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ABSTRACT

Nine foundations are the focus of this study of the educational activities of major philanthropic foundations. The foundations are: (1) Ford; (2) Grant; (3) Russell Sage; (4) Carnegie; (5) Danforth; (6) Kellogg; (7) Lilly; (8) Mott; and (9) Rockefeller. After a brief overview of foundation activities, general themes, appropriations and projects, and the use of dollars are discussed. Foundations are compared with government support of educational innovation and experimentation, and an evaluation of foundation performance is presented. Appendices list: (1) categories for study of foundation grants; (2) constant dollar coefficients; and (3) the questionnaire for recipients of foundation and government grants to education. (KE)

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Education and Major Philanthropic Foundations

A Report
to the
National Academy of Education

by

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April, 1976

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PREFACE

This Report is the product of collaboration of the three authors over a period of about 21 months, from May, 1974 to January, 1976. It started with the appointment of Donald Holsinger as an Academy Spencer Associate for the summer of 1974, to work with the senior author on a study of educational activities of philanthropic foundations. The Academy Spencer Associates Program provides a summer research stipend for a younger scholar to work in close collaboration with a member of the Academy on specific problems in education.

The plan to study the educational activities of major philanthropic foundations was so broad as to make it questionable whether a summer's work by one individual could cope with it. However, the senior author had been working in this area in a casual way for some years, and the subject itself was so attractive that it seemed worth while to make a start with whatever resources were available. Furthermore, several very competent younger scholars were recommended for the award, and Mr. H. Thomas James, President of the Spencer Foundation, encouraged the senior author to apply directly to the Foundation for a second award, which was made to Erik S. Lunde. The Academy Spencer Associates program also provides the sum of $2,500 for travel and other expenses in addition to the summer research stipend for the Associate.

With these resources, the three authors worked intensively during the summer of 1974. They selected nine Foundations for special study, and they spent ten days in New York City, working at the Foundation Center with its excellent Library, and interviewing officers of the five Foundations with New York headquarters, among the nine which had been chosen for special study. Visits and extensive correspondence were organized for the other four Foundations.

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The end of the summer of 1974 found the authors so engrossed in the study that they decided to carry it on, in their spare time. At this point they decided to analyze the grants in the field of education made by the several foundations, using a set of content categories and dollars of constant purchasing power. The categories were worked out in conference, so as to get a set of descriptive categories that would facilitate comparison of foundations with each other, and study of the program of a given foundation as it developed through time.

These categories are given in Appendix A. They may prove to be useful to other researchers who wish to make a quantitative study. Dr. Holsinger took charge of the complicated task of transferring data from coding sheets to punch cards to the computer. Most of the Tables in the Report which follow Chapter I are based on his work.

The officers of the nine Foundations were all cooperative and friendly to the project, as were the staff members of the Foundation Center in New York City.

The Report consists of two Parts: the first being a general study of Foundation activity in the broad field of education; the second being a set of case studies of the nine Foundations. The case studies were written by the three authors as follows: Holsinger--Ford, Grant, and Russell Sage: Lunde-Carnegie, Danforth, and Kellogg; Havighurst--Lilly, Mott, and Rockefeller.

The chapters in the first part were put into final shape by Havighurst, with help from the two junior authors. The senior author has had an extensive experience with Foundations, both as an officer and as a grantee. He served the General Education Board (Rockefeller Foundation) from 1934 through 1940 as Assistant Director and later Director of the Program in General Education, which supported innovation and experimentation in the field of secondary and college education. He also directed the Board's program in Child and Adolescent Development during the latter part of this period. Later, in 1947 and 1948, he spent about 8 months in Central Europe as a representative of the Rockefeller Foundation, seeking out ways by which the Foundation could aid in the post-war restoration of communication between the German and Austrian academic communities on the one hand and the American and West European academic groups on the other hand.

I. FOUNDATIONS AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Although charitable gifts are as old as civilization, it is only in very recent time that charitable or philanthropic foundations have come into action. The earlier charitable endowments of any magnitude were aimed at alleviating a problem or a distressful situation An orphan asylum or an old people's home, or free food for the hungry, were instruments of philanthropy.

But around 1900, the modern foundation was created as a means of attack on the causes of a social problem, so as to prevent or at least reduce the problem, and thus to permanently improve the human condition. The support and application of education is an example of such a foundation activity.

Two wealthy Americans at the beginning of the century began to turn their wealth to this kind of purpose. They were Andrew Carnegie and John Davison Rockefeller.

Carnegie gave the money to create the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh. He provided funds for public library buildings conditioned on the recipient community providing the site and guaranteeing an annual maintenance fund of not less than 10 percent of the building cost. By 1919, when he died, his money had gone into 2,509 library buildings at a cost of $56 million. Between 1901 and 1910 Mr. Carnegie set up six funds or trusts, including the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Education and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Then, in 1911, he made a gift of $25 million to create the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Shortly afterward he gave an additional $100 million to Carnegie Corporation.

John D. Rockefeller in 1892 started his gifts to the University of Chicago, which eventually reached $35 million. He established the General Education Board with a million dollar gift in 1903. This had been preceded by the Rockefeller

Institute for Medical Research in 1901, and in 1913 the Rockefeller Foundation was set up with $50 million worth of shares in the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

These two sets of philanthropies illustrate the nature of a modern foundation, which works to secure knowledge and understanding leading to such actions as:

Prevention of disease;
Technological development;
Enhancement of productivity.

For such purposes, support is given to research in science, and to educational institutions. The areas of activity expand into the broad field of human relations and human development, as suggested in the charter of the Rockefeller Foundation, "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

Education was, originally, and continues to be the principal field of foundation activity because it is viewed as an instrument for directly promoting human well-being. Table 1 shows how the American foundations distributed their gifts in the period from 1962-73. Education received 32 percent of the money granted, with closely-related fields of Health and Science getting 15 and 12 percent respectively.

It is interesting in Table 1, to note that, when translated to constant dollars, there was not much change in the annual volume of grants between 1964 and 1973. The Tax Reform Act of 1969 probably placed pressure on a minority of foundations to grant more of their capital funds, but, except for the year 1971, there was no major increase in total grants.

Table 2 shows how American foundations distributed their grants in the decade from 1921-1930. The relative proportions in the various categories are quite similar for the two decades that are 40 years apart. The category definitions are not exactly the same in the two tables. The Table 1 categories of "sciences"

1.2a.

Table 1.1 CATEGORIES OF U. S. FOUNDATION GIVING: 1962-73

Field	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	Total	%
	Corrected to Constant (1967) Dollars (Millions)													
Education	$160	90	200	173	162	191	296	183	242	283	165	198	2,343	32
Health	35	38	139	109	64	81	74	96	104	125	95	132	1,092	15
International	57	89	80	135	146	84	89	68	51	85	76	51	1,011	14
Welfare	22	26	47	110	84	82	71	92	117	139	102	52	944	13
Sciences	50	29	63	63	71	78	102	104	80	89	100	67	896	12
Humanities and Arts	18	52	42	41	121	39	69	34	45	82	52	44	639	9
Religion	6	5	28	54	35	24	22	37	44	58	14	7	334	5
Total	346	352	599	683	682	579	723	614	683	880	614	550	7,306	100
Percent	5	5	8	9	9	8	10	8	9	12	8	8	99	

Source: Foundation Grants Index January, 1968 - January, 1974.

and "humanities and arts" are mainly included in the "education" category of Table 2, with some of the Table 1 "science" money probably in the "health" category of Table 2. Still there are some real differences in the amount of money going to "international" programs and "humanities and arts" programs. These programs drew substantially greater support in the 1962-1973 period.

Numbers of Foundations. According to the Foundation Library Center Directory, the numbers of foundations grew rapidly after 1940, reaching 6,007 in 1964. This does not include some 9,000 small foundations, none with assets over $100,000.

Before 1900, a total of 18 foundations had been founded. The numerical growth figures are:

-1900	18
1900-1909	18
1910-1919	76
1920-1929	173
1930-1939	288
1940-1949	1,638
1950-1959	2,839
1960-1964	957
	6,007

Measured in value of their assets as of 1971, there were 45 foundations with $100 million or more, 135 with $25 to $100 million in assets, and 215 with $10 to $25 million in assets.

Major Foundations

Table 3 lists most of the large foundations with their rank order in terms of market value of their assets in 1968. Two very important foundations with assets under $100 million are listed in this Table, since they are among the nine foundations which have been studied intensively in this Study Project.

These foundations all have the common characteristics which define an American philanthropic foundation, as described by F. Emerson Andrews.[1] It:

in nongovernmental;
is nonprofit;
has a principal fund of its own;

Table 1.2 - Categories of Foundation Grants, 1921-1930

Field	1921 (Low)	1928 (High)	Total (1921-30)	Percent of Decade Total
	(Thousand $)			
Education	15,072	27,906	233,000	43.3
Health	11,490	30,222	172,141	33.2
Social Welfare	6,545	12,563	74,226	14.4
Recreation	151	5,834	8,741	1.6
International Relations	726	1,674	8,132	1.5
Religion	752	2,540	7,575	1.4
Law and Government	445	533	6,709	1.3
Race Relations	7	456	936	0.16
Miscellaneous	8	38	245	0.04
Foundation Administration	1,149	1,978	16,164	3.1
Total	36,345	83,743	528,420	100

Source: E. C. Lindemann, *Wealth and Culture*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1936.

Table 1.3 - Major Foundations by Value of Assets (1968)

Rank		Year Established	Assets at Market Value, 1968 $Million
1	Ford Foundation	1936	3,661
2	Rockefeller Foundation	1913	890
3	Duke Endowment	1924	629
4	Lilly Endowment	1937	579
5	Pew Memorial Trust	1948	437
6	W. K. Kellogg Foundation	1930	435
7	Charles Stewart Mott Foundation	1926	413
8	Nemours Foundation	1936	400
9	Kresge Foundation	1924	353
10	John A. Hartford Foundation	1929	352
11	Carnegie Corporation of N.Y.	1911	334
12	Alfred P. Sloan Foundation	1934	329
15	Rockefeller Brothers Fund	1940	222
18	Danforth Foundation	1927	173
22	Commonwealth Fund	1918	142
27	Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation	1948	106
31	Charles F. Kettering Foundation	1927	103
	Grant Foundation	1936	54
	Russell Sage Foundation	1907	37

is managed by its own trustees and directors;

is established to maintain or aid social, educational, charitable, religious, or other activities serving the common welfare.

Education the Major Field of Foundation Interest

We have seen that the broad field of education has been cultivated most vigorously by the foundations. In Tables 1 and 2, education gets the major share of assistance, followed closely by health. And, in the field of health, much of the foundation money has gone into medical education and medical research in universities. Table 4 shows how two independent studies of foundation grants reported on the situation as of 1930.

Emphasis on Higher Education

Higher education has been the favored area for foundation assistance throughout this century. This is seen in Tables 5 and 6, which break down the "education" grants into sub-categories. Table 5, which summarizes foundation grants made in the decade from 1921 to 1930, shows 61 percent of the grants in the area of higher education, and 18 percent in elementary and secondary education combined. Table 6, for the year 1972, is very similar, when allowance is made for the difference in categories. Table 6 has categories for "endowment," "buildings," and "fellowships," which would almost all be included in the "higher education" category of Table 5.

The emphasis on higher education in the first 40 years of the century was partly due to the fact that public-supported higher education carried less of the load than did private-supported colleges and universities. Furthermore, the leading colleges and universities were more of them private-supported than public-supported.

There has been some growth of foundation interest in education below the college level, since about 1960. However, much of the experimental work in

Table 1.4 Categories of Foundation Grants in 1930

(Thousand $)

	Lindemann Study*			Twentieth Century Fund Study**	
Field	Amount	Percent		Amount	Percent
Education	32,661	53.0		14,172	27.0
Physical Sciences	--			4,487	9.2
Social Sciences	--			3,260	6.2
Aesthetics	--			1,392	2.7
			(Total)	23,311	45.1
Health	15,156	24.5		18,627	35.5
Social Welfare	7,910	12.8		3,851	7.3
Child Welfare	--			1,215	2.3
			(Total)	5,066	9.6
International Relations	951	1.5		1,390	2.6
Religion	715	1.2		294	0.6
Law and Government	1,161	1.9		794	1.5
Race Relations	78	0.1		62	0.1
Recreation	572	0.9		---	---
Other	---	---		2,572	4.9
Foundation Administration	2,486	4.0		---	---
Grand Total	61,705	100		52,476	100

*Eduard C. Lindemann, Wealth and Culture. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1936.

**Twentieth Century Fund, American Foundations and Their Fields. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1931, 1932, 1934 (Contains analyses of grants from 90 to 129 Foundations).

Table 1.5

ANALYSIS OF GRANTS WITHIN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION, 1921-1930

	Amount (in thousands)	Percent
Higher Education	$135,965	60.9
Elementary and Secondary	32,907	14.7
Elementary (alone)	5,766	2.6
Secondary (alone)	3,849	1.7
Adult Education	9,157	4.1
Libraries	7,511	3.4
Vocational	6,163	2.8
Esthetic and Cultural	5,811	2.6
Educational Publications	2,873	1.3
Training for Leadership	1,220	0.7
Educational Conferences	214	0.1
Pre-School Education	52	-
Unclassified	11,505	5.2
Total	$223,001	100

Source: E. C. Lindemann, Wealth and Culture, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1936.

Note: The categories of Endowment, Fellowships, and Buildings are subsumed mainly under Higher Education and Elementary and Secondary Education

1.4c

Table 1.6 Analysis of Grants Made in the Field of Education in 1972
(Reported in *Foundation Grants Index*, Vol. 14, 1973)

EDUCATION	No. of Grants	Amount (in thousands)	Percent
Adult Education	21	$ 3,200	1
Buildings and Equipment	214	24,855	10
Communications	172	13,614	5
Educational Associations	95	5,447	2
Educational Research	136	16,787	6
Elementary & Secondary Education	391	14,257	6
Endowment	25	96,334	37
Fellowships	48	5,326	2
Higher Education	477	49,777	19
Libraries	112	9,904	4
Personnel Development	114	10,887	4
Scholarships and Loans	151	7,137	3
Vocational Education	23	420	1
	1,979	$257,945	100
Additional Grants Reported in *Education* Category in Other Areas			
International Activities (Education)	174	$ 19,765	
Health (Medical Education)	355	59,224	
Religion (Religious and Theological Education)	39	3,658	
Grand Total	2,547	$340,592	

pre-school, elementary, and secondary education has been done by university personnel. Consequently, the foundation grants generally go to universities, although their purposes may be to improve pre-collegiate education.

Emphasis on the East and Midwest

The foundation grants have gone mainly to universities and institutions in the eastern and midwestern part of the country. For instance, E.V. Hollis studied grants made by 9 foundations between 1902 and 1934, and found them distributed between the East, Middlewest, South, Southwest, and Northwest in that order with percentages of: 39, 27, 26, 8, and 1, respectively.[2] This distribution is about what one would expect, in view of the distribution of high-prestige colleges and universities in the first third of the century. The one exception is the South, which was relatively poor and was educationally backward at that time. The reason for such emphasis on the South was its serious social and economic situation, which made it the neediest area of the country. The Rockefeller boards, whose grants figures greatly in the foundation field in the 1902 to 1930 period, paid special attention to the South.

Since 1960 there has been a much more even distribution of foundation funds, relative to the population distribution of the country.

Emphasis on Select Universities

It is also a striking fact that the bulk of foundation grants to institutions of higher education have gone to a few major and research-oriented universities. Colvard and Bennett studied the grants made in fiscal 1970 and found that 25 universities and colleges received about 53 percent of the total funds granted to 515 colleges and universities by private foundations in that year.[3] They also found that there was substantial overlapping of universities receiving large foundation grants and those receiving large federal government grants. More than half of the top 50 universities in federal grants received were also in the top 50 institutions in private foundation grants received.

Footnotes

1. Andrews, F. Emerson. Philanthropic Foundations. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956.
2. Hollis, Ernest Victor. Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.
3. Colvard, R. and A. M. Bennett. "Patterns of Concentration in Large Foundation Grants to U. S. Colleges and Universities." Iowa City, Iowa: American College Testing Program, No. 63, April, 1974.

II. ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY OF FOUNDATIONS

The study we are reporting focussed on nine Foundations, all of which have maintained a substantial interest in the field of education. The choice of these foundations was a relatively simple matter. We wanted a range of educational interest and activity, in terms of levels of education and types of educational activity supported. Any study group would probably have selected at least five or six of this group within a total group of nine. We included some of the oldest and some of the younger Foundations: Carnegie, Russell Sage and Rockefeller had their origins before 1910. Ford, Lilly and Grant were created in 1936-37.

Ways of Analyzing Foundation Programs

In order to analyze Foundation programs when we have a time variable from the beginning of the Foundation through 1973, and when we have a variety of foundations with educational interests, we have used the following models:

A. General Themes of Activity, Related to Changing Social Conditions and Changing Social Needs. This is a relatively descriptive and even subjective model.

B. Categories of appropriations or projects, with amounts of money translated into constant dollars so as to facilitate study through time. This enables us to deal statistically with all of the appropriations, so as to trace a variety of relationships among Foundation activities.

C. Programs and Projects aimed explicitly at educational change and improvement.

D. Development of Personnel, through fellowships and training programs. This is widely used.

E. Interaction of Foundation activity with Federal Government Support of Research and Innovation. This is a rather recent development, mainly since 1955.

F. Administration of Programs, Grants, and Projects. Foundations take various amounts of direct responsibility for the programs and projects they support.

A. GENERAL THEMES OF FOUNDATION EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

Major emphases of foundation activity and interest are related to social conditions and needs of American society. If a historian of American education was to undertake the project of describing the major educational movements and programs of the 20th century, he would probably produce a list pretty much like the following list of major foundation emphases.

1. Aiding the Backward South: 1900-1940. Although the South is not now especially backward in technology or low in material standard of living, it was clearly the problem area of the country in 1900. Consequently it would be expected that foundations would turn much of their attention to the South, aiming to help raise the material standard of living, through education, health service, improved agricultural and industrial technology. The General Education Board, with Rockefeller support, made this a major goal for the first 3 decades of the century, picking up programs started by smaller foundations. This emphasis is seen in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. Other foundations came into the field such as the Woodruff Foundation (based on Coca-Cola) and the Duke Endowment.

Of the $161.7 million in Rockefeller Foundation grants for the South, $107 million were given before 1940. Since 1930 the relative proportion of foundation funds going into the South has decreased, though it still probably receives more aid per capita than any other region of the country.

Table 2.1

GRANTS BY REGION--FOR THE GROUP OF FOUNDATIONS IN THE STUDY

Region	$millions (1967 dollars)	Percent of Total
In USA		
National	1,274.6	39.8
Northeast	600.5	18.7
South	326.8	10.2
N. Central & Midwest	411.2	12.8
Southwest	11.8	0.3
West	132.6	4.1
Foreign--Outside the USA	346.4	10.8
International--Including the USA	105.2	3.3
Total	3,209.1	100

Note: This covers the period since 1960 for all of the 9 foundations, and from their beginning only for the Lilly and Rockefeller Foundations.

Table 2.2

ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION: HIGHER EDUCATION

Grants by Region and Time Period
(Millions of $: 1967)

Region	1900-19	1920-29	1930-39	1940-49	1950-59	1960-64	1965-69	1970-73	Total	Percent
In USA										
National		$309.8	$70.2	$82.0	$19.4	$17.2	$17.6	$ 5.4	$521.6	48.4
Northeast		21.0	1.0	1.4	1.1	2.0	2.7	0.3	[illegible]9.5	2.7
South	$3.1	83.9	20.0	27.7	14.1	11.2	1.1	0.6	161.7	15.0
N. Central & Midwest		1.9		0.1	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.1	3.1	0.3
Southwest						0.1			0.1	0.0
West						0.6	0.4	0.2	1.2	0.1
Foreign-- Outside USA	21.0	96.7	33.7	17.0	22.0	14.9	41.1	18.6	265.0	24.5
International-- Including USA		19.5	33.6	2.0	25.8	11.8	2.0	1.2	96.8	9.0
Total	24.1	532.8	158.5	130.2	82.6	58.3	66.1	26.4	1079.0	
Percent of Total	2.2	49.3	14.7	12.1	7.7	5.4	6.1	2.5	100	

2. Medical Education and Medical Training: 1910-1930. Following the Flexner (1909) Report on Medical Education, the Rockefeller and soon other major Foundations turned toward the support of medical schools with full-time faculty personnel, and to the training of physicians, nurses, and public health personnel. Several Foundations have devoted practically all their funds to medical education and medical research, and this has increased in relative volume since 1930. But the 1910-30 period was critical for its reorganization of the system of medical training, and for its establishment of a research base which has continued to grow. The broad field of Health and Medical Education drew 18.5 percent of the total grants recorded in this Study. The year 1972 was fairly typical. Grants in Health and Medical Education that year amounted to 17.5 percent of the total, as seen in Table 1.6.

3. Support of Growing Private Colleges: 1918-30; 1950-60. With the Rockefeller and Carnegie gifts before 1930 to aid college teachers' salaries and to establish a reasonably adequate pension system, the private colleges and universities became the darlings of Foundations, large and small. For example, the Lilly Endowment from its beginning in 1936 has made annual grants for general support to a number of private colleges in Indiana. Since 1960 this kind of foundation support seems to have decreased, while public-supported colleges and universities have expanded to carry increasing proportions of the student load.

4. Adaptation of Secondary Education to Mass Enrollment: 1930-42; 1967--. The Depression Decade of the 1930s forced many teen-agers to attend high school and to stay through high school. Secondary education had to take on new functions for youth, beyond the college-preparatory one. Also, the political trends of the 1930s placed an emphasis on civic education, and education for democracy which required curriculum development in relation to these objectives. The teaching profession needed new patterns of training. The General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation gave modest but strategic support to national,

regional and state educational organizations for experimentation and the development of teaching materials. The period since 1967 has once more called for emphasis on programs of secondary and community college education, aimed at serving the large numbers of youth who cannot get into the labor force during the economic recession of the 1970 decade.

5. General Education in the College: 1925-47. As higher proportions of youth entered college, many of them to attend for two rather than four years, the "general education movement" was born, mainly in the midwest and the west coast areas. The General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation made grants to selected colleges and universities for experiments with general liberal education, as distinguished from college education aimed to train the student for an occupation. This culminated in the Report of the Harvard University faculty committee on General Education in a Free Society (1947), and with the move of many state universities to establish 2-year General Colleges, from which students could either graduate with a "general education" or go on to major in a college department.

6. Conservative Reaction and Stress on the Basics: 1950-60. The general conservative post-war social trends were seen in the field of secondary and higher education by movements to establish and maintain academic standards for high school and college programs, in the face of a rapidly growing youth population, with growing proportions completing secondary school and entering college. The major studies organized by James B. Conant and supported by Carnegie Corporation had a far-reaching effect, while the teacher-training institutions were challenged by Conant's Study of Teacher Education to work out new and practical programs. The entry of the Ford Foundation into the educational field brought a great deal of added money to support experimentation and innovation, as well as some elements of controversy.

7. The New Frontier, War on Poverty: 1960-66. The coming of John F. Kennedy into the American Presidency stimulated a general resurgence of reform and innovation in many areas of life; with emphasis on attacking poverty, race prejudice, and the notable disadvantages of some minority groups. Several of the Foundations joined, though their appropriations were dwarfed by the monies provided by the federal government. This movement is illustrated by Table 2.3, which shows the change through time of grants for educational assistance to blacks. The Ford, Rockefeller, Danforth, and Carnegie grants all were stepped up in this area during the 1960-1970 period. This was also a period of greater attention to the development of universities in the under-developed parts of the world.

Table 2.3

GRANTS FOR EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO BLACKS

Higher Education $Million (1967 dollars)

	Ford	Rockefeller	Danforth	Carnegie	Kellogg
1910-19		0.5			
1920-29		56.4			
1930-39		8.1			
1940-49		21.9			
1950-54	1.2	--			
1955-59	--	1.3	1.2		
1960-64	--	9.2	1.7	2.6	
1965-69	14.1	14.0	9.5	8.1	1.0
1970-	23.0	0.6	1.7	4.5	4.4
Total	38.3	112.0	14.0	15.2	5.4

Pre-Collegiate Level

	Ford	Rockefeller	Danforth	Carnegie	Kellogg
1930-39		9.9			
1940-49		--			
1950-54		--			
1955-59		0.4			
1960-64		2.4		0.1	
1965-69		2.9	0.4		
1970-		0.9	0.1	0.9	
Total		16.5	0.5	1.0	

Note: Grants for black colleges and black students were made before the years indicated by Danforth, Carnegie, and Kellogg Foundations, but have not been tabulated in this Study.

8. Needs of Minority Groups; 1960-74. A part of the War on Poverty, carried on by President Lyndon Johnson, was the explicit programs to help Blacks, Spanish-origin, and American Indian people to secure their civil rights and to get more and better education. In the educational field this took the form of programs for equal opportunity and for compensatory education. Several Foundations made strategic grants to support research, innovation, and training of minority personnel in the field of education.

9. Radical Reform in Elementary and Secondary Schools: 1965-74. The relatively conservative educational programs of the late 1950s gave way to a revival of the progressive education movement of the 1925-40 period, with emphasis on "open classroom," "free schools," "alternative" schools. Mordant criticism of public schools became popular. Several foundations moved into this field with a degree of caution, and generally through officially recognized educational organizations. The federal government, through the Office of Economic Opportunity, instigated programs, such as the Voucher Scheme which would give parents a choice of schools for their children, with government financial support. At the same time, the federal government placed more and more emphasis on participation of disadvantaged groups in decision-making on local school matters. A broad movement for "decentralization" of administrative control and for "local community control" of the schools was fostered by certain foundations and by certain government agencies. In general, however, the foundations stood by the educational Establishment, working to define and attack the problems which underlie poverty and low school achievement of disadvantaged groups.

During this period there was a major shift of Foundation interest and support down from the level of higher education into the pre-collegiate level, as is seen in Tables 2.4 and 2.5. Among the nine foundations covered in this Study, only two--Kellogg and Danforth--maintained a very high ratio of grants at the level of higher education to grants at the pre-collegiate level.

Table 2.4

FOUNDATION EDUCATION GRANTS, BY AGE SERVED

($Millions, 1967 Value)

Foundation	Pre-Collegiate	Higher	Adult & Continuing	Ratio Higher/Pre-Collegiate	Period Covered
Ford	243.5	1363.4	63.7	5.6	42-73
Rockefeller	60.6	1079.9	12.8	17.9	03-72
Carnegie	21.1	98.3	0.5	4.7	62-73
Kellogg	0.7	181.3	18.9	--	56-73
Danforth	6.1	164.4	0.6	27.4	58-73
Lilly	16.5	61.5	--	3.7	45-72
Mott	19.9	11.3	7.6	0.6	70-72
Grant	4.3	15.6	1.9	3.6	37-72
Sage	1.8	6.6	0.2	3.7	07-73
Total	373.9	2982.2	106.2	8.0	07-73

Table 2.5 FOUNDATION GRANTS AT THE PRE-COLLEGIATE LEVEL, BY TIME PERIODS

$Thousand (1967 dollars)

Dates	Foundation Grant	 Rockefeller	 Ford	 Lilly	 Sage	 Mott	 Danforth	 Carnegie
1950-59	1,515	437	180,200	2,290	185		72	
1960-64	760	3,766	29,107	1,367	618		625	1,592
1965-69	1,629	5,547	33,611	5,335	17		3,581	7,598
1970-72	285	6,260	521	7,561	303	22,280	2,032	10,909

Note: Incomplete data on Mott (commenced with 1970) and on Carnegie (commenced with 1962)

10. Cultural Pluralism: 1966-74. About 1966 there emerged a strong movement among blacks for what some called separatism and others called pluralism. It was clear, by this time, that racial integration in the public schools of the big cities could not become a fact without a long drawn-out process of residential integration, upward mobility of blacks, and cooperation of suburbs with central cities. Meanwhile, blacks were becom:ing politically powerful in the major cities, and in certain southern states.

Other minority groups, notably the Chicano and Puerto Rican groups and some American Indians became more separatist or pluralist in their policies. This resulted in moves for minority-oriented college studies, and for stress in the school curriculum on minority-group history and culture.

Finally European ethnic groups became more self-conscious and put pressure on the educational system to work for pluralism rather than close integration of the many ethnic strains in the population.

The foundations with an interest in education have moved very uncertainly in this area, recognizing its importance, but not ready to adopt clearly defined policies.

11. Pre-School Education and Socialization: 1970---. The general view of the major government-supported programs of compensatory education (Head Start, Upward Bound, etc.) was pessimistic, by the close of the decade of the 1960s. Several foundations supported careful analytic and experimental studies aimed at improving compensatory education. But others moved their attention to the earliest years of childhood as perhaps the crucial years for successful cognitive and emotional development. The Grant Foundation continued a long-term interest in this area. Ford went into it. And the Carnegie Corporation in 1972 set up the Carnegie Council on Children to explore and develop foundation policy on the development of "from conception to about age nine."

12. Expansion and Re-Orientation of Post-Secondary Education: 1968--

As the period of crude expansion of college enrollments, fueled by the baby boom of 1947-60, came to a close around 1970, it dawned on the rank-and-file as well as the leaders in higher education that a crisis was at hand. College graduates were unemployed, faith in the reliability of the college credential was attacked by researchers, and private and public-supported colleges and universities were in financial straits. The Carnegie Corporation had anticipated some of this in their creation and six million dollar support of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education over the period from 1967 to 1973.

By 1972 it was clear that a major re-orientation of higher education was under way. The principal thrust was toward a conception of post-secondary education with several valid aspects or branches. Continuing education or adult education was brought into closer relation to some universities. The University Without Walls movement grew up. Education as a life-long adult process was being urged. The Carnegie Corporation financed a Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education. Professional organiza[illegible]--of physicians, optometrists, pharmacists, lawyers, nurses--organized programs for continuing professional education as a criterion for renewal of licenses.

A strong government unit on Post-Secondary Education has brought federal government support into experimentation and evaluation in this area; but it seems likely that the foundations with a major interest in higher education will continue to work in this area.

B. CATEGORIES OF APPROPRIATIONS OR PROJECTS

It is obviously useful and important to know what purposes are served and what instrumentalities are used and what sub-areas in the broad field of education are selected as target areas by the foundations. This has been attempted by the staff of the Foundation Center in New York, which publishes annually a set of tables on grants made in a given year, in the areas of: Education, Health, Humanities, International Activities, Religion, Science and Technology, and Welfare. No single grant is counted more than once in those tables. The grants categorized as Education amounted to 36 percent of total grants in the 1973 report, presumably referring to 1972 grants. However, Education occurs as a sub-category in the reports on Health, International Activities, and Religion. In Table 1.6 we have reproduced the Education Category of the Foundation Grants Index and supplemented this with the amounts for Education in those other three areas.

There are 16 categories in all, representing 2,547 grants totalling $341 million, or 48 percent of the total amount given by foundations in that year. This Table instigates several basic conclusions as well as a number of perplexing questions. For instance, the four largest categories are: Endowment, Medical Education, Higher Education, and Buildings and Equipment, totalling $230 million, or 68 percent of the grand total of monies granted in the field of education. It is likely that nearly all of this money went to universities and colleges, and thus could be placed in the broad category of Higher Education. But this is such a broad term that it must include a variety of programs which will impinge on elementary and secondary education, and it may also involve some educational research. The staff of the Foundation Center are not well satisfied with these categories, and are working on what they hope will be a more useful system.

Procedure Used in This Study

In the hope of throwing more light on the nature of foundation activities, we decided to work out a more detailed set of categories for the 9 foundations which we studied intensively. This work had the following principal characteristics:

1. Grants were recorded by year, or by clusters of a few contiguous years.

2. Grants were translated into dollars of constant (1967) purchasing power. Thus the development of foundation activity through time could be more accurately reported.

3. Regions served by the grants were indicated--domestic and foreign.

4. Grants aimed at the making of educational policy were identified.

5. Grants aimed at various sub-areas of higher education were identified (e.g., graduate education, medical education, teacher education).

Thirty-two possible descriptive categories were defined, and codes devised which require 47 columns of a standard punch card. These are reported in Appendix 1. Most of the results of this form of analysis are reported in the Chapter which deals with the 9 foundations. A major advantage of this scheme of analysis is the possibility of cross-tabulations showing the relations among foundation activities. For example, it is possible to produce a table showing how money spent for fellowships was related to minority groups (especially blacks) and to regions (South, national scene, international activities).

C. PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS AIMED EXPLICITLY AT EDUCATIONAL CHANGE AND IMPROVEMENT

A foundation either implicitly or explicitly makes a distinction between basic support of the status quo or support of change and improvement. The foundation may opt for both alternatives--some support of the status quo and some support of innovation and improvement. The basic support of education is pretty much limited to higher education and to private colleges and universities. There has been no general program of support to private secondary and elementary schools unless they were innovative or experimental.

The vast Ford Foundation grants to colleges and universities in the 1950s represented basic support of the status quo except in a few outstanding instances. The grants by the General Education Board for teachers' salaries and for general support of private colleges in the 1918-30 period is another example. The Lilly Foundation support of private colleges in Indiana is an example. In all these cases there was some selectivity in terms of quality and need of the institution. But the money was granted for basic support rather than for innovation.

Wherever a foundation has a professional staff directed to making and applying policy, there is sure to be a drive to turn money into improvement. The major interest of the officers is in this area. Some of the outstanding cases are:

Improvement of Negro schools and colleges in the South. General Education Board: 1905 on.
Development of public-supported high schools in the South. General Education Board: 1905-25.
Reform of Medical Education in America. General Education Board. 1913-30.
Creation and Support of the Lincoln School. General Education Board. 1917-30.
The Eight-Year Study of the Relation of School and College. General Education Board. 1933-41.

The Commission on Teacher Education. General Education Board. 1937-1942.

The Program on Equal Opportunity. Rockefeller Foundation. 1963--

The University Development Program in Underdeveloped Countries. Rockefeller Foundation. 1963--

The Atlanta Area Higher Education Program. General Education Board and the Woodruff Foundation. 1930-60.

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. Carnegie Corporation, 1967--

The Community School Movement. Mott Foundation. 1940--

Character Education Studies. Lilly Endowment. 1945--

Child Study and Teacher Education. Grant Foundation. 1945-60.

Comprehensive School Improvement Program. Ford Foundation. 1961-70.

Teacher Education Program. Fund for the Advancement of Education. 1952-60.

National Assessment of Educational Programs. Fund for the Advancement of Education. 1966-68.

The Community College Movement. Kellogg, 1960--

Continuing Education. Kellogg, 1950--

D. DEVELOPING PERSONNEL THROUGH FELLOWSHIPS AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

David Stevens,

One of the Vice-Presidents of the General Education Board, commenting on program policy in a group which included this writer, characterized the Foundation's heavy investment in fellowships as a policy of "betting on all of the reasonably good horses in the races. Most of them are bound ~~to win~~ if they stay in the game." The Rockefeller foundations have placed $163 million of their $1160 million grants in the field of education in the category of Fellowships and Scholarships. This does not include a good many millions in training institutes for teachers and administrators.

This kind of support is rewarding in many ways. It is an investment in the future of the most competent and promising young people. It is a sure way of improving the quality of an institution or a program. It gives the foundation officer the reward of doing something tangible for people who appreciate it, and it gives the foundation an investment in the future careers of people who are sure to be "winners" in the course of life. (See Table 2.6)

Some foundations find it convenient to give money for fellowships and scholarships to agencies or organizations which in turn select the recipients. These agencies do a competent job of administration of fellowship funds. But the Rockefeller foundations and the Ford and Carnegie foundations have also built their own staff and located them around the world where they can personally discover and observe and advise individuals who receive the fellowships and travel grants.

Table 2.6

FOUNDATION GRANTS FOR PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT RELATIVE TO EDUCATION

$ million (1967 dollars)

Category	
Internships	$13.0
Fellowships	220.9
Training Institutes	60.8
	$294.7 = 10 percent of a total of $2,963.3 million

Note: This does not include the Danforth or Kellogg Foundation, both of which have large Fellowship programs. It covers the period since their beginning for the other 7 foundations, except for the Carnegie, where it starts with 1962, and the Mott, where it starts with 1970.

