board and, for the first time, people not related to the W.T. Grant Company became members of the Board. This new breed of trustee included: Mr. Morris Hadley from Milbank, Tweed, Hope & Hadley; Mr. Milton Glover, Chairman of Hartford National Bank; Mr. Cleveland Dodge, from the Phelps Dodge Corporation; and Mr. R. McAllister Lloyd, Chairman of the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. Also, for the first time, an executive director, Mr. Pierre Galpin, was appointed. Mr. Galpin had worked with President Hoover as an aide and, in 1920, with Mr. Hoover, incorporated the Belgian-American Educational Foundation for which Galpin served as President until 1963. In 1948, Dr. Earl Bond was named a trustee, and was the first psychiatrist on the Board. Having been a consultant with the Harvard Study and a grantee himself, Bond was no stranger to the Foundation. At the time of his appointment as trustee, he was director of training and research at the Pennsylvania Hospital's Department for Mental and Nervous Diseases. With a larger board of trustees and a director not associated with the Company, the Foundation embarked on a larger scale of programs. The ensuing programs would focus more specifically on research, professional training, and the strengthening of services "which would be of direct or indirect benefit to children and young people in making a satisfactory social and emotional adjustment to modern living, and to families in encouraging healthy, positive family life."

### **Family and Community Mental Health**

In 1947, the first of several grants was awarded to an organization called Community Research Associates (CRA) directed by Bradley Buell. The purpose of the project in general terms was to control and prevent psychosocial disorders by developing methods for organizing and integrating community health and



welfare services. A second goal was to devise demonstration projects based upon the methods devised to coordinate services. The study began by developing a detailed classification of the needs and services essential to community welfare. That information would later be presented to communities in several states in order to guide their administration of services in meeting the problems of maladjustment in their communities. The 1952 Columbia University Press publication of *Community Planning for Human Services*, written by Bradley Buell and his associates served as a treatise on community efforts to organize service in four areas: dependency, ill-health, maladjustment, and recreation. A statistical analysis of community welfare in Saint Paul, Minnesota revealed that a high proportion of the community's dependency, health, and behavior problems were concentrated in a relatively small number of families. Buell and his associates arrived at two conclusions: 1) that an understanding of the family situation is of prime importance in any attempt to prevent and control particular social disorders, and, 2) the achievement of a high degree of coordination between services was necessary in order to avoid redundancy, overlap, and other forms of bureaucratic inefficiency. By 1965, 159 service agencies serving one million individuals among 300,000 families were using the CRA Family Diagnostic and Classification Schedule.

The tool of greatest service and of most lasting value in mental health service was the family approach.

A major and lasting contribution of these efforts was to refocus the unit of investigation away from the isolated individual in distress towards an understanding of the individual in the larger contexts of the family and the community. The family, rather than the individual, became the center of attention for dealing with such problems as chronic indigency, dependency, and disordered behavior. The tool of greatest service and of most lasting value in mental health service was the family approach. As stated in a CRA report:

**The discovery of the family approach to this problem is an instrument, a method which may be compared to the discovery of drainage and DDT which gave us methods of approach to the control of malaria.**

The grant to CRA was the first in a series of grants in what we would now recognize as the field of community mental health. Beginning in 1948, the Foundation awarded a grant to the Harvard School of Public Health for a project to study problems of community mental health in Wellesley, Massachusetts. Both projects represented early efforts to solve community mental health problems with the methods of public health. Many felt that methods comparable to those that had worked on such physical public health problems as yellow fever could be devised and implemented for social problems. As expressed in a CRA report:

**The acquisition of knowledge and the development of the program patterns necessary to prevent and protect the community against the hazards of communicable disease and of maternity and infancy are in the record as an outstanding achievement of this century. Our own conclusion... is that the way can and should now be opened to similiar achievements in the community-wide attack upon dependency, maladjustment,**

chronic disease, and disability... the principles and methods of epidemiology which were so successful in the control of the short-term, communicable diseases must be applied to chronic diseases and disabilities... the problem of physical and mental maladjustment, the failure to be socially independent and self-sufficient... is just as real and just as important as were hook-worm and malaria in 1910.

Results of these efforts to combine public health methods with a family-centered approach to mental health helped to turn attention towards the social determinants of mental health. The Harvard project, for example, directed by Dr. Eric Lindemann, pointed to a connection between income and the incidence of psychosis — a shift from earlier work in which poverty and social stress were deemed secondary in importance in mental health to intrapsychic factors. Many types of mental illness were now seen as “by-products of stresses and strains occurring in social systems.”

While the turn towards understanding the individual in the context of the family and community certainly represented gains in our understanding of mental health, the public health model of prevention and cure might have been a bit naive. One commentator, for example, expresses the opinion that:


**There are no antisociotics that can have the quick and dramatically visible effects on delinquency, depressive states, or mental retardation that antibiotics had on scarlet fever or pneumonia.**  
(Sears, 1975, p. 67.)

Training programs to complement these research and demonstration projects included a grant to the Merrill-Palmer School to support fellowships in marriage counseling and family life education. The long-term significance of this early show of support for research, demonstration, and training in community mental health may best be described as an important shift away from strictly psychoanalytic conceptions of mental health towards a greater sensitivity to the effects of social and economic factors on mental health. Later decades would see such logical extensions of this approach as those involved in training medical personnel in the methods and concepts of public health and behavioral science.

### **The Turn Towards Children**

Beginning in the early 1950's and continuing thereafter, the Foundation began to concentrate its attention more explicitly on the young. Educational methods and measurement, problems and concepts of child-rearing, parent education, child mental health, and studies in diverse aspects of the normal development of children began to receive systematic support from the Foundation. The programmatic shift towards children was foreshadowed by a 1949 grant to the University of Maryland to fund an Institute of Child Study. Between 1949 and 1973, under the direction of Dr. Daniel Prescott and later, Dr. Gerthson Morgan, the Foundation provided \$1.5 million in support of research on child study and

Beginning in the early 1950's and continuing thereafter, the Foundation began to concentrate its attention more explicitly on the young.



in-service training in child psychology for educators. A brief look at the history of philanthropy's involvement with the young will help to illuminate the rationale and sources of Mr. Grant's interest in supporting research on mental health in children and youth.

### **Philanthropy and Children in the 20th Century**

The study of child psychology and development is now an integral part of most university departments of psychology. However, this integration of child psychology into the mainstream of academic psychology is a very recent phenomenon, stemming from a long series of events that began in the late nineteenth century and culminated in the 1950's and 1960's. The present section reviews some of the social history of child study, its professionalization into a research enterprise, and the role that philanthropy has played in sustaining both.

The emphasis in child-care advice remained moral until the last part of the nineteenth century. Essential ingredients of such advice included ways to build self-control and instill proper character traits as defined by the dominant Protestant ethic. With the blooming of scientific medicine in the 1880's and its better understanding of the child's needs for sleep, exercise, and nutrition, the child's physical welfare became an important focus of attention. Concerns for saving children's souls were replaced with concerns to tend to the physical needs of children. Emmett Holt's *The Care and Feeding of Children*, published in 1894, was a landmark for signifying the public's adoption of more scientific procedures for insuring children's health and well-being. From Holt, it was not a long distance to the development of pediatric clinics, state-supported institutions for neglected children, special school programs for retarded children, the adoption of stringent child-labor laws, and the formation of various social welfare programs to insure better standards of living for both mothers and children.