E. INTERACTION OF FOUNDATION ACTIVITY WITH FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Until about 1960 there was very little federal government interest in the development and improvement of education. The U.S. Office of Education served mainly to collect and publish statistics. There was federal government support of vocational education and of agricultural and home economics education, as well as basic support of land-grant universities. But there was little or no interaction between foundation programs and federal government activities.

With the passage of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the U.S. Office of Education came into an innovative and supportive role for some programs of higher education and secondary education. Then, shortly after 1960, the U.S. Office of Education was provided with funds for the support of educational research. This program developed in a modest way until the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which put the federal government squarely in the business of promoting educational innovation.

Very soon after 1965, the federal government was supplying much more money for educational research and development than were either local and state educational agencies or private foundations. The foundations then were in a position to adapt their activities to what the federal government was doing, or was likely to do.

Federal government policy with respect to educational innovation and improvement is being worked out, since 1965, with a good deal of uncertainty. However, the creation of the National Institute on Education in 1972 is a landmark. The NIE will probably have more money to spend on educational research and development than all the foundations put together. But the foundations appear to have the initiative at this writing, and the educational profession seems to expect the foundations to continue to be a center for support of policy-making and research in education.

Chapter III will report on the perceptions that leaders in the field of educational research and development have of foundation and of government agencies operating in this field.

F. The Administration of Programs, Grants, and Projects

Foundations vary a great deal in their manner of dispensing funds. Some keep their own machinery to a minimum while others maximize their participation in the activities which they finance.

There are three fairly clear-cut styles.

1. Minimal staff, concerned solely with making grants.

In this style, the Foundation staff is kept to the minimum necessary to discuss and determine matters of policy, to make decisions on specific requests for support for projects and programs. Beside the officers who make decisions on grants there is a treasurer and a secretary and office staff. Examples are: Lilly Endowment and Grant Foundation. This type of administration often makes use of consultants who are paid for evaluating specific requests, but do not take part in the decision concerning the grant.

2. The staff of the foundation carries on a great deal of the work supported by the foundation. In effect, this is an operating foundation. An example is the Russell Sage Foundation, which maintains a number of "staff scientists" who have office space, full salary, and money for research expenses. They are expected to spend full time on research and writing, most of it related to Foundation program, but some of it may be more individually personal in content. They are appointed for about 3 years at a time, and appointment may be renewed. In recent years, about 30 percent of Sage Foundation expenditures have gone to support of residential research staff. There are also a number of Visiting Scholars who work in the Foundation office for a year at a time, and then return to their regular jobs. There are also extramural grants, which are awarded by the officers and Trustees, with a good deal of advice from the research staff.

Several foundations carry on in-house programs administered by the regular staff, but such programs constitute a relatively small part of the annual outlay. An example is the Carnegie Corporation program on Child Development headed by Professor Kenneth Keniston of Yale University. In this case, the program is directed by Professor Keniston who remains at Yale, but is financed fully by the foundation, with all administrative details handled in the foundation office. Thus Professor Keniston combines the roles of a full-time staff officer and a university faculty member seeking assistance from the foundation. It may be assumed that the Foundation staff made a decision to support work in the area of child development, and wanted the best person they could get to advise them. Presumably they invited Keniston to organize a Council and to explore the field, to make recommendations for research support by the Foundation, and also to make recommendations concerning educational policy concerning children.

Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation have operated in this fashion on several occasions.

Another example of this style of work is a fellowship program in which the foundation receives applications and awards fellowships to individuals, keeping in direct contact with the individual fellows. Fellows are often recruited by the foundation staff. An example is the Administration Internship Program in Public Education, maintained by the Rockefeller Foundation.

3. The staff of the foundation does some of the detail work of designing a project or a proposal, but eventually the foundation makes a grant to an outside agency for the administration of the project. This puts much responsibility on the foundation staff, but places the details of administration, handling the money, etc., in the hands of a grantee agency.

The grantee agency may come into existence previously as an agent of the foundation, and then later may find other sources of income, thus becoming independent of the foundation. Such agencies are found especially in Washington, D.C., and also in the South. They are useful to the foundations and also to the society as organizations initiated by foundation action but deserving and eventually obtaining long-term support by the society.

This in-between category has advantages and disadvantages. It permits the foundation to be closely involved with a project that has the appearance of being independent of the foundation. If the project operates in a politically controversial area, the foundation may be accused of trying to use it's influence secretly and unfairly.

On the other hand, a project may gain a great deal from the knowledge and leadership of foundation officers by using them on committees and commissions. For example, the General Education Board made a grant to the Progressive Education Association in the 1930s to support the work of its Commission on Curriculum. This Commission produced a series of influential books on general education at the secondary school level, with such titles as Science in General Education, Mathematics in General Education, Literature in General Education. The Curriculum Commission took full responsibility for the project, but invited certain foundation staff members to serve as working members of the committees who produced these books. This was not stipulated in the terms of the grant. It was a "natural" outcome of the close understanding between certain foundation staff members and the leaders of the PEA Commission. One GEB staff member actually served as chairman of the committee that produced the book Science in General Education.

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Recipients of foundation grants generally favor a considerable degree of participation by foundation officers in their programs, according to responses we have obtained in a questionnaire study of such people. They say that foundation officers help them a great deal in their projects, and that a good give-and-take relationship develops.

III. FOUNDATIONS COMPARED WITH GOVERNMENT IN SUPPORT OF EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AND EXPERIMENTATION

At the present time the Foundations and the federal government are the two principal sources of support for educational innovation and experimentation. The federal government has come into this field only since about 1960. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 supplied funds for training counselors, teachers of certain foreign languages, and for other activities that would presumably make the educational system a more effective agent of national defense. This source of funds was supplemented in the late 1950s by a program of research grants administered by the U.S. Office of Education. These grants were increased in size during the early 1960s, and were multiplied by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which supplied funds for Research and Development Centers as well as for grants to individual researchers. The research and development program of the USOE expanded farther, and eventually was transferred, to a major extent, into the National Institute of Education in 1973.

The research budget of the U.S. Office of Education in 1970 was $135 million, compared with $281 million for education from private foundations. However, it should be remembered that a considerable fraction of the foundation support was for general support or endowment of educational enterprises, while the research and development budget of the USOE was independent of funds appropriated by the government for basic support of public and private educational systems. There were and are other sources of government funds for educational research and development. The Office of Naval Research at one time supported some useful research on education, and the Office of Defense has made grants of this sort. The National Institute of Mental Health and the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development have supported research in the educational field. Recently the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities have entered this field. When their funds for research and development in the field of education are added to those of the U.S. Office of Education, the total is approximately $225 million for 1970.

Looking at foundation support for educational activity, we see that it expanded greatly after 1950. This was partly due to the entry of the gigantic Ford Foundation into the field, and partly to the increase in the number of foundations, noted in Chapter 1.

Still, the bulk of foundation financing was for general support of the educational enterprise, in contrast to support of innovation, experimentation, and training of personnel for these functions.

At the present time, it may be estimated that the federal government is paying about 70 percent of the cost of innovation, experimentation and training of people for this kind of work, the foundations are paying about 21 percent of the cost, and school systems, colleges, and universities are paying 9 percent of the cost, either directly through research budgets, or indirectly through paying for a fraction of the time of faculty members who are expected to devote that fraction to research and writing.

To a considerable extent then, the private foundations and the federal government are working in the same field. It was to make some critical comparison of foundation procedure and federal government procedure that a brief questionnaire was sent to a number of leading educational researchers.

The questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 3 . It was open-ended, and encouraged as full a response as was considered useful by the respondent. A number of people responded at length, on separate sheets of paper. In general, there were two topics to which their attention was directed.

1. Comparison of experience in securing support for research and development projects from private foundations and from federal government agencies. Preference for doing business with the one or the other type of agency.

2. Means by which the funding agency decides to support or not to support a proposed project. Specifically, the [illegible] general use by federal government agencies of a committee or council of the grantee's peers to determine which projects should be supported.

Respondents to the Questionnaire

The senior author sent out a letter to 58 men and women whom he knew to be researchers or directors of research in the field of education. A few were primarily administrators, who dealt with funding agencies on behalf of researchers as well as possibly for their own projects. Most of the 58 people were personally known to the author, though he did not make a personal appeal to them. He told them that he would be able to identify their responses through a number on their protocol, but that nobody else would know this, and he would not quote anyone by name without their explicit permission. There were 42 responses, or 72 percent of the total group. Four of them asked to be excused, because of relatively limited contact with funding agencies in the field of education. Of the remaining 38, all mentioned one or more foundations, and 31 ranked foundations in response to the question, "On the basis of your experience and knowledge of Foundation activity in the broad field of education, would you name three Foundations which you think have performed most usefully and efficiently since 1950. We are not thinking here of quantity of money granted, though that may well figure in your judgment. Rather, of the competence of Foundation staff, the efficiency of their operation, the quality of their policy-making, the success of the projects and programs they supported. Please rank the Foundations, and add one or two if you cannot easily limit yourself to a list of three." No names of foundations were suggested. The 38 persons who named foundations, and the 31 who ranked them, named 21 foundations a total of 90 times. The foundations were named in order of frequency:

Carnegie	27 times
Ford	18 times
Spencer	12 times
Kellogg	6 times
Sage	5 times

Of the others, two were named 3 times, two were named twice, and 12 were named once.

The nine foundations we chose for intensive study were named 66 times, or 73 percent of the total mentions, while the 15 others got 24, or 27 percent of the total mentions. While all of the more frequently-mentioned foundations got at least one first, one second, and one third rank mentions, the Carnegie Corporation came out clearly as the popularity winner, with 18 first-ranked mentions.

3-4.

Respondent Characteristics. The writer looked at the list of respondents carefully, to note whether their interests in the field of education might predispose them to favor one or another foundation. For example, the recent attention of the Carnegie Corporation to issues and problems of higher education might lead people working in higher education to think first of Carnegie. But the list of 38 respondents shows only five with a clear-cut major interest in higher education. Table 1 shows the distribution of major fields of interest of the 38 respondents who named foundations. Several of them were counted twice, because they had strong interests in two of the fields listed.

The 38 respondents all had a substantial experience with research and development grants. Thirty three(33) had received government grants and 35 had received foundation grants. Four had not received foundation grants since 1960, and two had not received government grants since 1960. The total number of grants received since 1960 by these people are shown in Table 2, and also the total amounts of money received by them. The 31 who had received foundation grants had a median support of $500,000, while the 31 who had received government grants had a median support of $600,000.

Comparison of the Foundations with Federal Government Practices and Policy

A crude comparison of the two agencies for educational innovation and improvement is reported in Table 2. The procedure was as follows:

The writer read the questionnaire responses, paying special attention to the responses which compared foundation with government agency practices and polity. He rated each response as favorable, mixed or neutral, or negative or unfavorable to the foundation, or to the government agency. This meant rating responses of the 35 questionnaires which made evaluative comments. Some respondents gave responses concerned mainly with foundation or with government procedures, while others gave responses which dealt with both agencies together. Consequently, as Table 2 shows, there were 59 separable responses from the 35 respondents. The majority were clearly favorable to the foundations, as compared with the government. The negative reports concerning government procedures dealt mainly with the following matters:

3-5.

Table 1.

FIELDS OF INTEREST OF THE RESPONDENTS

Psychology of Education	10
Sociology of Education	8
Research and Testing	5
Higher and Adult	5
Elementary and Secondary	4
Administration	4
Curriculum	4
Teacher Education	3
Comparative and History of Education	2
Total.	45

Table 2 ATTITUDES OF GRANTEES TOWARD GOVERNMENT AND FOUNDATION PROCEDURES

	Foundation Procedure	Government Procedure	Peer Review (Government Method)
Favorable	22	5	13
Mixed or Neutral	4	14	6
Negative	1	3	9

Note: These represent comments made in response to one or more questions on the Questionnaire. Thirty-five persons made the statements which were evaluated in this Table.

Experience of Grantees with Foundations since 1960

Number of Respondents Receiving Grants From

No. of Grants Received	Foundation	Govt. Agency
1	5	1
2	10	6
3	2	6
4	2	4
5	7	2
6	1	2
7	1	1
8 or 9	0	5
10 or more	3	5
	31	32
Total No. of Grants Received	131	165

Amount of Money in Grants

Amount (thousands)	Foundation	Govt.
Under $100	7	2
$100-199	2	2
200-299	3	1
300-399	2	4
400-499	4	2
500-799	0	6
800-999	2	1
1000-1999	6	3
2000-2999	2	2
3000-4999	1	2
5000-5999	1	1
6000-7999	0	3
$10-15 million	1	2
No. of Grantees	31	31
Median Amount	$500,000	$600,000

The government procedures were plagued by much red tape, from the time of writing the research proposal to the time of conducting the project and on to the time of making a final report on the project. Quarterly reports were required. Most government grants were made for a year at a time, and the grantee had no assurance of continued support beyond the first year, though his project might be clearly planned for a period of several years. (This was not true of grants from the National Institutes at Bethesda, where a project requiring several years could be supported with assurance that the support would continue as long as the Congress appropriated the necessary money.)

In contrast, the foundation procedure was seen as relatively informal and stripped of unnecessary paper work, both in the application for support stage and in the actual project stage. Extremely important was the flexibility of foundation grants in terms of duration, from short to long, with provision for change during the project.

With respect to quality of staff personnel, the large foundations were generally favored, partly because the foundation staff were generally seen as wise and experienced, and able to give useful advice. Moreover, the rapid turnover of personnel in government service was mentioned. On the other hand, there were several negative comments on foundation personnel, some of whom were seen as prejudiced and inclined to force their own preferences on applicants.

Some of the comments are quoted in the following pages, in categories identified by the writer as favorable, mixed or neutral, and negative. Comments and criticisms of federal government procedures and policies in funding educational research and development activities are directed toward a number of diverse targets. The majority of comments had to do with the U.S. Office of Education research and development programs of the 1960s and early 1970s. But there were other respondents who referred to one or more of a number of other government agencies. The various government agencies are:

The Research Institutes:

National Institute of Mental Health
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development
National Institute of Education (since 1973)

Granting Agencies:

United States Office of Education
National Science Foundation
National Endowment for the Humanities (since 1970)

These various agencies have various procedures for the selection of research projects to support, and for the administration of research and development funds. In general, these procedures have moved away from a laissez-faire policy of support for individual projects and toward support of projects which fall into areas the government agencies have defined as desirable and deserving priority.

The continuation of government support of educational research and development depends on the Congress, and congressmen must be convinced of the value of this kind of activity. Perhaps congressmen are less likely to support a research development program of a pioneer and innovative kind than are foundation trustees. These considerations should be kept in mind when reading the following.

Favorable to Foundations

We would prefer the foundations because of our experiences with government agencies. The latter have demonstrated a great deal of difficulty in making decisions, in heavy staff turnover, working inside constraints of legislative mandates, etc.

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1. Foundations more personal in specific concerns and interest.
2. Foundations more open in policies and procedures.
3. Foundations more apt to give long term funding.
4. Foundations more inclined to permit researcher to "own" product, etc.
5. Federal provides more supervision & direct on site review.

The best staff members of the best foundations, private foundations that is, are selfless people who help other people get their work done, who go out on the road to look for projects, who help projects become better by criticism. Sometimes people of similar quality work for agencies like the educational branches of the National Endowment for the Humanities. But on the whole, their tenure is not as long and the controls under which they work are tighter than is the case with the private foundations.

My experience with private foundations is one of relative informality, and direct conversation regarding purposes, criteria and evaluations of proposals. With government agencies the relationship has been formal and with less direct discussion of the essential features of the proposal.

Federal gov't agencies are OK for generally recognized problems and approaches but not for new approaches. The peer review is not very imaginative, is likely to reflect arbitrary biases, favor certain disciplines, and make much of the more or less arbitrary distinction between basic vs applied research. A very imaginative proposal or one that would require some changes in basic thinking would not get very far in the peer review. Defensive reactions would be set up. A foundation that has no special axe to grind but recognizes a given problem as important is more likely to be interested in the best approach that can be found.

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I would prefer doing business with a foundation that has a genuine interest in a problem and is looking for the best approach to solving it they can find. They tend not to be restricted to one or two disciplines, are not hung up by the "basic research vs applied research" controversy. They are interested in getting something done. I also found that foundations in general require much less paper work.

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I have found that foundations can be quite specific about their areas of interest and when one has an idea within one of those areas the approach is easy, dignified, and prompt. Federal agencies appear to have less focus, often seem to be more interested in many proposals than in the merits of a few, and at times their decisions are quite bewildering.

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In general, dealing with private foundations far more satisfactory: officers more open-minded to suggestions and freer to make decisions. Federal agencies tend to require tailoring to their current policies (which change continually) and convincing of numerous officials who sometimes seem to be fighting for positions. With foundation officers I have usually felt more at ease, that I was working with people free to use their own best judgment and not requiring to be "handled with care." With most government officials I have also felt it was "safe" to talk unrestrainedly--but sometimes it has seemed prudent to consider what it might not be "wise" to say.

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Better experience with foundations--the interactions are more colleague-like; we talk about the substantive problem rather than focus on the managerial and institutional aspects of what is proposed.

My experience has favored foundations as a source of research support. This may be biased, in my case, because my research does not have prominent policy or practice implications, and the foundations have more toleration for research which has, as its aim, the gaining of increased understanding and the enlargement of perspective.

Much better experience with foundation officers, included a simpler application process, less paperwork by far, a more informal communication and review system, quicker response and notification, more reasonable accounting and reporting procedures, and an absence of the most annoying features of governmental bureaucratization. Had I dealt with the largest foundations, however, I might have experienced less of a positive difference in the foundations' favor.

Relations with foundation officers have been more satisfying, primarily because I was able to establish a continuing relationship, usually with someone who was interested in the work. Of course, on several occasions I took on projects at the request of the foundations, and so they were especially interested in the results. Quite apart from this last, however, the relationship with federal officials quickly deteriorated to the level of a person in some perfunctory role who simply was interested in quarterly reports and annual reports being in on time. I have never had any feedback from a government official as to whether or not there was satisfaction with the work done. By contrast, I have files of letters from foundation officials expressing such satisfaction.

First, in regard to the federal government, I am very much concerned with both present inflexibility and the tendency for certain areas to be "hot" and others to be "cold." I am somewhat fearful that this situation is being compounded, somewhat, by the present staff effort of the NIE to determine "in house" just what will be relevant to the interests of the NIE and what will not. As a consequence, the staff finally formulates an area for which requests are desired. The RFP goes out, and there is a lot of competition for the money. Consequently, I believe that a lot of people secure grants simply because the RFP suggests a possible interest. The more mature scholar (not necessarily mature chronologically) has some long-term interests in view and wishes to build accumulatively on what he has done before. He looks in vain for an RFP and, not finding it, must begin to look for somewhere to probe in order to gain entry into the granting machinery. Unless he knows his way around and is prepared to make a few trips to Washington in order to "cultivate" friends, his chances of getting a grant under such circumstances are, I fear, very dim. Also, it tends to mean that any excesses connected with what is "hot" become unusually extreme, simply because proposals from other areas of interest are not likely to gain approval. The ultimate consequence of this is, I think, that we are usually dealing with issues of a highly practical sort which have come to our attention somewhat belatedly (like career education) and there is very little opportunity to get some kind of head start on the problems likely to be with us a decade from now. Consequently, we are always trying to patch up our past mistakes instead of looking toward what we need tomorrow.

In regard to the federal government, one of the most frustrating problems is the constant change in staff. This would not be too bad if persons who leave were replaced quickly. Consequently, one writes a person who was just there only to discover that nobody seems equipped to handle your request.

For a host of reasons, I have tended to avoid the federal government and look to the private philanthropic foundations for the kinds of things I want to do. However, there are some very serious problems. Some years ago, it appeared, at least, that a single staff person could work with you until the proposal was prepared in accordance with foundation requirements. The foundation representative, presumably, did some checking at this point with his colleagues, received the approval of a top official, and the proposal then went to the Board. Once convinced, the foundation executive became your advocate. Today, however, much larger foundation staffs have a kind of narcissistic complex and seem always to be contemplating what they exist for. Never quite able to make up their minds in regard to this question and not having announced any clear policy, they are then in a position to reject any and all requests by simply saying, "It does not fit into our policy." This is a kind of "I only work here " syndrome.

Neutral or Mixed

I imagine that foundation decisions are in some ways more capricious. The foundation doesn't have Congress and the GAO looking over its shoulder. Thus, one is more at the mercy of a small group of deciders. But the small group can also be more venturesome and more willing to gamble on a long shot.

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I cannot honestly say that my experience has been bad with either group. The government agencies have required more paper work and a stricter adherence to budget categories and time specifications, but both have been helpful so far as staff is concerned. With government agencies the changing legislation has made continuity of planning and performance more difficult.

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Federal government agencies are OK for generally recognized problems and approaches but not for new approaches. The peer review is not very imaginative, is likely to reflect arbitrary biases, favor certain disciplines and make much of the more or less arbitrary distinction between basic vs applied research. A very imaginative proposal or one that would require some changes in basic thinking would not get very far in the peer review. Defensive reactions would be set up. A foundation that has no special axe to grind but recognizes a given problem as important is more likely to be interested in the best approach that can be found.

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Much overlap and cross-over. My best experience was with Carnegie Corp. in the early 1960s and with N.S.F. in the 1967-73 period. N.S.F. was just as wise and easy to do business with as Carnegie. My worst would be Ford Foundation, which seems so often to be much like a blind elephant.

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The differences are stylistic and structural--review by (most) federal agencies is fuller, fairer and more impersonal. Typically, federal agencies are less willing to take risks and stuffier about their insistence on classical academic values. Certainly, private foundations seem more humane, more interested in the intention and goals of the research team than in the specific implementational or procedural details. Of the people one sees and touches, not much difference but, Lord, one sees a lot more of the foundation folk than one sees of the federal folk, a fact that gives the impression of greater interest and enthusiasm.

In general, securing support from Federal government agencies involves responding to areas in which they solicit proposals. The process is relatively impersonal depending upon outside review committees, but contact with individuals monitoring the proposal is often helpful in insuring appropriate consideration. In contrast, support from private foundations is a more personal process involving detailed conversation and proposal preparation with specific individuals.

At the higher echelons in both groups, I have found the officials to be sensible to deal with and talk with. It is at lower echelons, at the level of specific project monitors, where experience is quite varied. Defensiveness, as a result of lack of knowledge of a field, may be prevalent in government people, whereas rigidly held opinions about what should be done is more prevalent among foundation people.

Neither seems very good. My only really successful activity, in the sense of a reasonable response to a proposal was from Carnegie Corporation in 1962. High-level foundation officers appear to be more sensible and wiser than high-level government agency officials. But at the project officer level, foundations get people with frustrated ambitions, which they want to impose on the research, and they tend to be worse.

The major disadvantages of dealing with private foundations are: (1) their resources are likely to be smaller, and are somewhat more likely to change radically over the years. The major disadvantages of dealing with government agencies have to do with excessive bureaucratic red tape, delays, restrictive laws (such as that dealing with OMB approval of questionnaires), and somewhat unrealistic requirements with regard to periodic reports and prompt completion of research efforts.

I believe I would prefer doing business with a foundation, simply because at my present stage of development my interests seem not to fit into the conventional rubrics for which an RFP usually is sent out. I find it exceedingly difficult to secure money for my more "maverick" interests, and so my hope now is almost exclusively with foundations. The federal government seems to lack flexibility to fund anything that cannot readily be included in some approved category. Rigidity is the main problem with respect to government money; whim and fancy on the part of foundation officers seem to be the central problem with foundations.. Also, I find that foundations have an extraordinarily difficult time making clear-cut decisions. They drag one on and on for months when it would be so much better simply to say "no" at the outset.

One really cannot treat private foundations as a single entity. In practice they range from company-dominated and donor-dominated groups of compliant board and staff members to rigorously objective bodies with clear-cut policies, well-disciplined boards and probing staff members. In my experience the foundations of the first sort greatly outnumber the foundations of the second sort.

In terms of the caliber of its performance, the Carnegie Corporation seems to me to set a model for all other foundations, a fact which seems to be generally recognized. Certain special-purpose foundations (another potential basis of categorization) also do an excellent job; one thinks immediately of the Gugenheim Foundation in this respect.

Favorable to Government

Few Foundations (almost none) support "basic" research in the psychology of school-type learning, even though that is what we badly need to know about. In the past, and decreasingly at present, funding for studies of learning has been available from federal agencies.

Foundations are inclined to evaluate giving "social impact" the highest priority. This aspect is not satisfactory. Government agencies are able, sometimes, to give highest weighting to "potential generalizability" of findings, which is not at all the same.

Generally, I have had much better experience with government officials than with foundation officers. People, of course, are people and there are all kinds in both institutions. However, there is some sense of public accountability, or perhaps threat of exposure, in the federal government that simply does not obtain on the foundation scene. Thus in one experience I have had with one large foundation, they essentially "bought off" a group of colleges in order to prevent a report which was critical of them from being published. I am not saying that the government wouldn't have done the same thing, only that they would have had a harder time changing the ground rules than the foundation, and we would have had Congress with whom we could have lodged an appeal. In this instance, there was no place we could go except to the Foundation trustees, and we really didn't feel we would get anywhere with them.

Easier with federal government. Private foundations generally have narrower programs, less well-defined guidelines and tend to be more inconsistent in decision making.

Yes, the federal government. Their criteria and their guidlines are more open to review and they accept their position of accountability to the public, whereas few foundation personnel seem to do so.

With respect to the review and evaluation of projects by "peers" (other faculty members, researchers, etc. who are not regular staff members of the funding agency), the majority was favorable, though a substantial minority was negative, and a sizable group were neutral on this issue.

Favorable to Peer Review

My experience has been that when "peers" are carefully selected in the first place, they perform well, and on the whole better than foundation staff.

I'll take my chances on peer review any time in contrast to trying to satisfy the whims of a project officer. By and large, I feel that the men who are chosen for foundation jobs are men of integrity, but also men of very strong biases, essentially knowing what they want. That, of course, is why they are chosen.

I favor the anonymous peer method of appraisal. The personal, "salesman" approach which seems to be involved with the private foundation is not congenial to me.

Government agencies at best have better procedures, because of the panel of peers they use for evaluation. Foundations tend to have some half-trained half-baked social scientist (or person from the fringes of social science) who has a few pet ideas, and wants mainly to "see something happen." They ordinarily do not understand research.

Some government agencies make many decisions solely by relying on staff members' recommendations, and certainly many foundations use peer review procedures. As a general mechanism, I prefer the peer review system because it usually means that the judgments are more professional and authoritative, particularly when the project is of a scientific nature. On the other hand, it may be that some foundation staff members are more experienced and perceptive with regard to developmental and action projects. Having served on a number of peer review committees, and submitting project evaluations to both foundations and government agencies, I may be biased in favoring the peer review system, but on general principles I believe it is the best system available all around. In my experience, the system does not lead to the establishment of a closed circle of "research elite" as some of its critics claim. I have seen peer review panels tear apart and reject (and rightly so, in most cases) research proposals of very distinguished, well-established researchers; at the same time I have seen peer review panels recognize the talents of previously unknown, young researchers and accept their proposals.

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Neutral

While it is true that foundations tend to rely on their staff members and government agencies often use peer committees, I cannot say that my experience has been uniformly good or poor with either mode of operation. Certain peer groups have tended to be excellent judges and others not so. The same is true of foundation staff members. If anything, I have found that peer-group judgment tends to offset strong opinions held by one or two members which may not happen to agree with the research being proposed. Rigor of proposal format is more insisted upon by government agencies and their committees, whereas general ideas that need to be worked up are easier to sell to foundations or to certain government agencies where review relies more on in-house personnel.

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When I first began working with private foundations, staffs tended to be relatively small. Usually, one had to deal with just a handful of people, and then the proposal went before the Board with a staff recommendation. This was the most satisfactory arrangement I have ever enjoyed. More recently, however, foundation staffs seemed to have increased in size, foundations are more sharply delimiting their activities to staff interests, and I have felt that proposals did not get a fair hearing but survived or died in the staff process largely according to the whims of individual staff members. I believe this is now a very serious situation with foundations. Unless foundations are staffed with a small group of first-rate people, I believe the committee or council of peers has been the most impartial and would now be my preference. One of the problems here, however, is that such councils almost always are reacting to requests coming in from an RFP and, thus, flexibility in doing what one wishes to do is very much reduced.

The chief problems with governmental support programs lie, as everyone knows, in the excessive red tape which governs the whole undertaking from beginning to end; and the fact the projects can ordinarily be approved only for one-year periods which effectively denies any long-range planning. As one who has sat on a number of panels reviewing applications, I have felt constantly frustrated by the necessity to wade through thousands of pages of material, a lot of which was wholly unnecessary. On these panels I have also usually felt that more money was allocated than should be. If we had $600,000 to spend, we were assured always by the staff member that we did not need to spend any more of it than seemed called for by the judgment which was made of the specific proposals. As the review and allocation wore on, however, the same staff member would begin to show anxiety lest we not spend all the money, and thereby indicate that ~~the~~ funds allocated had proved to be excessive. Usually also a feeling grew up within a group that its members ought to take care of their colleagues - and so eventually all of the money would be spent, though every member of the panel knew in his heart that some of the money was wasted. I have never ended a panel session without feeling, for a little while, the way Barry Goldwater feels all the time.

Negative to Peer Review

Favor working with competent staffers. Federal panels of "peers" often turn out not to be peers but persons who must be educated to our problems and workable approaches.

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I have often been a referee for projects in the field of higher education submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, sometimes for NSF, sometimes for the Office of Education. I have not had enough experience, but I have sometimes suspected that the government officials would do better if they did not need to use panels to protect themselves. The panelists' judgments in the field of education, often controlled by educational psychologists, have been pedantic, preventing the worst research but not particularly supportive of the best. Many of the referees do not have the judgment to distinguish between a brilliant but off-beat project and a crazy effort by a charlatan. Such judgment is rare anywhere. I find it more often in the private foundations at their best than in the combination of peer review and official scrutiny in the government agencies I know.

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The private foundations did a more satisfactory job of evaluating the projects. They used persons with expertise in the field, as advisors and/or evaluators. The government agencies used panels the membership of which was often not familiar with the field of the project. Some relatively irrelevant criteria were used by the government agencies such as geographic area.

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Fifteen years ago I had an experience with a site visit that nearly turned me off from the whole enterprise. An eminent colleague was asked to do a major study for NIMH (I worked on the proposal) and a planning grant was awarded. When the proposal was ready, a site committee-study committee turned it down. The alienating aspect was the committee's lack of response to the ideas, obsession with computers, and particularly the fact that they questioned my colleague exactly as they would a graduate student rather than as the major author of innovative and classic research in the field. I was appalled and more or less decided never to go through the process again.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the group of leaders in educational research and development whose views are reported in the preceding pages are generally quite critical of the way government agencies relate themselves to potential receivers of government funds for research and development, there is a great deal of variation among the various government agencies in this respect. That is, the government agencies exhibit such a variety of procedures that a researcher with wide experience is likely to have a satisfactory relation with one or more government agencies even though he is dissatisfied with other government agencies. Furthermore, the major source of government support for educational research and development--The National Institute of Education--had not yet entered the field of experience of most of our respondents.

Cooperation of Foundations and Government

By the mid-1960s, it began to look as though the federal government might move into the field of support for educational innovation and experimentation with such large funds that the private foundations would become less important in this area. The federal government commenced to support Centers for Research and Development in Education at a number of universities, and with such large funds as to dwarf the average foundation grant for a research project. Furthermore, the federal government moved to support a number of Regional Educational Laboratories which were almost independent of universities. These federal government policies encouraged the creation of corporations for research and development by entrepreneurs, frequently university professors or administrators who saw an opportunity to establish such agencies free both of university financial problems and of government agency internal bureaucracy.

In this situation, some foundation officers made explicit moves to work out procedures for cooperation between government agencies and private foundations. In 1965 the Executive Director of the Danforth Foundation, Merrimon Cuninggim, suggested to Francis Keppel, the United States Commissioner of Education that he call a meeting of government and foundation officials. Said Cuninggim about his own foundation, "The Foundation has decided not to abandon those interests that touch upon the areas of Federal activities, but to adopt a policy of parallel action and where feasible, collaboration." His Board of Directors in their meeting of January 5, 1966, voted to support him in those efforts. "Federal money, like foundation money, is automatically neither an ogre nor an angel," stated Cuninggim, and we "must learn to live with it creatively."*

Some foundation policies turned toward initial support of experimental ventures with the expectation that the federal government would come along with major support once the project had proved itself. This was noted by Fred Hechinger of the New York Times, writing in Warren Weaver's U.S. Philanthropic Foundations. Said Hechinger, with "Washington's entry into education as the key priority in modern society, . . . The small-scale foundation experiment is more likely to turn rapidly into a federally-financed national project." (p. 426)

Effects of Foundations on National Policy

A more general consideration of the interaction of foundations with government would involve consideration of foundation activity in relation to several other functions of government, in addition to the educational function. One principal function is the improvement of domestic welfare through better health services, reduction of poverty, and improvement of race relations. Another is the improvement of international relations through assistance of various kinds to Third World nations. Horowitz and Horowitz have looked searchingly at these aspects of foundation activity, which they see as providing a "cooperative, yet individualist, liberal model for association between nations. They envision an association between partners rather than conflict between competitors for power or the relationship of a rich and benevolent patron and its dependent."[*] They quote from an address by a staff member of the Ford Foundation who describes the relations between the foundation and the the receiver of the grant: "The image of foundation assistance that emerges is not simply that of a benevolent patron; ideally, it is that of a partner with resources and competences, but one who also makes exactions and is attentive to the performance of others."[#]

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* Danforth Foundation, Annual Report, 1965-66.

The growing concern of the federal government with international cooperation, with domestic welfare, with civil rights, and with education, all happening since about 1955, has drawn the government into cooperation with foundations, which were already active in these fields. The foundations tend to innovate, and also to take risks that government agencies are not ready to take. Public opinion tends to favor risk-taking innovations by foundations, more so that it does for risk-taking by the federal government.

This collaboration between foundations and government seems to be developing on a kind of trial-and error basis, with foundations practicing a kind of middle-of-the road liberalism that is supported, or at least tolerated, by the majority in the Congress. Meanwhile the federal government is developing a number of government research foundations and institutes which may grow more and more like private foundations in their aims and procedures.

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[*] Horowitz and Horowitz, "Tax-Exempt Foundations: Their Effects on National Policy," Science 168: 220-228, 1970.

[#] F. X. Sutton, "American Foundations and U.S. Public Diplomacy," Ford Foundation, New York, 1968.

IV. EVALUATION OF FOUNDATION PERFORMANCE

The evaluation of foundation "performance" has been very much stressed in the most recent years. For example, the Ford Foundation maintains an evaluation office in its Division of National Affairs. The director of this office, Robert Goldmann, recently made a short public statement about Foundations and Evaluation which commences as follows:

> The Tax Reform Act of 1969 and continuing congressional scrutiny have made foundations more responsible for and concerned about the results of their grants. Moreover, foundations are confronted with such a rising number of requests for funds that they are finding it increasingly difficult and therefore more important to make intelligent choices from among the alternatives presented to them. This in turn requires more and better information on the results of previous grants--a trend that coincides with increasing emphasis on professional management of foundations and greater concern for effectiveness and efficiency.
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> Despite a good deal of discussion about the need for evaluation at meetings where foundation professionals or their boards talk shop, however, action generally remains scanty--for both substantive and managerial reasons.
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> It is difficult, for example, to apply to most philanthropic projects the evaluative tools that have been developed by social scientists and statisticians for measuring the performance of large-scale government programs. Foundations, with few exceptions, don't fund programs yielding massive data that lend themselves to quantitative assessment. Also, the practices and goals of foundations cannot

be measured as readily as those of the profit-making world. And the conventional, cost-benefit evaluations, which can be interpreted as auditing performance, smack a little of that.

A May, 1974, memorandum from the Danforth Foundation describes the procedures for evaluation of Foundation grants as follows:

> Evaluation of grants is conducted to assist Trustees and Staff to learn from funding efforts how better to award funds in the future, to assess the value and impact of the grant in the recipient institution (including spin-off, or unexpected, benefits), and to account for the expenditure both internally and externally. Also, evaluations are conducted to assess the degree to which the Foundation is attaining its objectives as stated in its position papers and guidelines and/or the degree to which grantees are achieving their stated goals. Criteria for each grant studied are developed under the leadership of the recommending committee and with counsel of the Staff. Ordinarily, consultants are engaged to conduct the grant evaluations.
>
> A committee, (of the Foundation) upon recommending a proposal for funding, includes in the written synopsis a section labeled "Evaluation" with a recommendation suggesting how the grant should be evaluated. This includes the amount of money deemed necessary, an outline of a suggested design, and a recommendation of an individual (s) who would be appropriate for conducting the assessment. The statement states the issue to be evaluated and the value of such an assessment to the Staff in its future work. A committee, in recommending a grant, may decide that a formal evaluation is not necessary, in which case such a statement, with supporting rationale, is presented.

A systematic evaluation procedure developed by the Rockefeller Foundation has gone into use in 1975-76. It was developed by a staff Committee on Evaluation headed by Vice-President Allen C. Barnes, M.D. The key to this "internal" evaluation rests with a statement made by the officers when a grant is proposed, which outlines the criteria by which the project will ultimately be evaluated. This statement is critically reviewed by all the officers (not just the sponsoring officer) prior to being placed before the Trustees for action.

The RF procedure involves five separate acts. The first two are made at the time the grant is made, and consist of a systematic description of the project and then a statement of objectives of the grant and criteria to be used in its evaluation. The third and next act is a summary of information on the progress of the project, involving visits by staff officers and sometimes by outside evaluators. Fourth is a narrative statement by the grantee describing the conduct and outcomes of the project. Finally, within six months of the ending of a grant, there is a concluding evaluation written by the sponsoring officer comparing the actual outcomes of the grant to the original criteria proposed for evaluation. A follow-up evaluation is often made, sometime after the conclusion of the project, to judge the consequences and the impact of the project.

In addition, the RF sometimes uses outside reviewers to evaluate grants that have been made, and also to evaluate examples of proposals that were declined by the Foundation.

Early Experience with Evaluation

As the foundations grew and developed their programs in the early decades of the century, they frequently had to review past programs and to decide whether to continue these programs and whether to make changes in them. The advent of a new president or a new Chairman of the Board of Trustees may be the occasion.

Prior to the decade of the 1960s, stock-taking and policy planning generally took place on the occasions noted above, or at the close of a major program that was deliberately planned to occupy a certain period.

This was especially true of the Rockefeller funds in the period from 1910 to 1933, when the original program of the General Education Board in the South was supplemented by the initiation of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1911, by the establishment of the International Education Board with a major gift from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in 1924; with the establishment of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund in 1918 and the creation of the General Education Program of the General Education Board in 1933. Something very similar took place in the Carnegie Funds, during roughly the same period of time.

Sometimes the Board of Trustees set aside a period of several days in connection with one of their two Annual Board meetings, to discuss proposals for new programs and to evaluate old programs. The decision to embark on a new program or to terminate a program generally involved personnel in major staff positions. A director of a program that had been going for 10 or 15 years might be approaching retirement age. This would be an occasion for a review of the program, and possibly a major change.

Changes in the presidency of a Foundation are very likely to bring major reviews of program, and subsequent changes.

For example, there have been eight Presidents of the Rockefeller Foundation, and there was a major reorganization of program at the conclusion of five of these changes.

Evaluations of Foundation program are now being made public, partly, perhaps, as a public relations gesture, but also because Foundation programs have public importance. Generally, a relatively sympathetic but also objective observer is asked to write a critical account of a program. The Ford Foundation has done much of this, commencing with the report on the Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1951-1957, which was written by Paul Woodring, who had been a staff officer of the Ford Foundation, but was then a professor at Western Washington

University. Then the Comprehensive School Improvement Program, 1961-70, was described in evaluative terms by Paul Nachtigal in the booklet, A Foundation Goes to School. 1961-1970.

Contemporary Evaluation Activity

A useful overview of evaluation as now conceived and executed is given by Orville Brim, then President of the Sage Foundation, in his chapter in the book, The Future of Foundations (1973) where he wrote under the title Do We Know What We Are Doing? He says that Foundations suffer from a lack of evaluative information about their work and its effects. "Foundations put their executives in a unique position in our society. The fact is that they operate with few, if any, reality checks. They are cut off from the natural flow of evaluative information that other institutions receive in American life. They do not know whether they are doing what they think they are doing--or whether what they are doing makes any difference to anyone or not. Institutional isolation breeds narcissism and illusory feelings of power, and separates administrators from the frontiers of thought."[L] Brim names a small number of formal evaluative studies of Foundations and their programs.

Brim discusses five forms of evaluation.

1. Comparisons between projects in a foundation program.
2. Comparisons between programs of a foundation.
3. Comparison between foundations.
4. Comparison between foundations and alternative forms of grant or philanthropic activity.
5. Evaluative case studies of projects.

A unique type of evaluation applied by Brim to the Sage Foundation was a year-long analysis and critique by a group of radical sociologists; headed by Jay Schulman of New York City. Schulman, with Carol Brown and Roger Kahn, then members of the Eastern Union of Radical Sociologists, were financed in 1970-72 by the Sage Foundation, and were given full access to the files of the Foundation. They eventually interviewed in detail all the staff members and most of the project directors and trustees. They studied the Foundation activity from 1948 to 1970. Brim chose these people and used his influence and power to make sure they received cooperation from the Foundation staff. There were difficulties, but he says "over a period of months, a fragile relationship of mutual trust was maintained, and the work went along." They started with the explicit premise that the Foundation was run by upper-middle class professional and business men and women as Trustees, was operated by upper-middle class staff members, with a general belief that liberal and "objective" social science studies would improve what was already a fairly successful and healthy society. An initial description of their project was published in The Insurgent Sociologist (Vol. 1, No. 4, April, 1971). A lengthy draft was prepared in 1972, and a 33-page abridgement was published in The Insurgent Sociologist.

This publication commences as follows:

> This study unravels some of the ways in which sociology, sociologists, and collectivities of sociologists and social scientists foster elite domination in the United States by pursuing professional interests and projecting professional ideologies which reflect a mobile upper-middle class situation. This is also a study of the social situation of sociologists, a profession which has run riot in the pursuit of its perceived interests. The point of departure for this analysis is the Russell Sage Foundation, a key element in the organization of the social science industry.
>
> To preview our line of analysis: We see Russell Sage trustees, staff, grantees, and audiences as sharing a similar class situation. These academics, social scientists, organizational managers, and professional managers share a common production situation in that almost all of them are professionals selling services in a market administered by those controlling the major foci of organized economic and political power. These professionals share a common market situation also in that they command enough wealth and income to possess a life style ranging from upper-middle class to upper class. As consumers they are a privileged group.
>
> Upper-middle class professionals are objectively linked to power elites in at least three ways. They work in and for organizations which are controlled or influenced by members of power elites. They share in a life style which is similar in kind and, often, in degree to the life style of the power elite. They have imbibed power elite perspectives and sensibilities as a result of being socialized in upper-middle class

> families or socially mobile families and from student attendance or faculty employment at elite universities and colleges.
>
> Thus, upper-middle class professionals and those of the power elite share certain intellectual, social, and political perspectives. Three of these shared perspectives are important to our analysis: (1) the idea that those who exercise legitimate power in our society have gained their positions largely through competence and experience, and are therefore most deserving of power and best able to exercise it for the common good; competency and experience are vouchsafed through academic and organizational credentials; (2) the idea that social control is more requisite for the public good than is social change; (3) the idea that beneficial social change comes about through the action of authorities; changes promoted by the unauthorized will lead to uncontrollable social disaster.

The full evaluation report by Jay Schulman and his colleagues was not approved for publication in the regular Sage Foundation publication series, but the Foundation offered to assist financially in a separate publication. This has not yet been done.

Internal Evaluation

Another form of evaluation is conducted "in-house" and consists of a semi-qualitative report on the product of the foundation program or project--its influence on practice or policy, the extent to which it is read by the people to whom it is directed, and the general impact it has upon the society in the area of the program or project. This gives an implicit evaluation, though it may be presented simply as an objective record of what happened.

An example of this is the final report on the Program in General Education of the General Education Board, 1933-1940. This report was published in the Annual Report for 1940 of the General Education Board. It was written by Robert J. Havighurst, Director of the Program, and Flora M. Rhind, Secretary, with the consultative help of Professor Harold Lasswell, and with the help of several months' work by Doris B. Foster, Mr. Havighurst's secretary. The program in General Education was aimed to support experimentation and policy development in secondary and junior college level education. The Trustees of the GEB allocated $10 million in 1933 to the new program, after a survey of the field in 1932, made by several social scientists and educators who looked into the problems of youth and education at the beginning of the "Depression Decade." Havighurst was one of the surveyors in the spring of 1932, and he joined the staff in the spring of 1934 as Assistant Director under Edmund Ezra Day, who was Director of the new program and also Director of the Division of Social Sciences in the Rockefeller Foundation. When Day left the GEB to become President of Cornell University in 1937, Havighurst succeeded him as Director. Under this program, $8.5 million was appropriated between 1933 and 1941. The coming of World War II in 1941 changed the situation of youth so much that the Foundation's program was terminated at that time.

The evaluative report made in this way summarizes the grants which were made, the characteristics and numbers of people who worked on projects in the program, the numbers of teachers involved in workshops and institutes supported by the program, the books which were published, and the approximate numbers which were sold during the period of the program, the changes in frequency of certain key terms in titles of articles listed in the *Education Index* between 1930 and 1940--articles and books written by thousands of authors. Examples of such terms are *democracy* and *general education*. These terms concerned the major objectives of the program in general education. It was assumed that a sharp increase in the frequency of these key terms was evidence that the Foundation's program was affecting those who write and read about education.

The five forms of evaluation named by Brim are all useful. Three of them are essentially "in-house" operations requiring information available within a foundation. The other two involve comparison between foundations, or between foundations and alternative forms of support, such as the government.

All cases of useful evaluation are cases which provide a *basis for making decisions*. The decision may be made by a foundation staff to support a particular project. In this case a certain kind of anticipatory evaluation of the proposed project is made. Or the decision may be to allocate more money to certain kinds of projects. This kind of decision suggests the need for information and evaluation concerning the success or promise of the projects of this type already in progress. Another type of decision is whether or not to continue support of a given program, and at what level of expenditure.

Since decisions of these kinds are always being made, it is safe to assume that some kinds of evaluation are being used, though they may be quite informal and quite casual. But the current trend is to conduct evaluation more carefully and more explicitly in relation to the kinds of decision we have described.

In this connection it is useful to make a basic distinction between two forms of evaluation--process and product evaluations.

Process Evaluation. While a project or a foundation program is in process, it may be useful to evaluate the situation in order to improve performance and correct mistakes. This kind of evaluation requires close study of a program and its projects *while it is going on*. This study should feed information to the project or program staff. It should lead to correction of errors, dropping unproductive elements of the program, and pushing ahead vigorously with the most promising aspects of the program.

Foundations do not engage in this kind of evaluation very much. Also, they are understandably hesitant to "intervene" in a project they have funded. But the persons working on the project might be encouraged to take stock of their own work and to ask for help from foundation officers.

Product Evaluation. When a project or a program is nearing an end, or is coming to a convenient stopping point, it becomes possible and desirable to evaluate the *product*, or the *output*. This is the sort of thing a number of foundations are now doing. It helps them to make wise decisions about re-funding and continuation of a project or program, and about extension or expansion of that program.

The recent experience of the Ford Foundation in this connection is described by Robert Goldmann concerning the programs of the National Affairs Division. "We started project evaluation by using the kind of interpretive reporting that a good journalist does, even though we were aware of the limitations of such an approach and were on the lookout for refinements and variations that might give us more precise results. But we were also determined not to become involved with the heavy artillery of the more orthodox evaluation systems, which are geared to large-scale programs. We preferred to start small and build on the basis of our own experience rather than mount a costly and complicated apparatus that might, as the Germans say, lead us to 'shoot with cannon at sparrows.'

"The utility of these assessments, moreover, require that they be available to the decision makers at the time the information is needed. In most cases, the reason for evaluating a project is that a decision is imminent and that an evaluation or assessment report, if done well, could help program managers make a more informed judgment. Thus, we have to utilize whatever kind of information can be gathered at the time rather than wait for perfect data.

"It was decided early that evaluators would not make recommendations as to whether a project should be funded again, or at what levels it should be supported in the future. Such decisions sometimes involve factors unrelated to a project's performance, such as competing claims for funds within the Foundation or shifts in programming priorities that go beyond the scope or knowledge of the evaluator.

"We do ask, however, for the evaluator's view of how the program might operate more effectively in the future, in what areas the project is doing well and might do even better, where it is lagging and shows little likelihood of improvement, and other similar questions related to performance. This is the kind of information that not only the foundation but also the grantee should find useful, and ~~it comes~~ with some authority from a competent eveluator who has spent a good deal of time with the program.

"Finding the Best People. We also decided that our staff should be small, and that the bulk of the work should be done by outside consultants. We were determined to develop a cooperative and constructive relationship between the evaluation office and program officers responsible for the grants that are assessed. A large staff and a correspondingly big budget tend to work against that by inducing unwelcome visions of an inspector general.

"Moreover, even the most carefully selected staff is unlikely to possess the range of experience and fresh views that are available when consultants are selected on an assignment-by-assignment basis. And while objectivity is hard to come by, consultants, who are not on the Foundation's staff and earn only part of their income from this work, are likely to have a measure of detachment, which is an important ingredient in such work.

"It would have been impossible, even with the most careful selection procedure, to put together an in-house evaluation staff that would span the range of talents we have employed over the past six years, and we still have the chance to bring in new blood as assignments come up. The backgrounds and qualifications of consultants who have done evaluations range from academe to law, journalism to public administration, and social service or community organization work to business. We try to employ people with experience in administering programs, so that their competence as observers and analysts may be seasoned with the kind of judgment ripened through such experience.

"Evaluation manuscripts are submitted to my office, edited for style and brevity, and then sent to Foundation officers concerned with the project. The president of the Foundation and vice president of the division receive copies of all reports. Additional copies go to program personnel directly responsible for the grants. These program officers then acquaint grantees with the results of the assessments.

"Between Spring 1968 and April 1974 we produced 232 evaluations of projects whose total grant value was $145 million. The budget for the operations of the office of evaluation over the same time span, or the cost of having these evaluations done, was $1.7 million. Thus, the cost of evaluation has been about 1.2 percent of total grant value."

Goldmann also discusses the influence of evaluation on the relations between a foundation and its grantees. He says: "Perhaps as important as these specific lessons for the Foundation is the impact of evaluation on grantor-grantee relations and on the quality of program administration. By introducing a highly skilled outside person who takes ample time to try to understand the goals, operations, and programs of a project and of the Foundation's purposes in funding it, several things happen: The grantee feels that the Foundation takes its grants seriously and cares about what happens, not just to its money but to its objectives in providing the grant; the Foundation staff gets the benefit of a relatively detached view of a project in which it is deeply involved, and the discussion between Foundation and grantee personnel, as well as within the Foundation, becomes a good deal more informed and specific than would otherwise be the case. Perhaps this broader kind of impact is the most important yield of evaluation."

Evaluation of Foundation Activity by Grant Recipients

In Chapter 3 we reported some of the results of a questionnaire study in which 60 grantees for projects in the field of education compared their experiences with private foundations and with government granting agencies. Our principal concern was to compare government to private agency operation, but a number of the comments of grantees indicated the nature of their preferences among foundations.

The strongest element in favor of the private foundations seems to be the close contacts that sometimes occur between grantees and foundation officers.

The grantees feel that the foundation officer is deeply interested in the project, and is doing everything possible to assist. On the other hand, some grantees report unpleasant interactions with some foundation officers, who appear to be arrogant and opinionated, and to be "using" the grantee to achieve goals of the foundation that are not those of scientific research or of mutually-determined human improvement.

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V. PERSPECTIVES

There have now been seven decades of foundation activity in the field of education, which can be examined in the light of our knowledge of the condition of human affairs at the time of the activity, and of what happened afterward. This should give us a basis for some conclusions about the contributions the foundations have made to the human welfare.

There are two broad functions of the foundations:

1. To provide basic support, where it is most needed, to the educational system. This is a constructive, conservative kind of activity, likely to be generally appreciated. This is a support for the Establishment, in which the foundation allies itself with the main body of educators.
2. To support innovation and experimentation, aimed at improvement through change in the educational system and in the society. The Rockefeller Foundation President, Chester Barnard, in his 1951 Report, wrote that the Rockefeller Foundation has been "a pioneer and a supporter of pioneers." This function can and very likely will disturb the Establishment at times. It can be seen by some people as a threat to their way of life. On the other hand, the modern western society is so change-oriented that innovation and experimentation are welcomed by many people in principle, even though they may be uncomfortable at times.

A test of the quality of foundation activity in line with the change and improvement function is the degree to which it sensed and anticipated social needs and worked effectively on ways of meeting those needs even when the Establishment may not have been fully aware of them.

We will try to examine the record in relation to these two major functions, from the vantage point of the historian. We shall divide the first 75 years of the 20th century into 6 periods, and also define areas of need and of development within the society, asking how the foundations responded, how early they moved to respond, and how useful their responses were.

The Social Stance of the Foundations

Throughout the present century there has been a distrust of the socio-political attitudes of rich men. The phrase "malefactors of great wealth" was coined early to apply to the founders of some of the great foundations. Since the individuals who made immense fortunes in the late 19th and early 20th century did so under conditions of relatively weak labor organizations and absence of legislative control over the methods of big business, it was natural for social critics to be against them and to be suspicious of the motives behind any apparently philanthropic activity they might undertake. Thus it was difficult in 1911 for the proposed Rockefeller Foundation to secure congressional approval for a charter by the federal government. Even the conservative Taft Administration had viewed the proposal to establish a Foundation as "an indefinite scheme for perpetuating vast wealth." This was said two years after a federal judge had imposed a fine of $29.2 million on the Standard Oil Company of Indiana for monopolistic activities and the corruption of public officials. The Rockefeller group then withdrew their application to the federal government and easily secured a charter from the New York State Legislature in 1913.

This was followed by an investigation in 1914 by the U.S. Industrial Relations Commission, headed by Frank T. Walsh to find out whether the Rockefeller Foundation program was serving the Rockefeller business interests. Though nothing

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come of this investigation, similar investigations of foundations were made by Congressional Committees in 1951 under Congressman Eugene Cox and again in 1953 under Congressman B. Carroll Reece. But in the investigations of the 1950s the charge was that the foundations were engaging in socialistic or left-wing propaganda. These Congressional committees vanished with the eclipse of Senator Joseph McCarthy. But the mid-1960s saw the emergence of Congressman Wright Patman and his hearings under the auspices of the House Small Business Committee. Patman took a different ideological position. He saw the foundations as representatives of Big Money, with foundations as tax shelters to help rich people reduce their tax payments while still retaining some of the advantages of the money through control of the grants by their foundations. Eventually the Congress passed the Tax Reform Law of 1969 which increased the regulations under which the foundations must operate and provided mild controls with which the foundations seem to be able to operate in relative comfort. The 1969 law explicitly prohibited foundations from supporting "political or propagandistic activity." Waldemar Nielsen, a reliable critic of foundations, argues that the 1969 law encourages the conservative wing of foundation trustees who show "a tendency to restrict the latitude of discretion of typically more liberal staff members in dealing with grant proposals." He concludes, "These seemingly small procedural changes appear in combination to be having major consequences in diverting foundation funds from controversial but creative recipients to those of the most traditional and often backward-looking kind."*

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* Nielsen, p. 20

Moreover, it is clear that several foundations have made grants to definitely right-wing organizations for efforts by these organizations to influence teaching, especially in the direction of support of free enterprise capitalism. Some foundations have also supported fundamentalist religious institutions. These appear to have had no congressional criticism, though liberal critics of foundations are quick to point this out.

On the whole, though, in the field of education the major foundations have not only supported the Establishment; they have also supported the most effective reform movements, with money for experimentation and evaluation, and with money to pay for training of persons to work in these reform movements.

A. The 1900-1920 Period

The first two decades of the century were largely devoted to attempts by the newly-developing foundations to establish and to improve an educational system that was inadequate in most regions of the country from the earliest years of school on to the graduate and professional schools. The two Rockefeller entities--the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation--were joined by the Carnegie Corporation and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in ambitious programs of innovation and improvement.

Seen from the point of view of the 1970s, the period from 1900 to 1930 appears to be the time of major impact of the Foundations on the educational system. Even though the Foundations were just getting started, and there were only a handful of them, it is difficult to imagine how the educational system could have met its growing obligations without them.

Aiding the Backward South

Although the South is not now especially backward in technology or low in material standard of living, it was clearly the problem area of the country in 1900. Consequently it would be expected that foundations would turn much of their attention to the South, aiming to help raise the material standard of living, through education, health services, improved agricultural and industrial technology. The General Education Board, with Rockefeller support, made this a major goal for the first three decades of the century, picking up programs started by smaller foundations. Other foundations came into the field, such as the Woodruff Foundation (based on Coca-Cola) and the Duke Endowment.

The provision of schooling for Negro children, and the development of a system of public high schools in the southern states were radical missionary ventures which required astute dealing with the southern power structure. These were relatively bold actions at the time they were taken, though they may appear conservative today.

A related effort was the school survey movement, initiated by Abraham Flexner and the General Education Board first in several southern states and cities.

Reform of Medical Education

The Flexner Report on Medical Education (1909) was financed by the Carnegie Foundation. This was a challenge to the established system of proprietary or "free-enterprise" medical schools, and it was supported by the Rockefeller and other major Foundations, which stimulated and supported medical schools with full-time faculty personnel. Several new Foundations would devote practically all their funds to medical education and medical research.

B. The 1920-1930 Period

The period following World War I saw the first major foundation program of basic aid to the liberal arts colleges of the country through Rockefeller and Carnegie gifts to strengthen college teachers' salaries and to establish an adequate pension system. From this time on, the foundations were to provide continuing assistance to private colleges and universities, including the Negro colleges of the South. The General Education Board made grants totalling approximately $250 million in 1967 dollars for this purpose between 1915 and 1925.

> The Carnegie Corporation and the General Education Board, around 1920, were making annual grants amounting to perhaps one-fifth of the annual income of all colleges and universities in the United States. (Weaver, p. 154)

International Programs

The broad interest of American Foundations in universities throughout the world--the Orient, Europe, Africa and Latin America was begun at this time, largely through the Rockefeller International Education Board. At the same time, post-doctoral fellowship programs were commenced through the National Research Council and the International Education Board to stimulate scientific research and to foster an international fraternity of young research scholars. The Carnegie Corporation was developing its British Commonwealth Fund at this time.

Educational Science, Fine Arts, Medical Education, and Adult Education

The Carnegie Corporation gave major support to college and university programs in the fine arts. The General Education Board commenced aiding several graduate schools of education with programs of advanced teaching and research and experimentation in elementary and secondary education. Medical research and medical education received growing support from a number of new foundations.

The American Association for Adult Education grew out of several Carnegie Corporation-initiated conferences, commencing in 1924. A variety of grants for programs in this new field were made by the Corporation between 1921 and 1939, amounting to $2,685,000.

C. The 1930-1948 Period

The Depression Decade of the 1930s provided both a need and an opportunity for innovation and expansion of secondary and higher education, which were spear-headed by foundation-supported programs.

Problem of Youth. The most pressing problem, highly visible by 1932, was that of teen-age youth. With enormous unemployment of adults, there was little chance for teen-agers to get into the labor force. Some form of public-supported program for youth was obviously necessary. The logical solution, as seen by concerned Americans, was to expand the high schools to take care of nearly all teen-agers. This was a typically American solution. European nations did not see the secondary school as appropriate for more than a small proportion of youth who were aspiring to professional and upper-class careers. But the American society had already developed and accepted the idea of a general public-supported post-primary school. Proportions of 14-17 year-old youth in school had increased from 7 percent in 1890 to 32 percent in 1920 and 51 percent in 1930. But the further expansion to 73 percent in 1940 was a big leap which would require some adaptation of the curriculum to youth from working-class families.

General Education. As early as 1925 there was a stirring in the colleges which became the "general education movement" by the early 1930s. The college curriculum by 1925 was clearly in need of radical change. Colleges were no longer primarily pre-professional--preparing a few students for entrance to law, medicine, clergy, and teaching. The curriculum had expanded quantitatively through the addition of many free electives, which left it up to the student to fashion his own program around his major subject, which seldom took much more than one-third of his time.

The notion of utilizing as much as half of the four-year course for a planned and integrated program in general "liberal" education was being discussed by innovators during the 1920s. In 1927 the University of Wisconsin established the Experimental College under the leadership of Alexander Meiklejohn, who came from the Presidency of Amherst College to lead the project. This was a residential 2-year college for young men. The curriculum was built around the idea that a good liberal education could be obtained by studying a civilization in all of its dimensions. The Experimental College devoted the first year to the study of Athens of the 5th Century, B.C. The second year studied the United States of the 19th century. Faculty acted as tutors, and took their turn to lecture and lead discussions as the group studied the economy, the religion, the art, the technology, the literature, drama, and political organization of the society.

When Robert M. Hutchins came to the University of Chicago as President in 1929, he made general, liberal education his main interest. He collected a faculty and organized courses around the Great Books of Western Civilization as the central element of general education. Parallel with this activity, professors in the sciences and the social sciences and humanities developed integrated survey courses which could be put together into a curriculum of general education that had some intellectual unity. This program won out at Chicago, with the creation of a 2-year College that gave a diploma and a 2-year bachelor's degree. The Great Books idea was transplanted to Annapolis, Maryland, to reinvigorate St. Johns College with a program of 4 years of liberal education built on the Great Books.

It is interesting to note that these activities were generated within the colleges, and without foundation instigation or support. But the close of the 1930s saw a spread of the general education movement in liberal arts colleges and state universities which drew substantial foundation support. The General Education Board and the Carnegie Corporation made grants to selected colleges and universities for experiments with general liberal education, as distinguished from college education aimed to train the student for an occupation. This culminated in the Report of the Harvard University faculty committee on General Education in a Free Society, and with the move of many state universities to establish 2-year General Colleges, from which students could either graduate with a "general education" or go on to major in a college department.

Women's Education. Women's education was no great issue in the 1920s and 30s; with a few private women's colleges and girls' private schools and the great majority of girls and young women attending classes and associating with the opposite sex in school activities. But the stirring of the General Education movement was accompanied by the creation of several private women's colleges which operated along progressive and general education lines. In the forefront were Sarah Lawrence College at Bronxville, New York; Bennington College at Bennington, Vermont; and Stephens College at Columbia, Missouri. These colleges offered a liberal general education, with no special emphasis on a career. By the beginning of the Depression they were operating successfully, with little or no foundation attention or help. The period after 1935 saw several foundation grants to the new women's colleges with the purpose of examining the effects of new versions of women's education on the attitudes and behavior of women college students.

The Progressive Education Movement. By the mid-twenties there was an active movement organized around the concept of the child-centered school. This had its origin in Europe, in new and highly experimental schools in Switzerland, Belgium and England. Susan Isaacs had written the basic book and had started the Malting-House School in Cambridge, England. A. S. Neill had founded Summerhill in Devonshire. The international New World Fellowship had been organized, with the Progressive Education Association as its American section. In the United States a number of private schools were organized along child-centered lines, though none reduced external constraints as much as the Summerhill model did. Several major figures in universities took the lead for Progressive Education. Professor Kilpatrick at Columbia, Boyd Bode at Ohio State, George S. Counts at Columbia and John Dewey, to a lesser degree, were expounding the doctrine of student interests and motivation as guides to curriculum-building. The PEA had within its leadership two disparate groups, who were able to cooperate only as long as there were resources and space enough for them to operate more or less independently. One was the child-centered group following Rousseau; the other was a social reform, quasi-socialist group who had no European models, but found their leaders among American liberals as soon as the Depression shook the society and raised doubts about the validity of the capitalist economy, which was renamed by its capitalist leaders during the depression years as the free-enterprise economy.

Progressive Education developed inside the educational system with very little attention from foundations, with the very important exception of the Lincoln School at Columbia, started as a brain child of Abraham Flexner, and supported with several million dollars of Rockefeller money through the General Education Board, commencing in 1917.

Foundation Attention to Emerging Needs and Patterns

One foundation was taking some soundings at the close of the 1920s, with a view toward change in program emphasis. This was the General Education Board, which in 1928 agreed with the Rockefeller Foundation (through interlocking Boards of Trustees) to cultivate the educational field while the Rockefeller Foundation concentrated on the "increase of knowledge" through research, and on the application of research to certain major problems of poor and tropical societies.

The General Education Board staff and Trustees, between 1930 and 1933, were looking for new emphases over and above their traditional emphasis on educational needs in the South, and the quantitative support and expansion of higher education throughout the country. After consultation with educational leaders and a survey of innovative work on adolescence and the education of youth, they drew up a plan for a Program in General Education, and asked the Trustees to set aside a fund of $10 million to support this program for ten years. Staff members were recruited specifically for this program, and the following major innovative and experimental programs were supported, growing out of discussions between staff members and leading educators, with staff members playing a fairly active role:

The Eight Year Study of 30 Secondary Schools which were set free to develop new curricula which might not meet the usual College Entrance Board specifications. This Study was directed by the Commission on the Relation of School and College, of the Progressive Education Association.

The Study of Adolescents made by a Commission of the Progressive Education Association.

The Curriculum Reform promoted by the Commission on Curriculum of the PEA.

A series of Summer Workshops for teachers of experimental schools. The Summer Workshop was invented at this time as a device for helping teachers to take an active part in curriculum reform.

The American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education made studies of in-school and out-of-school youth and a notable series of studies of Negro youth, followed by recommendations for secondary school curriculum and for public service employment of youth. The Civilian Conservation Corps which had been created by the Roosevelt Administration was studied and evaluated by the Commission.

The Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education brought the teacher-training institutions together into a strong professional organization, which undertook to reorganize the training of teachers with more studies of children and youth, and more critical consideration of educational objectives and ways of measuring achievement of these objectives.

The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators was created to study and make recommendations concerning public education. Besides leading public school educators, the Commission included Charles Beard, the historian, and James B. Conant, President of Harvard University. Beard wrote for the Commission a major book--The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy.

Grants were also made to support experimentation with general education in the College at the University of Minnesota, Sarah Lawrence, Bennington, and Stephens Colleges.

When the entry of the United States into World War II brought a halt to much of this work, in 1941-42, the Program in General Education had made grants of $8.5 million in a focussed program. In 1967 dollars, this amounted to approximately $20 million.

This is an example of a program aimed at promoting educational change with the foundation staff working closely and actively in collaboration with educators who wanted change and used foundation support for this purpose. However, the ideas were all available and being pushed by educators before the foundation came into the field. The program is an example of a change-oriented foundation seeking out change-oriented educational leaders, and giving them resources that enabled them to exert a great deal of leverage on the educational system.

The period around 1940 saw relatively little new activity by Foundations, since World War II, starting in 1939, involved the USA increasingly. However, the Carnegie Corporation in 1937 asked the Swedish social scientist Gunnar Myrdal, to look critically at the situation of the Negro in American society, and he produced his famous An American Dilemma, which was to have a large impact on American educational and other social institutions.

D. The 1948-1960 Period

The period of a dozen years following 1948 was marked by a safe-and-sane process of slow growth, in the educational area, with emphasis on the "basics." The youth population actually decreased during this period, thus allowing a higher percentage to enter college without crowding the colleges. The child population of elementary school age did not commence its post-war bulge until

1953. This was a period of economic prosperity and expansion. The job market was good for college graduates.

In the relatively quiet half-decade after World War II, the foundations were mainly taking stock, and planning new programs. But the Carnegie Corporation quietly took the initiative to finance the Educational Testing Service, which was led by a Board of Directors consisting of outstanding educational and psychological testing specialists. This organization had a quiet beginning under the leadership of Henry Chauncey, who had been Assistant to the President at Harvard University, and steadily grew into the country's major research and development agency for educational tests and for study of human cognitive development.

It was during this period that new Foundations entered the field with large resources. The giant Ford Foundation came into existence, with initial grants totalling more than $500 million for general support of colleages and universities and increased faculty salaries to offset the post-war monetary inflation. Also, the Ford Foundation granted more than $100 million to medical schools.

Two very influential studies by James B. Conant were focussed on the American High School, and on Teacher Education. Conant drew upon leaders of the Establishment for assistance in his studies, which called for improvement, but did not favor radical reform. The Ford Foundation stirred the waters of controversy with its efforts (through the Fund for the Advancement of Education) to get more "basic disciplines" into the education of teachers, rather than more courses in "educational methods." The Carnegie Corporation supported the Conant studies. The Lilly Endowment stepped up its program of general support of private colleges in Indiana. The Kellogg Foundation supported the expansion of adult education as did the Ford Foundation. The Grant Foundation supported extension of child study programs for the training of teachers. The Mott Foundation was building a solid base for the Community School movement. The Danforth Foundation commenced its major Graduate Education Fellowship Program in 1952. The General Education

Board put the remainder of its resources into the strengthening of higher education for Negroes and for whites in the South. The Rockefeller Foundation turned to a broad program of assisting universities in underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The Ford Foundation made grants of $210 million under its Overseas Development Program during the 1950s.

Educational Television. By 1950 the educational potentialities of television were becoming evident, and the Federal Communications Commission deliberately held one or more channels open for some form of public service broadcasting, when it allocated channels to commercial TV stations. Several foundations saw possibilities. The Kellogg Foundation in 1951 made a grant of $300,000 to establish the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. The Ford Foundation commenced to support production of educational television programs, and has granted over $250 million for this purpose since 1952. The Carnegie Corporation was to provide $500,000 for an influential Report of the Commission on Educational Television in 1967. The Sloan Foundation provided funds for work on Cable Television in 1971. Between 1949 and 1971, two hundred and forty educational television stations were created, nearly all of them having some basic support from foundations--many times local community foundations.

The federal government's support of the Public Broadcasting Service was certainly influenced by the activities of foundations during this formative period.

Federal Government Activity. During this period much more money was granted by foundations for educational purposes than had been given during any similar period earlier in the century. Also, the federal government entered the field of support for educational development in 1958 with the National Defense Education Act, that strengthened high school and college teaching in the physical sciences and in foreign languages as well as providing funds for the training and employment of high school counsellors who were expected to direct more able young people into areas of work that would strengthen the nation's military potential.

E. The 1960-1966 Period. The New Frontier and the War on Poverty

The mood and the spirit of 1960 may be well represented by President John F. Kennedy who took office at the beginning of that year. America was wealthy, self-confident and prepared for another prosperous and relatively peaceful decade.

The problems of the world seemed largely due to poverty and underdevelopment, both at home and abroad. Education was an obvious instrument to meet these problems. This led easily to a policy of serving the lesser-developed areas of the world with education and modern technology. Thousands of young people joined the Peace Corps and VISTA.

Abroad, in the underdeveloped nations, the major educational foundations set up field offices and funneled money especially to the small and underdeveloped universities. The Ford and the Rockefeller and the Kellogg Foundations worked along these lines. The Rockefeller Foundation put $58 million into overseas university development between 1963 and 1974. From 1925 on, the Rockefeller Foundation gave 32 percent of its grants to assist education abroad.

At home there was too much poverty for a wealthy democratic society, as well as a considerable amount of economic discrimination against blacks and people of Spanish descent. Furthermore, the Supreme Court decision against separate schools for blacks and whites was not producing racial integration in the urban school systems, because residential segregation produced segregated schools.

Several major foundations quickly came to the support of economically and socially disadvantaged pupils through programs designed by educators to teach them more effectively and through raising the educational level of disadvantaged students to help them improve their socioeconomic status.

The Ford Foundation commenced its Comprehensive School Improvement Program in 1961, and the Rockefeller Foundation started its Equal Opportunity Program in 1962. These were focussed on big cities, where the problems of poverty and discrimination were most visible. Many foundations turned their attention to the black colleges, making them grants to raise the quality of their faculty. Disadvantaged inner-city high school students were given summer school experience on college campuses, together with remedial teaching.