In the fifty years from the early 1870's to the end of the First World War, "the conception of the child as a responsibility of society-at-large became solidly established" (Sears, 1975, p. 8). In that half century, three professions became intimately involved in work with and for children: medicine, education, and social work. These three professional networks separately began activities relating to research on children, the education of children, and social reforms on behalf of children.

Child guidance clinics began to open up in response to the growing problem of children's deviant behavior in the schools and more general delinquency. In 1896, Lightner Witmer opened the first psychological clinic for children at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1909, William Healy started a child guidance clinic connected to the Juvenile Court in Chicago. Also in 1909, the first White House Conference on Children convened and indicated a clear federal commitment to children's interests. In 1912, the Children's Bureau was established with a mandate to "collect and disseminate information affecting the welfare of our children." After the war, public pressure was brought to bear on government for increased support for education and dental research. President Wilson dubbed 1919 as the Children's Year. Scientists responded with calls for more research on child welfare. Most importantly, "what the federal government could not do until after World War II was done by private philanthropy" (ibid., p. 20).

Concerns for saving children's souls were replaced with concerns to tend to the physical needs of children.

The growing Child Guidance Movement was strengthened in 1921 when the Commonwealth Fund began their program of support for demonstration clinics. The first and best-known of these demonstration clinics was the Bureau of Children's Guidance established by the New School of Social Work in New York as a practicum-training facility for student social workers. The Child Guidance branch of child psychology coalesced into a professional group in 1924 with the establishment of the American Orthopsychiatric Association. Alongside this Child Guidance Movement was a growing Child Study Movement. Loosely organized informal Child Study Associations had existed for some decades. In the 1890's, the Child Study Movement rallied around the work and enthusiasm generated by G. Stanley Hall, Professor of Psychology and President of Clark University.

Both the Child Guidance Movement and the Child Study Movement received a tremendous boost when, in 1927 and 1928, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund (LSRMF) made substantial long-term grants to establish child guidance and study centers at six universities: the University of Iowa, University of Minnesota, Yale University, Teachers College of Columbia University, the University of Toronto, and the University of California at Berkeley. These centers, known as Child Study Institutes, while attached to universities, did not formally represent any one university department. Parent education, marriage counseling, and child study programs were started at many of the Institutes. Some Institutes granted degrees. The programs drew from many sources including research on child development, clinical psychology, psychiatry, sociology, anthropology, and literature. Parent education programs eventually expanded in such a way as to embrace "family life education"—a shift that reflected a change from teaching child development to parents to a recognition of the child in both a familial and a cultural context. The establishment of these Institutes in the late 1920's and early 1930's moved one commentator to conclude that the 1930's was the "golden era" for research on child development.

The LSRMF also played a critical role in professionalizing the study of child development. A Fellowship Program for Child Study was established by the LSRMF and administered by a newly named Committee on Child Development within the Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the National Research Council in 1925. The fellowships provided funds for promising students to study at the new Institutes across the country. Achievements of the Committee included the publication of *Child Development Abstracts* beginning in 1926, the fostering of annual conferences on child study and development, and the publication of a new research journal, *Child Development*. The Committee's work culminated in 1933 with the formation of a multidisciplinary professional organization, the Society for Research in Child Development. SRCD remains the singlemost important society for professionals from many disciplines whose interests converge on questions of child development. William T. Grant had long been interested in how children may best express their fullest potential in school, family, and community life. His perspective, like that of the growing child study and guidance movement, was interdisciplinary and oriented towards research and prevention. When Mr. Grant incorporated the Grant Foundation for the purpose of funding research on the ways in which children and youth adapt to the world around them, he entered into a growing professional movement that was being sustained by private philanthropy.

William T. Grant had long been interested in how children may best express their fullest potential in school, family, and community life.

## The Foundation's Support for Children

The Foundation's turn towards children during the early 1950's was motivated by the accumulating evidence on the significance of childhood experiences in determining emotional health. This emphasis on the young would basically remain the Foundation's primary commitment for the next 30 years. The domain of interest to the Foundation broadened to include "all those who deal with children" — including parents, teachers, families, physicians, social workers, and the community at large. Attention naturally turned towards education as well — understanding characteristics of the nature of children's learning and understanding



Dr. Benjamin Spock, the pediatrician on whom many Post World War II mothers relied for advice, is shown here consulting with a mother and her baby. Dr. Spock received William T. Grant Foundation support.

characteristics of effective principles of pedagogy. Grants to Child Study Institutes in support of research and training in education and child development as well as grants to support family life education all reflected the turn towards understanding and providing for our youngest members of society. Benjamin Spock's studies of child-rearing received Foundation support as did such educational psychologists as Robert L. Thorndike. Early research on the moral development of children by Robert Havighurst also received Foundation support. With what was to become a stable commitment to children, this narrative may assume a more thematic tone — a tone that reflects some of the changing conceptions of core issues in child psychology in relation to changing patterns of Foundation support and changes in the cultural context of childhood in the United States.

## Early Social and Emotional Development

The Foundation's concern for considering mental health in the context of the family and community did not preclude support for more traditional research and training in psychoanalytic methods and concepts. Two Foundation-supported programs in England were especially important in this regard. Beginning in 1956, the Foundation supported numerous activities at the Hampstead Clinic in London under the direction of Anna Freud. Among the varied activities at Hampstead that received such support were the Well-Baby Clinic and a Nursery School to assist in a research and training program in child psychiatry.

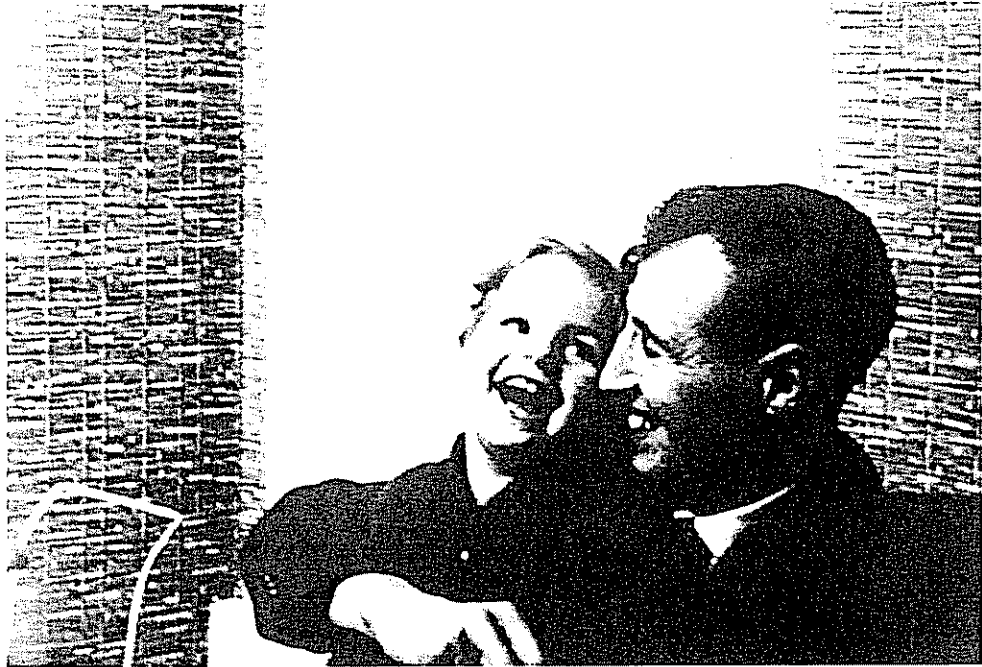
A second line of British research supported by the Foundation contributed to the early development of research in parent-infant attachment and early social-emotional development. In 1954, the Foundation began to support training and research activities at the Child Guidance Department of the Tavistock Clinic at the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, directed by John Bowlby. Subsequent