Foundations Compared with Federal Government Action with Respect to Educational Research and Innovation After 1960.

It was just at this time, in the early 1960s, that the federal government, moved in to bring very large amounts of money (compared with the money provided by the foundations) to bear on the same problems of poverty and discrimination. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, placed federal government money and personnel in the field with the aim of solving the problems to which the foundations we have mentioned had turned their attention. The largest amount of money came through Title I of the ESEA, which gave more than one billion dollars a year to schools and school districts with pupils from low income families. There was also money to support innovations under Title III of the ESEA and also for Community Action and Neighborhood Youth Corps projects under the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The federal government provided from 5 to 10 times as much money for educational research and innovations as did the foundations during this period. Foundations increased their allocations to education during this period from about $100 million a year to $200 million in dollars of 1967 purchasing power. This period was one of optimism, that the educational system could spear-head a major development of equality and of social justice.

One of the major social movements of the 1960s was Women's Liberation. It seems that this movement got very little attention from the foundations, until the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education issued a strong positive statement in 1975, with a number of recommendations for improvement of salaries and status of women and minority group members as teachers and other employees in the field of higher education. Several of the twenty-seven Recommendations dealt quite directly with women, as a category different from minority groups. The Carnegie Commission also published a volume in 1973, titled Opportunities for Women in Higher Education. The Carnegie Corporation, in 1974, announced several grants to assist colleges in the training of women for administrative positions in higher education. Also, the Corporation granted Wellesley College $195,000 to assist the development of the new Center for the Study of Women in Higher Education and the Professions.

At almost the same time, the Russell Sage Foundation announced publication of The New Feminist Movement by Maren Lockwood Carden, a sociological study of the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Also, the Sage Foundation supported a study on Problems of Blue Collar Women by Pamela Roby, and a study of labor force participation and occupational status of women, by Valerie K. Oppenheimer.

In foreign fields the educational programs flourished, supported by foundation money. Universities were growing; American professors went abroad to teach and brought promising young scholars back with them for graduate work. In South America, East and West Africa, India and Southeast Asia, higher education was developed in quality and quantity largely on the basis of foundation aid.

Meanwhile, in 1964 and 1965, the War in Vietnam began to draw large numbers of American youth into the armed services. Unrest developed on college campuses. Protest movements appeared. The compensatory education programs for which foundation and government funds had been provided did not show the expected improvement in school achievement of school and college students.

After 1965, the enthusiasm and optimism of the early 1960s gave way to feelings of frustration and pessimism on the part of many educators. Nobody seemed to have ideas that would provide a break-through, and leaders spoke more and more of problems and less of solutions. Foundation officers shared the general mood, but continued to support what seemed to be the best and surest programs.

Almost without warning the structure of optimistic expectations and promises caved in, and the educational system was confronted with a crisis of shocking proportions.

1967--Cultural Pluralism

During 1966 the political and educational leaders of northern blacks and southern blacks adopted a militant, pluralist if not separatist policy. Since racial segregation in the big cities was increasing, and since this was providing a political power base for blacks, they concluded that they should work for local and racial self-determination, perhaps later coming back into closer collaboration with the white power structure when they would have enough power to bargain more nearly equally.

At the same time the youth counterculture spread over college campuses, stimulated by opposition to the war in Vietnam. The Students for a Democratic Society became a force to be reckoned with by college administrators, who were being pushed from the other side by legislatures and trustees concerned with steeply rising costs.

Neither the educational leaders nor the foundation-officers and trustees had foreseen this situation. Clearly, a new epoch was at hand, which might require drastic social and educational change. It was clear, by this time, that racial integration in the public schools of the big cities could not become a fact without a long drawn-out process of residential integration, upward mobility of blacks, and cooperation of suburbs with central cities. Meanwhile, blacks were becoming politically powerful in the major cities, and in certain southern states.

Other minority groups, notably the Chicano and Puerto Rican groups and some American Indians became more separatist or pluralist in their policies. This resulted in moves for minority-oriented college studies, and for stress in the school curriculum on minority-group history and culture.

Finally, European ethnic groups became more self-conscious and put pressure on the educational system to work for pluralism rather than close integration of the many ethnic strains in the population.

The foundations with an interest in education have moved very uncertainly in this area, recognizing its importance, but not ready to adopt clearly defined policies.

Radical Reform in Elementary and Secondary Schools: 1965-74. The relatively conservative educational programs of the late 1950s gave way to a revival of the progressive education movement of the 1925-40 period, with emphasis on "open classroom," "free schools," "alternative" schools. Mordant criticism of public schools became popular. Several foundations moved into this field with a degree of caution, and generally through officially recognized educational organizations. The federal government, through the Office of Economic Opportunity, instigated programs, such as the Voucher Scheme which would give parents a choice of schools for their children, with government financial support. At the same time, the federal government placed more and more emphasis on participation of disadvantaged groups in decision-making on local school matters. A broad movement for "decentralization" of administrative control and for "local community control" of the schools was fostered by certain foundations and by certain government agencies. In general, however, the foundations stood by the educational Establishment, working to define and attack the problems which underlie poverty and low school achievement of disadvantaged groups.

Pre-School Education and Socialization: 1970 ---. The general perception of the major government-supported programs of compensatory education (Head Start, Upward Bound) was pessimistic by the close of the 1960s. Several foundations supported careful analytic and experimental studies aimed at improving compensatory education. But others moved their attention to the earliest years of childhood as perhaps the crucial years for successful cognitive and emotional development. The Grant Foundation continued a long-term interest in this area. Ford went into it. And the Carnegie Corporation in 1972 set up the Carnegie Council on Children to explore and develop foundation policy on the development of children "from conception to about age nine."

Expansion and Re-Orientation of Post-Secondary Education: 1968---.

As the period of crude expansion of college enrollments, fueled by the baby boom of 1947-60, came to a close around 1970, it dawned on the rank-and-file as well as the leaders in higher education that a crisis was at hand. College graduates were unemployed, faith in the reliability of the college credential was attacked by researchers, and private and public-supported colleges and universities were in financial straits. The Carnegie Corporation had anticipated some of this in the creation and six million dollar support of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education over the period from 1967 to 1973.

By 1972 it was clear that a major re-orientation of higher education was under way. The principal thrust was toward a conception of post-secondary education with several valid branches. Continuing education or adult education was brought into closer relation to some universities. The University Without Walls movement grew. Education as a life-long adult process was being urged. The Carnegie Corporation financed a Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education. Professional organizations--of physicians, optometrists, pharmacists, lawyers, nurses--organized programs for continuing professional education as a criterion for renewal of licenses.

A strong government unit on Post-Secondary Education has brought federal government support into experimentation and evaluation in this area; but it seems likely that the foundations with a major interest in higher education will continue to work in this area.

Thus we see the contemporary period as one of crisis for the society and crisis for education. The foundations are fully aware of this, and looking for opportunities to be helpful.

Conclusion

As we look at the seven decades of foundation activity in the field of education, we are at once impressed with the basic and essential roles that have been filled by the foundations. They supplied major financial support for higher education at two critical periods--the 1920s and the 1950s. Their support for endowment and for faculty salaries stimulated the private colleges and universities to raise even more through campaigns with alumni and friends to contribute their share on a matching basis. Their support for education in the South brought in resources badly needed by the poorest region of the country.

We note that some foundations have maintained a fairly sharp and narrow focus for their programs in the field of education. The Mott Foundation with emphasis on Community School has made a unique and important contribution. The Lilly Endowment has consistently supported religious education and programs of training for the ministry; and has been a consistent supporter of private colleges in the State of Indiana.

The Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Ford Foundations, together with Kellogg and Danforth have worked assiduously at improvement and innovation, in league with reformers and researchers. In this respect, they have occasionally assisted controversial projects, and this would seem essential if they are to serve as change agents.

As the federal government has moved into the field of support for educational research and development, since 1960, there must be a reconsideration of the functions of private foundations in this area. Government support may become much larger than foundation support for research and development. So far, the witness of educational researchers and policy makers who have received financial support from both governmental and foundation sources, is that the foundations do a more satisfactory job.

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VI. THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATIONS

The first of several foundations initiated and supported by members of the Rockefeller family was the General Education Board, chartered by Congress in 1903. This was a pioneer among foundations. Several men planned this action, including John D. Rockefeller, Jr., aged 29 in 1903, Wallace Buttrick, a 50-year-old Baptist minister, Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, father-in-law of John D. Jr.; Frederick T. Gates, advisor to John D. Rockefeller, Sr.; Robert Ogden, Manager of the Wannamaker Department Store in New York City; Walter Hines Page, a magazine editor who was later to become Ambassador to Great Britain; William H. Baldwin, Jr., President of the Long Island Railroad. The junior Rockefeller reported to the group that his father would start them off with a gift of one million dollars, to be spent within the next ten years. They announced their purpose as "the promotion of education within the United States without distinction of race, sex or creed."

The men who created the General Education Board had become interested and concerned about the low state of education in the South. The southern states were poor, compared with the northern states. C. Vann Woodward, a historian of the South wrote about public schools in the South at the beginning of the century, that they were "miserably supported, poorly attended, wretchedly taught, and wholly inadequate for the education of the people." Charles W. Dabney, president of the University of Tennessee, summarized the situation in 1901 in these words: "In the Southern states," he said, "in school houses costing an average of $276 each, under teachers receiving the average salary of $25 a month, we are giving the children in actual attendance 5 cents worth of education a day for eighty-seven days only in the year."[1] There were a few poorly-supported private schools and academies, financially shaky and generally poor in quality of education.

The condition of Negro schools was much worse, with salaries only a fraction of what was paid to white teachers. Booker T. Washington once wrote that he had seen a Negro teacher's contract that stipulated a monthly wage of $1.60. The GEB made no attempt to overcome the tradition or the laws of the southern states, which decreed separate schools for whites and blacks. Even then, some Southern leaders complained that the GEB was spoiling the Negroes with education.

By the end of 1903, the General Education Board had appropriated $286,000 of the million dollars provided by John D. Rockefeller. This went mostly to support industrial and agricultural schools, and to train teachers during summers and in normal schools.

Wallace Buttrick, President of the GEB from 1903 to 1923, set the example which staff members were to follow in the South for the next 40 years. He travelled all over the South, arranging for grants to individual counties and schools and to State Departments of Education. He quickly focussed attention on the need for public-supported high schools, which were almost non-existent at the time. He saw that teachers for elementary schools would have to come from high schools with supplementary training. And high school teachers would have to come from normal schools and colleges. Thus the GEB was bound to become involved in efforts to improve education at all levels. Buttrick and the presidents of several Southern state universities invented the position of a professor for secondary education, whose job was to train high school teachers and also to promote the establishment of public high schools. The job of "selling" the idea of state and county-supported high schools was not an easy one. It was not until 1912 that as many as a dozen state legislatures in the South had passed laws providing for public-supported high schools. The GEB continued to pay the salaries of professors of secondary education in Southern universities until 1919. Its appropriations for secondary education in the South amounted to $950,000, by 1925.

Similar activity for Negro elementary and high schools was generated through the training of Negro teachers, and through the Board's payment of salaries for "State Agents for Negro Schools" in the state departments of education. The Southern states were reluctant to put money into schools for Negroes--especially high schools. In 1920, 85 percent of the black school children in the Southern states were in the first four grades of the elementary schools. The State Agents for Negro Schools at first were white men, who knew the political situation and worked as skilfully as they knew how to expand high schools and teacher training for black pupils and black teachers. The GEB continued to support this kind of work until 1940.

Another innovation of far-reaching importance was the Farm Demonstration Program started by the GEB in 1906. At this time agriculture in the South suffered not only from the cotton boll weevil, but also from worn-out land. For example, year-in, year-out use of land for growing tobacco had sapped its fertility. Farmers could not get a decent crop of hay or corn. The average yield of corn was five to ten bushels an acre. In 1905 Mr. Buttrick met Seaman A. Knapp, formerly president of the Iowa State Agricultural College at Ames. Mr. Knapp was working for the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Louisiana, showing farmers how to grow rice on what they thought was unfit soil. His system was to show the farmer how to use better seed, more careful cultivation of the soil, and fertilizer, so as to increase his production. In 1906, the GEB signed an agreement with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, to pay for farm demonstration agents to work under Seaman Knapp's direction. For example, the Agent in a Virginia county worked with a farmer to help him grow 85 bushels of corn per acre on land which had been producing ten bushels. This farm became a show-place, and other farmers caught on. Between 1906 and 1914 the GEB provided $926,000 to the Department of Agriculture for Farm Demonstration work and Boys Corn Clubs and Girls Gardening and Canning Clubs. In 1914, Congress passed the Smith-Lever Act, which undertook to support the Farm Demonstration Programs.

Concern with education in the South persisted throughout the entire life of the GEB. By 1964, when the Board's program was terminated, approximately 20 percent of the $325 million appropriated by the Board had gone for education of Negroes, and another 25 percent was used for education of whites in the South.

With his first gift of $1 million in 1902 and his final gift of $10 million in 1921, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Sr. gave a total of $129 million to the GEB. This, with income and increased market value of the securities given, and with $16 million appropriated for the GEB by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1946 and later, made up the $325 million mentioned above.

Other Educational Activities of the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation

Medical Education. The first major effort after the initial ten years of attention to Southern education was the program for improving the education and training of physicians. The central figure here was Abraham Flexner, who had been employed by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to make a study of medical schools in the United States and Canada. He visited the 155 medical colleges then extant and came to the conclusion that all but 31 of them were so poor that they should be abolished. Above all, he argued, the faculty should be full-time teachers, working under universities and living on university salaries. His report, published in 1909, caused a tumult. He was asked by Frederick Gates to advise the GEB, and, upon his advice, the Board made a first grant to Johns Hopkins University Medical School in 1913 of $1.5 million for the organization of the departments of medicine, surgery, and pediatrics on a full-time basis. This was followed by appropriations for a similar purpose to Vanderbilt, Washington University at St. Louis, Yale, and the University of Chicago. Mr. Rockefeller contributed $45 million between 1919 and 1921, specifically ear-marked for medical education in the United States. Approximately 25 medical schools shared in the $45 million, and by 1928 the GEB had appropriated $61 million for medical schools, which was expanded to $94 million by 1960.

Educational Surveys and Evaluations. Abraham Flexner joined the staff of the General Education Board in 1913 as Assistant Secretary at the age of 47. Before making the medical school survey he had been a high school teacher of the classics and the director of a private preparatory school in Louisville, Kentucky. Though he worked in the Medical Education program of the GEB, he also maintained his interest in secondary and elementary education, and soon found an outlet for his energy in the making of school surveys with recommendations for improvement. The first opportunity came in 1914, when the Maryland state legislature appropriated $5,000 for a commission to study the public educational system of the state. Members of the Maryland commission, being laymen, asked the Carnegie Foundation for teachnical assistance. When this was declined, they approached the GEB. Flexner urged the Trustees to approve his participation in this project, which they did by voting an additional $8,700 to support the Maryland fund. Flexner chose Frank P. Bachman, a public school administrator who had studied the New York City school system, to work with him. Thus was created the survey team of Flexner and Bachman, who accepted other invitations and eventually made a number of evaluative studies of state and city school systems, including Delaware; Kentucky; Gary, Indiana; North Carolina; and a number of other southern states. Frank P. Bachman was appointed Director for School Surveys and Public Education, from 1922 to 1928. By 1928 it seemed wise to the Trustees to turn this role over to a university, and the George Peabody College at Nashville was given $800,000 to support a Division of Surveys and Field Services. Bachman joined the Peabody Faculty to carry on this work.

College Teachers' Salaries. At the close of World War I there was a sharp drop in the purchasing power of the dollar, which was cut in half between 1914 and 1920. But teachers' salaries were increasing very slowly to take account of this change. In 1919-20, three-fourths of full-time college teachers were paid less than $2,500 a year; only five percent received $4,200 or more. At Christmas time in 1919, Mr. Rockefeller gave the GEB

$50 million to help raise the salaries of college teachers. By 1924, more than 170 private or independent colleges and universities had received permanent endowment grants from the GEB, and they, themselves, had raised $66 million to match the Board's conditional grants. Salaries were increased roughly 30 percent between 1920 and 1930.

This special attention to teachers' salaries was a major supplement to a long-term program of supporting colleges and universities throughout the United States, which involved about $60 million in endowment grants to 291 institutions between 1905 and 1925. These did not include grants to medical schools. These colleges, nearly all of them private rather than public-supported, raised $140 million in matching funds. An important service, established in the early 1920s, came from the addition to the GEB staff of two financial advisors, one from the University of Wisconsin and one from the University of Michigan, who were on call for advice to college business officers concerned with financial reporting and investment practices. A widely-used book, College and University Finance was published in 1922 by Trevor Arnett, Secretary of the GEB, who had been auditor and comptroller of the University of Chicago.

Educational Experimentation and Innovation

From its beginning the drive of the General Education Board and later the Rockefeller Foundation was toward innovation and experimentation. The teaching of better farming methods in rural schools of the South; promotion of public high schools in the South; schools for Negroes in the South; full-time faculty members for medical schools; all were radical ideas at the time they were proposed and supported with Rockefeller money.

A noteworthy case, which attracted attention and opposition, was the establishment of the Lincoln School in Teachers College, Columbia University. This came about through the actions of Abraham Flexner, Secretary of the Board, and of Charles W. Eliot, ex-president of Harvard University and a Trustee of the GEB. Flexner, though originally a teacher of Latin and Greek, had no use for the then commonly-held view that the mind could be exercised to grow, like a muscle, on exercises in the classical languages and mathematics. Eliot had similar views to Flexner, and wrote a pamphlet for his fellow-trustees in 1915, when they were discussing the quality of American high school education. Eliot said that American high schools restricted their curriculum to "memory studies. . . English, Latin, American history and mathematics, with a dash of economics and civics." They gave "no real acquaintance with the sciences and the arts which within a hundred years have revolutionized all the industries of the white race. . ."[2] Flexner, in 1916, wrote a monograph entitled The Modern School, which outlined his ideas for a new kind of secondary school. The trustees authorized the officers of the GEB to work out arrangements with an appropriate institution for the development of such a school. In 1917, this was done with Teachers College, Columbia University. The GEB bought a site near Columbia University and paid for a building. Eventually, a total of $6 million was provided for the Lincoln School, including $3 million of endowment. The public announcement of the school was made by the General Education Board, an unusual procedure. The news release stated that the Lincoln school would "frankly discard the theory of education known as 'formal discipline,' and will undertake to secure training through the thorough and careful study of subjects which are in themselves valuable." The educational Establishment reacted negatively. Teachers of Latin sent protests to the GEB. Several Ivy League college presidents wrote letters of protest to the President of the GEB. Even the New York Times editorialized that the project was an attempt to overturn the existing school system.

However, the Lincoln School attracted wide and favorable attention. More than a thousand educators visited the school in the year 1923-24. Graduates were welcomed in the selective colleges, some of whom agreed to admit students even though they had not studied Latin. Mr. Rockefeller, Jr. sent to the school four of his five sons. Courses of study which later became standard for most high schools in the country were developed in the Lincoln School--especially in the social studies. Years later, after the Lincoln School had been discontinued, along with laboratory schools of several other University Schools of Education, Professor Lawrence Cremin, historian of the Progressive Education movement, wrote "The Lincoln School was the most influential private school in the progressive movement; in fact it may well have been the most influential single school in the United States between 1900 and 1940."[3]

The Program in General Education: 1932-41

Another initiative in the field of education was taken by the GEB, during the depression decade of the 1930s. By 1932 it was clear that the youth of the land were major victims of the unemployment and general malaise of the Depression. Furthermore, since so few youth could find jobs, it became clear that the school system would have to find ways of holding and interesting a large group from working class youth who in previous years had gone to work at 15 or 16. At the same time, the progressive movement in education was flourishing, and the colleges were interested in reform of general liberal education. The senior officers of the GEB decided to make a survey of innovative practices and ideas at the senior high school and liberal arts college levels. They employed several young educators to visit colleges and secondary schools and to write reports with recommendations for action. By 1933, the trustees approved a program of support for experiments and innovation in the education of adolescents, which might accommodate the great bulk of the youth population up to the age of 18 or 19, something unheard in the United States or any other country. The sum of $10 million was ear-marked for a 5 to 10 year program, which was to be carried on through national educational agencies which by that time were alert to the growing crisis for youth.

The program in General Education, as it was called, operated from 1933 through 1941, eventually appropriating almost $9 million. The major educational organizations which received grants under this program were: the American Council on Education, which created the American Youth Commission and the Commission on Teacher Education, involving 34 colleges and school systems, for which $2.3 million was granted; the National

Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators which created the Educational Policies Commission, a major deliberative and policy-recommending body which received $350,000 for its support; and the Progressive Education Association, which conducted the celebrated Eight Year Study in which 30 experimental secondary schools were set free to work on new curricula independent of the long-standing requirements of the College Entrance Examination Board. The Progressive Education Association also conducted a Study of Adolescents whose report profoundly influenced educational theory. The Director of the Study, Dr. Caroline Zachry, was fortunate to get the assistance of several young refugees from Nazism in Austria and Germany, who have since made a major contribution to American scholarship and education. Among them were Erik H. Erikson, Peter Blos, and Fritz Redl.

Since the graduates of the Thirty Schools in the Eight-Year Study were to be admitted to college upon recommendation of the schools, rather than through college entrance examinations, it was desirable for the experimental schools to work out new methods of evaluating their students and studying the programs in college. For this a grant was made to support an Evaluation Staff, headed by Professor Ralph W. Tyler, then at Ohio State University. Tyler developed a model evaluation procedure which started a new style of educational evaluation that was widely influential over the next two decades. All told, the Progressive Education Association received $1.6 million for its work through this decade.

Grants were also made under this program for experiments in general education at the junior college level, to the University of Minnesota, Bennington College, Sarah Lawrence College, Stephens College; and to the American Association of Junior Colleges for experiments in "terminal" or vocational education in a group of cooperating colleges.

This program was parallelled by grants for studies of adolescents at the University of California at Berkeley, Western Reserve University, and Harvard University. These studies were the pioneers in the provision of information from the field of developmental psychology for use by educators.

Conclusion of the General Education Board's Program in the South

The coming of World War II saw the termination of the Board's program in General Education, and a renewed final effort to assist educational development in the South. The GEB spent the last of its principal fund on this effort, and was aided by appropriations of $16 million from the Rockefeller Foundation after 1946. The focus of GEB support after 1940 was mainly on higher education in the South for black and white universities and colleges. Major grants for endowment and buildings were made to Vanderbilt, Fisk, Tulane, Tuskegee, Dillard, Atlanta, Emory, University of North Carolina. In Nashville, Tennessee, the GEB gave major support to Meharry Medical College, Fisk University, George Peabody College, and Vanderbilt University. Atlanta was another center of GEB attention, with appropriations that brought the four Negro colleges (Spelman, Morehouse, Morris Brown, and Clark) to share a campus area and to participate in the graduate programs of Atlanta University and of the interdenominational theological center which combined four Negro seminaries. The GEB also made substantial grants to Emory University and Agnes Scott College in the Atlanta area, and assisted Emory to develop an outstanding Medical School and Graduate School.

The Advance of Human Knowledge: 1923--

It happened frequently that a change in the Presidency of a Foundation coincided with a change in policy or program. This was partly due to the fact that the new President wanted a careful evaluation of the program as he commenced office, a desire shared by the Trustees who wanted periodic review and evaluation. It was also partly due to the fact that a strong and creative personality in the Presidency was likely to put the impress of his own interests onto the program. This was the case with Wickliffe Rose, who became President of the GEB in 1923. By training a philosopher, Rose had moved into the field of applied science as Director of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation (1913-23). He wanted an international field for his work, and he had become convinced of the prime importance of science and scientific method. When he accepted the presidency of the General Education Board, he stipulated that a new organization be created, the International Education Board, with the mission of developing educational facilities around the world, and with himself as President. This was done, and Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., gave $28 million to the new Board.

During the presidency of Wickliffe Rose, the emphasis was upon improving the quality of education, and on the development of the sciences through universities around the world. An office was set up in Paris, with Augustus Trowbridge, professor of physics and dean of the Graduate School at Princeton University as European Director of the IEB. The International Education Board, during its 5-year existence from 1923-28, provided several hundred [illegible]-doctoral fellowships for promising young scientists to enable them to go to Europe or to the USA to advance their competence. More than a hundred Americans went abroad on these fellowships, several of whom became Nobel Prize winners. Grants were made to develop the physical science facilities at Copenhagen, Cambridge, Paris, Goettingen, Leiden, Stockholm, and Edinburgh. The first IEB grant went to Niels Bohr, for the Physics Institute at Copenhagen. The "cultural sciences" got some attention, with grants of $1 million to the American Academy in Rome, and $500,000 to the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. The largest investment in this area was $3.5 million to Professor James H. Breasted at the University of Chicago for the creation of the Oriental Institute, which became one of the outstanding centers of archaelogical research in the world. During this period, the IEB started the series of grants which paid for the giant 200-inch telescope on Mount Palomar, California.

When Rose retired in 1928, the Trustees of the GEB, the IEB, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial got together and reorganized things so that the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation divided the field between them, with the RF merging with the LSRM and becoming responsible for the advancement of human knowledge on a world-wide basis and the GEB focusing on the improvement and development of the American system of education, especially at the levels of secondary and higher education.

Educational Development Activities of the Rockefeller Foundation

Tables 1 and 3 give an overview of the financial activity of the several Rockefeller foundations. Our definition of "educational activity" places approximately half of the money in the field of education. Much of the work of the Rockefeller Foundation consists of the application of science to human problems--to tropical diseases, to food production, to population control, to the protection of the environment. Also, a good deal goes to the support of "pure" or "basic" research, often done in universities, but not directly related to the development and improvement of education.

Incidentally, the appropriations under the GEB mostly preceded 1940, when the dollar had two to four times its purchasing power as of 1970. Based on dollars of constant purchasing power, the "educational" activities of the Rockefeller foundations comprise about 2/3 of total appropriations.

Tables 3, 5, 6, and 7 report the grants of the Rockefeller funds from 1903 to 1973 in dollars of constant purchasing power, with the 1967 dollar as the basic unit. The total grants in the field of education amount to $1,160,416,000 in 1967 dollars, whereas they are about $700 million in dollars of the dates of the grants. This is seen in Table 3.

As Table 5 shows, the largest amount of money for educational activities was given between 1903 and 1940, amounting to about 74 percent of the total grants up to 1973, in dollars of constant purchasing power.

There was emphasis on the South, where 16 percent of the educational grants went. However, this emphasis was reduced in the 1940-1973 period. Almost half of the total grants went to "national" grantees, as noted in Table 5. This signified either that a grant was made to a national organization, or that a program of grants covered the whole nation. For instance, the GEB grants for college endowments and for teachers' salaries went to institutions in all parts of the country. Similarly, the grants for improved medical education went to medical institutions in all parts of the country, including the South.

As has been noted in a number of studies of educational foundations, the monies have gone largely to private-financed colleges and universities and organizations, as shown in Table 5. The category titled "some of each," refers to grants made to associations or groups of colleges and universities some of which were private and some public.

It will also be noted in Table 5 that 32 percent of the monies went to institutions and agents outside of the USA. This reflects the interest of the International Education Board in major universities around the world; and even more so, the interest of the Rockefeller Foundation in assisting universities all over the world. When Tables 5 and 7 are examined together, it is seen that 93 percent of the total educational grants were focussed on higher education, and about one third of this money, or $370 million, went to aid foreign and international programs.

After 1940, as the General Education Board gave away its capital fund and decreased its program, the Rockefeller Foundation began to pay more attention to education. Three such programs were developed in the period immediately following 1961 (coinciding with a change in the Presidency of the Foundation).

RF Programs since 1963. Those three programs were:

1. *University Development.* In addition to its support of research bearing on its interests in health, agriculture, and population, the RF selected five universities in various parts of the "Third World" or the less developed countries, and undertook to help them systematically to become major modern universities. These were:

Colombia--The Universidad del Valle in Cali, a middle-sized city in the west central part of Colombia.

Nigeria--University of Ibadan.

East Africa--Universities of Nairobi (Kenya); Dar es Salaam (Tanzania); Makerere (Uganda).

Thailand--Mahidol, Kasetsart, and Thammasat Universities in Bangkok.

Philippines--University of the Philippines.

2. *Cultural Development.* The Humanities Division of the Foundation had been interested in the performing arts as well as the humanities since about 1930. This interest moved after 1963 toward educational and training programs in the performing arts: Theatre, opera, ballet, orchestra. Talented students were recruited and given scholarships for participation in a widespread movement for the maintenance and healthy development of the arts in community life. Approximately $29 million was used for educational activities in this program, from 1963 to 1973.

3. *Equal Opportunity.* The major new emphasis was on educational opportunity for disadvantaged youth--especially blacks, but also Spanish-speaking, American Indian, and Appalachian youth. For this program, $47 million was appropriated in the ten years from 1963-72. This was a vigorous, nation-wide program which involved the school districts in big cities, a number of high status colleges and universities, and several rural institutions in the South. For the first time, it brought several black educators into responsible positions on the Foundation staff.

Knowles as President, and the Course Ahead: 1974--

When John H. Knowles became President in 1972, the trustees appointed a Program Review Committee to chart a course for the new period. Their report, entitled The Course Ahead was published in 1974. They established seven major program areas:

Education for Development
Equal Opportunity for All
The Arts, the Humanities and Contemporary Values
Population and Health
Conquest of Hunger
Quality of the Environment
Conflict in International Relations

These were a natural outgrowth of the previous decade's program, but there was more emphasis on education. The following quotations illustrate this greater emphasis upon education.

1. The Arts program will be concerned with "Making the arts more central to general education. This is a new program objective for the Foundation. It will include attempts to demonstrate the importance of the arts to human development and to promote an increased commitment to training in artistic skills within school systems. An initial step, already under way, is support of a study designed to determine for the first time what in fact is being taught in schools in the name of art. Particular attention will be directed to teacher-training institutions to strengthen and emphasize the preparation of arts teachers before they assume classroom responsibilities, a condition too often neglected in arts education."

2. The Humanities will be promoted and developed outside of the colleges and universities.

"Less than half of young Americans go to college, but virtually all go to high school. In most high schools, the humanities are not integrated either with the sciences or with daily living. The Foundation will encourage educators who are trying to enrich the moral and philosophical content of high school programs."

"Millions of men and women who have had no opportunity to attend college nevertheless want to be able to comprehend the world around them. Humanities education may help reduce social fear, while building a sense of dignity and liberating creative energies. The Foundation will encourage explorations and experiments in this field."

3. The earlier University Development Program will be pushed vigorously, especially in the less-developed countries.

"The Foundation therefore will continue to emphasize the strengthening of selected institutions that show a capacity to be national and regional models. The objective will be to help the institutions to reach a level of excellence that can be maintained without further assistance from abroad. This point is being reached at several of the universities supported over the past decade. As Foundation assistance is phased out, work is beginning with other universities with similar promise."

"Universities will also be encouraged to develop, on an experimental and demonstration basis, applied programs and extension activities adapted to the needs of their countries or regions. Such programs should provide a more rapid transmission of the knowledge and skills which apply to the real needs of the people."

4. The Equal Opportunity program will be pushed vigorously, with assistance to "a wide range of disadvantaged people--even though primary attention is given to American blacks." "A new component of the program, centered squarely on minority groups in rural regions will be explored."

Conclusions

There are three highly characteristic qualities of the programs of the Rockefeller foundations which have persisted from the very beginning. One is the close attention to detail on the part of the staff. They travel a great deal, visit projects frequently, examine possible projects carefully, and are available for advice if this is wanted by their clients. When the GEB started its work in the South, President Buttrick as well as his small staff visited innumerable villages and schools and small colleges. Even the large programs of endowment to colleges and grants for teachers' salaries were negotiated largely through visits from staff members to the institution. The International

Education Board activities in Europe required an office in Paris and a staff with power to make decisions on the spot.

The detailed visitation by field agents Jackson Davis and Leo Favrot in the Southern states from 1910 to 1940 were paralleled by visits of Charles Smith, Bruce Williams, and others to the large cities in the 1960s where internships were established in school superintendents' offices for the development of minority group members into responsible administrative roles. Many of the interns were personally visited, and their work observed by RF staff members before they were appointed.

This has been parallelled by a large number of small grants, usually called grants-in-aid, generally for less than $20,000. These are very likely to develop out of the contacts of staff officers with individual educators and researchers, and represent very specific needs which might be overlooked in the making of large grants for institutional support and endowment.

A third characteristic is the use of fellowships and training grants to encourage and develop young people of promise. Table 4 shows that approximately $108 million dollars [illegible] used in this way, more than half of it since 1952. It should be noted, however, that a fellowship grant in 1920 cost much less than half of what was necessary to support the same kind of person in 1970. Fellowships ranged from post-doctoral fellowships for a year or two for an able young physicist to work in one of the great physics laboratories, to fellowships for black teachers t[illegible]rsue graduate work in a first-class university, to scholarships for talented music students to get training for opera or orchestra performance in a first class music school, to scholarships for bright minority group students to get into a selective college.

President Knowles, in the President's Review for 1974, placed special emphasis on Fellowships in his section on *Strategy for the Years Ahead*. Writing of the Rockefeller Foundation (as distinguished from the other Rockefeller endowed foundations, he said: "More than 10,000 fellowships and scholarships have been awarded since 1913, when the Foundation was established. If one had to name the single most important contribution of the Foundation, it would certainly have to be that of supporting the development of promising young men and women."[4]

The relative emphases of Rockefeller-supported programs are best seen in the set of Tables of grants for various functions in terms of dollars of constant purchasing power. On the whole, one observes a rather consistent pattern through time, with, however, the following special emphases:

1. Initial emphasis on the South gradually decreasing.
2. Interest in experimental secondary and college level education focussed on the period from 1920-40.
3. Interest in University Development in the Third World, after 1960.

4. A growing interest in extending educational opportunity to disadvantaged youth, especially black youth. This has been amplified by a program of internships and fellowships to aid young black educators to achieve positions of responsibility in the educational system.

5. Growing emphasis upon education in the field of the performing arts and the humanities, with two goals: recruiting and training able young performers; and making the arts and humanities more central to the general education of American youth.

The Trustee Program Review Committee closes its report with the following statement of the unique place in society of the private foundations:

> The role of a private foundation is in meeting contemporary human need. A private foundation can take initiative; it can pioneer; and by mustering available knowledge and human competence, it can identify causes and experiment with solutions. It can move without the political complications created when governments are involved with other governments. It can encourage cooperative effort across national and political boundaries. It can bring a high order of individuality and diversity of viewpoint into the field of human betterment. It can provide a decentralization of social initiative and responsibility. And it can enlist the interest and support of vigorous, enterprising, and public-spirited benefactors.

Table 1

GRANTS MADE BY THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATIONS: 1903-74

		$ Million
General Education Board	1903-64	325.
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial	1918-1929	55.
International Education Board	1923-28	28.
Rockefeller Foundation	1913-73	1,220.
Approximate Total (current dollars)		$1,630.

Somewhat less than half of this total has been placed by us in the "education" category. In addition to these Rockefeller endowed foundations the following Rockefeller family foundations have had an interest in education:

Rockefeller Brothers Fund, founded 1940
JDR 3d Fund, founded 1963
Martha Baird Rockefeller Fund for Music
Colonial Williamsburg

Table 2

PRESIDENTS OF THE MAJOR ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATIONS

General Education Board	
1902-23	Wallace Buttrick
1923-28	Wickliffe Rose
1928-36	Trevor Arnett
1936-48	Raymond B. Fosdick
1948-52	Chester I. Barnard
1952-61	Dean Rusk
1961-64	J. George Harrar

Rockefeller Foundation	
1913-17	John D. Rockefeller, Jr.
1917-29	George E. Vincent
1929-36	Max Mason
1936-48	Raymond B. Fosdick
1948-52	Chester I. Barnard
1952-61	Dean Rusk
1961-72	J. George Harrar
1972-	John H. Knowles

Table 3

MAJOR CATEGORIES OF EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY BY THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATIONS*

		$ Millions	
		Current $	1967 Purchasing Power
Education in the South (mainly for whites)	1903-64	70	90
Education of Negroes	1903-74	62	132
Medical Education	1913-74	200	443
Endowment Grants to 291 Colleges and Universities	1905-25	60*	150*
College Teachers' Salaries	1919-24	50*	95*
Experimental Programs in Secondary and College Education	1917-41	16	37
Support of Science Programs in Universities (Includes $28 million from the International Education Board)	1924-32	37	75
Natural Sciences	1925-63	50	75
Social Sciences	1918-63	60	95
Humanities	1928-63	30	45
University Development (Third World)	1963-74	58	58
Equal Opportunity	1963-74	47	47
Cultural Development	1963-74	29	29
Fellowships and Scholarships	1916-74	108*	163*
	Approximate Total	$700	1160

*Some of these categories overlap slightly; consequently some appropriations are reported twice. Those marked with an asterisk (*) overlap almost completely with other categories. On the other hand, the Rockefeller funds have granted more than the above amount for support of research and practical applications of research in such areas as: Control of tropical diseases, agricultural development, population control, quality of the environment, medical research. These are not included in our rather narrow definition of "educational activities."