Anna Freud, pioneer child psychiatrist, received Foundation support for her work at the Hampstead Clinic in London for many years. This support included a well-baby clinic and Nursery School.

work by Bowlby and his associates was to exert a profound effect on our understanding of the formation of early social bonds between mothers and infants. In collaboration with Bowlby and with the support of the Foundation, James and Joyce Robertson were later to produce a powerful, award-winning motion picture demonstrating the effects on social development of separating young children from their parents. Along the same general line of investigation, Margaret Mahler, in the 1960's, investigated, with Foundation support, separation and individuation of infants between five and 36 months of age. In the 1970's, the work of

Mary Ainsworth on mother-infant attachment received Foundation funds as did the complementary research by Ross Parke on father-infant attachment. In 1972, Dr. Evelyn Thoman at the University of Connecticut received Foundation support to initiate a research program on mother-infant interaction. Research in the area of attachment and early social development turned, in this period, from an initial focus on the unidirectional effects of the mother's behavior on the young child, to a broader and more interactional perspective on the mutual effects on social



James and Joyce Robertson of Tavistock Institute in England received Foundation support for their award winning film on the effects of parent-child separation. Above, a child reacts to a reunion with father: joy, then anxiety.

development of both the child's and caretaker's behavior. The William T. Grant Foundation's contribution to our understanding of early social development is clearly evident from this consistent show of support for an area of child psychology that truly matured in this time period.

### **The Care and Education of the Preschool Child**

... the war against poverty pointed to the possibility of using compensatory education for children to overcome a disadvantaged background.

A whole host of factors led the Foundation to turn its attention increasingly towards the care and education of younger children. Two sets of events in particular focused national attention broadly on the preschool-aged child. First, the war against poverty pointed to the possibility of using compensatory education for children to overcome a disadvantaged background. Secondly, as increasing numbers of mothers went to work outside of the home and used daycare facilities as a means of childcare, interest and concern over the effects of nonmaternal childcare grew. The William T. Grant Foundation responded to these social trends in diverse, imaginative, and innovative ways.

In the mid-1950's, the Foundation provided funds to allow American delegates to attend the World Congress of the World Organization for Early Childhood Education. In 1963, Leon Eisenberg, then at Johns Hopkins University, received a three-year grant from the Foundation to investigate early cognitive development in disadvantaged children. The goal of this work was to develop educational methods through which some of the negative effects of a disadvantaged background might be overcome. Investigations of the early development of the child's mind were a natural extension of the Foundation's continuing commitment to provide equal educational opportunity and to enhance educational methods.


The Foundation also responded to the growing need for research, training, and service relating to daycare and preschool education. In 1961, the Child Development Center of New York received support to assess development in the preschool years. The need for training teachers and administrators in preschool education was recognized by the Foundation through numerous professional training grants in both preschool education and administration. On the service side of daycare, the Foundation, in 1969, supported the first industry-sponsored daycare facility of its kind for children of employees of the KLH Corporation in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Current concern for the feasibility of such corporate-sponsored childcare centers is high. The William T. Grant Foundation's responsiveness to this early innovation was remarkable. Current concern for alternatives to daycare for infants of working mothers in this country also runs high at the present moment. In another demonstration of timely support, Foundation grants to Sheila Kamerman in 1980 funded research on maternity leaves and benefits in industrialized countries other than the United States. Kamerman's work served as an important catalyst in bringing attention to the possibilities of such benefits for children and families in this country. The Foundation's responsiveness to the need for research, the demand for service, and the press to inform public policy in this area again shows a consistent record of support for innovations in both thought and action.

As increasing numbers of children attended different kinds of preschool and daycare facilities, more refined research questions concerning the effects of these different environments on cognitive and emotional development began to be

addressed. Broad questions concerning the effects of nonmaternal care on child development became more specifically addressed to the effects of different kinds of such care. In 1980, with Foundation support, Sandra Scarr investigated the effects of varied daycare environments in Bermuda — a country in which daycare is universally provided for children. These controlled studies allowed investigators to examine the effects of different daycare environments on child development without the problem of a biased sample as was often present in American studies of daycare.



One of the first of its kind, the company-based daycare center for employees of the KLH Corporation in Cambridge, Massachusetts, received partial funding in 1969 from the Foundation. Above, a thirsty child at the Center.



## Administrative Changes

The mid- and late-sixties brought major changes in both the administration and program priorities of the Foundation. In 1965, William T. Grant resigned as a trustee but remained Honorary Chairman of the Board. Upon Mr. Grant's retirement from the Foundation, R. McAllister Lloyd, Chairman of the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association, trustee of the Foundation since 1947, and Vice President and President from 1954 to 1965, was elected Chairman of the Board of the Foundation and served until 1980 when he retired. Douglas D. Bond, M.D. was elected President of the Foundation in 1965. Dr. Bond first began his association with the Foundation in 1962 with his election to the Board of Trustees, replacing his father who had just retired. Dr. Douglas Bond arrived at the Presidency of the Foundation from a distinguished career as a professor of psychiatry at Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine. During part of his tenure as President of the William T. Grant Foundation, Dr. Bond retained his position as Dean of the School of Medicine at Case Western Reserve. In 1969, Miss Adele Morrison, who had been with the Foundation for 33 years, retired. First employed by Mr. Grant in 1929 as his secretary, she was one of the three incorporators of the Foundation in 1936 and served on the Board of Trustees until 1947. She then held the position of Associate Director until her retirement. Throughout these many years with the Foundation, Miss Morrison was instrumental in planning and developing programs and goals for the Foundation. Her knowledge in the field of mental health and her warm personality drew admiration and affection from both her associates at the Foundation and the grantees who were funded during her tenure.

'69

'86

## THE RECENT YEARS *Themes in Research.*

Recent attention to the complicated processes surrounding stress and coping has served to re-exert William T. Grant's original interests in adaptation to life as well as bring renewed attention to the school-aged child.

In this most recent period of Foundation history, the William T. Grant Foundation has rigorously supported specific areas of research, professional training, and social policy studies. An intense period of support for basic research increased our understanding of human infancy and some of the biological bases of human thought and behavior. An ambitious program for incorporating the behavioral sciences into the training of pediatricians redefined pediatric training in this country. Support for social policy and advocacy work helped to bring together politicians and child development professionals on social policy issues concerning children and their families. Recent attention to the complicated processes surrounding stress and coping has served to re-exert William T. Grant's original interests in adaptation to life as well as bring renewed attention to the school-aged child.

### **Foundations Under Scrutiny**


In the mid- and late 1960's, as a whole host of traditional institutions underwent intense public criticism, foundations too underwent a period of renewed public and professional scrutiny. The review stemmed from certain abuses by some foundations. A series of Congressional hearings ensued. President Bond hoped that the critique would not hamper foundation operations too much because, in his words, "the private selection of areas that need support has been a powerful alternative to government. In our view it is safer for society, and thus government, to maintain this alternative. . . . The private foundation has a flexibility and a freedom to act that is precious to its work. This we must keep." The resultant legislation was embodied in the Tax Reform Law of 1969. The public's demand for accountability was to be met by the most elaborate set of new rules and restrictions ever placed on private foundations. The law covered every aspect of foundation administration from public reporting of expenditures through the publication of annual reports, to diversification of assets and the loosening of ties between foundation boards, donor companies, and donor families.

None of these new requirements affected the William T. Grant Foundation to any significant degree. Reports had been issued on a biennial basis since 1947 and were published on an annual basis after the 1969 legislation. The new law requiring diversification of assets presented some irony to the Foundation. R. McAllister Lloyd had long proposed diversification of the Grant Foundation's portfolio away from a heavy reliance upon stock from the W. T. Grant Company. Lloyd, through his quiet but firm insistence, persuaded the Board to diversify before two key events: first, the Congressional Hearings and, second, the sudden crash of the W.T. Grant Company in 1975. Finally, the Foundation had always expended more funds annually than the new law required and a 1967 revision of the by-laws of the Foundation restricted the number of Company-related people who could be trustees. In sum, the William T. Grant Foundation "has been administered under policies comparable to, if not more restrictive than, the regulations imposed by the new tax law."

### **The Emphasis on Basic Research**

In the late 1960's the William T. Grant Foundation faced a happy dilemma. The field of mental health and the development of personality had long been the





The field of mental health and the development of personality had long been the concerns of the Foundation. Beginning with the Kennedy administration, mental health became a national concern as well.

concerns of the Foundation. Beginning with the Kennedy administration, mental health became a national concern as well. National concern in mental health had been precipitated by both an increased fund of knowledge and understanding in the field and by a series of social crises in the nation's urban areas. Both factors highlighted the importance of child development in the formation of the adult. National investment in mental health was now reflected in an ambitious program of federal support for mental health. This kind of federal support and intervention posed a peculiar problem for a Foundation which had pioneered in an area long neglected. Bond found it puzzling as to "how one keeps one's goal and one's head" in this situation. What's the foundation to do?

In a 1969 Board meeting, the trustees agreed that the program would continue to be directed toward the support of projects and programs in the fields of mental health and child development. However, a major shift was deemed appropriate towards an increase in levels of support for basic research. This increase in support for basic research was to be accompanied by a decreased commitment to new training programs, applied research, and direct service. Federal emphasis on service was a major consideration in making this shift. As the government swung towards more demonstration and applied research, the burden fell upon foundations to sustain the support required of research in the quest for new knowledge about basic psychological processes. The Foundation's shift could therefore "restore a necessary balance and demonstrate the utility of private foundations as an alternate to government." President Bond's own reflection at this time of transition catches the moment precisely:

**The private foundation, so uniquely an American institution, has played a most important role in our country's social and intellectual development. Its best role is to identify, support, and bring to fruition certain ideas that government may later implement. In this way it is an alternate to government. Government has learned much from the foundation emphasis and at certain periods has been an imaginative rival. But government is beset by crises of a social and political nature that divert it and its money from the nurturing of new ideas and new discoveries. It is the foundation's task to remain steady in its aim to be guardian of the new and to sacrifice immediate goals for the more distant. It is to this end that we pursue our task.**

William T. Grant's original interest in establishing the Foundation was to "further the understanding of people to the end that individual potential be more surely realized." Emphasis had shifted through the years from the adjustment of youth to family, work, and community life; to applying current knowledge to service programs in mental health; to the care and education of young children; and now, to more basic research on the development of mind, behavior, and social relations. As a part of the search for an understanding of basic psychological and physiological processes governing human development, the Foundation shifted towards support of investigations concerning the infant and very young child.

### Support for Studies of Infancy

A belief in the potency of early experience in shaping later development was a very familiar idea to both American culture and American child psychology. Mr. Grant believed in the importance of early experience as did his psychoanalytic and psychiatric consultants to the Foundation. Support for research on infancy was facilitated by a number of factors and events within psychology. An increasingly sophisticated technology allowing for non-intrusive observation of infants made possible research on various aspects of the social and cognitive aspects of infant development. Evidence was accumulating, in part from the results of the studies of mother-infant interaction reviewed earlier, that events in an infant's life may exert long-term influence. As a result, the Foundation felt it appropriate to place the timetable regulating early development under heavy scrutiny. Relevant factors from early life that may have effects later range from the nutritional status of mother and her baby, prematurity and other factors associated with the birth process, to the development of an emotional bond between mother and baby.

Evidence was accumulating, in part from the results of the studies of mother-infant interaction reviewed earlier, that events in an infant's life may exert long-term influence



Doctors John Kennell and Marshall Klaus, whose work revolutionized obstetric practices, received Foundation support in studies of early interaction between mothers and their newborns.

Newly discovered aspects of the infant's perceptual and cognitive abilities also received Foundation support in this period of support for basic research. The list of individual researchers who received Foundation support in this area reads, in retrospect, like a "Who's Who" of researchers whose contributions to our understanding of infant development were lasting. In the area of infant visual perception, with Foundation support, Marshall Haith established a laboratory for the study of eye movements; Philip Salapatek analyzed patterns of infant visual

fixation; and William Kessen and Marc Bornstein studied the development of color sensitivity in infants. Robert McCall's work on perceptual-cognitive development in infancy also received Foundation support. T. Berry Brazelton received grants for the construction of his neonatal assessment scale and the subsequent production of a training film on the scale for use by pediatricians and psychologists. Results of the research of Klaus and Kennell on mother-infant bonding led to a virtual revolution in obstetric practices in this country. Jerome Kagan and Charles Super received Foundation funds to study infant development in rural Kenya, bringing important attention to the environmental effects on early cognitive development through the lens of cross-cultural comparisons.

### Research on Primates

Numerous grants were made in this period for research on primates under the premise that such work might be relevant to various aspects of human psychology. Cross-species similarities in mothering patterns, stages of infancy, adolescence, and maturity seemed to promise illumination of these transitions in people too. In the area of social attachment, for example, the Foundation supported the work of Harry Harlow whose research on affective development in primates reinforced the notion that the formation of early social bonds may influence later social behavior. Robert Hinde also received Foundation support for his work on social development in primates. Work on the effects of malnutrition in animals on subsequent learning ability demonstrated the importance of nutrition on cognitive



Dr. Jane Goodall's studies of chimpanzees and baboons in their natural settings in Tanzania received support from the Foundation. Dr. Goodall is shown in her natural "laboratory."

development. Separate grants to David Premack and to Beatrice and Alan Gardner on the capacity of chimpanzees to manipulate and understand symbols, while limited in their immediate relevance to language acquisition in the child, did indicate some of the unique features of human language acquisition. Jane Goodall and David Hamburg were supported in their studies of chimpanzees and baboons in their natural settings in Tanzania. While interesting and important in itself, the longstanding relevance of such work for human behavior was limited by the remarkable sensitivity of human beings to cultural variations.

### **A New Field: The Neurosciences**

Beginning in the mid 1950's, gaining momentum through the 60's, and culminating in the early 1970's, American psychology underwent what is now known as the "cognitive revolution." After having been banned from study in the laboratory in the 1920's, the study of mind and cognitive processes was once again acceptable for study in psychology. One branch of this resurgence of interest in mind concerned the physical basis of cognitive processes. The term "neurosciences" was coined in order to express the unity of a collection of disciplines ranging from neuropsychology and neurophysiology to neuroanatomy and neurochemistry that explore different aspects of central nervous system functioning. As a field, neurosciences promised to clarify some of the most fundamental questions regarding the development of mind by drawing upon some of the many disciplines that were converging upon the study of mind.