Table 4

FELLOWSHIPS, SCHOLARSHIPS AND INTERNSHIPS*

		$ Thousands (in current dollars)
General Education Board		
Whites	1903-20	200
Negroes	1903-20	150
Whites	1920-40	950
Negroes	1920-40	950
Whites	1940-54	1,850
Negroes	1940-54	500
United Negro College Fund	1959	300
Southern Fellowships Fund	1955-64	3,050
Southern Education Foundation	1963	100
Association of American Universities	1952-56	500
International Education Board	1924-28	1,300
Rockefeller Foundation	1916-51	28,000
Rockefeller Foundation	1952-74	70,000
	Total	$108,000

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* Most of the IEB and RF fellowships were post-doctoral. Many of the others were for graduate study, often leading to the doctorate.

Table 5.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ROCKEFELLER GRANTS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION 1903-1972 (Dollars of 1967 Purchasing Power)

Total Grants--$1,160,416 (000)

Time Periods	Amount	Percent of Total
1903-1920	$149,420	13
1921-1930	481,192	42
1931-1940	222,115	19
1941-1950	49,428	4
1951-1959	81,840	7
1960-1966	107,166	9
1967-1972	69,255	6
Total	$1,160,416	100

Regions		
Northeast--USA	42,200	3.6
South	186,160	16.0
North Central-Midwest	3,483	0.3
Southwest	104	-
West	1,150	0.1
National	556,531	48.7
Foreign-Outside of USA	272,404	23.4
International-Including USA	98,350	8.5
		~~100.6~~

Type of Agent		Percent
Public-Financed	$192,157	16.5
Private-Financed	637,216	55.0
Some of Each	299,217	26.0
	$1,129,490	97.5

Table 6

CHARACTERISTICS OF ROCKEFELLER GRANTS IN EDUCATION
(Dollars of Constant Purchasing Power--1967)

Function	Amount (000)	Percent of Total
Endowment	$547,319	47
General Support	249,437	21
Educ. Res. & Development	116,776	10
Personnel Development Fellowships, Training Institutes	163,177	14
Student Aid Scholarships, Remedial Teaching	33,998	2.9
	$1,110,707.	95
Education for Black Minority	$ 131,635.	11

Table 7.

CATEGORIES IN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
(1967 $)

Higher Education	Amount (000)	Percent
Community-Junior College	$ 4,482.	0.4
Four-Year Colleges	63,832.	5.5
Secondary-College Coordination	4,566	0.4
Under grad.-graduate education	4,823.	0.4
Academic Graduate Programs	519,618.	44.9
Medical Education	442,573.	38.2
Dental Education	960.	0.1
Nursing Education	14,117.	1.2
Religion-Theological Education	2,264.	0.2
Library Science Schools	1,760.	0.2
Teacher Education	6,733.	0.5
Educational Administration	12,204.	1.1
Social Work	1,940.	0.2
Total	$1,079,872.	93.3

Elementary and Secondary Education		
Elementary	$ 3,233.	0.3
Secondary	23,003.	2.0
Combination	30,553.	2.6
Uncertain	3,800.	0.3
Total	$60,589.	5.2

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Foot-notes

1. Quotations taken from Adventure in Giving, by Raymond B. Fosdick. p.3
2. Adventure in Giving, pp. 213-14.
3. Lawrence Cremin. The Transformation of the School, New York: Knopf, 1961. p. 280 ff.
   Letter to Mina Shaughnessy, April 2, 1961.
4. Rockefeller Foundation. The President's Review and Annual Report. 1974. p. 13.

VII. RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

When viewed narrowly in terms of contemporary emphasis, the Russell Sage Foundation would appear to be an unlikely candidate for inclusion in a survey of this sort with its rather exclusive educational focus. With some 25 professionally trained and credentialled sociologists comprising its staff and representing traditional sociological area specialties such as complex organizations, social indicators, and social control, the foundation could pass for a moderate-sized sociology department in a typical university setting. Right down to having a chairman (i.e., president, the last three of which have been sociologists), junior and senior staff, pre- and post-doctoral fellows, research assistants and visiting scholars, the similarity is preserved. As such, it must certainly be one of the best academic, research-oriented sociology departments in the country with an impressive record of staff publications and professional influence.

The rationale given in support of this emphasis is that in the long run the foundation could best carry out Mrs. Olivia Sage's mandate to improve the social and living conditions in the United States of America by supporting research on social problems, rather than trying directly to alleviate the consequences of those problems. RSF hopes that this research will produce information useful to policymakers in the public and private sector who are addressing these problems. Moreover, current Russell Sage leadership feels that since the foundation has a relatively small amount of money (Russell Sage is a middle-size American foundation in terms of capital assets) to spend in support of social science research, it is necessary to have the expertise of active scholars taking part in the decision-making. Such an arrangement has meant that Russell Sage has moved toward a blend between a granting agency and an internal research institute. Staff members spend half their time doing their own research and the other half on administrative work at the foundation.

such as program planning and development, proposal evaluation, monitoring of projects, reviewing manuscripts, and so on. This peculiar blend of activities means that Russell Sage believes it does not recruit new talent from the same pool as do other granting agencies, either public or private. While this may be true, it is probably more the result of a rather exclusive disciplinary focus on sociology as a criterion of selection than it is a result of recruiting active scholars, something that Ford Foundation, among others, also does.

Russell Sage tries very hard to develop its program ideas internally--to develop a program of research and then go outside the foundation to seek scholars to work on precisely those particular problems selected. And since less than three million dollars a year is spent on everything, it is incumbent upon the foundation to ascertain precisely that money is not spent in an area duplicating the efforts of other public or private funding agencies. This it appears to do very effectively by maintaining close association with those agencies, particularly the National Science Foundation, that it believes to be turning out roughly the same kind of product.

Russell Sage appears in the last two decades to be anxious that its funds be applied to support research projects and not commissions or task forces, training programs or institutions. But even here it must be very careful, using stated policy interests to help handle the large volume of applications. Capitalizing on their scholarly expertise, the foundation determines the degree of fit between the research proposal and its principal investigators and the personal inclinations of its own staff. The nature of the relationship between the foundation staff member and a person who has Russell Sage support for a project is primarily substantive and not administrative or financial so that the research interest of the foundation staff may naturally and not artificially help to shape the research program on the outside. One high-ranking foundation official put it this way, "If the most productive social scientist in the world came to us with the best-written proposal ever done on the most pressing social problem in the country, if it were not a substantive interest of one of the staff members of Russell Sage Foundation, we wouldn't support it."

In addition to sponsoring research, RS has felt it important to disseminate its research findings. Arguing that if it is useful to support social science research as opposed to directed social action, it therefore becomes important to guarantee that results of research be widely seen. Russell Sage Foundation got into the formal publishing house type of operation early in its history and has published a large number of books over subsequent years. RS insists that it does not give grants to individuals, it awards contracts for research. When an individual is thus supported for research, he or she signs a letter of contract to submit a report to the Foundation which is suitable for publication. These manuscripts are reviewed by qualified staff and suggestions for revisions made following which the piece is published. No royalties are paid on grounds that the researcher's time has been purchased, analogous to paying faculty a summer salary.

Russell Sage can at the same time be praised and criticized for its decision to underwrite the publication of the results of its own research. Certainly the foundation has approached this task far more assiduously than would ordinarily be expected of a department of social scientists qua social scientists. The assumption of this burden could under the most charitable interpretation signify a basic, underlying commitment to bear the financial weight of this stage of the in-house research endeavor. A somewhat different view of this side of RS activity is that the foundation should allow its research product to find its way to print via the usual channels of referred journals and commercial publishing houses.

Given its commitment to publishing and to carrying out Mrs. Sage's intentions of improving the social and living conditions in the USA, foundation officials self-critically suggest the need for a much broader dissemination of ideas cast in a format and style more amenable to the needs of policy-makers. This procedure would doubtless meet resistance among academically-oriented social scientists but would be a logical step for an academic research institute interested in improving the quality of life.

PAST VERSUS CURRENT INTEREST IN EDUCATION

The support of education or educational research has a marginal existence in current Russell Sage activities. In the post World War II period there has been a gradual decline in interest in education. The foundation in this period has taken a long close look at a number of professions and concluded that they could benefit from the infusion of a social science perspective. Perhaps more than any other organization RS is responsible for medical sociology and has similarly been preoccupied with law and social science and at one time the foundation contemplated a similar role for the profession of education. However, just as the program for the mass media was dropped as being unwieldy so was education abandoned in this sense. It was much easier to get social science into law than into education. Nevertheless, the Foundation did mount a large program that started in the late 30s and carried into the 60s focusing around ability testing in American education.

As these projects came to an end and with the growth of the United States Office of Education and later the establishment of the National Institute of Education, the Foundation decided that it was not going to carry or develop a new program in the area of education. Annual reports in the late 60s and 70s report a section entitled Human Resources in Education and it carries a few projects which have been left over in the area of education. Currently interest among foundation staff in education is minimal being limited to the overlap with studies of occupations, minority groups and child development. A few years ago RS provided support for a study on the introduction of standardized testing in Ireland.

The two staff members most interested in education, Orville Brim and

David Goslin have left the Foundation, and Sarane Boocock, in the past prominent in the Sociology of Education, is currently more interested in international comparisons of child care centers.

Previous to 1946 a more direct and ambitious role in education was maintained by Russell Sage trustees. From the beginning in November, 1907 the Foundation took an active interest in elementary education sponsoring a variety of studies under the administrative aegis of a Department of Child Hygiene with the express purpose to aid educators to substitute knowledge for opinion, and to base action on evidence rather than on tradition or speculation.

The principal figure in the early Russell Sage activity in education was Leonard P. Ayres, the father of the School Survey movement. One book, Laggards in Our Schools, went through three reprintings and sold 4,000 copies; a sizeable number for the audience of that day. Early activities of Ayres and his colleagues included studies on backward children, school entrance age, factors influencing progress through the grades, and promotion rates and systems.

In 1908 a study into the relation of physical defects to progress in school was begun by Dr. Luther H. Gulick and Mr. Ayres. The book resulting from this effort, Medical Inspection of Schools, was the first book published by the foundation's own staff, (eight months before Laggards in Our Schools) and sold 5000 copies. Mr. Ayres published in 1910 another book on health of school children entitled Open-Air Schools which is said to have been enthusiastically received by an international audience of educators.

Vocational and industrial education studies were sponsored in 1913 which questioned assumptions about the kind of occupations that ought to be the object of deliberate training; in 1911 intelligence tests imported from France were critically examined with the aid of the Foundation and their applicability to vocational guidance examined; scales for measuring the quality of handwriting were developed by Mr. Ayres in 1911 and enjoyed widespread usage; in 1914 a spelling scale was developed.

By 1913 a separate Division of Education had been formed and the Russell Sage Foundation entered a period of school surveys. A school survey was a very special operation somewhat akin to what today might be thought of as a comprehensive ethnography of a school system combining a thorough investigation of all facets of school operation and numerous recommendations for the solution of problems which were uncovered. Some 25 of these surveys were carried out of which the best known and most sophisticated were the Springfield and Cleveland Surveys. All the surveys were directed by Mr. Ayres but made use of many specialists. The surveys were very comprehensive including such details as average classroom humidity and were presented in direct and forceful, even hard-hitting language. Prior to 1917, when operations were temporarily suspended, perhaps the greatest contribution of the Russell Sage Foundation to education was the increased respect for the application of scientific methods to educational problems.

One educational activity of the Russell Sage Foundation which gained considerable attention because of its controversial nature, was the publication in 1970 of a document by RS staff member David Goslin, entitled, Guidelines for the Collection, Maintenance and Dissemination of Pupil Records. This report was distributed widely by the Foundation to school principals. The document described itself as the report of a conference on the ethical and legal aspects of school record keeping although it contained considerable discussion of the collection of personal data about pupils for use by researchers. In general the Guidelines sought to emphasize the value and importance of privacy for the pupil and his family and to warn the school principal or counselor against several practices which could be interpreted as infringement of privacy.

While this RS publication was unquestionably in step with the public mood of critically reassessing complex society's relentless intrusion of personal privacy it is fair to say that the report was met with a storm of protest by the academic research community and many others who believed that answers to many of education's most urgent problems would be effectively blocked by the tight restrictions proposed by the Guidelines on access of researchers to school records.

However, the most germane criticism for present purposes was the one which questioned the propriety of a Foundation issuing statements on controversial matters over its own signature and thence disseminating it directly to policy makers and administrators. Some educational researchers contended that the RS document should have been circulated in professional channels to stir up discussion from which a more informed opinion and perhaps official statement from the education profession would arise. Whatever may have been its merits, the publication of Guidelines was a RS effort that was well known and spoke directly to educational issues that were current and crucial.

ANALYSIS OF RUSSELL SAGE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Sage is one of the oldest foundations with a continuing interest in educational support. It made its first sizeable grant for an educational purpose in 1907 and has remained at a modest level of activity since that time.. Since the turn of the century, we list a total of 78 grants in education summing to $10,367,000. As the Table shows, the foundation has been most active in the last 3 decades during which 89 percent of all its educational dollars have been awarded. However, the money awarded in grants is only part of the story, since the staff activity is not included. For example, the period 1910-20 was one of intense staff activity in the area of education.

TABLE I

Decade	N Dollar Award*	% of Total	N of Grants	% of Total
1900-10	772,000	7	6	8
1910-20	-------	---	0	---
1920-30	335,000	3	3	4
1930-40	-------	---	0	---
1940-50	56,000	1	1	1
1950-60	6,085,000	59	31	40
1960-70	1,989,000	19	18	23
1970-80	1,130,000	11	19	24
	$10,367,000	100	78	100

*Where the column is headed N Dollars, the figures are given in dollars of 1967 value.

The decade between 1950 and 1960 stands prominently as the period of highest activity for Sage in support of education with 59% of its total expenditures made during this time span. The mean size of grants by the foundation has been approximately $133,000. During the first 30 years of the foundation's support educational grants averaged around $100,000, then swelled to the figure cited above in the 1950's and have for the most part been in the range of $40,000 to $80,000 for the last 15 years.

The foundation has been most active in 6 major areas of educational support.

TABLE 2

RANK	AREA OF SUPPORT	N DOLLARS	% OF SAGE TOTAL*
1	Higher Educ.	6,577,000	63.4
2	Endowment and Gen. Supp.	2,804,000	27.0
3	Curriculum Dev.	2,720,000	26.2
4	Pre-Collegiate Ed.	1,798,000	17.3
5	Educational Rsch.	1,468,000	14.1
6	Financial Aid to Stud.	1,145,000	11.0
	TOTAL	10,367,000	

*Due to multiple coding %>100%

Higher education clearly has been the primary focus of the foundation's efforts. Since the data were in many cases counted in more than one category, some of the funds for higher education are also listed under endowment, curriculum development and aid to studetns. Our calculations show that fifty-three percent of Sage funds have been given to private institutions and organizations. Public institutions were awarded 32% or $3,333,000 with the remaining funds going to institutions of mixed character.

Geographically, Sage's philanthropy has been quite evenly distributed throughout the country (aside from the South). The Northeast has been given slightly more than a proportionate share of grants receiving 41 percent of total dollars, however, this advantage is muted as Table 3 illustrates.

TABLE 3

Region	N Dollar Award	% of Total	N of grants
Northeast	2,965,000	30	28
National	2,369,000	24	17
West	2,046,000	21	9
N Cent and MW	1,889,000	19	7
South	404,000	4	3
Other	221,000	1	4
TOTAL	$9,904,000	100	68

Of the grants given by Sage, 75 percent has been awarded in the form of grants which have run for 5 or more years. The strong implication is that the foundation is selective in its decision-making but once funded, a project enjoys sustained support from some time. Twelve percent of the dollar awards have been for 3-year projects with 1,2 and 4-year endeavors comprising less than 10% of the remaining funds. One would expect that because of the longer duration of the awards, the long-term grants would be sizeably greater than those funded for shorter periods of time and this is indeed the case. Grants for five-year periods or longer averaged slightly over $300,000, more than triple the size of grants of shorter duration.

Sage's interest in educational research is reflected in the nature of its administration staff. Sage fellows and other research specialists have been instrumental in choosing projects to be funded and in carrying out the projects. Over 83 percent of the funded activities have been chosen and carried out internally. This corresponds to 68 percent of all dollars totaling $8,539,000.

Of the 78 grants we recorded 46 were issued for the support of higher education. Within that category nearly 90 percent of the funds were divided among just three areas. Legal education received 33% of the higher education money followed by the education of social workers with 29% and medical education at 23%. The largest number of grants in this category was 10 for undergrad/graduate education but the mean size of the awards was only $47,500.

Only 17 awards were made for the purpose of general support to educational institutions. This amounts to $2,804,000 adjusted dollars. The foundation made no awards for the purpose of establishing endowment for any of the recipient institutions.

The foundation's over-arching interest in social science disciplines, particularly in sociology, is reflected in the distribution of awards for curriculum development, a traditional concern of educators.

TABLE 4

Discipline	N Dollar Award	% of Total	N of Grants
Social Sciences	2,117,000	78	18
Biological Sci.	285,000	10	1
Agriculture	282,000	10	2
Religion	36,000	1	1
TOTAL	$2,720,000	100	22

In pre-collegiate education, 85 percent ($1,525,000) of the total was spent for programs designed to benefit combined primary and secondary schools. Pre-collegiate activity is not high priority at Sage as can be seen by the amount given and the additional fact that only fifteen grants were coded in this category.

More than one-third of Sage's education-related awards went towards some form of educational research. Within this category, the foundation's appropriations were, relative to other foundations we studied, unusually diversified as the following table illustrates.

TABLE 5

Area of Research	N Dollar Award	% of Total	N of Grants
Social Context of Education	701,000	48	9
Administration	276,000	19	8
Instruc. and Learning	155,000	11	2
Curric. & Objectives	113,000	8	1
Counseling & Human Development	107,000	7	2
History	104,000	7	1
Measurement & Rsch. Methods	12,000	1	1
TOTAL	$1,468,000	100	24

The size of the awards in the social context of education research averaged $78,000 adjusted dollars. The size of the Sage's support for research in the social context of education relative to the size of the foundation and its total expenditures is in keeping with its general commitment to an understanding of the nature of man's social order and the improvement of his social and physical condition.

Only roughly 8 percent of Sage's awards have been expressly for financial aid to students (9 of 78 awards). Nearly 90 percent of the total for this category was designated for either fellowships or scholarships. Of the money which have been explicitly allocated, 8 percent or $92,000 has been for fellowships and 3 percent or $31,000 has gone for work study programs.

Although only 22 of the 78 grants could be assigned to a specific area within a geographic region, it is noteworthy that 16 (73% of these awards went to institutions within the same city in which the Foundation is located (New York).

VIII. CARNEGIE CORPORATION

Throughout its history, the Carnegie Corporation, which was established in 1911, has written a distinguished record in the field of national and international education. By almost any standard of foundation measurement, flexibility of funding, innovation, leadership, activism, Carnegie has excelled. A mere glance at studies which Carnegie has sponsored, from Gunnar Myrdal's pioneering commentary on American race relations, An American Dilemma, to James Conant's work on the American high school and to the recent reports of Clark Kerr's Commission on Higher Education, indicates the extent to which Carnegie has profoundly shaped ideas in educational development through the generations. Name any field or significant academic structural change, and Carnegie has probably been involved, from adult education in the 1920's and 1930's to concern with the arts in the 1920's, 1930's and 1950's, to public television in the 1960's, to the legal education of Blacks in the 1970's. A close study of Carnegie's patterns of grants would reflect the history of American education in the twentieth century.

The Corporation was fortunate in the vision bequeathed to it by its founder, Andrew Carnegie. Carnegie in a memorable series of essays articulated an impressive philosophy for private philanthropy. And in the application of his ideas, Carnegie shaped and controlled several foundations, the greatest of which was the Carnegie Corporation.

In his "Gospel of Wealth," published in The North American Review (1889), Carnegie made a distinction between two activities in the life of any self-made person of wealth. These were the periods of acquisition and distribution. Once a man made his millions, stressed Carnegie, he had a public responsibility to channel the bulk of these funds into beneficial services for the society which had rewarded him far beyond what his labors merited. He would therefore become a "trustee," a steward of great wealth. He set the theme for his philosophy by emphasizing the need to create the conditions for equal opportunity rather than simply giving free, unattached aid. "In bestowing charity," said Carnegie, "the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves, to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so, to give those who desire to rise the aids by which they may rise, to assist, but rarely, or never to do all."[1]

Carnegie stressed an educational theme when he said that the

> best means of benefiting the community is to place within its reach the ladders upon which the aspiring can rise--free libraries, parks, and means of recreation, by which men are helped in body and mind, works of art, certain to give pleasure and improve the public taste; and public institutions of various kinds, which will improve the general condition of the people; in this manner returning their surplus wealth to the mass of their fellows in the forms best calculated to do them lasting good.

Here Carnegie demonstrated a bold design which would influence future dimensions of his philanthropic ventures: aid could and should have an impact on the structural system under which people learn. In surveying the "best fields for philanthropy," Carnegie pointed to gifts in the educational framework, from universities to free libraries to museums to medical colleges, to artistic works in parks to music halls to programs of physical recreation. Certainly institutions founded by his gifts, such as the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh, the Carnegie Music Hall in New York, and the Carnegie Institute of Technology were monuments to his philosophy.[2]

There were several limitations to Carnegie's ideas. For one thing, a person skilled at accumulating money might not be equally skilled in distributing it, particularly since the latter function required a national range of experience and expertise which the master of steel could not pretend to have, particularly in the field of education. As Carnegie's most recent biographer, Joseph Frazer Wall, notes, while Carnegie was amassing his fortune, often at the expense of the welfare of both his opponents and his laborers, there was little evidence to suggest he was thinking of the possibilities of ameliorating social conditions of men.

Yet Carnegie's philosophy had merit for the field of education. The son of a poor Scottish family who arrived in the United States in 1848 when he was twelve, Carnegie, like Will Keith Kellogg, had been deprived of the benefits of a normal education, and like others from a similar background, he was addicted to the educational faith. While he refused to dole out food to the poor, he was willing to grant free education.

Carnegie's sympathy with the problems of higher education became apparent when he founded the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching with a sum of $10 million from United States Steel Corporation bonds in 1905. Working closely with President Henry S. Pritchett of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Carnegie gave the Foundation the mission of devising a good retirement plan for college professors who were, then as now, underpaid. Pritchett became the Foundation's first President. In his Autobiography, Carnegie noted that of

> all professions, that of teaching is probably the most unfairly, yes, most meanly paid, though it should rank with the highest. Educated men, devoting their lives to teaching the young receive mere pittances. When I first took my seat as a trustee of Cornell University, I was shocked to find how small were the salaries of the professors, as a rule ranking below the salaries of some of our clerks. To save for old age with these men is impossible.[3]

The Foundation laid the basis for the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America, still the major agency for retirement benefits for professors today.

At first directed to private non-denominational institutions, the Foundation soon extended its services to public colleges and universities.

Under Pritchett's leadership, and in keeping with Carnegie's philosophy, the Foundation began to influence academic standards by insisting that to qualify for the pension plan, institutions of higher education must have acceptable admissions systems, requiring of all potential students that they complete four years of secondary education. Also, it stated that these colleges must have at least six full professors on their staffs.

While essentially an operating agency, the Foundation over the years has also sponsored a series of research studies on the status of higher education in the United States, the most famous of which was Abraham Flexner's indictment of the poor standards of medical education. Later from 1937 to 1948 the Corporation gave the Foundation some grants which led to the creation of the Graduate Record Examination. Also, as a result of these studies, the Corporation helped found the Educational Testing Service in 1948.

While the Foundation still technically maintains its own independence, with its own Board and Annual Reports, it has increasingly become linked to the greatest of Carnegie's ventures in education, the Carnegie Corporation, founded in 1911. Today, the Corporation and Foundation share the same officers, and throughout the century, the Foundation has derived many of its funds for separate projects from the Corporation.

In the early twentieth century, Carnegie continued to establish other great philanthropies, including the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of his native Scotland, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C. to encourage basic research in scientific fields, the Carnegie Hero Fund and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. But in the Corporation of New York, founded with a major endowment of $125 million, Carnegie created an institution designed to carry out his major intentions in education. The charter of the Corporation gave its Board a broad mandate:

> to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States, by aiding technical schools, institutions of higher learning, libraries, scientific research, useful publications, and by such other agencies and means as shall from time to time be found appropriate therefore.

Until his death in 1919, Carnegie, as President of his Corporation, retained close surveillance over the Corporation's expenditures, and as Waldemar Neilsen said, Board meetings simply confirmed what he had already done. In these years, Carnegie highly favored other institutions which he had founded, such as the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh and the Carnegie Foundation. From 1911 to 1922, these institutions received over a third of the total Corporation grants, $23,415,032. As the present Secretary of the Corporation, Florence Anderson, wrote, Corporation activities in these years were largely devoted to Carnegie's traditional interests, especially in supporting building programs of community libraries, provided the community agreed to maintain the library properly. In her work on the Corporation's library program, Miss Anderson noted that after World War I, the building program was discontinued in favor of grants to enhance training of librarians and the purchase of books at colleges and universities. From 1911 to 1961, the Corporation gave $68,334,000 in its library program, 11 percent of its total grants. The interest of the Corporation in libraries remains to this day, symbolized by a recent grant of $450,000 to the Center for Research Libraries to enable the Center to purchase 4,500 more scholarly journals for the use of cooperating academic libraries.[4]

Another project initiated in the early years was the Commonwealth program, which has remained the chief international agent of Corporation activities.

In his study of the program, Stephen Stackpole noted that it extended the Corporation's mission beyond the borders of the United States and reflected Carnegie's continual interests in the colonies of his native country. From 1911 to 1961, the Corporation spent $24,524,000 in grants to countries in Africa, Asia, the Mediterranean, to Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Among other things, these grants helped develop libraries and teacher training projects. Also, some of these were travel grants to educators for visiting institutions in the United States.[5]

Carnegie's legacy would remain strong through the century. His funding of libraries both within and without the academic structure underlined the tendency of the Corporation to support education in its broadest context. In its history, the Corporation has supported not only the formal educational institutions, but also institutions such as museums and educational television networks, which cater to public education.

The Presidency of Frederick P. Keppel

After the Presidency of James R. Angell, who resigned in 1921 to become President of Yale University and during the acting Presidency of Henry Pritchett from 1921 to 1923, the Corporation Board, headed by the distinguished Elihu Root, selected its first major professional President, Dr. Frederick P. Keppel. Keppel who had served as an Assistant Secretary of War, a Columbia University dean and for the Red Cross and International Chamber of Commerce, soon emerged as the leading spokesman for private philanthropy until his retirement in 1941. His commentaries in the Annual Reports, which the Corporation had been publishing since 1911, and his various separate publications such as The Foundation, articulated many of the stresses of foundation management which anticipated present problems of the modern foundation. The father of Francis Keppel, the future United States Commissioner of Education, Keppel made the Corporation into a pioneering agency developing new movements in adult education, in the use of radio in education, in art appreciation. Under Keppel, the professional staff grew from a total of four to eleven in 1941.

Keppel underlined the two major purposes of the Corporation, sponsoring grants aimed at the advancement of knowledge through research, and those aimed at the communication and diffusion of knowledge. In his first reports, Keppel gave the Corporation a philosophy which still has its special impact. One of his themes was public accountability. In 1924, Keppel stated that like publicly supported universities, foundations, although privately endowed, are also public "enterprises." "Grants made by them," said Keppel, are "matters of public concern and. ... they should involve the largest possible degree of public participation in what is recognized on all sides to be a cooperative enterprise." Years later, Alan Pifer would echo the same idea. In The Foundation, Its Place in American Life, Keppel emphasized the flexibility of foundation policies:

> A foundation must be willing to take the initiative, it must show courage as well as prudence, it must realize that the value of individual enterprises can't always be measured by general formulas. . . As a social instrument the mobility of the foundation gives it certain very definite assets, of which it should take full advantage.[6]

In 1934, with a fascinating overture to a problem which deeply concerned foundation executives in the 1960's, Keppel debated the question of the federal government's increasing activity in the field of education under the New Deal. Keppel recalled that Dr. Pritchett, as Acting President, had said that "one of the basic conditions for the creation of foundations in any country is the social tradition which favors private as against government initiative in philanthropy." But Keppel stated that the Depression had changed the conditions for aid and that the government had entered the education field on a permanent basis.

> Generally speaking, experiment and trail-breaking in the natural and social sciences alike, have in the United States been left to individual universities or similar institutions, often with aid from foundations, or to the initiative of the foundation itself. The most striking feature in the recent change is that it is precisely into these fields that government has entered.

Foundation Programs, 1923-1941

In June, 1924, the Carnegie Corporation at its own initiative sponsored a national conference on adult education. In 1931, Keppel noted that the "initial activities resulted in the organization of the American Association for Adult Education." In this program, the Corporation anticipated contemporary concerns with lifelong learning, the necessity for the educational structure, at all levels, to provide opportunities for individuals who need either retraining as a result of economic dislocation or who want an intellectual stimulus for their leisure time. Under this program, the Association experimented with some programs for prison inmates. From 1929 to 1939, the Corporation expended $2,685,000 or 4 percent of its total for adult education.

Also, in 1924, the Corporation began its program to sponsor art history and art appreciation at all educational levels. From 1929 to 1939, the Corporation expended $7,185,000 or 10.6 percent of its total for the arts. According to a study by Brenda Jubin, the Corporation spent $19,077,586 from 1911 to 1967 in its arts program, and its grants contributed to approximately two hundred publications in painting, music and architecture.

The art program has proved to be one of the most important contributions of Carnegie, a tribute to Keppel's vision. Rather than a program of direct patronage to artists and musicians, Carnegie's project concentrated instead on incorporating the arts centrally into the educational structure where they had had little place before the 1920's. With a fellowship program between 1925 and 1931 and grants-in-aid between 1938 and 1942, the Corporation did give some direct aid to individual scholars and artists. But much of its efforts have been aimed at enriching the art and general educational programs at universities, museums and in public education. One of the most recent fascinating ventures grew out of the Corporation's American Studies entity. According to Jubin, the Corporation gave $196,500 between 1955 and 1958 to the University of Georgia to develop a collection of 2,500 slides in American art history. Under this project, Carnegie paid half the cost of hundreds of these sets (which were distributed by Sandak, Incorporated) for institutions of higher education. While the quality of some of the slides is poor, they have proved immensely useful in the classroom for a wide variety of courses. Student responses are often enthusiastic, and the visual education of many Americans has been enhanced.[7]

Under Keppel, the support of research studies through grants to various institutions was great. The most famous study during Keppel's tenure was the Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal's American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy. Commencing in 1938, this work, as Florence Anderson recalls, proved to be an immense undertaking for the Corporation, partially because it was administered by Corporation personnel. But the result, published in 1944, was a monumental book, clearly stating the discrepancy between white Americans' ideals of freedom and equality and the depressing reality of the treatment of many black American citizens in their midst. The book was one of the landmark studies connected with the Civil Rights movement.

Under Keppel's leadership, the Corporation continued to support adult education, library service, the arts, and research as its major activities.

Beyond the Myrdal study, there was no program specifically directed toward universities, but several black colleges, such as Tuskegee Institute, did receive grants under Corporation programs.

World War II

Upon Keppel's retirement, the Corporation went through a transition period under three Presidents, Walter Jessup (1941-1944), Devereux Josephs (1945-1948), and Charles Dollard (1948-1955). In this era, under the special impact of World War II and aftermath, the Corporation left the stricter program confines of the Keppel Presidency and became more broadly committed to educational endeavors. This prepared the way for the Corporation's next major phase under the Presidencies of John Gardner (1955-1967), and Alan Pifer (1967-).

Jessup, who became President of the Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1934 and had been President of the State University of Iowa, stressed the need for cooperation between foundations and government during the national emergency. He noted how the trustees in November, 1940 had set aside $500,000 for aiding the war effort. For instance, Carnegie gave $100,000 to the "Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation to conduct a variety of experimental programs as a basis for the growing activity of the Special Service Division of the War Department." Also, Carnegie helped in the process of keeping "colleges and universities informed as to the complex personnel needs of defense agencies" through the American Council on Education. Grants were made to the Red Cross, United Service Organizations, and the National Bureau of Economic Research for a study of war research.

Postwar Era

Under Josephs and Dollard, Carnegie launched into a bold postwar educational venture, with great emphasis on both the social sciences and teaching. In 1948, Dollard noted that in three Annual Reports, Josephs had outlined the major directions of the "postwar" era: he

> urged the need for wider understanding among American adults of the realities of the world situation and of the new responsibilities which victory brought to us, more rapid development and more efficient utilization of the social sciences, greater use of the expert competence which our universities offer, and more effective teaching.

And in a major departure, noted Dollard, Josephs "reflected the developing conviction of the officers that . . . the achievements of these ends might best be sought . . . through the formal educational machinery of the country."[8]

Hence the Corporation increasingly gave grants designed to strengthen the "formal educational" structure, especially at the undergraduate and graduate levels of higher education. Central to this aid was the improvement of college teaching. As Dollard said in 1952, the "teacher. . . is the central ingredient in any kind of education, and above all, in liberal education." And in his summation of postwar education in 1953, Dollard stressed the Corporation's goal of "reconciling liberal and specialized education." Dollard noted that $550,000 was voted to a number of major technical schools such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology "to enable them to experiment with the expansion of their liberal arts offerings." At the same time, the Corporation did not neglect precollegiate education. In 1948, the Corporation helped establish the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, devoted to publicizing the needs of public schools.

In John Gardner, who became President in 1955, the Corporation had found a man who had the experience and wisdom to capitalize on the new patterns of the postwar era. Gardner had contributed to those patterns, having joined the staff in 1946 after serving in the Office of Strategic Services in Italy and Austria during the war. Before that, he had received a doctorate from the University of California in 1938 and had taught psychology at Mount Holyoke College.

Gardner's first report, entitled "A Time for Decision in Higher Education," was seminal. Here as he reviewed the higher educational structure and its future in the United States, Gardner delineated several apparent tensions. While the national needs of more teachers and more institutions, as a result of the population boom, were clear, there was no national educational system, only decentralized local mechanisms to resolve them. While specialized training was necessary, so too was the incorporation of liberal arts into every four-year curriculum. As colleges and universities responded to democratic pressures and college enrollments increased, there was a need for continued individual excellence. As Gardner said,

> Neglect of the gifted is not a necessary consequence of mass education. We can give full attention and consideration to the average student and still not neglect the gifted one. Enthronement of the 'average' is one of the pitfalls facing any democracy, and the one way to avoid this pitfall is a lively recognition of excellence wherever it appears. All able young people should be provided with the sort of education which will provide the maximum challenge and the most effective cultivation of their gifts.[9]

Under Gardner, the Corporation responded to the growing power of institutions of higher education. It continued programs in liberal arts teaching like the internships it began after World War II. As the 1955 Report stated, the Corporation provided the University of Chicago, Brown, Columbia, Harvard and Yale Universities with funds to "enable young professors from other institutions throughout the country to come to their campuses and learn about their innovative methods in liberal arts teaching." The Corporation emphasized its American studies program with a five-year annual grant of $15,000 in 1955 to the Columbia University Oral History project under Allan Nevins.