In the 1970's, major research efforts and professional education programs in the newly budding neurosciences were supported by the William T. Grant Foundation under the new umbrella of basic research. The Neurosciences Research Program, directed by Frederic Worden, M.D., at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had, previous to being supported by the Grant Foundation, been supported by the National Institutes of Health. In order to keep the program of interdisciplinary conferences, workshops, informal meetings, collaborations between scientists, and publications active, the Grant Foundation as well as other foundations and government agencies stepped in. A second MIT neurosciences effort occurred within their Laboratory of Psychology where, under the direction of Hans-Lukas Teuber, Ph.D., "a truly interdisciplinary program, engaging the talents of neuropsychologists, neuroanatomists, neurophysiologists, and other disciplines within the brain sciences" could work. Workers in these laboratories attempted to relate aspects of the developing brain to the development of behavior. Eric Kandel's pioneering research on the neural bases of simple forms of learning also received Foundation support. Other studies in the biochemistry of learning and memory were undertaken by Dr. Victor Shashoua at the McLean Hospital in Belmont, Massachusetts. In the area of professional training and education, a new program in nervous systems and behavior at Johns Hopkins University from which graduates received the M.D.-Ph.D. degree also received Foundation support. Similarly, a summer training institute at the University of Rochester in clinical neuropsychology was undertaken with Foundation support. In response to the growing problem of drug abuse, basic biological work on drug action received Foundation support. For example, Dr. Henry Lennard from the University of California in San Francisco established a laboratory for the study of psycho-

After having been banned from study in the laboratory in the 1920's, the study of mind and cognitive processes was once again acceptable for study in psychology.

active drugs and social behavior. While the links between the biological bases of simple mental mechanisms that can be studied rigorously in the laboratory and the more elaborate psychological processes that engage the energies of cognitive psychologists and educators are difficult to make, no one can deny the importance of basic work in the biological substrate of psychological processes.

In 1974, after a two-year initial grant, the Foundation funded an endowment of \$500,000 to support research in Developmental Psychobiology directed by I. Charles Kaufman, M.D., Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Colorado. As of 1984, the creativity of the group had resulted in 163 research publications that had been primarily funded and 395 that had received secondary support from the grant, totaling 558 publications. A total of 204 awards have been directly or indirectly seeded by the endowment fund for a total outlay of \$5.6 million. The original grant from the Foundation remains unique in its open-endedness and remains a testament to the ingenuity on the part of the original group of investigators and the University of Colorado. The concentration of attention to basic research was supported by the Foundation with a diversity of specific programs. Again, we find the need for research balanced by the demand for professional education and studies in the application of new knowledge to contemporary social problems.



Metropolitan New York City programs for children of the '60's and '70's, received Foundation support in its continuing efforts to fund community service programs. Among these programs was the New York City Mission Society group shown above.

## Social Service and Action Programs

While primarily committed to research, the William T. Grant Foundation has always tried to balance its support for understanding with a concern for service and responsiveness to social needs. A creative tension between science and service reflects not only the Foundation's program over the years, but the field of child psychology as well. Child psychology has always been an eclectic mix of activities ranging from basic research on children's learning and development to social policy studies and political advocacy on behalf of children. As a field, child development was formed by social pressures broadly based upon the desire to better the health, rearing, education, and legal and occupational treatment of children. During the late 1960's and 1970's, the Foundation felt that its service programs could be made most useful by continuing its traditional support for programs for the disadvantaged and for child welfare programs in the metropolitan New York City area, and by turning some new resources to support child advocacy efforts.

## Minority Education

Programmatic support for minority education was expressed early in the Foundation's history. In 1949, the Foundation began what became a longstanding program of support for the United Negro College Fund. Continuing this tradition of support for minority education, the Foundation in the mid-1970's supported numerous programs of youth education at both the high school and college level, and advanced professional training. For example, a 1970 award to National Medical Fellowships established scholarship support for minority medical students. The Foundation had always been keenly sensitive to the need to support professional training programs in areas relevant to the Foundation's purposes. Funds to support advanced training in child study and education extend back throughout the Foundation's history. Special emphasis now was laid on training minority leaders in these and other areas. Scholarships in health and related behavioral science disciplines as well as scholarship aid to medical and dental students and the development of university and college programs to assist promising minority students to enter these fields were all supported. The Foundation felt it was an important step to take—"to produce as quickly as possible a cadre of well-trained, qualified professionals from a variety of minority groups, who can then serve both as models and as leaders for educators for others from their group."

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## Social Policy and Advocacy Studies

In the wake of Sputnik and the cognitive revolution in psychology, early childhood education in the 1960's and 1970's assumed an unprecedented importance for the national agenda. Intervention programs such as Head Start and Project Follow Through focused the war against poverty on the promise of education to compensate for a disadvantaged background. At the same time, as women began to enter the workforce outside of the home in newly enlarged numbers, many child and family social policy issues such as quality daycare captured national attention. We have already glimpsed some of the Foundation's responses to innovations in the service, training, and research dimensions of daycare as well as the Foundation's program of support for research on the effects of compensatory

education programs on cognitive development. A number of other areas relating to child advocacy and social policy studies also received Foundation support during this time.

### **Children and the Law**

Dr. Bond held a special interest in issues relating to mental health and the law. "The child," he wrote, "in the eyes of the law, is moving from that of chattel owned by the parent to an individual with limited rights." In an era when the rights of minorities were being asserted with vigor, it was natural that the child too, should become an object of legal liberation. Special attention was given to the rights of the abused child. A 1970 research grant to Dr. C. Henry Kempe at the University of Colorado served to bring the problem and possible antecedents of child abuse to national attention. A subsequent award was made to establish the C. Henry Kempe National Center for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect.

Conferences were sponsored to study the relationship of the law to the behavioral sciences and the legal rights of minors. Research efforts, one at Harvard under the direction of Professors Dershowitz and Stone on the nature of personal responsibility, and another at Boston College Law School under the direction of Professor Katz on the legal needs and rights of children, were sponsored by the Foundation. In addition, a training program in child advocacy at the Antioch School of Law was initiated. The Foundation was also instrumental in the creation of the Washington-based child advocacy group, Children's Defense Fund, directed by Marian Wright Edelman. CDF remains the most active and concentrated source for child advocacy work in the nation. Numerous projects relating to the broad area of public interest law with special attention to the rights of minorities also received support. In 1974, the Foundation supported the Washington, D.C. based Mental Health Law Project directed by Paul Friedman. The project was jointly sponsored by the American Orthopsychiatric Association, the Center for Law and Social Policy, and the American Civil Liberties Union. The Project has, over the years, played a critical role in the development of such concepts as the right to treatment, the rights of children to receive a suitable education, regardless of mental impairments, and the establishment of legal controls over the use of experimental techniques on involuntarily confined mental patients. A more just and humane system for treating the mentally ill or retarded has resulted largely from the work of the Mental Health Law Project. The goal of support for advocacy work was to inform the "formation of non-partisan public policy in truly vital areas."

### **Science and the Formation of Public Policy**

The increased level of federal support for early education programs in the 1960's and 1970's, was accompanied by an increased number of developmental psychologists called to Washington in order to consult with the government on issues concerning social policy for children. These linkages between Washington and the academy were not new. However, no formal mechanism existed through which child development professionals could become familiar with, understand, and hence, be more helpful to the political process of social policy formulation. In 1977, the Foundation for Child Development and the William T. Grant Foun-

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Congressional Science Fellowships in Child Development . . . continues to be a formal recognition of the persistent links in child psychology between the worlds of the academy and policymakers.




The 1981-82 Congressional Science Fellows in Child Development was funded in part by the Grant Foundation. A group of Fellows is shown here in a moment away from their work in Washington, D C

dition awarded the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) a grant for a new post-graduate fellowship in children's social policy. The program — Congressional Science Fellowships in Child Development — currently exists under the joint administration of the AAAS and the Society for Research in Child Development. The purposes of the fellowship are to contribute to the more effective use of scientific knowledge in Congress by establishing effective liaisons between the worlds of research and politics. Postdoctoral fellows of the program serve as staff members of Congressional Committees or as legislative assistants to individual Senators and Representatives. The program continues to be a formal recognition of the persistent links in child psychology between the worlds of the academy and policymakers.

### Two Personal Losses to the Foundation

On August 6, 1972, William T. Grant died at the age of 96. By the time of his retirement in 1965, the nation had recognized his accomplishments in both



business and philanthropy. Mr. Grant's many honors included receiving the first annual Jacob Marley Award for service to mankind in 1957 and the first Clifford W. Beers Memorial Award for distinguished mental health service from the World Federation for Mental Health in 1965. In addition, he received an Honorary Doctor of Law Degree from Bates College in 1947 and an Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters from Miami University (Ohio) in 1960.

On October 30, 1976, Dr. Douglas Bond died suddenly from a heart attack. In addition to his various responsibilities as Dean, Chairman, and Professor of Psychiatry at the Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Dr. Bond had been a trustee of the William T. Grant Foundation since 1962 and President since 1965. His broad knowledge of psychiatry and medicine, his wise counsel, his "joy of living and his infectious humor" would be sorely missed.

At the time of Dr. Bond's death, Mr. Philip Sapir was elected President of the Foundation, having been hired in 1969 as Associate Director and becoming Director, and then Vice President and Director, respectively. Prior to Mr. Sapir's career in philanthropy, he had been Assistant Dean at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and Chief of the Research Grants and Fellowships Program at the National Institute of Mental Health.

### **A Short, Productive Tenure**

In Mr. Sapir's short tenure as President of the recently renamed William T. Grant Foundation, he continued to support many of the programs begun by Bond. In addition, he created a national program for the training of a new generation of pediatricians in "behavioral pediatrics." He felt that a properly trained pediatrician should understand both the normal and deviant courses of physical maturation and psychological development from birth through adolescence. The domain of a pediatrician's understanding should include not only the biological changes during physical growth, but the emotional, cognitive, social, and motivational changes of psychological development as well. Aside from a few innovative programs such as that directed by Dr. Robert J. Haggerty at the University of Rochester, traditional medical education provided little in the way of such training for young physicians. It was, therefore, felt desirable and timely to support the development of several residency training programs of varying scopes, sizes, and in different kinds of settings to provide this kind of broadened training.

In 1977, under the encouragement of Mr. Sapir, the Foundation initiated a major program of support for the training of pediatric residents in behavioral and developmental studies. The program was a natural outgrowth of the Foundation's longstanding commitment to research and service in the psychological and behavioral aspects of childhood from infancy through adolescence. As early as 1959, the Foundation recognized "psychological aspects of medical care" as a program area. Awards at that time were made to the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia, the Children's Hospital in Boston, and the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine to provide service and training in the psychological dimensions of medical care. The goal of the more recent and ambitious program was to establish behavioral pediatrics as an integral and formal part of the education and competence of all pediatricians in their three years of residency training. Eventually, a total of eleven such training programs received Foundation funding. The three

The domain of a pediatrician's understanding should include not only the biological changes during physical growth, but the emotional, cognitive, social, and motivational changes of psychological development as well.

year grants for behavioral pediatrics programs exerted a nationwide influence on the education and indeed, the definition of the field of pediatric medicine.

### **A Time of Transition**

On October 25, 1978, Mr. Sapir resigned as President of the Foundation. At the June, 1979 Board meeting, Dr. Robert J. Haggerty, M.D., Clinical Professor of Pediatrics at the Harvard Medical School, and former Chairman of the Department of Pediatrics at the University of Rochester, was named the new President, to assume duties on January 1, 1980. Also in June 1979, Mrs. E. Jeanne Merkling, who had been with the Foundation since 1967, was elected Vice-President in addition to serving as Corporate Secretary. Mrs. Lynn Russell and Mrs. Linda M. Pickett were elected officers of the Foundation to serve as Assistant Corporate Secretary and Program Officer, respectively. A hectic 1979 ended with the Foundation's physical move to its present address at 919 Third Avenue, New York City.

Although he remained a trustee until the time he died in 1985, R. McAllister Lloyd retired from his position as Chairman of the Board in 1980. Mr. Robert P. Patterson, Jr., who had been a trustee since 1974, was appointed in 1980 to serve as Lloyd's successor. In Patterson's words "without Mr. Lloyd's quiet but firm insistence on diversification of the Foundation's portfolio during the early and mid-60's, it would not exist today." Mr. Patterson is a partner in the New York law firm of Patterson, Belknap, Webb & Tyler.

In 1975, Orville G. Brim, Jr., Ph.D., then President of the Foundation for Child Development, was appointed to the Board of Trustees. Other professionals named to the Board shortly thereafter were William Bevan, Ph.D., who brought with him extensive experience as an academic psychologist and administrator, and Beatrix A. Hamburg, M.D., Professor of Psychiatry and Pediatrics at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine. With these appointments, the Board enjoyed a stronger expert sense of familiarity with the scientific fields of interest. Together with Vernon Lippard, M.D., Dean Emeritus of the Yale Medical School and trustee of the Foundation from 1968 until his death in 1984, they constituted the newly formed "Program Committee." Formed in part to serve until Dr. Haggerty could assume full presidential responsibility, the Program Committee has continued to operate in its role as a highly effective mid-station between Foundation staff and the full Board in directing grantmaking activities.

### **A Return to Youth**

As President of the Foundation, Dr. Haggerty, with the approval of the full Board of Trustees, decided to capitalize upon research on stress and coping in the school-aged child as an umbrella for program development. The decision to shift away from infancy towards the older child was motivated by a number of factors. Before the decision could be made to move away from studying the infant and very young child, it was necessary to give the field of infancy careful review. Was the time ripe? Did the infancy field contain a sufficient number of competent investigators to stand on its own in the battle for federal and university support? Were the right questions being asked and had the appropriate methods been

The decision to shift away from infancy towards the older child was motivated by a number of factors.

developed to answer those basic questions concerning the psychology of infant development? What had been achieved during the 1970's? These were some of the concerns that had to be addressed before a shift could be justified. As a part of this self-scrutiny, Dr. Jerome Kagan of Harvard University, whose own work on infancy had been widely recognized, agreed to undertake an assessment of the infancy field. Kagan's review pointed to the accomplishments attained in the last decade of research on infancy, the present vitality of the field, and promise of future work. Researchers had clearly come a long way towards understanding the cognitive, affective, and social development of our youngest members of society, and, equally clearly, had miles to go toward full comprehension.

Having discerned that the infancy field had indeed been well launched—that there was a cadre of investigators to sustain it—the Board felt on the one hand free to turn its attention elsewhere and, at the same time, obligated to use its resources to once again provide that special impetus to an area in need of investigation and support.

The need for a better understanding of the school-aged child was indicated on numerous dimensions. Dr. Haggerty's own experience in clinical pediatrics confirmed the feeling shared by many parents—a sense of bewilderment in the face of such problems as school failure, substance abuse, adolescent pregnancy, or health risk. Other contemporary problems of school-aged children that caught the Foundation's attention included psychosomatic illness, suicide, delinquency, mental illness, and accidents.