Through the early 1960's, in areas such as international affairs, graduate and business education, life-long education, women's education, the education of the gifted student, international education for American students, Carnegie had an impact. A grant of $60,000 in 1955 to the Association of American Colleges helped create the Institute for College and University Administrators. In the late 1950's, the Corporation sponsored projects to identify and recruit superior students for college, to initiate honors programs in colleges and develop advance standing mechanisms for students arriving on college campuses.

Secondary Education and Equal Opportunity

Under Gardner, the field of secondary education received impetus, especially with the publication in 1959 of James B. Conant's famous study, The American High School Today, and later, The Education of American Teachers (1962). His first work was supported by a grant to the Educational Testing Service from the Corporation and was published by McGraw-Hill in the Carnegie Series in Education.

In the early 1960's as Waldemar Nielsen stresses, the Corporation moved away from its emphasis on educational leadership to a concern with what the 1964 Annual Report termed "Opportunity for All." For instance, the Corporation gave $90,000 in 1963 to the University of Wisconsin to sponsor a fellowship program for women at the graduate level. In 1964, responding to public events at the time, the Corporation made its first full entry into the problem of Black education. For example, it gave a general grant of $250,000 to the United Negro College Fund; $350,000 to Tuskegee Institute and $300,000 to the University of Wisconsin for a program of faculty exchange with southern Black colleges.

When Gardner left for his Cabinet position in 1965, Alan Pifer became Acting President and succeeded Gardner to the Presidency in 1967. Pifer had been with the Corporation since 1953, after service as executive secretary of the United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom. He has become a national spokesman for foundations and vigorously defended them against the encroachments of the Tax Reform Act of 1969. He has strongly opposed the 4 percent income tax as excessively high and punitive. On February 15, 1972, he sent Secretary of the Treasury, John Connally, an eloquent plea that such a tax destroyed the principle of pluralism, the cooperative union of public and private spheres. He pointed out that Andrew Carnegie had given away his millions long before he could have had federal tax advantages and that no member of his family had derived private benefits from the Corporation. Noting that the Corporation was sending the Internal Revenue Service $521,116, Pifer stated that "this sum . . . would, without the tax, have been given in its entirety to colleges, universities, medical schools and other charitable institutions, mostly under private contract."[10]

In a number of his reports, Pifer commented on the growing involvement of government in grant making in education in the 1960's. In 1966, Carnegie and the Ford Foundation ~~would~~ take a lead in government cooperation when they established the Children's Television Workshop with the Office of Education. This venture became an immensely successful project in preschool education with the popularity of programs like "Sesame Street." Pifer hoped for a continuing creative partnership but was increasingly wary over the criticism of foundations which led to the Tax Reform Act.

In 1973, Pifer reviewed his own twenty years with the Corporation and emphasized programs in Africa, higher education, television, health, children, and social justice. In the latter area, Carnegie has made significant progress in the 1960's with large grants totalling over $1.3 million for 1969-73 to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Incorporated to develop scholarship programs at southern state university law schools to increase the number of Black lawyers in the south. It gave over $500,000 to the Law School Civil Rights Council for recruitment of Blacks to law school for 1969-73 and over $300,000 to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools for assistance to Black colleges. And in 1973, Pifer illustrated his own consciousness of the Black problem by publishing his lecture, The Higher Education of Blacks in the United States.

Also, like the Danforth and W. K. Kellogg Foundations, Carnegie developed an urban/public affairs focus in the late 1960's. For instance, in 1967, it gave the National Urban League, Incorporated, $200,000 for a graduate fellowship program, and in 1968, it gave the New York Urban League $300,000 for support of the Harlem Preparatory School.

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education

In 1967, under Pifer, the Corporation began to finance through the Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Higher Education under the chairmanship of Dr. Clark Kerr with annual grants of $1 million. In a sense, this commission was a response to the turmoil on campuses in the 1960's, and while its reports have received mixed reviews, they have influenced Carnegie's own grants. For instance, in response to the report, Less Time, More Options: Education Beyond the High School, Carnegie is now sponsoring a number of experimental programs aimed at a three-year degree, a middle college or a college degree encompassing grades 11 through 14. In 1973, Carnegie gave $350,000 to Simon's Rock, a small private, experimental college in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, to "establish an evaluation unit to monitor the experiment" of granting the degree at the end of grade 14. In 1973 the Commission published its final reports and ended its existence after six years. However, a new group, the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education with Clark Kerr as Head, was formed under the sponsorship of the Carnegie Foundation.

In recent years, Carnegie has also supported research studies in child development, the external degree and collective bargaining for college faculty. It has aided significant publications such as Christopher Jencks' Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (1972), and Christopher Jencks' and David Riesman's The Academic Revolution (1968).

Generally the Corporation has given grants to other agencies to administer, but in the 1960's and 1970's it has administered a few important projects itself. Among these were the Carnegie Council on Children under Dr. Kenneth Keniston, Charles Silberman's study which resulted in Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education (1971) and a recent research project by Dr. Milton Senn on the history of child development in the United States.

Also, as Florence Anderson said in an interview, Carnegie no longer favors private institutions as it once did even through the 1960's. Miss Anderson stressed that Carnegie simply does not have the resources to save financially pressed small colleges.

Today, Carnegie is noted for its commitment to program flexibility and its willingness to consider creative proposals in education, regardless of the specific field. It sponsors heavily both basic and applied research. It supports grants in higher education, early childhood development, elementary and secondary education, public affairs and in the British Commonwealth. It has a staff of twenty-five persons, and many of the staff meet both formally and informally with the Board to discuss policies and procedures. The Board, with seventeen members, is a bit large for a foundation, but it has a broad representation of civic and educational leaders. To many grant recipients, Carnegie seems to be the most gracious and innovative foundation with which to deal. As in the past, it frequently dips into its capital to finance its grantees. In 1973, for instance, it expended $18,431,000 or $8,951,000 more than its income.

Carnegie is still trying to work out acceptable evaluation procedures, which remain largely internal, relying heavily on annual reports of recipients. Occasionally it will hire outside consultants to evaluate a series of grants such as those designed to assist the development of Doctor of Arts degrees.

During the 1950's and 1960's, the Corporation has evolved from an elitiest approach, favoring often the professional and talented individuals in education, to a more democratic theme, favoring opportunity for the many from preschool to post-doctoral programs. But consistent to Carnegie from the early 1920's has been its emphasis on the creativity of student and teacher, administrator and scholar. In this sense, its password has been freedom, and it has given its recipients sufficient latitude to deviate and risk failure.

Magnificent in its reach and generosity, Carnegie has emerged as a great national institution open to all possibilities in education. If any single institution is equipped to anticipate future needs, Carnegie is the one.

Table 1 - Carnegie Corporation of New York*
(in millions in constant dollars)

	1962-1973	1973
Pre-Collegiate	21.2	4.4
Higher Education	98.3	6.9
Personnel Development	74.3	1.9
Financial Aid to Students	16.3	.5
Educational Research	87.3	6.9
Educational TV	5.4	.2
National Focus	100.9	6.3
Foreign - Outside U.S.	10.3	1.3
Minority Focus	18.8	2.4
Support, Public Institutions	15.3	1.6
Support, Private Institutions	70.8	1.6
Support, Mixed	30.0	7.7

*Note: For this study, tabulations were made from the year 1962 because the Carnegie Corporation has published several booklets on programs such as the arts, library services, the Commonwealth, cataloguing grants until 1961. The most sophisticated analysis was devoted to the year 1973; for the period 1962 to 1973, there was much collapsing of grants. Therefore, the figures for the total period are compared with those for 1973 for two reasons: to give an impression of more recent trends and to indicate the greater accuracy of the more recent figures. At best, these figures suggest the major categories of Carnegie grants. Not all of Carnegie's philanthropic interests are represented in these figures. Also, most of the minority grants went into the field of Black education.

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11. Florence Anderson, interview, June 27, 1974.

IX. DANFORTH FOUNDATION

In the field of education, the Danforth Foundation has made a major contribution with its insistence that reform be felt not just in the superficial structure of educational institutions, but in the special way an institution relates to the people whom it serves and who serve it; students, faculty and administrators. With its emphasis on human values and its concern with the quality of education, the Danforth heritage seems most appropriate and wise in an age still trying to resolve the issues raised by the dramatic enrollment increases and accompanying student dissent of the 1960's. Starting primarily as a highly personal venture of the William H. Danforth family, the Foundation, after initial thrusts in the 1950's, dramatically and convincingly emerged as a major force in the field of education in 1960's, both as a result of its operational Fellowship programs and its innovative grant-making in Black education, faculty development and urban affairs.

The Danforth Foundation, which was established in 1927 by William H. Danforth and his wife, derived its principal assets from the Ralston-Purina Company which Danforth had founded in the late nineteenth century. A Missouri native who was born in 1870, Danforth, like W. K. Kellogg, displayed a special talent for turning his small St. Louis cereal and grain company into an American business empire. With his exuberant personality, religious conviction and deep interest in youth, Danforth lent a unique personal touch to the Foundation which still influences it.

The original Board of Trustees was composed of the founder and his wife, his son Donald, and his daughter Dorothy D. Compton. Until his death in 1955, Danforth kept active control over many foundation activities. In the 1930's and 1940's, he pursued grant making in what some call a "hip-pocket" fashion, making out checks in the forms of loans to college students and sponsoring from 1946 the building of chapels at institutions of higher education.

The Treasury Department, in reference to Danforth's tax exempt status in 1939, accurately summarized early foundation activities:

> In furtherance of your purposes you sponsor the American Youth Foundation in carrying out its Christian leadership training program through camp activities in the summer months and activities in churches, schools, colleges, 4-H Clubs, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Young Men's Christian Associations, and Young Women's Christian Associations throughout the entire year. . .you have granted scholarships to the camps, conducted by the American Youth Foundation, to students of home economics, to students of state agricultural colleges, to students of Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, to Future Farmers of America and organizations from the States. . . to various state 4-H Club organizations, to students in high school and to individuals whose character and ability warrant such awards. Approximately 60 awards are made each year to outstanding boy and girl students from state agricultural colleges. You also operate a loan fund for the benefit of college students and make contributions to other character-building educational and religious organizations.[1]

Danforth always wanted to attach to his aid a personal message, which was affirmative in spirit but offensive to some because of its didactic quality. Essentially the theme was creative individualism: each individual should measure his potential capability and push himself to achieve that standard. Every man and woman had more worth than he or she realized, and each person must be bold in the quest for self-improvement. Danforth's philosophy was best expressed in his famous tract, I Dare You, first printed in 1930's and later distributed by a committee of his friends to various schools under the auspices of I Dare You Committees. Somewhat humorous and "dated" by contemporary standards, the book nonetheless gave the foundation philosophy ~~a useful word,~~ "daring," and in certain passages, Danforth stressed the fundamental impact of formal education. In a characteristically personal episode, Danforth recalled how he had met a mechanic at an American Youth Foundation Camp meeting:

> . . A few years ago a young fellow, who was working as a mechanic in a large electrical firm, came to me much perplexed. He had been forced to go to work when he had finished high school. Later he saw boys with technical college training outstrip him. Sensing he had ability to be much more than a mechanic, I dared him to leave his job and go back to school. Again I saw that priceless light of battle leap into the eyes of a fighter. He had no money, but, somehow, he got to college, was graduated with honors, and today the might-have-been mechanic is a prominent engineer. I can tell you one of the secrets of his life, too. . .he keeps on growing by sharing, because now he has a mania for helping others get an education.

In a similar manner, Danforth entitled one of his chapters, "I Dare You to Think Creatively."[2]

To this day, the Danforth Foundation staff likes to stress the kind of personal relationship and encouragement so vital to the founder. Danforth sends out personal checks to approximately 15,000 individuals a year and at various annual conferences like that held for Danforth Fellows, foundation personnel are able to meet and know individual grant recipients. As the 1958 Annual Report stated, "the primary concern of the Danforth Foundation is with individuals rather than with bricks and mortar."

Furthermore, more than with most great foundations, the Danforth familial influence remains strong. Danforth's son, Donald Danforth, succeeded his father as chairman of the Board, and in turn, his younger son, Dr. William Danforth, Chancellor of Washington University, became the current chairman. Two other grandsons of the founder, John C. Danforth, currently Attorney General of Missouri, and Donald Danforth, Jr., have been Board members. On the present eight-member Board, three members are related to the family. Also, the Foundation's St. Louis base has been significant. From 1962 to 1971, for instance, the Foundation gave approximately 15 percent of its grants to St. Louis institutions, agencies, and activities.

In his years with the Foundation, William Danforth set vital precedents for the future. Under his stewardship, the Foundation's commitment to education was firmly established, and its national focus became clear. The original charter of the Foundation, adopted on May 25, 1927, stated that this "Foundation is formed solely and only for charitable purposes and to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the United States." In 1941, the Danforth Associate Program, which emphasized the development of student-faculty interrelationships, was founded, and in 1943, the first Danforth Fellowship Program was initiated.

Under this "Danny Grad" program, about a dozen women college graduates were paid a stipend to work in Christian leadership programs on various campuses. On January 8, 1946, the Board talked of planning "similar awards for men who are preparing themselves for teaching as a profession," a program which eventually evolved into the nationally famous Danforth Graduate Fellowships. For all his personal style, Danforth gave the Foundation a remarkably robust and expansive vision that allowed it wide latitude in choosing its mission. As Merrimon Cuninggim noted to the Board upon assuming the Directorship in 1961, Danforth's "greatest single contribution was his exercise of 'conscientious trusteeship'."[3]

The Tenure of Kenneth Brown

In 1940, the Foundation took its first step toward professionalism by appointing William J. Hutchins, President Emeritus of Berea College, as permanent Advisor, and in 1951, the Foundation made Kenneth I. Brown, President of Denison University, Executive Director. The appointment of Dr. Brown introduced a transition period for Foundation activities in terms of organization and grant making. Under Brown's ten-year leadership, permanent operating programs including the Danforth Graduate Fellowships were stabilized; the first significant grants to Black colleges were made; the staff grew to a total of four permenent professionals; the primary priority of higher education was solidified; and the first Annual Report was published in 1958. Brown had served the Foundation in an advisory capacity since the early 1940's and hence could combine his knowledge of the Foundation history and of higher education, particularly in the private sector, as support for his leadership.

Upon assuming the Directorship, Brown issued a series of memoranda to the Board outlining plans of action. The most important of these was memorandum No.10 of June 1, 1951, which recommended that the "Trustees approve for an experimental period of three years, the proposal for recruiting-training-counseling a limited number of able young students who are planning to prepare themselves for teaching, either at the preparatory school or college level, and who came to this vocation with strong Christian motivation." Established in 1952, the Danforth Graduate Fellowships were awarded initially to fifty-six individuals, and the success of the program was signified by the gradual growth in the recipients to the annual total of 127 in 1965. An important administrative mechanism established by the Foundation was that while the funds would be administered by the Foundation officers, the nomination and selection process would be superintended by an advisory council, composed of college faculty and presidents, without foundation interference. This has continued to be an important guideline for all the Foundation Fellowship Programs.

In the 1950's these grants were designed to attract able students to careers in higher education after graduation at a time when population projections predicted a rapidly increasing student population and hence a great need for good college teachers. In this way, the Foundation undoubtedly served an important need and stressed its continuing concern with good teaching.

In other ways, however, the Fellowship program in its initial years had some apparent flaws. Ostensibly open to any person, regardless of race, sex or creed, the program tended to favor white, Protestant males. From 1955 to 1964, women were ineligible, although this guideline was initiated by the Foundation because 92 percent of the women recipients before 1955 left the program before completing their degree.

However, in 1959, the Board did grant a total of $250,000 to several private women's colleges for Graduate Fellowships. Also, because of the religious overtones associated with the awards, Roman Catholics and Jews were clearly not encouraged to be recipients. And because of the severe competition and lack of equal educational backgrounds, minority membership among the Fellows was modest averaging six a year from 1952 to 1964.

Nonetheless, by the 1960's, the amount of the award was impressive, because it covered not only the recipient's full graduate tuition and fees at an institution of his choice, but it also provided in 1962-1963 an additional stipend of $1,500 for a single man, $2,000 for marrieds and $500 for each dependent child. As well, the award was renewable for a total of three more years. The cost of the program has grown from $446,715 in 1958 for 91 recipients to $1,920,811 in 1973. And in recent years, the program has fully encouraged the participation of women, Catholics and News. In 1973, out of a total of 102 awards, 42 recipeints were women, and twelve were minority members.

The selection process is now quite sophisticated, beginning with a screening process at the institutional level. In 1973, approximately 2,000 individuals were nominated, from whom 363 were chosen for personal interviews. Of these, 102 were finally chosen. The number of recipients has decreased slightly over the years, for two reasons, according to the Assistant Director of the Program, Lillie Mae Rose: one has been the increased fiscal cost, especially with increasing tuition rates; the other has been the need to keep the number of Fellows small enough to allow for the personal contact treasured by Foundation officials. The program has tended to aid the graduate schools of the private universities, as a high percentage of recipients have chosen such schools whose tuition rates might otherwise prove prohibitive. In a sense this was in keeping with the Foundation's historic commitment to private education.

The Brown era sponsored the introduction of other significant operational programs, which emphasized good teaching and the religious heritage: Danforth Teachers Study Grant programs, which helped college faculty finish their doctoral degrees; the Danforth Campus Christian Worker and Danforth Seminary Intern Programs, which enhanced religious education. The Foundation continued the Danforth Associate Program, which encompassed a "small annual grant (to selected faculty). . . for use in entertaining students in the home, fostering faculty conversations on academic excellence, as well as other services to students and faculty." In 1959, Danforth moved into the international sphere with its first awards of graduate fellowships to teachers in Indian private colleges to enable them to study in the United States. In this period, the Foundation made an important contribution to Black education, with its award of grants to Negro colleges to assist them in winning full accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and with its program of Negro faculty fellowship grants, designed to improve the training of the faculty at these colleges. In 1958, the Foundation gave a total of $221,024 for this purpose, renewed for several years and hence proved its value as a resourceful, innovative institution.

At the end of Brown's tenure, the Foundation's program was, for example, clearly divided between an operating budget of ongoing programs (fellowships) and a separate grant-making budget. This was a unique situation for a great foundation in higher education, and some might object that harnessing so much of its funds in ongoing programs has hindered the Foundation's flexibility. However, Danforth reviews its ongoing programs every five years and has shown a ready willingness to terminate such programs. Furthermore, the grant-making budget has steadily outstripped the fellowship program. In 1958, the two budgets were roughly equal; in 1973, the grant-making expenditure of $8,197,000 was approximately twice that of operating programs, $4,091,000.

Despite problems, Kenneth Brown gave Danforth the kind of leadership necessary to transform it from a family oriented concern to a fully professional philanthropic enterprise. Many connected with the Foundation look back to the "Brown era" as a period of tranquil progress, and Brown keeps reminiscences alive by visiting the Foundation offices occasionally.

Presidency of Merrimon Cuninggim

By naming Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim Director Designate on July 1, 1960, the Board of Trustees made one of the critical decisions in its history. From his assumption of full-time duties on May 1, 1961 to his resignation on January 1, 1973, Cuninggim emerged as one of the finest foundation Presidents. He led Danforth into new ventures in Black education, the Appalachian region, urban affairs, secondary education and citizenship education. He was in many ways the first foundation executive to create meaningful ties with new government education programs in the 1960's, and he oversaw the major growth of Danforth ~~pioneering~~ in programs for college teaching like graduate teaching internships. In an age of student protests, Danforth responded most directly to student needs with its traditional concern for students and with its willingness to support new experimental colleges and programs of independent study on great university campuses.

Coming from a religious training, Cuninggim was Dean of the School of Theology at Southern Methodist University. His generous spirit and open personality became apparent in his pungent remarks in the Annual Reports, which he first signed in 1966, but which he had begun to transform in 1961. Under his aegis, the Reports became more informative and reflected Danforth's new thrusts. Cuninggim was also deeply sensitive about the Foundation's need for an identity apart from the Ralston-Purina Company and therefore moved the Foundation offices out of the company building in 1962.

Cuninggim's new directions were adequately outlined in his first report to the Board on April 18, 1961. The Board had granted him ten months' leisure to study and consult with officials of educational institutions and foundations. In his remarks, Cuninggim praised Danforth for the "quality" of its staff, its interests in teaching and religious values, its "willingness to cancel programs," its national focus, its concern with individuals and its "willingness to spend beyond income." He stated that Danforth was not "in the mainstream of educational ferment," and he meant to put it there. Cuninggim then discussed the problem of the foundation's image, noting that by reputation, Danforth's "central theme. . . (was) thought to be religion." But Cuninggim emphasized that while religion would remain a central concern of the Foundation, Danforth was "an educational foundation interested primarily in higher education." In this sense, Cuninggim called for "strategies of action" toward "revitalization of teaching," the "relation of religion to higher education," the "humanistic studies," "Concern for Values in Education," "Education for Civic Responsibility," "Secondary Education," "International Education" and "Latin America." ~~Also, he~~ asked for new ways in which Danforth could contribute to Black Education.[4]

During this period, the Board expanded its membership from nine to twelve and included several national educators such as James W. Hester, President of New York University, Benjamin E. Mays, black President of Morehouse College and James E. Allen, Commissioner of Education of New York. Senator

George McGovern served, although his tenure was both brief and largely inactive. In 1965, Dr. William Danforth, Chancellor of Washington University and son of Donald Danforth, became Chairman of the Board. The Foundation's flexibility was emphasized by the number of ongoing, operating programs it began and ended in this era, such as the Harbison Awards to excellent teachers-scholars (1962-1972), the Post Graduate Black Studies Fellowships (1969-1971) and the Short-Leave Grants for College and University Administrators (1968-1973). In 1962, the Foundation took over the Kent Fellowship Program, designed for persons already engaged in graduate training. In 1964, the Foundation also made a serious effort in the field of women's education by introducing a Danforth Graduate Fellowships for Women program, especially designed to aid those women whose academic career had had a "continuous break of at least three years."

During the 1960's, the Foundation recommitted itself to Black education with grants of more than $2,600,000 to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools with the purpose of aiding Black students in gaining access to higher education. In 1966, the Foundation gave $5 million to the Council of Southern Universities to develop a program of Southern Fellowships toward "faculty development among predominantly Negro colleges." And in 1965, the Foundation responded to needs in the Appalachian region through the vehicle of higher education by awarding a series of small grants to private liberal arts colleges such as Davis and Elkins for "various programs of faculty enrichment." The concerns of the dispossessed and the needy increasingly became Danforth's concerns. According to Danforth's own tabulations, the Foundation gave through 1973 grants to serve minorities of $14,884,000 or 9 percent of its total grants.

Under Cuninggim, Danforth made clear its commitment to the value of an educational process as an important end and experience in itself. As opposed to the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, ~~which often~~ stressed education as a convenient tool toward professional or vocational training and hence the amelioration of society, Danforth concerned itself with the inner life of faculty and students and tried to amend educational structures to adapt more appropriately to these needs. It stressed the "personal element" in education and its commitment to liberal arts. Hence it remained involved with religious programs, sponsoring a series of grants to public institutions to establish departments of religion. Cuninggim also noted the tremendous growth of Danforth's grant funding which would increase from a total of $2,819,000 in 1958 to $12,282,000 in 1973, while assets increased from $27,398,000 to $197,513,000.

Cuninggim stressed the foundation's continuing concern with the quality of education and hence stressed ~~the~~ importance of good teaching: "The cause of good teaching is not enhanced by setting it over against scholarship or research; the genuinely able teacher is usually the able scholar, and vice versa."[5] In the 1960's the Foundation made a series of ~~grants to~~ graduate schools to develop teaching internships which tried to integrate teaching more effectively into the graduate program than teaching assistantship programs did. Hence the foundation had inaugurated the Harbison Awards, and in 1967, the interaction of government and Danforth was symbolized when the Harbison recipients discussed education with President Lyndon Johnson at the White House. "Education is our cause," said Cuninggim, "better education for persons of promise who can make a difference in their time and place, education that is aware of its own built-in sense of values and is prepared to uphold them."

On January 8, 1968, the Board of Trustees made a decision which underlined Danforth's experimental quality: in response to the crisis of the cities, they established an urban affairs program primarily for the St. Louis region. While education would still serve partially as a vehicle in this concern, for the first time the Foundation agreed to look for solutions outside the traditional educational framework. While the bulk of grants still went to educational institutions, the Foundation committed itself to giving monies to organizations who could respond directly to the inadequate housing and employment opportunities of the urban dispossessed. But the Foundation also developed the St. Louis Metropolitan Fellowship Program, which is an operating project. It gives approximately twenty awards a year to individuals from the St. Louis region to support study programs, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels, who "show promise of becoming effective leaders in promoting community progress and community reconciliation." Most of the Fellows are Black, and they are encouraged to study at metropolitan area institutions in order to stimulate local leadership.

In recent years, the Foundation has narrowed its urban focus by stressing grants to educational organizations in St. Louis. Indeed, in 1972, a table in the Annual Report showed that while urban expenditures had amounted to 8.5 percent of the total from 1968 to 1972, only 4 percent was urban in 1971-1972.

Current Programs

In March of 1973, the Foundation announced the award of two huge endowment grants, $60 million to Washington University and $20 million to St. Louis University, which marked a wide departure from its traditional pattern of giving and which brought with it the resignation of Merrimon Cuninggim.

In 1970, the Board granted St. Louis and Washington Universities $1.5 million and $15 million respectively as general support for five years to improve undergraduate, graduate and, in the case of Washington, medical programs. This meant that St. Louis University would be receiving $300,000 and Washington University, $3 million each year until 1975, in the hope that more public funds from Missouri would be forthcoming. Later, as this hope diminished, some of the

Board members suggested that instead of supporting the universities in this way for many years, the Foundation might do better to give them simply the endowment capital to insure perpetual income to the institutions. A committee under the Board member, George E. Pake, Vice President of Xerox Corporation, recommended large grants to these universities, and the Board approved the principle of these grants in October, 1972, the final announcement being made on March 9, 1973. In his public letter of resignation (which became effective January 1, 1973), Cuninggim stated that

> The Trustees of the Danforth Foundation have developed changes in policies that will alter the nature of the Foundation's activities. These include a greater emphasis on local concerns, less Board representation than formerly of national educational interests, and a trend toward larger grants to fewer institutions. Since I cannot agree with these developments, I believe that my presence as the Foundation's executive officer would no longer be fitting.[6]

The reality of this was that once the Foundation had divested itself of $80 million or 37 percent of its capital holdings, it would of course no longer have the income from that capital for other needy projects. However, one should add that these grants would free the Foundation in the future from perpetual links to these local universities and hence make it even more national. As well, the Board saw these grants as traditional in the sense of its continued support of private higher education, and undoubtedly these two great universities, with national student and faculty constituencies, deserved solid backing. Furthermore, the Board, in granting the money, required that both institutions match the grants from other funds within five years. The Board essentially linked these grants with large matching gifts to three other institutions with which it had historic connections and from which it would also be freed from future commitments; $5 million to Berea College in Kentucky; $1,400,000 to Webster College of St. Louis; and $1.5 million to the American Youth Foundation. In a statement accompanying the announcement of these grants, the Trustees stated that the Foundation "believes that stabilization of the two universities is essential to progress in the St. Louis community."

In retrospect, however, doubts remain for potential foundation recipients. If the grants were supposed to help the St. Louis region, there may have been other attractive alternatives like the urban affairs program. One could wonder about the commitment to Black education in view of the reality that both Washington and St. Louis do not have high minority enrollments although one should note that these grants were specifically not intended for its Black education programs. In this case, Danforth was clearly not putting its money in the area of greatest need. Also, while Danforth has had an excellent record of willingness to invade its capital gains and principal for expenditures, the question of whether it can continue its high level of funding is unresolved.

Despite the controversy over these grants, the Danforth Foundation seems to have survived quite well and today looks optimistically to a continuation of the flexibility and innovation it has shown in the past. The current President, Gene Schwilck, who joined the staff in 1967 and was the Director of Precollegiate Education, has spoken eloquently of the Foundation's experimental role. In an interview, Dr. Schwilck has said that, in view of large government funding, the major role of foundations is the "risk-orientation." Over the years, foundations can document historically a number of things they at least accelerated or encouraged to happen more rapidly than otherwise such as admission of women to the Academy. . . "it should test ideas and push certain principles or concepts before the public is ready to risk the public funds therein or may not have the vision clearly articulated." Therefore, in one sense, the foundation should not tie all its money to ongoing projects because it would not have money "freed up" for new ventures. However, another justification for foundations is that they can give multi-year grants which would allow projects the time to develop properly without the immediate pressure of visible accountability which public monies require. Said Schwilck, foundations should give more "longitudinal grants."[7]

Danforth has also become quite systematized in monitoring grants. Every five years it reviews its ongoing programs and recommends termination, modifications or continuance. A document of May, 1974 entitled "Procedure for Evaluating Grants" stressed that evaluation of

> grants is conducted to assist Trustees and Staff to learn from funding efforts how better to award funds in the future, to assess the value and impact of the grant in the recipient institution (including spin-off, or unexpected benefits), and to account for the expenditure both internally and externally. Also, evaluations are conducted to assess the degree to which the Foundation is attaining its objectives as stated in its position papers and guidelines and/or the degree to which grantees are achieving their stated goals.

Now, in a proposal, an evaluation procedure must be included for the staff's consideration. While some grants are evaluated internally, generally Danforth employs outside consultants.

Also, Danforth has been remarkably generous in that its expenditures now far exceed its income, which was certainly not the case in the early 1950's. In 1973, including Administrative costs, the excess of expenditures over income was $9,932,644.

The Precollegiate program began in the 1960's under Manning Patillo with grants to several St. Louis area schools and is now a fully national entity, thanks to the efforts of Schwilck, who has held a variety of administrative posts in public and private schools. While taking up a small part of the overall budget, the program has been creative. In the late 1960's, Danforth gave $1,033,000 to the National Association of Secondary School Principals for a staff and school reorganization project for 33 demonstration schools. Recent grants of $226,000 and $125,000 to the Constitutional Rights Foundation of Los Angeles and the Missouri Bar Association sponsored training of teachers and students in law and civic responsibility. Also, the Foundation has accepted a special responsibility to aid public and private schools and to improve school administration.

The Foundation, while becoming more secular, as Waldemar Neilsen notes, has continued its interests in religious studies with its Underwood Fellowships for the Campus Ministry. Its commitment to Black education was underlined by a recent grant of $262,000 to Princeton University to support a program of bringing "twelve undergraduate students from predominately black institutions" to Princeton for summer study and for granting Visiting Fellowships to four "junior black faculty" from similar institutions. In addition, the Foundation now sponsors both a Community College Institute and an Institute for College Development, both of which sponsor weekly seminar sessions for representatives of the respective institutions. Recently, the Foundation added five able staff members, Dr. Warren Bryan Martin to direct the Danforth Graduate Fellowships; Dr. Geraldine Bagby to direct the Graduate Fellowships for Women; Dr. Otis Jackson in urban affairs; Dr. G. Rice and Dr. John McClusky in higher education.

In Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education, Merle Curti and Roderick Nash suggested that impact of foundations has been that of encouraging the role of professors as researchers rather than as teachers. As Curti and Nash state,

> foundation philanthropy's principal importance has been helping to make the college or university a center for research and advanced study. . . The foundations, which declared new ventures to be their special concern, were especially eager to support the professor as researcher. . . De-emphasis of the professor's teaching function is the price that must be paid if philanthropy is to concentrate on advancing knowledge through the medium of higher education.[8]

With its stress on teaching, Danforth has provided an important counterbalance to this trend and has made university administrators pay more attention to teaching. Also, in this role, Danforth has gradually moved away from the philosophy that private philanthropy should aid mostly private institutions.

Despite its recent internal controversies, Danforth maintains a strong and viable influence on education. With its insistence on good teaching, on respect for students, on interpersonal relationships in the academic setting, on democratic educational structures, Danforth has served a vital function of reminding educational administrators that institutions of learning, great and small, high and low, public and private, must cultivate a soul, an inner life to accompany its institutional structure and organization.

Addendum

The Danforth Board of Trustees took stock of the financial situation and announced the following, in the Danforth News and Notes of December, 1975.

"The Board of Trustees of the Danforth Foundation, responding to the pressures of inflation and declining income, acted on September 5, 1975, to reduce Foundation disbursements in an effort to utilize its diminished resources as effectively as possible.

"The first action of the Trustees was to reaffirm that all grant commitments previously entered into between the Foundation and various institutions and organizations would be honored.

"Next, the Trustees set the budget ceiling for 1975-76 at approximately $7,000,000; and for 1976-77 at $6,000,000.

"Finally, Trustees affirmed that the Foundation will serve the following areas: higher education nationally through support of self-administered programs; precollegiate education nationally through grant-making and program activities; and urban affairs in St. Louis through grant-making and program activities.

"Trustees elected to discontinue grant activities in higher education. At the same time, they acted to continue Foundation sponsorship and administration of the Danforth Associate Program and the Danforth Graduate Fellowship Program. The combined costs of these two programs in 1974-75 approximated $4,000,000."

Table I - Danforth Foundation
(in millions in Constant Dollars) of 1967 Value
1958-1973

Pre-Collegiate	6.1
Higher Education	164.4
Personnel Development	61.8
Financial Aid to Students	35.7
Educational Research	5.2
Endowment, General Support	101.5#
Support, South	16.1
Support, N. Central & Midwest	89.6#
National Focus	49.7
Support, Same City	86.3#
Minorities	17.8
Curriculum Development	21.9
General, Liberal Education	36.7
Support, Public Institutions	7.8
Support, Private Institutions	99.4#
Support, Some of Each	62.6

Note: For this study, tabulations were made from the year 1958 because in that year, the Foundation began to publish figures systematically and publicly in Annual Reports for the first time. At best, these figures represent only trends and are not definitive, although they do suggest the major categories of Danforth grants. For this table, both grants from the Foundation's operating programs including Danforth Fellowships and from new commitments are represented. Not all of Danforth's philanthropical interests are indicated in these figures; most of the minority grants went into the field of Black education.

#The data here include the total of $60 million (in 1967 dollars) given to Washington and St. Louis Universities in new commitments in 1973.

Footnotes

1. Treasury Department to the Danforth Foundation, received April 13, 1939.
2. William H. Danforth, I Dare You (Privately printed: St. Louis, 1942, (eleventh edition), pp. 3-4.
3. Minutes of Board Meeting, 1961.
4. Merrimon Cuninggim, Board Meeting Minutes, April 18, 1961.
5. Cuninggim, 1966 Annual Report.
6. Merrimon Cuninggim, Letter of Resignation, announced October 24, 1972.
7. Gene Schwilck, interview, August 13, 1974.
8. Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, Philanthropy in the Shaping of Higher Education (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1965), pp. 236-237.

X. KELLOGG FOUNDATION

The history of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, since its inception in 1930, is a remarkable story of how a family foundation with initially modest assets and ambitions has grown to become one of the great national foundations in America. Concerned at first with the health, education and welfare of children in Southwestern rural Michigan, the Foundation now has national and international activities which encompass every state, Canada, Europe, Latin America and Australia, activities which have sought solutions to a wide variety of problems from the development of Eastern Kentucky, to the education of urban youth, to the training of dental technicians. From an endowment of approximately $35 million and expenditures of $405,000 in 1935, the Foundation and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation Trust in 1973 had combined assets of $577 million and fiscal 1973-74 expenditures of $21,715,595, enough to rank it as the sixth largest foundation in America. "Total philanthropic expenditures by the Foundation through its 1973-74 fiscal year have been $293,883,100." In this period of growth, Kellogg has displayed a pattern of evolutionary transition, remaining closely tied to the vision of its founder, W. K. Kellogg, and yet venturing into new fields of human endeavor where need seemed paramount. In an interview in 1970, the late Dr. Emory Morris, President of the Foundation from 1943 to 1967, spoke to this point.

> (Mr. Kellogg) didn't want our program confined, he wanted us to be able to expand our scope of activities responding to the changing needs of people. Flexibility must always be our concern. We must be alert to the needs of today, but we must also constantly strive to discover and evaluate what the pressing concerns and needs of people will be tomorrow.

Since 1946, in the field of education, the Kellogg Foundation has responded to this theme with its innovative grants sponsoring the development of continuing education centers, community colleges, educational programs for administrators, training programs for paramedical professional and nurse personnel, and public Black colleges.

Born in Battle Creek, Michigan in 1860, Will Keith Kellogg made a fortune in his middle years merchandising the cereal food invented by him and his brother, the eminent nutritionist, Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, head of the famous Battle Creek Sanitarium. By the 1920's, Kellogg had enough money to begin giving generously to various causes. In 1925 he had established the Fellowship Corporation, which made some grants on a local scale, but now he wanted something bolder. In a famous quotation, Kellogg said to an old friend, "I know how to invest my money. I'll invest it in people."[1]

In a fascinating early example of government stimulation of private philanthropy, Kellogg found his focus for giving when he attended the 1930 White House Conference of Child Health and Protection, sponsored by his friend, Herbert Hoover. Kellogg felt that he had peculiarly suffered as a child, because he had had no formal education beyond the sixth grade and was in a sense educationally disadvantaged. Hence, he initially entitled his foundation, which was chartered in the state of Michigan, the W. K. Kellogg Child Welfare Foundation, and the first Articles of the Association of the Foundation identified its purpose as "confined. . . .to receiving and administering funds for the promotion of the welfare, comfort, health, care, education, feeding, clothing, sheltering and safeguarding of children and youth. . . .without regard to sex, race, creed or nationality."

In this period Will Kellogg also established the Kellogg Foundation Trust, which has provided the main source of income to the foundation since 1934. Kellogg gave the Trust a substantial portion of his common stock in Kellogg Company and the Trust was chartered to give 100 percent of its income (less modest administrative expenses) to the

Foundation. Today, while the Foundation itself owns a total general fund of $47,674,000, the Trust owns stock valued at $529,081,000. In 1973, the income from the Trust was $18,943,000, while the General Fund only produced $2,009,000.

Kellogg always gave the officers of the Foundation great freedom in their operations, but remained actively involved in its affairs, serving as chairman of the Board of Trustees from 1935 until his death in 1951. Leonard White, now Vice President for Administration at Kellogg who has been with the Foundation since 1946, remembers that Kellogg would dictate notes to the staff every morning on an old wire recorder as he was then totally blind.

Kellogg's influence is still deeply felt at the Foundation. The Foundation has expended $13,493,353 or 5 percent of its total giving in the Battle Creek region since 1931. It still gives to the W. K. Kellogg Biological Station at Michigan State University almost every year, and to California State Polytechnic University at the Kellogg-Voorhis Pomona branch located on what was once Kellogg's horse ranch. The power of tradition was apparent at the five hundredth meeting of the Board of Trustees on February 21, 1972, where the Board members received a photocopy of the minutes of the first Board meeting.

The Foundation has also consistently favored certain Michigan based institutions of higher education. Since the 1930's it has donated $12,086,506 and $11,339,557 to Michigan State University and to the University of Michigan, respectively.

Current Policies

While the Foundation's original emphasis on children has broadened to include women and men, the process of change has been gradual and clearly linked to the original goals, as Dr. Robert E. Kinsinger, the current Vice President for Programs in Education, has made clear. By June 27, 1939, the Articles of Association had been amended to read that the "purposes" of the Foundation would entail the "promotion of the health, education, and welfare of mankind, but principally of children and youth." The present Articles, as amended on May 19, 1953, two years after Mr. Kellogg's death, state that the "purposes for which this corporation is formed shall be to receive and administer funds for educational or charitable purposes."

But as Dr. Kinsinger has noted, while there are now few foundation programs that deal exclusively with children, other than some grants to the Boys' Clubs of America and the like, the concern with children remains vital. The best way to serve children, the Foundation now feels, is through the training of professionals in the fields of education, dentistry, medicine and nursing who must treat children. Said Kinsinger,

> The policy began to change slowly in that the response to problems of children was in a more indirect fashion. . . One of the early things that we discovered was that services to children come through professionals of one sort or another, whether they be school teachers, or physicians or dentists. . .one of the major problems in serving children was that the professionals who were serving them needed a better background and updating, and that is one of the ways we got into continuing education.[2]

Hence, the Foundation has heavily endowed training programs in these fields and has evolved into a major sponsor of professional and subprofessional education. It has compiled a record of favoring neither private nor public institutions with its grants.

Another consistent theme from the early stages has been the Foundation's policy that it should support what the 1973 Annual Report defines as the "application of knowledge rather than research per se." As Emory Morris stated in 1970,

> . . . ..in those early days, studies indicated that several of this country's foundations were supporting basic research in health and education fields. We believed there was a place on the American scene for a foundation primarily concerned with the application of existing knowledge. I hope we will continue to stress the application of knowledge as our most important pursuit and that our experimental programs will provide the basis for expanded demonstration programs and their replication by others.

Beginning: 1930-45

As the study The First Twenty-Five Years, notes, the history of the Foundation falls into three distinct periods: the early phase, 1930-41; the war phase, 1941-1945; and the present phase, beginning in 1945. In the initial period, the Kellogg Foundation was an operating foundation, manned by a professional staff and was known for its pioneering Michigan Community Health Project. This Project involved both financial aid and direct participation by foundation personnel in improving the health and educational facilities of seven Michigan counties adjoining the Foundation headquarters in Battle Creek, starting with Barry County in 1931. Under this program, which Herbert Hoover inspected in 1936, the Foundation established county health departments, to which it gave $2,631,000 from 1931 to 1951. Also, the Foundation modernized 490 rural schools, gave direct welfare relief, sponsored a school lunch program and welfare camping and improved school libraries. This program proved to be a creative response to the problems of poverty in the Depression, a good example of what Emory Morris would call the beneficence of "genteel capitalism." The project also included the initial thrusts in fields which have solidified Kellogg's reputation: a continuing education program for county education agents, community leaders and others which underlined Kellogg's commitment in what is now termed lifelong learning; community service programs which laid the basis for the community college concept inaugurated by Kellogg in the later 1950's; health care delivery services; programs in post-graduate medical and dental education and in dental assistants' training.

Also, the Foundation sponsored a fellowship program in dentistry, public health and education at such places as the University of Michigan. Although the domestic phase of this fellowship project terminated in the 1940's, it laid the basis for the Kellogg Fellowship Program for training professionals from Europe and Latin America in the United States after the War.

In a letter to the Board of Trustees in 1934, Dr. Stuart Pritchard, the General Director of the Foundation, stressed that the Foundation's central concern for the 1930's was the health of the children.[3] Education was supportive in this effort. Only in the late 1940's did an interest in education itself develop.

In this phase, the Foundation gave mainly to Michigan activities. Of $8,228,000 granted between 1930 and 1940, only $277,855 was distributed to national and international agencies outside Michigan; and some of this was for research, a practice since discontinued. Yet as Dr. Pritchard's letter made clear, the interest in a more national program was growing in the 1930's. As an unpublished history completed in 1939 stated, "During the eight years that the W. K. Kellogg Foundation has been in existence, the scope of its interests and services has gradually expanded so that at the present time projects of national and international viewpoint are encompassed." To celebrate its past, the Foundation published its first history, W. K. Kellogg Foundation: The First Eleven Years, 1930-1941, in 1942.

War Phase

In the second phase of its history, the Board of Trustees made two vital decisions. First, it decided to abandon its local concentration and contribute directly to the war effort in an early example of government-foundation cooperation; and in 1943 it made Dr. Emory W. Morris President, a position he held until 1967. As the Report of President and General Director, George B. Darling, stated in 1942: "Immediately upon the declaration of war, the officers and trustees of the Foundation felt that every effort should be made to help with the war and every program should be considered as to the contribution it might make to the war effort." As a result of this new direction, programs in the County Health Project were curtailed, and a number of the professional staff including doctors and nurses went into the armed services. The 1942 Report listed thirty-three Foundation personnel then in the military area. The war years also saw the widening involvement of the Foundation with European and Latin American countries and the initiation of a new organizational structure.

In Emory Morris, the Board had selected a leader of exceptional vitality. A dental surgeon by profession, Morris had assisted the Foundation on a part-time basis from its beginning in 1930, but became a full-time staff member in 1932. In 1936, he was elected to the Board, and upon his leaving the Presidency in 1967, he became Chairman of the Board. He emerged as one of the major leaders in private philanthropy in the United States; his statement in Kellogg's Annual Report represents a precise yet flexible mind, seeking to define and redefine the Foundation's role in response to changing realities. Morris talked continually of pioneering ventures of the Foundation, of taking risks with capital. In 1961, Morris stressed that the Foundation was "affiliated with no other agency or institution. . .(the) foundation's role in society properly is that of risk-taking on man's cultural, intellectual, scientific, and humanitarian frontiers. Now and then, foundation monies. . .act as catalytic agents literally to open new vistas for the development of man and his environment. . .Foundation giving presents the opportunity to show some of the benefits from benevolent capitalism, for most philanthropic organizations, of course, derive their funds directly or indirectly from industrial profits."

Present Phase

The third phase of the Kellogg Foundation has been its most impressive. With the end of the war, the Foundation now became an almost exclusively grant-making institution, ending its support of direct management programs like the Michigan Community Health Project. The Project, like other Kellogg programs, had set standards which others could imitate.

One special project which did require some direct administration and which became fully established in the 1940's was the Kellogg Overseas Fellowship Program. Originating from earlier domestic fellowships and terminated after a successful run in 1970, the Kellogg Fellowships served a special need for health professionals from Latin America and agricultural leaders from Western Europe to receive training in the United States.

In the late 1940's, the Foundation divided its staff into program divisions and for the first time placed an emphasis on education outside allied professional fields. The 1951 Annual Report listed six divisions: dentistry, hospitals, international, medicine and public health, nursing and general education. But as Dr. Maurice Seay, who headed the division of education from 1954 to 1963, has said, the division is really concerned with education other than those in the other divisions, where a large percentage of aid also involves education.[4] By 1953, a division of agriculture had been added. For the first time in the 1967 Report, the names of program directors were listed without the identification of specific divisions although the various fields of agriculture, health and education remained.

In 1951, after Will Kellogg's death, the Foundation began publishing Annual Reports, although it had internal annual reports from 1931. From 1952, under the leadership of its energetic publications director, Horace B. Powell, until his retirement in 1970, the Kellogg Foundation provided extensive reports, some running over 200 pages. These have proved excellent for the historian of foundations, but as Leonard White has pointed out, they did not always serve the purpose of promotion and easy access to information. From 1970, Reports have been much shorter and therefore could be more widely distributed at the rate of 40,000 a year. Yet the sheer volume of the Reports underlined Emory Morris' and the current President Dr. Russell Mawby's belief in full disclosure of foundation activities.

The Annual Report of 1955 listed a total of $16,779,000 that was expended in the field of general education since 1930. This was roughly one-third the total expenditures, but of course, more had been spent on education in other divisions. That breakdown of one-third of the total expenditures holds for 1973 also.

Outside the strict education field, education became a mechanism for training in the health and agriculture areas, both at home and abroad. While most grants were given to institutions of higher education, they were often designated for leadership and technical training in rural development, farm management, nursing, medical technology, paramedical and hospital personnel, public health administration. Indeed, many of the interests in these areas led the Foundation into innovative programs of higher education. The push to develop two-year degree programs in nursing led the Foundation into the community college field, and the need for continuing education in health service led to Foundation support for continuing education centers.

Continuing Education, Community Colleges, Educational Administration

In 1949, the Foundation initiated support of the construction of a Continuing Education Center at Michigan State University, known today as the Kellogg Center. Since that time, the Foundation has spent a total of $2,203,420 on the Kellogg Center and related programs. Subsequently, the Foundation built other such centers at institutions such as the University of Chicago and thus pioneered in a new movement. In 1972, in a departure from its policy of no support for research, the Foundation gave a grant of $40,000 to Michigan State University to create a task force to study Lifelong Education. The research resulted in a publication entitled The Lifelong University, which emphasized flexible programs for continued learning by adults at the higher level. The Chairman of the Task Force, Dr. William R. Wilkie, later joined the Foundation staff on a special two-year assignment to work on programming in the area of lifelong learning.

In 1954, Dr. Seay left the Chairmanship of the Department of Education in the University of Chicago to direct the Division of Education. Seay had become a major figure in the field of adult education both because of the tutelage of Dr. Floyd Reeves and of his experience in directing the Tennessee Valley Authority's education program in the 1930's. In his service at Kellogg, Seay supervised the Foundation sponsorship of community colleges, which essentially began with a grant to the Association of Junior Colleges in 1960.

The present Foundation building is symbolically contiguous to the campus of Kellogg Community College where the Foundation has given several major grants. The Foundation embraced the concepts that community colleges could serve a community more effectively than other institutions of higher education, could become "people's colleges" representing a more democratic base than others because of their more accessible admissions policies, could provide meaningful terminal vocational degree programs for some and could ease the transition from high school to a baccalaureate program for others. Seay has published extensively on community colleges and is widely recognized for his contributions. Concerning Community Colleges, Dr. Mawby has said, "A couple of decades ago, the notion of the community colleges was something that was beginning to be developed. It needed to be tested, it needed to be fostered. . .It was too early for that idea for public funds to step in in a substantial way."[5]

Another program sponsored by Foundation support in these years was in the area of education administration and management. In the early 1960's, the Foundation supported a program entitled Cooperative Program in Educational Administration for preservice and inservice training of school administrators. As Dr. Kinsinger has also explained,

> The Foundation's interest in educational management grew naturally out of problems sorely vexing the educational systems of the thirties, during the formative years of the Foundation. Management was in the hands of principals and superintendents who had no formal training for their administrative duties. Economies of size and an enrichment of curriculum and services could only be effected through a pooling of resources and school district consolidation. Such programs were stimulated by Foundation assistance. Foundation-aided leadership training programs for school administrators were created in direct response to the great need for this special training. Latter-day Foundation programs have focused on post-secondary educational management and governance, leadership training for higher education and efforts to assist a shift from institutional competition to programs emphasizing pooled resources and shared services between educational agencies.[6]

Through these years, Kellogg had a strong international program in needy areas, especially Latin America. In 1973, in the field of agriculture and health in Latin America, the Foundation gave a total of $2,150,318.

Minority Programs

Waldemar Nielsen has criticized Kellogg for its passivism concerning pressing social problems: "But Kellogg's enthusiasm for activism, never great, has begun to decline."[7] His comment is perhaps unfair, because ~~many~~ of the foundation-supported projects such as community colleges and health delivery services have aided the poor and disadvantaged.

As the 1968 Annual Report stated, "In the broad field of education, there are groups which for varying reasons do not have equal privileges or built-in advantages--for instance, the small, underfinanced, liberal arts colleges, the Negro colleges, women seeking continuing education especially tailored to their vocations and avocations, the underprivileged boys forming the membership of Boys' Clubs of America, and the misunderstood juvenile delinquents--and the Foundation has demonstrated its concern for these minorities." Indeed, both private as well as public colleges have often been favored by the Foundation. In 1962, the Foundation made grants of $2,500,000 to 250 "private colleges," including some Black colleges, to improve their libraries for teacher education. The commitment to both Blacks and private colleges coalesced with a grant of about $100,000 in 1970 to Kalamazoo College for the "establishment of a special program of pre-professional education for promising young black students. The College's goals for the program are to seek out able young blacks and to provide them the necessary support to enable them to complete pre-professional programs of study." In 1967, the Foundation made a four-year grant of $70,000 to Michigan State University to identify and recruit Black students "from disadvantaged areas," particularly in Detroit. The grant helped Michigan State boost its Black enrollment substantially and sponsored the development of a Special Service for Minority Students office on campus. It also underlined the Foundation's growing interest in urban affairs.

In addition, the Foundation has supported a strong program of minority enrollment in the health sciences and has recently assisted American Indians. In 1973, for example, the Foundation gave a new grant of $553,000 to the Navajo Health Authority, Window Rock, Navajo Nation, Arizona for "programs to develop educational opportunities for minorities in the health professions." The Foundation has also supported programs in Appalachia with a grant of $754,000 to the University of Kentucky in 1960, for a program entitled Appalachian Resource Development, and in 1971 the Foundation made a grant of $233,830 to Appalachian Leadership and Community Outreach, Incorporated, a program designed to serve "isolated mountain residents," using "students of participating colleges."

The case of the Foundation's support of public Black colleges is an exceptional story of foundation initiative and special support. Furthermore, this matter provides a good rationale for private philanthropy even with the incursion of enormous sums of money in education from the federal government in the 1960's. Dr. Mawby, the current President, recalled ~~his central~~ role in this project. Noting that in "relation to government expenditures in education," any foundation's resources are usually quite small," Mawby stressed that "the special role of private philanthropy is not core or operational support, generally," but was that of providing "venture capital which can lead institutions of higher education . . . into new areas, experimentation, different patterns."[8]

In line with Dr. Mawby's approach, Dr. Kinsinger stressed that as the staff and Board reviewed program priorities, they would try to locate issues about which they "could do something." During the 1960's, the problem of minorities was "something" over which the country was agonizing: "We began to see some areas where we might make a difference with limited resources."

One of those was "historically black colleges. . .As we worked with them, we discovered that the greatest need they had. . . for risk capital was for recasting their curriculum so that they could provide for educating Blacks for new vocational areas which suddenly had opened up for them. . . The whole social scene made it now possible for Blacks to find jobs in business, in pharmacy, in librarianship, lots of things they never could do before." But, stressed Kinsinger, at that time the only things these colleges could teach Black college graduates was to be teachers themselves.[9] Therefore, the Foundation could make a difference.

The different areas of foundation activity and an ad hoc advisory committee system proved useful in this case. The awareness of the need of Black public colleges came from a meeting of an ad hoc committee on agriculture where the condition of rural poverty in the South was being explored. Mawby, who came to the Foundation in 1964 with the Division of Agriculture, then reported to the Board on the Committee's recommendation and in 1965 and 1966 took the initiative to write and visit with the presidents of seven of these colleges to explore the possibilities of aid. Many of these colleges responded enthusiastically to Mawby's visits.[10] From 1968 to 1972, the Foundation gave the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges $253,500 to "establish a development office for historically black colleges."

The Office for the Advancement of Public Negro Colleges, which the Foundation supported almost fully in this period, provided another interesting case of foundation stimulation of government involvement. As a Report of Program Officers stated in 1972, the "Office has been effective in presenting the case of the (public Black) colleges to a variety of potential sources of support . . . and has facilitated the obtaining of a number of grants for special programs, from both federal and private sources." A significant grant was one of $290,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity to "establish a Rural Community Assistance Consortium." Beginning with 1968, the Foundation has given about $5 million to historically Black colleges (a few of which are private) to develop vocational programs. In addition, grants totaling $1,600,000 and $539,000 respectively have been made to Tuskegee Institute and Fayetteville State University to aid the development of programs in continuing education, human resources development and community services, and $500,000 has been granted to Meharry Medical College to strengthen its teaching program in the basic sciences.

Evaluation

Kellogg Foundation officials confess that the problem of evaluation is often as complex for them as in other foundations. Dr. Seay felt that in his period with the Foundation, evaluation needed much work. In a program report presented to the Board on February 18, 1974, Dr. Kinsinger stated that the

> ". . .success of Foundation programs in responding to pressing educational concerns has been difficult to measure. Frequently there is no universal standard for such assessments. . . For example, projects to assist community colleges in providing more effective services to their communities may be successful in creating and developing the new services, consistent with the original project objectives. Only many years in the future will it be known if the activity was sustained or firmly 'institutionalized'."[10]

The process at Kellogg is almost entirely internal. Grant recipients must file annual reports with the Foundation, and the program officer who approves the grant makes on-site visits during the year. Sometimes, the ad hoc advisory committees make evaluations. In their annual Program Reports to the Board, the officers will include evaluation. Sometimes an outside consultant is hired.

In contrast to many major foundations, Kellogg for many years has not worked closely with other foundations. It has sponsored little multiple financing of the same project (except with Rockefeller in Latin America in the early 1960's), and while dutifully supporting the Council of Foundations, it has remained largely independent.

It does not, for instance, pass rejected proposals on to other foundations. Since the passing of the Tax Reform Act in 1969, and largely because of it, Kellogg has taken a far more active role in organization of foundations. It has been a major force behind the organization of the Conference of Michigan Foundations, which held its first annual meeting in 1973. Leonard L. White, Vice President for Administration at Kellogg, is Chairman of the Conference, and it now has a publication, The Michigan Scene.

Kellogg, serene in its independence and firm in its cherished heritage, will move toward the future with grace and confidence. It has compiled an envious record in education and promises to confront the difficult times of the 1970's with flexibility and compassion. Its history has shown that private institutions, under dynamic leadership, can anticipate and respond to many educational needs of our day.

Table 10.1 SUMMARY OF KELLOGG FOUNDATION GRANTS IN THE BROAD AREA OF EDUCATION: 1956-73

In $ Millions of 1967 Purchasing Power

Category	1956-73	1970-73
Higher Education	181.3	51.5
Medical Education	87.0	26.8
Adult Education	?	11.4
Within the USA	134.7	30.4
Foreign--Outside of USA	35.8	10.2
Minorities (Mainly Black)	6.8 (From 1965)	5.8
Type of Agent		
Public-Financed	13.8	13.3
Private-Financed	8.7	8.3
Some of Each	161.9	32.9

Note: For this study, tabulations were made from the year 1956 because in the foundation's Annual Report of 1955, there is a summary table for grants by category for the years 1930 to 1955. The most sophisticated analysis was devoted to the years 1970 to 1973 because for the first time the foundation broke out its new commitments for each year; prior to 1970, only expenditures were listed in the Reports. Also, the figures for the period before 1970 were taken from summaries listed in the Reports. Therefore, the figures for the total period are compared with those for 1970 to 1973 for three reasons: to give an impression of more recent trends, to indicate the greater accuracy of the more recent figures and to show figures for new commitments. At best, these figures only represent trends and are not definitive.

References

1. See Horace B. Powell, The Original Has the Signature (Prentice Hall: Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1956).
2. Robert Kinsinger, interview, July 17, 1974.
3. Stuart Pritchard to Board of Trustees, September 10, 1934.
4. Maurice Seay, interview, July 17, 1974.
5. Russell Mawby, interview, July 17, 1974.
6. Robert Kinsinger, Program report to the Board of Trustees, February 18, 1974.
7. Nielsen, The Big Foundations, p. 115.
8. Russell Mawby, interview, July 17, 1974.
9. Robert Kinsinger, interview, July 17, 1974.
10. Robert Kinsinger, Program Report, February 18, 1974.

XI. FORD FOUNDATION

Prior to the outset of its activities as a national philanthropy in 1950, the Ford Foundation, established in 1936 by Henry Ford and Edsel Ford, was interested primarily in donating to the educational and charitable concerns of the state of Michigan. In 1950 the Ford family decided to increase the resources of the Foundation and the activities of the Foundation grew in proportion. This expansion of the resources of the Foundation coincided with that period in the history of American education which saw the near simultaneous appearance of many and serious challenges. Among these were the explosive growth in the pre-collegiate student population together with the concomitant shortage of teachers, the rapid expansion of knowledge particularly in science-based fields, a problem exacerbated by the Soviet Sputnik success; and, in some parts of the country, the hitherto unthinkable press for racial desegregation.

The financial assets of the Ford Foundation totalled $3.7 billion in 1968, equal to one-third of the assets of the next thirty-three foundations in order of size. In the first six years of the 1950s, the Ford Foundation made several major grants which established it as a profound force in the area of education. In 1951 and the following two years Ford created two quasi-independent agencies with grants of more than $100 million. The Fund for the Advancement of Education and the Fund for Adult Education were able to spend this money with no need to conserve a capital fund. Then, in 1955, a package of $50 million was granted to a number of private colleges, followed the next year with a distribution of $260 million to more than 600 private colleges and universities to increase faculty salaries. For each of the ten years after 1957, Ford made educational grants averaging $75 million a year. Table 1 shows the record of Ford grants in the field of education.

Table 1 FORD FOUNDATION GRANTS IN EDUCATION: 1942-1973

(in dollars of 1967 purchasing power)

Year	Amount (thousand)	Percent of Total
1942-50	3,102	0.2
1951	107,241	7.4
1952-55	68,985	4.8
1956	312,209	21.6
1957-59	229,760	14.9
1960-64	369,035	25.5
1965-69	307,686	21.3
1970-73	47,855	3.3
Total	$1,445,873	100

Though immense by comparison with other philanthropies these resources were nevertheless far from the level of governmental inputs. Ford determined that it would not support programs that might be supported by ordinary school system budgets or already established governmental agencies. Furthermore Ford hoped that its support of any educational program would be essentially seed money, with the explicit intention that the program set a trend that other agencies would quickly support. Ford hoped to be innovative and experimental, reasoning that by choosing very select areas at the right point in history its comparatively small efforts would have large effects. This way Ford hoped to convert promising trends into dominant activities in education.

FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

Prior to 1957 the Ford Foundation's activities in support of innovation and experimental education were by and large the responsibility of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. In 1957, the Fund and the Education Division of the Ford Foundation became one with the merger of their respective staffs. Although the term "Ford Foundation" is used in this report to cover the activities in education by both bodies, it would seem appropriate to direct a few lines to the activities of the Fund.

Prior to the official launching of the activities of the Fund, a special trustee appointed committee had explored the possible directions the new vastly enlarged foundation might take in its funding activities. Education figured prominently in the report of this committee under the heading "Education in a Democratic Society." Two central themes pervade the committee's report. The first emphasizes the view that persons of all races and colors do not have equal access to education in America. A second deficiency of the educational system was held to be an almost exclusive concern with the teaching of information rather than the "molding of whole persons."

So it was in 1951 the Ford Foundation brought into being the Fund for the Advancement of Education hoping thereby to address the range of problems contained in the report of the committee recommending future foundation philanthropy. Between this date and the ending of the Fund in 1967, a total of approximately $65 million was given out. There appears to be no single theme tieing the several Fund projects together. The largest expenditures were in the area of the preparation of liberal arts graduates for teaching and fellowships for teachers to pursue advanced study. Substantial but lesser investment was also made in the development of various teaching aids and technological aids. Considerable attention was also given to increasing the opportunity for educational attainment in economically depressed areas in Appalachia and the South. All told the accomplishments of the decade of the Fund are difficult to summarize, not because they were ineffectual, but because they were diffused. Many remember best the teacher education emphasis but close examination of the pattern of funding reveals a much broader impact generally in the area of liberal arts graduate education.

One of the outstanding contributions was the organization and publication of The Negro and the Schools, which was put together by Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of The Arkansas Gazette, a liberal southern editor. He assembled a group of 45 scholars, mostly from southern colleges and universities, to examine and report on educational problems of Negroes in the southern and border states. Fortuitously, the book was published on May 16, 1954--the day before the U.S. Supreme Court announced its ruling that racial segregation in the public schools was a violation of the United States Constitution. This book was an important instrument for the rather favorable reaction of southern educators to the Supreme Court ruling.

Another very interesting action of the Fund was to pay for the *Educational Supplement* to the *Saturday Review*. The Fund agreed to pay a part of the editorial costs of the Supplement for an experimental period of 4 years, commencing in 1960. The Editor of *Saturday Review*, Norman Cousins, and the officers of the Fund picked a team of four men to create and carry on the *Educational Supplement*, the chief being Paul Woodring, who took a leave from his post as Professor of Education at Western Washington State College. Within five or six years after the appearance of the *Educational Supplement*, *Saturday Review* doubled its circulation, from a quarter million to a half million subscribers.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education was always controversial, largely because it initiated and supported activities in the field of teacher education which were regarded as undesirable by some leaders in university schools of education. The Fund stressed the liberal arts and especially the humanities as central to the preparation of school teachers, and attacked the prevailing emphasis on courses in methods of teaching, and of courses in Departments of Education rather than liberal arts departments.

The Ford Foundation in 1967 employed Professor Paul Woodring to write a critical history of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Woodring had served for six years as Editor of the *Education Supplement* of *Saturday Review*, with financial help from the Fund, and was personally well acquainted with the workings of the Fund and with its officers. He wrote what is generally regarded as a fair and balanced account. His 65-page chapter on "Judging the Results" is a model of judicious balance. He quoted criticisms, favorable and unfavorable from a number of well-known educators who responded to his invitation to write their judgments of the work of the Fund. Woodring said that the negative judgment made by professional educators was due to their disagreement with the directors of the Fund on the philosophy of education. He wrote: "At a time "when educators were stressing the importance of educating the 'whole child,' the Fund stressed the priority of the intellect; at a time when educators were urging more professional training for teachers, the Fund supported programs that provided more liberal education for teachers and postponed professional training until the fifth college year; and at a time when professors of education were engaged in bitter conflict with academic professors in the universities, the Fund was lending its support to programs that made it more difficult for them to win their battle." (pp. 218-19)

At the conclusion of his evaluation, Woodring wrote: "The fact that the Fund aroused the animosity of a considerable number of educators in powerful positions is less important than the fact that it gave encouragement and support to other educators who saw a need for substantial changes in education but whose innovative efforts were being blocked by the conventional wisdom of the establishment. Those who were responsible for the Fund can take satisfaction from the fact that many of the ideas and points of view that they espoused against much opposition in the Fifties became popular with educators in the Sixties. The new breed of educators, which now is rapidly taking over the positions of power and influence in American education includes many individuals whom the Fund identified in the early Fifties as potential leaders and whom it brought together in conferences and committees."(pp. 265-66)

COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

If one thinks of the Fund for the Advancement of Education as depicting the central thrust of Ford Foundation activities in education for the 1950s, the next decade can be summarized by the activities of the Comprehensive School Improvement Program, the Ford Foundation's effort through the 1960s to improve public education. In some ways the decade of the 60s was a continuation of the problems addressed in the 1950s with the dominant climate of opinion being that most educational problems were the result of too little of almost everything that constitutes the American formal public education system.

The stated objective of the CSIP was to put to good use the innovative schemes that had been developed in previous years. Furthermore it was not intended to invent additional innovations or to expand further educational facilities but rather to orchestrate a series of activities across the educational horizon which hopefully would make school systems receptive to the changes which previous research and innovative development had deemed desirable. The foundation reports that 30 million dollars was granted for these purposes to some 25 different school systems. In order to evaluate the impact of this spending the Foundation commissioned an independent assessment from a Colorado educator, Dr. Paul Nachtigal. Professor Nachtigal's report is found today in the form of a 50 page booklet entitled "A Foundation Goes to School."

The CSIP started from the assumption that it was necessary to reverse what was regarded as a decline in the quality of American education. It was felt that the new programs, instructional techniques and curriculum developed in the 50s represented in themselves a significant educational advance but had not been used effectively in reversing the trend downward in quality education. It was argued that what was needed was the joining together of such new practices as had been created in previous years to form a critical mass sufficient to overcome the inertia of traditional school systems and allow the introduction of the helpful but largely unimplemented projects of the past decade.

The educational practices promoted by the CSIP were twelve in number and included such things as team teaching, para-professionals, programmed instruction, and non-graded school programs.

In order to obtain the necessary critical mass the foundation sought to involve as many parts of any parts of any school system as possible, that is, all grade levels within a school and different types of schools in varied social settings. A few sites were sought where the likelihood was great that such innovations would be accepted and where sufficient sophistication could be found for the proper implementation and where there was a high probability that financial resources to continue the programs would be forthcoming once the foundation withdrew its support. The first awards were made to so-called "lighthouse" school systems which were thought capable of serving as guides to other community school systems. Early on in the CSIP the foundation officers themselves saw that substantial light was coming from the civil rights protest placing in glaring relief the fact that little had been done to address the problem of inequality of educational opportunity. The "lighthouse" programs yielded ground to new types of "compensatory education" programs which were thought to yield ideas more readily transferable to the needs of disadvantaged children. This shift, early in the history of CSIP, refocussed attention from a general renaissance to an emphasis on the "disadvantaged."

It seems clear that the general emphasis on implementing new practices was not combined with comparable sophistication in evaluation techniques and research generally took a back seat to so-called action projects. Several sources would indicate that an evaluation of the CSIP funded projects in terms of actual educational outcome would be impossible to make from the kinds of data that are available.

It is generally conceded that the main successes of the CSIP reside in its widespread or comprehensive influence on promoting change in professional teaching practice. The objective of the program to change traditional habits of teachers in school systems to what might be called a more broadly flexible system of group learning situations was unquestionably realized in many areas.

OVERVIEW OF FORD PROGRAMS

A general overview of the education grants made by the Ford Foundation and its subsidiaries is provided by Table 2, which represents a total of approximately $1.5 billion. The emphasis on higher education and on the liberal arts in seen clearly. However, the sums are so large that even an expenditure of only 2.8 percent on Minority Programs amounts to $40 million. The Endowment item was primarily for the increase of college faculty salaries, a grant made to a large number of colleges and universities in 1956.

Table 3 gives more detailed information on the support for higher education. Tables 4 and 5 report on grants to aid the development of personnel in educational institutions, and on financial aid to students. The expenditures on Educational Research, shown in Table 6, amount to almost a half billion dollars.

EVALUATION

It is hard to paint a generalized picture of evaluation in the affairs of the Ford Foundation in earlier days. Prior to 1960 evaluation was not given a high priority. As in other foundations there appears to have been the view that evaluation, in any technical or scientific sense, would not lead to much and the way to test and prove the worth of something is simply to put money on it. Most evaluation in the Ford Foundation, at least in so far as action projects are concerned, was the description of what went on by an outsider commissioned for the task, or, the report of what went on by those involved in the immediate administration of the project. Internally, Ford has adopted the procedure that the officer who makes the grant has a monitoring responsibility for it. Those monitoring responsibilities are primarily to make certain that the people running the program or project are doing what was agreed upon and that they are accounting for the funds in a proper way.

Table 2. CATEGORIES OF FORD EXPENDITURES IN EDUCATION: 1950-1973

AREA	AMOUNT (Thousands of 1967 dollars)	PERCENT*
Pre-collegiate Education	243,469	16.8
Higher Education	1,363,330	94.3
Adult and Continuing	63,723	4.4
Personnel Development	48,926	3.4
Financial Aid to Students	124,372	8.6
Educational Research	470,998	32.6
Endowment	264,339	18.3
Libraries, Museums, TV, etc.	4,131	0.3
Buildings & Equipment	46,579	3.2
Minority Programs	40,401	2.8
Curriculum Development	373,880	25.9
General Liberal Education	1,221,834	84.0
Special Education	47,740	3.3
Women's Education & Status	655	0.04
Economic Status of Teaching Prof.	256,601	17.7
Ed. Institutions and Associations	951,295	65.8
Publication	2,299	0.16
Accelerated Degree Programs	182	0.01
Community Involvement & Control	353	0.02

*Total more than 100% due to overlapping classifications. Dollars of 1967 purchasing power.

Table 3. FORD SUPPORT TO HIGHER EDUCATION

AREA	AMOUNT (Thousands of 1967 dollars)	PERCENT
Community or Junior College	260	0.02
Academic Graduate	210,643	15.4
Four Year College	87,560	6.4
Medical [illegible]tion	122,000	8.9
Business Education	14,774	1.1
Library Science	332	0.02
Teacher Education and MAT, MST	26,414	1.9
Education Administration	5,248	0.4
Undergraduate-graduate	894,675	65.7
Secondary-college Coordination	680	0.05
Total	$1,363,330	100.

Table 4. PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT

AREA	AMOUNT (Thousands of 1967 Dollars)	PERCENT
Internships	6,652	13.6
Fellowships	10,692	21.8
Training Institutes	31,582	64.5
Total	$48,926	100.

Table 5. FINANCIAL AID TO STUDENTS

Scholarships	59,511	47.8
Fellowships	48,221	38.8
Loans	8,210	6.6
Other	8,430	6.7
Total	$124,372	100.

Table 6. FORD SUPPORT FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Administration	24,768	5.2
Curriculum	18,498	3.9
Instruction & Learning	112,958	24.0
Measurement & Methods	353	0.1
Counseling & Human Development	3,186	0.7
History	269	0.1
Social Context	1,387	0.3
School Evaluation & Program Development	309,579	65.7
Total	$470,998	100.