From the scholarly side, the shift to older children received support from the results of various longitudinal studies as well as the work emanating from the new breed of "life-span" psychologists. The Berkeley longitudinal studies seemed to have overestimated some of the effects of some kinds of early life distress. Beginning in 1973, and in an early expression of interest in the school-aged child, the longitudinal work of Dr. Diana Baumrind on the effects of varying patterns of parental authority on the behavior and personality development of children received Foundation support. Negative early experiences were not necessarily or always as devastating to later development as previously thought. The Grant Harvard Study had also revealed surprising discontinuities in development. An accumulating body of evidence suggested that early experience was not as much of a determinant of later behavior as previously thought. The die was not cast by age five as Freud and Watson and American popular culture thought. Quite the contrary. Evidence for the possibility of change and discontinuity throughout the life-span gave the school aged-child the promise and the possibility for recovery from early traumatic experience and consolidation towards positive change.

Finally, the problem of ignorance loomed large for many. Youth was a neglected area. Children, for example, from ages five to fourteen, were grouped together for the purpose of compiling national health statistics—ignoring such critical life transitions as puberty and entrance into junior high school. Largely through the influence of Freud, this period was widely perceived as a kind of hibernation period between early childhood and true adolescence, or, as Freud expressed it, a "latency" period. In sum, as one trustee expressed it, "there was ignorance, there was misinformation, there was confusion, and, at bottom, neglect."

Youth was a neglected area. . . . In sum, as one trustee expressed it, "There was ignorance, there was misinformation, there was confusion, and, at bottom, neglect."

Just as the negative effects of a stressful early childhood had been overemphasized, so too had the possible negative effects of a too smooth and easy childhood been ignored.

The substantive focus on stress and coping was similarly motivated by a number of factors. Social stress appeared to be a major cause of a variety of both physical and psychological distress. The American Family Report of 1978-1979 reported both an increase in stress and identified stress as a barrier to good health. Important stressors on children include: chronic physical illness, family instability (both economic and interpersonal), and peer pressure. Unsuccessful skills in coping with such stressors can result in disease or social disorganization. It was important to understand both successful coping and the resulting resiliency to stress and its effects as well as unsuccessful coping which could lead to further vulnerability and breakdown. Many coping skills are learned in the school years. Just as the negative effects of a stressful early childhood had been overemphasized, so too had the possible negative effects of a too smooth and easy childhood been ignored. Some degree of stress seemed to facilitate later adaptation. The time was right and the seeds had been planted for systematic inquiry into the psychological mechanisms of stress and coping in the school-aged child. Because of the clearly social nature of many stressors, the ground was fertile too for social policy initiatives.

## **Program Initiatives**

### **Faculty Scholars Program**

When Dr. Haggerty was a young faculty member at Harvard Medical School, he was nominated by Harvard and received a Medical Faculty Fellowship from the Markle Foundation. The fellowship provided five years of research support. The outside recognition, the active involvement of Markle Foundation staff with Haggerty in his negotiations with Harvard, and the financial stability provided by the Fellowship made the award pivotal to Haggerty's career. The William T. Grant Foundation's Faculty Scholars Program in the mental health of children, undertaken in 1980, was consciously modeled after the Markle program.

The faculty of each university or non-profit research institution may nominate one member of their faculty in his or her first level or rank of appointment. From this pool of nominees, five are recommended to the Board of Trustees by the Faculty Scholars Selection Committee to receive awards. William T. Grant Faculty Scholars receive five years of support for that portion of their salary devoted to research on stress and coping in the school-aged child. The university is obligated to commit itself to retain recipients as faculty members for the entire tenure of the fellowship.

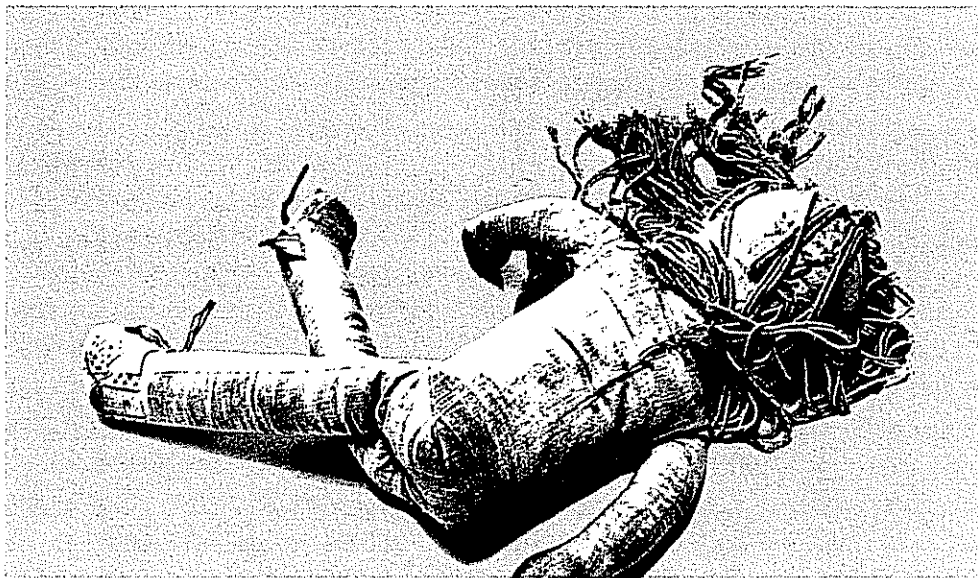
The fellowship program is a highly effective mechanism to achieve several purposes. In an era of declining university budgets, cutbacks in federal funds for behavioral science research, the paucity of tenure track university positions, and the pressures on young faculty to balance the competing demands of teaching and research, the 1980's and 1990's are a difficult time for young research-oriented scholars. In light of these and other pressures, many potential young researchers have chosen other career paths. The Faculty Scholars awards represent both a recruiting mechanism for an endangered profession and a sustaining mechanism for young scholars at a critical time in their careers. Dr. Haggerty hopes that "when this period of history is over and the behavioral sciences again enjoy favor, we trust that our support will have made it possible for a new generation of scientists to be

available. Without such support, there is the risk of losing a whole generation of talent." Now in its sixth year, with a total of twenty-five Faculty Scholars who gather annually to share their work with one another, the program is indeed helping to preserve a generation of talent.

### Action Research

The concept of "Action Research" was first used in the 1930's by such social scientists as Kurt Lewin. The term was used to bridge the traditional gap in social science research between abstract theory and social practice. Largely through the efforts of Dr. Robert Rapoport under the direction of Dr. Haggerty, action research assumed the form of matching up for collaboration innovative service providers with researchers. Action Research "seeks to marry the creativity and commitment of innovative service personnel to the theoretical and research skills of the academic, to produce better results for both." Innovative service programs are often difficult to locate and then difficult to generalize to populations outside of the original context. In order to help identify innovative service programs, the Foundation has entered into a contract with the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation in Michigan.

Action Research promised to reveal the general processes through which specific services are made effective. Thus, Action Research could facilitate the generalizability of services. Equal emphasis is placed in Action Research on evaluating service outcomes and on understanding the social and psychological processes through which such outcomes are reached. Ideally, an iterative collaborative process is set into motion between the service provider and the researcher to the benefit of both. The repeated collaborative cycle would include joint planning, formulation of service and research goals, creation and evaluation of the service program, and feedback for the revision of both the service provided and the theory on which the service is based. A mentoring program, for example, sought both to



The rights of abused children was the focus of a 1970 research grant to Dr. C. Henry Kempe. A subsequent award from the Foundation was made to establish the C. Henry Kempe National Center for Child Abuse and Neglect. The above photograph is from the cover of Dr. Kempe's book *The Battered Child*.

extend the resources of mentors to disadvantaged children and to study the means through which mentors aid in the success of their mentees.

As a program initiative, Action Research is a problematic effort. Formidable professional and institutional obstacles render the marriage between service providers and researchers a difficult one to sustain. Unusual demands present themselves to both parties. In their commitment to provide quality services to children, service providers can find the questions and methods of research remote from their concerns. The requirements for quality research can run against the needs for flexibility on the service side. Oftentimes, researchers are not used to or entirely comfortable with their roles as both participant and observer. The success of some service programs may depend upon the presence of a powerful personality. In these circumstances, if the program is generalized to other sites and a less enthusiastic administrator fills the role of the originator, the program may fail. For these and other reasons, the Foundation's financial commitment to action research is expected to decline in the coming years. However, as was present from the Foundation's earliest years, the commitment to support research at the interface of theory and social practice will continue.

#### **Investigator-Initiated Research**

The majority of the Foundation's allocations in the 1980's continue to go towards the research support of individual investigators in the broad area of stress and coping in the school-aged child. Investigator-initiated support is consistent with Dr. Haggerty's conviction that the investigators themselves, rather than the Foundation staff and board, know the field of inquiry best. The Foundation's role, then, is not to define expertise or to direct the research from the comfortable distance of the office, but rather, to nurture and stimulate the development of talent. Investigator-initiated research allows the Foundation to facilitate, rather than direct, their research grants. This attitude of the Foundation as facilitator differs sharply from William T. Grant's original efforts to shape the content of the early Harvard Grant Study.

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#### **Consortia**

Consortia on selected topics are a Foundation-initiated mechanism to bring individual investigators together. The Consortia are yet another way in which the Foundation attempts to build communities of researchers while, at the same time, not imposing ideas upon them. The Foundation brings together about a dozen people, some of whom are grantees, to meet once or twice a year to discuss particular topics. The Consortium, for example, on psychological aspects of disease has met several times, written volumes together, and developed a national demonstration program. In March of 1981, in a follow-up meeting to an earlier series of seminars, seven scholars in the area of stress and coping in children met at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. The resulting volume edited by Michael Rutter, M.D. and Norman Garmezy, Ph.D. entitled *Stress, Coping, and Development in Children* now serves as a classic reference work for scholars in this area. Other Foundation-supported Consortia included the Consortium for Research Involving Stress-Buffering Process begun in 1984 and, more recently in 1986, a Consortium on Adolescent Bereavement and a Consortium for Research on Black Adolescence.



Growing numbers of American youth are finding the transition to adult roles and responsibilities a difficult passage.

## **YOUTH AND AMERICA'S FUTURE: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship**

Growing numbers of American youth are finding the transition to adult roles and responsibilities a difficult passage. Such problems as premature pregnancy, sexually-transmitted disease, school dropout, delinquency, accidental injury, suicide, and substance abuse all interfere with and, in many cases, prevent a successful transition to adult roles as citizen and worker in our complex society. The long-term effects on society of such tragedies are profound.

On the positive side, numerous educational and social programs have demonstrated success in preparing youths for constructive participatory roles in society. Research in the social and behavioral sciences offers insights into some of the psychological and cultural roots of the problems of youth.

In response to the problems facing youth at this time in our history, numerous publicly and privately sponsored reassessments of our present social policies, institutions, and practices have been or are being conducted. Five prominent studies of contemporary American education have been completed. The National Academy of Sciences has recently completed a review of research programs and policy on teenage pregnancy and has recently published a view of *Employment Policies for Youth*. The Carnegie Corporation of New York has formed the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development to deal with the "casualties of adolescence." The Ford Foundation has issued a report on *National Service: What Would it Mean?* The time for reflection, review, and action has arrived.

During the next two years, under the chairmanship of Harold Howe II, former U.S. Commissioner of Education and currently Senior Lecturer at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, a Commission comprised of approximately fifteen leaders from various walks of life and disciplines will conduct a comprehensive review of youth's participation in American society under the sponsorship of the William T. Grant Foundation. The review promises to yield four major benefits: 1) a synthetic consolidation of knowledge from diverse disciplines and from the evaluations of numerous youth service projects; 2) the identification of new directions for productive social science and behavioral research on the transition from youth to adulthood in this country; 3) the provision of persuasive evidence for constructing new public and private sector policies towards youth; and, 4) a solid basis for improving service programs.

The Commission's goal is broad—no less than to identify approaches and to seek their implementation that would enable a greater proportion of our nation's youth to participate fully in society. The need for such an assessment, the initiative to carry it out, the wisdom to guide it, and the concern that underlies it, are all currently in place.



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## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Touched in his professional life by the importance of good human relationships, Mr. Grant sought to "help children develop what is in them" so as to be able to "enjoy all the good things the world has to offer them."

When William Thomas Grant established the Grant Foundation in 1936, he hoped to help bring about a better understanding of the ways in which normal individuals adapt to the vicissitudes of life. Touched in his professional life by the importance of good human relationships, Mr. Grant sought to "help children develop what is in them" so as to be able to "enjoy all the good things the world has to offer them." With remarkable insight, Mr. Grant realized that research was the single most important service he could provide to the nation that promised long-term effects through the prevention of maladaptation.

The Foundation's efforts for its first fifty years reveals a steady, continuous commitment to meeting Mr. Grant's original wishes. It has grown through the years and with changing times from serving a loosely organized child study and guidance movement to serving the highly professionalized networks of educators, child psychologists, and pediatricians. In this process of maturation, the Foundation has, at times, followed and, at other times, led in the definition of many core issues in child psychology. With a determination to stay with the issues, the Foundation supported changes in the definition of the child's relationship with caregivers, and changing conceptions of the competence and abilities of infants. The Foundation followed and responded to the changing contexts in which children live and grow, and supported training, service, and advocacy needs surrounding these changes in the American landscape. Through Foundation-sponsored efforts, a generation of service providers learned to focus their efforts on the family in the community rather than on the isolated individual. Pediatric training was redefined to include the child's psychological as well as physical development. A cadre of developmental psychologists tested their mettle in Washington by serving as liaisons between the academy and the formation of social policy for children and families.

Like the field of child psychology itself, the Foundation has struggled to balance the complementary, but at times, competing needs for understanding through research with the demand for direct service and the press to inform public policy formulation. The balance is, especially during times of urgent social need, a precarious and difficult one to maintain. In fact, the Foundation has maintained its commitment to research while demonstrating a sensitivity to both the service needs of children in New York and the political needs of the children in the nation with imagination, versatility, and great skill. With a substantive focus on stress and coping in the school-aged child in place at the present moment, and a Commission on Youth on the horizon, the continuation of these traditions is well assured.

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# William T. Grant Foundation Trustees

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	<i>Tenure</i>	<i>An affiliation of each Trustee</i>
William T. Grant	1936-65	Founder of the William T. Grant Company and the Grant Foundation (name changed to William T. Grant Foundation in 1977)
Frederick Hansen	1936-47	Officer/Director, William T. Grant Company
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Robert P. Patterson, Jr.*	1974-Present	Chairman, William T. Grant Foundation, Partner—Patterson, Belknap, Webb & Tyler
Orville G. Brim, Jr., Ph.D.	1975-84	President, Foundation for Child Development
Philip Sapir	1976-78	President, William T. Grant Foundation
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Martha Minow	1984-Present	Professor of Law, Harvard Law School
Henry W. Riecken, Ph.D.	1984-Present	Professor of Behavioral Sciences, School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania
Kenneth S. Rolland	1985-Present	Executive Vice President, Chemical Bank

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