In the past several years the picture of evaluation at Ford has changed as is noted in Chapter 4. Illustrative of that change is the report done by Dr. James C. Stone on Ford's Breakthrough Programs in teacher education. Stone was a full-time consultant to the Ford Foundation and in 1963 was given the task of evaluating the Foundation's intensive activities in experimental teacher education programs which had begun in 1958 and cost the Foundation some 29 million dollars in support of 43 different programs. Stone wrote a book, Breakthrough in Teacher Education, which is a series of case histories and which represents the first large scale evaluation of this sort.

Increasingly the Foundation is turning to outside evaluations by independent observers who write 50-100 page reports for strictly internal use. The exact procedures differ from division to division inside the Foundation. In some instances, Ford projects are reviewed by several people simultaneously; for example, by the individual responsible for the execution of the project, by the Foundation officer principally concerned, and by a committee of outsiders.

A novel procedure in self-evaluation took place in 1973, when the Ford Foundation appointed Merrimon Cuninggim as Consultant, to take a searching look at the Foundation and act as a candid professional critic with full access to the files of the Foundation, to staff members, and to outside parties who have had dealings with the Foundations. Mr. Cuninggim had just resigned from the presidency of the Danforth Foundation and, at the age of 62, was in a position to accept a useful and important assignment. Accordingly, the Ford Foundation employed Cuninggim and his Danforth associate, Mary Brucker, asked them to set up an office in St. Louis, and to make a dozen or more major reports on as many aspects of the Foundation's work.

ADMINISTRATIVE MECHANISMS

More than other Foundations, Ford Foundation has frequently adopted a procedure whereby large sums of money are granted to an organization which then in turn administers Ford funds for a specific program or purpose. In some instances, the proper organization for this administrative task did not exist at the time the Foundation wished to become involved in a certain program area. Ford then might simply create such an organization with its own autonomous administrative head and staff who respond to the original grant mandate and to the close monitoring of Ford officers. Such an administrative arrangement obviates the necessity of close involvement of Foundation officers who are theoretically free to pursue new and innovative channels rather than be bogged down in ordinary operating details. An illustration of this procedure is the minority fellowships program in higher education. With this program the Foundation started in-house with its own staff. The Foundation had hoped to farm out the administration of this fellowship program but was unable to create or find an agency capable of meeting its expectations. Finally, a Ford representative himself created a corporation for this purpose which was successful.

Ford recognizes that once a grant has been made very little leverage is retained to mold its operation in a way perceived as important to the interests of the Foundation. Thus it is that a good deal of Ford staff support is made available before a grant is actually made. If the problem is improving reading scores, for example, Ford would likely send experts in test construction and measurement who would help the grant recipients build their own evaluation component or offer assistance of their own. Those close to the Ford Foundation have often characterized this involvement of Ford staff in foundation sponsored projects as a type of close management from a distance. In some cases the Foundation uses its staff as technical assistants before the grant is made in order to insure that certain acceptable standards are build into the operation of the program. Once a grant is made, in addition to the program officer in charge, the Foundation sometimes offers more technical assistance. Ford argues that making a grant and leaving the grantee alone can be harmful in an unusual way. In several instances money was allocated to institutions which felt bound to live by the letter of the original agreement even though modifications in the original agreement would be a substantial improvement in the project. Situations would arise, according to Ford, in which without the presence of Foundation officers, project administrators would say to school authorities that such and such a modification would not be possible even though apparently desirable since that would be contrary to the agreement struck with the Ford Foundation. However, with the close monitoring of a foundation officer such modifications can simply and readily be accommodated.

FUNDING PRIORITIES

The Ford Foundation like others we studied has not wished to fund anything for which federal funds might be considered applicable. Even the Ford Foundation, with its enormous size relative to other foundations, does not collaborate with the government except in unusual circumstances and at the level of the grantee. The Foundation simply does not want its money used for what are the ongoing costs of any operation, the salaries of teachers, for example, although there have been exceptions. The Foundation prefers to give its money to those operations, projects, or activities that do not repeat themselves, unless with the financial backing of someone else. An example was a grant to the Massachusetts State Department of Education. This was a grant made to build a planning unit in that state. The state indicated that it had no planning capacity and the Foundation responded favorably by indicating that it would give the money necessary to devise one. The agreement struck was that the foundation would set up the planning unit providing that the legislature would vote money to continue it in the next session of the legislature. Another illustration is that of the so-called "alternative schools" which came into prominence in the 60s. The position that the Ford Foundation took, after becoming involved in some projects of this kind, was that to continue was dangerous in that there was no end to the subsidy required.

CONCLUSION

This rather bried description of Ford Foundation activity in the broad field of education hardly does justice to the tremendous impact the Foundation has had upon American education, especially higher education, since 1950. Also in the controversy-laden 1960s the Foundation moved into the area of relationships of the public school system to the local community or neighborhood in the large cities. By supporting the experiments in New York City that were aimed to bring minority groups in the local neighborhoods into close cooperation with the community school, the Ford Foundation found itself in the midst of the major educational controversy of the day. The future historians will devote a great deal of attention to that episode. At present, the atmosphere is relatively calm, but the broad educational changes which must come with the contemporary youth crisis will almost certainly find the Ford Foundation involved in supporting innovations.

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XII. GRANT FOUNDATION

Overview

Grant has maintained a strong interest over the years in questions of mental health. It has funded projects appropriate to a narrow definition of this field such as the biochemical treatment of schizophrenia as well as projects in the allied social and behavioral sciences including those of a very applied or clinical viewpoint. It is said that Mr. William T. Grant, a successful clothing and household wares retailer who at retirement had created a chain of over 1100 stores across the country, was increasingly distressed by the fact that so many promising and capable young men failed to lead rewarding lives. He became interested in understanding how people could live more productively and fulfill their capabilities, a definition of Grant's view of positive mental health. Thus the foundation has supported activities that would increase knowledge of preventive mental health, especially as it affects children and youth, and which could then be applied to help promising young people be more rational and productive. Many of these applications were, of course, educational and the field of education and related research has never been far from center of the Grant Foundation's concern.

The Grant Foundation has displayed no reluctance to work with government on problems of mutual interest, particularly with the National Institute of Mental Health. Joint ventures may have been initiated by either the foundation or government and for the most part have been happy marriages. The foundation is a good partner for government in that government agencies often have tight restrictions while foundations have greater flexibility. Government funds may be impounded or they must be spent by a certain rigid date or returned to the treasury. Grant has hoped to supplement the Federal Government in the sense of doing those things that government could not or would not do or which were more difficult for government to do, such as equipment grants or money to renovate a physical facility or a grant to finish an analysis or writeup. Grant has not tried to compete with the government by picking up even a very good project if it were eligible for government support.

Although Grant is basically pro-academic and favorably inclined to basic research, they, like other foundations, are in the position of having to convince a board consisting of practical-minded businessmen that the venture is useful. Likewise, Grant has made clear that it is interested in giving seed money, pilot awards or even in helping someone get a grant, but that it does not wish to provide for long-term operating costs of a project. Many university programs, if successful, immediately generate higher costs in the form of more students and more faculty, all of which results in increased need for support. Grant, as a small foundation, has sought to make its money multiply by trying to get at the "cutting edge" and by funding those projects that have been judged likely to have a contribution that is wider than the immediate grant itself.

Historically Grant has been interested in a wide range of education related projects. In the late thirties Grant sponsored a very comprehensive, psychiatric, medical, anthropological and psychological evaluation of bright young Harvard students. The research design, which today may not appear adequate but was then novel, was a form of tracer study in which the career trajectory of students was followed over time with the objective of determining what made some succeed and others fail in order to assess the precursors of success and failure. Other projects in the 30s and 40s were designed to do what departments of educational psychology do today, which was to introduce principles of human development to prospective teachers. Much early Grant support was in this vein. There was also interest in the idea of teaching pediatricians something about human behavior. There was an interest in adolescent medicine and Grant supported the first adolescent medical program at Harvard's children's hospital. There was a definite penchant at Grant to support the introduction of psychoanalytic thinking into educational curricula. In virtually all of Grant's early educational programs can be found elements of a psychoanalytic orientation.

A long-term interest in mental hygiene and child development involved the Foundation in one of its major programs--support of the Institute for Child Study at the University of Maryland. This centered around one man, Professor Daniel A. Prescott, who went to Maryland in 1947 as Director of the Institute, after 8 years at the University of Chicago where he directed the Program of Child Study and Teacher Education, a project of the Commission on Teacher Education which was supported financially by the General Education Board. A major book, Helping Teachers Understand Children, provided the conceptual basis for Prescott's program of training teachers in service and prospective teachers to understand and use child development knowledge in their work. Grant Foundation supported the Institute with grants of approximately $1.5 million, over the period from 1949 to 1966.

Today Grant supports programs concerned with graduate training of a wide variety, like the Woodrow Wilson Program for returning black veterans. The foundation, typically concerned with medicine, has moved a different way in the funding of pre-medical remedial programs. It now supports some summer programs which attempt to bring minority group students to the top in science, math, reading and general study habits. Grant's programs have differed from others in that they try to pick up students between high school and college and place them into intensive summer training. The objective is stated as exposing these minority group students to medicine and to strengthen their basic science skills with the ultimate intent of orienting them to the health-related professions and to give them a head start in the difficult competition leading to the scarce seats in medical schools.

Analysis

According to our classificatory scheme, the Grant Foundation made its first award for educational purposes in 1937. Since then its history of educational activity has been sporadic. Prior to 1962 no more than 10 awards were made in any given year (except in 1956 when 14 were made) and in 6 years none was made. From 1963 to 1972 the frequency of education-related gifts accelerated briskly. In this ten-year period 107 awards or 55 percent of the total Grant dollars were destined for education and of this amount half was given in 1970-72.

Over the 36-year period the Grant Foundation has been active, approximately $23,615,000 has been given to education. We coded 193 separate awards or clusters of similar awards for which the mean size was slightly larger than $122,000.

Since 1968 the average grant has diminished in size to roughly $62,000.

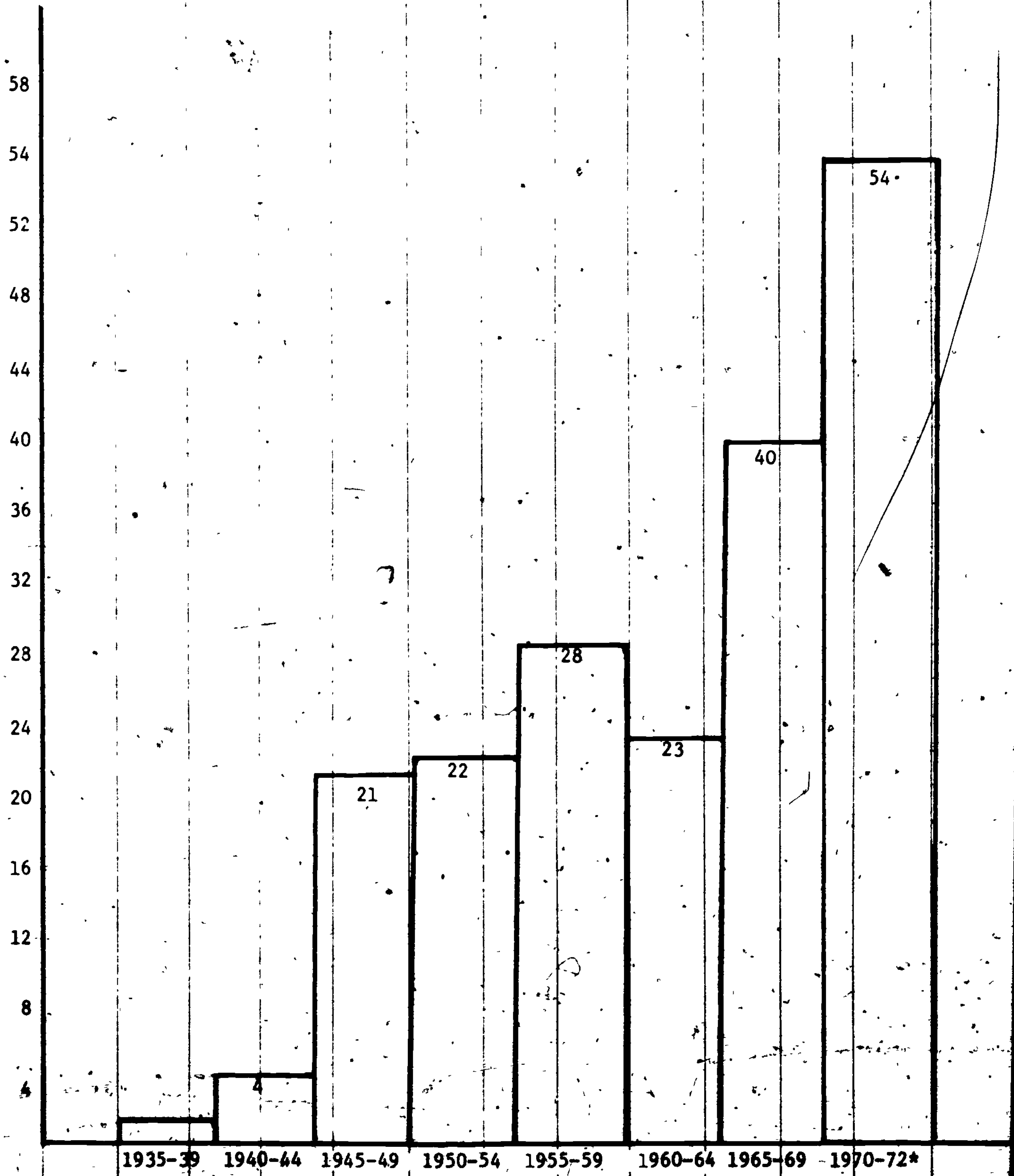
Grant's educational contribution, if judged only by dollars awarded, has been small relative to other foundations in our study.

Ranked in terms of dollar contributions to education, the Grant Foundation is far down the list among the nine foundations we studied, placing eighth. Its total awards are a small .7 percent of the total in education.

The duration of the Grant Foundation awards in education is similar to patterns elsewhere in our study. Nearly one-quarter of the awards we categorized were made for one year. Approximately the same number, however, were made for a period of five years or more and the balance, or half, of the educational grants, were made for an interval somewhere in between, that is, more than one but less than five years.

If the Grant Foundation is like the others in regard to the duration of its awards, it is a leader among foundations in its propensity toward highly regional distribution of funds. Like most other foundations we studied, the Northeast is favored with 40 percent of Grant's educational dollars. This is a striking contrast to the 4 percent given to the combined regions of the West and South. It is unquestionably difficult for the smaller foundations with proportionately small administrative staffs to travel the world in search of fundable projects. Grant is a small foundation with one professional staff member, and its funding priorities are understandably linked in the main to problems that are proximate. The limitations

GRANT FOUNDATION--NUMBER OF GRANTS PER 5 YEAR INTERVALS, 1935-1972



*incomplete interval

imposed by virtue of small size are seen in another way in our Grant Foundation data.

Under our category assessing the extent of involvement of foundation officers in the evaluation and administration of funded projects, our data show the Grant Foundation to have virtually no involvement of this sort. The awards in education have almost always been made to individuals or institutions who themselves administer and oversee all aspects of their project. Our data simply show no cases of projects selected and administered by the Grant Foundation staff.

Grant has shown a marked propensity for giving educational money to small private causes rather than typically larger public ones. Private enterprises have received 72 percent of Grant's educational dollars and 80 percent of all individual awards made in education. By breaking down the education awards into eight general areas of support a more revealing funding profile emerges.

The following table is illustrative of the funding priorities in education of this foundation.

TABLE I

CONSTANT (1967) DOLLAR EXPENDITURES
AND PERCENT OF TOTAL BY AREA OF SUPPORT

AREA	AMOUNT	PERCENT*
Higher Education	$15,558,000	65.8
Endowment & General Support	10,330,000	43.7
Financial Aid to Students	9,348,000	39.5
Educational Research	4,511,000	19.1
Pre-collegiate Education	4,263,000	18.0
Curriculum Development	3,567,000	15.1
Educ-Experiments & Demonstration	2,907,000	12.3
Special Education	2,671,000	11.3

*Percentage totals do not equal 100 percent due to multiple coding of individual grants into more than one category.

It is clear then that a typical Grant Foundation award has been to private institutions in the area of Higher Education. But for what purpose?

Anyone who is even remotely aware of the work of the Grant Foundation or who may have pursued its annual reports will not be surprised to learn of the preeminent position of the Foundation in Medical Education revealed in our data. Under the heading of contributions affecting higher education, 31 percent of Grant's dollars have gone towards medical education, the largest amount. Somewhat smaller proportions were given to the general support of graduate and undergraduate programs and to MST and MAT teacher education programs, with 25 percent and 21 percent respectively. Lesser amounts were given in furtherance of academic graduate programs and social work education.

Table I indicates that in addition to higher education per se, the Grant Foundation has given extensively toward endowment and general support of educational endeavors. Our figures indicate that of the ten million classified in this category almost all of the total was to be used for general support and not strictly to increase endowment size. In some ways the general support of medical education might appear to be a strange choice for a small foundation whose reputation must be built on the unique, and the quality of the small amount its giving may produce. The other side of this story is, of course, that a small administrative staff imposes severe limitations on the amount of experimenting or innovating the foundation can do before its operating expense rivals the size of the award. We do not question the judgment of foundation officers in operating as they deem most suitable but we do leave open to question the likelihood that not all approaches are in the long run equally impactful.

Along with the support of medical programs, Grant has also supported some pre-medical programs such as intensive summer institutes for minorities, and other efforts to pick out promising high school students and orient them toward medicine or other health professions. In all educational spheres Grant gave nearly $10,000,000 for financial assistance to students.

Grant's support of educational research was primarily in the area of instruction and learning which took 53 percent of the four and one half million designated for research. None of the other research categories received more than a million and each was roughly equal.

Regarding pre-collegiate education, which as a category, received only 18 percent of Grant's educational funding, we found it noteworthy that pre-school, elementary and secondary were all represented in fairly equal proportions. Pre-school educational endeavors amounted to approximately one fourth of the total and elementary and secondary with a little more than a third a piece.

The Foundation's priority commitment to the medical sciences is also evidenced in the area of curriculum development where slightly more than half of nearly four million has been spent in science education curriculum. The majority of the balance was given to general curriculum development.

Special education, with 11.3 percent of the total educational dollars has been a continuing interest of the Foundation. The biggest emphasis by far in this area has been the education and rehabilitation of the socially maladjusted with 89% of the total. The physically and mentally handicapped and the gifted received the rest of the monies in this area which amount over the years to nearly $300,000.

Other indication of the Foundation's concern for the general betterment of the educational process has been its support of programs devoted to experimentation and demonstration. Although only 12.3% (approx. $3 million) of the Foundation's total education money falls into this category, this amount is proportionately far in excess of the amount given by the other foundations we studied. From the awards made for experimentation and demonstration, 64 percent was allocated for work-study programs and 36 percent went for adult education.

According to our data Grant has made eight separate awards for explicitly black education totaling $1,335.000. Five awards were in the area of higher education, two for medical education, and one each for teacher education, undergraduate, and graduate academic program. Interestingly, two of these awards were made to southern institutions and together the two constitute approximatley one third of Grant's total spending in that region.

XIII. THE LILLY ENDOWMENT, INC.

The Lilly Endowment has operated since 1937, when its first grant was made, amounting to $10,500, to the Indianapolis Community Chest. At that time the principal fund was relatively small, and only $15,570 was available as endowment income. In the early days it was a very informal operation. Eli Lilly as Secretary-Treasurer "began operations out of the left-hand drawer of his desk."(1) With growth in assets, the Endowment made grants of $5 million in 1962, and $24 million in 1972.

Grants from the endowment fund reflected the interest of the Lilly family in "favorite charities" at first. Almost at once the custom was established to make annual grants to private colleges in Indiana, the first of these being $1000 to Hanover College in 1938, followed by a grant to DePauw of $2,500 in 1939. By the end of 1956, ten Indiana colleges had received $3,604,000 for operating expenses and $1,941,000 for buildings.

Describing the early years, the 1962 Report on the History of the Lilly Endowment says:

> The Endowment operated quietly during the first ten or fifteen years, and little was known about its activities beyond its own community and its immediate beneficiaries. By the year 1950, however, the board decided to publish its first annual report, inasmuch as its increases in assets had made the Endowment one of the major foundations in the country. Since that time we have issued reports each year, because we recognize our responsibility not only to place our money intelligently, but also to make a public accounting of our stewardship.(2)

In 1956, the Endowment adopted a basic policy statement, defining three areas of major interest: education, community services, and religion. Grants had cumulative totals in 1962 of $43 million. Almost half had gone into education, and almost another sixth into the field of religion, which included religious and theological education.

The Lilly Endowment has been especially responsive to needs in the Indianapolis area and in the state of Indiana. Of the $18 million given out before 1957, Indianapolis organizations received one third, and Indiana organizations outside of Indianapolis another third. As the Endowment grew larger, the proportions going to Indiana became somewhat smaller. In 1972, the proportion of grants remaining in Indiana was approximately 60 percent, including two large grants for $4.5 million. As indicated in Table 1, 55 percent of the total grants between 1937 and 1972 went to Indiana recipients.

In the area of community services the Endowment placed its grants for support of programs "for the preservation of human liberty in the United States." In this connection, the Report says:

> The Declaration of Independence affirms that man's rights, including life and liberty, come from God. It therefore follows that individual freedom is the natural heritage of each living American, not to be infringed upon by society regardless of how paternalistic the intervention may be. The stress which our Christian religion places on the value of the individual implies that each person must be free to select his own path through life, without restraints imposed by the state other than those required to maintain order and justice. Our constitution provides this liberty by an elaborate system of checks and balances which attempt to limit the power of government.
>
> We recognize that this freedom releases the maximum amount of energy which can be applied to the production of goods and services and the solution of life's problems. For this reason, the minimizing of regimentation by the state happily releases the creative ingenuity and initiative that have caused the United States to enjoy great material advantages, but these are just the by-products, not the major purpose, of our system. It is our spiritual heritage that is of primary importance. (3)

In 1962 grants were made which "contributed to a better understanding of the anticommunist, free-enterprise, limited-government concept. In community services, a grant of $36,000 was made to the American Bar Association Fund for Public Education to help underwrite a new program in anticommunism."(4)

This emphasis on religion and on moral aspects of economic education gave the Lilly Endowment a reputation for conservatism, which was bolstered by several small grants to colleges operated by fundamentalist religious leaders, and by grants to some organizations which promoted a right-wing economic-political program as well as to the Christian Anti-Communistic Crusade of the Australian Fred Schwartz.

Nevertheless, the largest and most numerous grants went to liberal religious organizations and schools. The educational grants frequently were aimed to assist black college students, and the United Negro College Fund received annual grants commencing almost with the beginning of the Endowment. Earlham College, a liberal Quaker college in Richmond, Indiana, received aid of various kinds. The contemporary Executive Vice President of the Endowment, Landrum R. Bolling, was President of Earlham until he joined the Endowment in 1972.

The Endowment has made a number of grants in support of the Council for Basic Education, the leading organization which espouses an educational philosophy of emphasis on academic values in education.

A most consistent and extended program centered on support for the Character Research Institute at Union College, Schenectady, New York, and Ernest Ligon, its founder and director during his long professional career. A first grant was made in 1946, and annual grants of about $115,000 a year continued through the latest report for 1972.

The theme of values--ethical values, and religious values--runs through the years. In 1947, a grant of $120,000 was made to Harvard University in support of the Research Center in Creative Altruism, whose founder was Pitirim Sorokin, the well-known sociologist who led the forces within the field of sociology against what he called the "sensate" or materialistic culture of contemporary America.

Administrative Procedures

The administration of the Lilly Endowment has a simple structure. This is not an operating foundation and therefore has no staff to appoint Fellows, administer projects, or conduct research. There are three major administrative officers--the Executive Vice-President and two Vice-Presidents. They are assisted by several junior staff members who visit potential grantees and evaluate grant requests.

This is an example of a foundation with clearly-targeted program objectives, working almost entirely through a small staff who are selected for their understanding and experience with the areas of foundation interest. Furthermore, even as a very large foundation, the Endowment continues to focus on Indianapolis and the state of Indiana.

Table 1 sums up the major ~~grants in~~ the period from the Endowment's beginning in 1937 through the year 1972. The funds have been computed in terms of dollars of 1967 purchasing power, which gives the grants made before 1946 almost twice their dollar value when the money was given out. The emphasis on support of private higher education in Indiana is clear. Agencies and educational institutions in the state of Indiana received 55 percent of the total grant money. Also, the emphasis on support of private educational institutions is clear.

Table 1

GRANTS OF THE LILLY ENDOWMENT: 1937-72, IN THE AREA OF EDUCATION

(Thousands of 1967 Dollars)

		Percent of Total
Total Education Grants, 1937-72	$77,217	100
Higher Education	61,500	79
Elementary and Secondary Education	16,500	21
Recipients in State of Indiana (Excludes Indianapolis)	33,400	43
Recipients in Indianapolis	9,000	12
Private Educational Institutions	58,087	75
Public Educational Institutions	5,300	7
Public and Private Combinations	13,800	18
Religious Education and Theological Education	10,800	14
Character Education	5,350	7

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FOOTNOTES

1. Lilly Endowment, Inc. The First Twenty Years: 1937-1957
Indianapolis, Indiana. p.4.

2. Lilly Endowment, Inc. The First Twenty-five Years: 1937-1962.
Indianapolis, Indiana. p. 9.

3. *ibid*, p. 15-16.

4. *ibid*, p. 17.

XIV. THE CHARLES STEWART MOTT FOUNDATION

One of the very large Foundations was established in 1926 by Charles Stewart Mott. Its present assets are between $300 and $400 million, depending on the market value of the common stocks which make up the bulk of its assets. Charles Stewart Mott, one of the founders of the General Motors Corporation, placed much of his wealth in the Foundation. At his death in 1973, at the age of 97, his estate added a final $14 million to the endowment.

The Foundation acted like most other family charitable foundations in its early years, making gifts to local charities in Flint, Michigan, where Mr. Mott lived and where major General Motors plants were located. The economy of Flint was based primarily on the General Motors Corporation. With a 1970 population of slightly over 200,000, the city experienced major growth between 1925 and 1960.

In the 1930s, Mr. Mott became attracted to the ideas of Frank J. Manley, supervisor of physical education in the Flint public schools. Manley proposed that the school buildings be kept open afternoons and evenings and weekends to meet recreational and leisure-time needs of the community--adults as well as youth.

The first small grant was made by the Foundation to the Flint public schools in 1935, and annual grants have been made ever since, for community education and community schools in Flint. In the first half of 1974, about $7 million was given by the Foundation to community education projects, including about $4.2 million to the Flint Board of Education. The Flint public schools have for years maintained a community education program called the Mott Program of the Flint Board of Education, with an Associate Superintendent in charge. The Mott Foundation has supported this program on the basis of a kind of performance contract, renewed annually.

The community school and community education ideas have spread over the whole country, and the community education movement has been supported in large part by the Mott Foundation. In 1974, grants totalling $2.4 million were given to support 15 regionally-based community education training centers, which provide fellowship stipends and train men and women for positions as Community School Directors. In 1972, there were 572 school districts in the United States with 2,284 school buildings serving as community schools. These programs were directed by 1,424 community school directors, nearly all of whom had been trained for this work with Mott Foundation support at the training centers. There was an average of 903 persons enrolled in each community school program--some taking adult education courses for academic credit, and others pursuing an avocation or hobby or a sport. Meanwhile a National Community School Education Association has been formed, with a journal titled The Community School and its Administration.

The Mott Foundation has been unique among Foundations in placing a great deal of its money on one kind of activity, starting locally and moving to the national scene, Approximately $72 million, or 42 percent of the Foundation grants of $167 million between 1926 and 1974 have supported the concept of community education.

The growth of the Mott Foundation's giving is shown in Table 1. Annual grants reached $200,000 in 1945, and $1 million in 1957. In 1964 the total was $11 million, and since 1966 the annual amounts have ranged from $12 to $24.5 million.

Rationale of the Program

The underlying ideas that motivate the Mott Foundation are described in the Annual Report for 1967-68, as follows:

"The philosophical purpose of the Mott Foundation is to increase the strength and stature of character in individuals and thereby also strengthen our free enterprise system of society. The goal should be first to produce citizens of strength and quality, each of whom accepts his full responsibility as citizen. . . .

"The purpose of the Mott Foundation will be to learn how to do this in Flint--help to make Flint the laboratory and proving grounds, and let other communities observe and hopefully adopt these programs.

"To do this it is necessary to increase education, recreation, physical fitness, children's health, understanding of basic economics, social service, spiritual values, self-reliance and useful living.

"In our opinion the best way by which these objectives can be promoted by the Mott Foundation is to conceive, research, test, and support demonstration of the programs that accomplish these objectives in Flint."

Even after the community school movement had become a national movement through the 15 regional training centers assisted by the Foundation, a central focus was maintained in Flint, through a National Center for Community Education operated by the Flint Board of Education and providing fellowships for candidates for the doctor's and master's degrees who spend a year in residence in Flint, though their advanced degrees are taken through one or another of seven state universities in Michigan.

Other Foundation Activities

Over the years since 1926 the Mott Foundation has made grants to advance the cultural life and the general welfare in Flint, of approximately the same magnitude as its grants in the field of community education. These have included: large funds provided for a campus in downtown Flint for the Flint Branch of the University of Michigan; substantial funds for the public-supported C.S. Mott Community College; and the establishment and continued support of the Mott Children's Health Center, at a level currently of about $1.5 million a year.

The major concentration on Flint and the State of Michigan is illustrated in Table 1, which shows that, for the three years of 1970-72, educational activities in Flint took 59 percent of the Foundation's Educational Area Grants, while another 12 percent went to other educational agencies in the state of Michigan. However, the trend in recent years, with substantially greater funds than in the past, is toward making grants with a national scope.

Another way in which the Mott Foundation has differed from most of the large foundations is illustrated in Table 1. Elementary and Secondary Education got 37 percent of the educational grant money in 1970-72, while most Foundations favor Higher Education. Also, public-supported education received 75 percent of the grant money, and only 4 percent went to private institutions. Both of these facts reflect the interest of the Foundation in community education.

Conclusion

The Mott Foundation program has been a model rarely seen among major foundations, of concentration on one program and one geographical area. Now this policy is changing, though substantial local support will no doubt be continued. Early in 1974 the Foundation created a Community Education Board of Advisors--a body of twelve men and women--who will advise the Foundation concerning its community education activities for the remainder of this decade and through the 1980s.

Table 1

EDUCATION GRANTS BY THE MOTT FOUNDATION
1970-72

Total Education Grants, 1970-72, in 1967 dollars	$29,708,000

Nature of Educational Grant	Percent of Total Education Area Grants
Elementary and Secondary Education	37
Higher Education	38
Adult and Continuing Education	25
Public-Supported Education	75
Private-Supported Education	4
Mixed Public-Private Education Programs	21
Programs and Projects in Flint, Michigan	59
Programs and Projects in Michigan, outside of Flint	12

Gross Level of Mott Foundation Grants	
Less than $100,000 per year	1926-38
Between $100,000 and $200,000 per year	1938-45
Between $200,000 and $1 million a year	1946-57
From $1 million to $11 million a year	1958-65
Between $12 million and $24 million a year	1966-74

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1. CATEGORIES FOR STUDY OF FOUNDATION GRANTS

Number	Variable	Punch Card Column Nos.	Descriptors
1	Foundation Name & Grant Number	1-4	Names and Grant Number
2	Pre-Collegiate	5	1. Pre-School 2. Elementary 3. Secondary 4. Combination of above 5. Uncertain 9. NA*
3	Higher Education	6,7	01. Community or Junior College 02. 4 year College 03. Academic Grad. Program 04. Medical Education 05. Dental Education 06. Nursing Education 07. Business Education 08. Legal Education 09. Religious or Theological Education 10. Library Science Education 11. Teacher Education & Master's Degree in Teaching 12. Educational Admin. 13. Education for Social Work 14. Undergraduate/Graduate Program 15. Secondary-College Coordination 99. NA
4	Adult & Continuing Education	8	1. Extension & Home Study 2. External/Degree 3. On Campus/Degree 4. Non-Credit 5. Sub-Collegiate 6. General Support 9. NA
5	Vocational & Paraprofessional Ed	9	1. Technician & Industrial Training 2. Para-professional 3. Commercial Training 4. Career Education 9. NA
6.	Development of Personnel for Education or Research	10	1. Internships 2. Fellowships 3. Training Institutes 9. NA

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*NA = Not Applicable

Number	Variable	Column Nos.	Descriptors
7	Financial Aid & Other Services to Youth	11	1. Scholarships 2. Fellowships 3. Loans 4. Uncertain 5. Work-Study 6. Remedial Teaching 7. Social Adjustment or motivation programs 8. Religious Programs 9. NA
8	Educational Research	12	1. Administration 2. Curriculum & Objectives 3. Instruction & Learning 4. Measurement & Research Methods 5. Counseling & Human Development 6. History of Education 7. Social Context of Education 8. Evaluation of School Practice & School Program 9. NA
9	Endowment & General Support	13	1. Endowment 2. General Support 9. NA
10	Libraries, Museums, Television, Radio, Theatre, Recreation (Outside of School or College Plant)	14	1. Libraries 2. Museums 3. Educational Television 4. Film 5. Radio 6. Videotape 7. Theatre 8. Recreation 9. NA
11	Buildings & Equipment	15	1. Partial Cost of Building 2. Complete Cost of Building 3. Uncertain/Building 4. Equipment 5. Library Collections 9. NA
12	Dollar Amount of Award	16-24	Exact dollar figure, rounded to nearest hundred. Right justify.
13	Year of Award	25,26	Enter last two digits

Number	Variable	Column Nos.	Descriptors
14	Duration of Award	27	1. One year 2. Two years 3. Three years 4. Four years 5. Five years 6. More than five years 9. Don't know
15	Regional Focus	28	1. Northeast 2. South 3. No.Central & Midwest 4. Southwest 5. West 6. National USA 7. Foreign (Exclud. USA) 8. International (Includ. USA) 9. NA or Don't know.
16	Area Focus	29	1. Local--Same city as Foundation Office 2. Same state 9. NA
17.	Administrative Responsibility for Grant	30	1. Staff selected by Foundation and funds administered by Foundation 2. Grantee agency administers the funds, in close cooperation with Foundation staff for planning and conduct of the project. 3. Grantee selects staff and administers program 4. Don't know
18.	Minority Focus	31,32	01. Black 02. Mexican American 03. Puerto Rican 04. Cuban 05. Japanese 06. Chinese 07. Philippino 08. European Ethnics 09. American Indians 10. 11. 12. 99. NA
19.	Rural/Urban Geographical Focus	33	1. Rural/Agricultural 2. Big City 3. Inner City 4. Metropolitan Area 5. Suburban 6. 9. NA or Don't know
20.	Curriculum Development	34	0. General Curriculum 1. Interdisciplinary 2. Humanities and Arts 3. Social Sciences 4. Biological Sciences 5. Physical Sciences and Math 6. Agricultural 7. Religion 8. Commercial-Technical 9. NA

Number	Variables	Column Nos.	Descriptors
21	General, Liberal Education	35	1. Yes 9. NA
22	Special Education	36	1. Physically Handicapped 2. Mentally Handicapped 3. Gifted 4. 9. NA
23	Women's Education and Status	37	1. Education of Women 2. Status of Women in Education 3. 9. NA
24	Economic Status of Teaching Profession	38	1. Retirement Annuities 2. Salary 3. Collective Bargaining 4. 5. 9. NA

umber	Variables	Column Nos.	Descriptors
25	Institutions & Educational Associations	39,40	01 Institutions for Educational Development not named below 02 Center for Advanced Studies in Behavioral Sciences 03 Educational Facilit. Lab. 04 Educational Testing Service 05 Academy for Ed Dev 06 Educational Commission of the US 07 Inst. for Ed. Develop. 08 Institute of Internat'l. Education 09 National Commission for Support of Public Schools 10 Institute for Advanced Study 11 Education & World Affairs Inc. 12 Resources for the Future 13 Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development (Paris) 14 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement 15 National Academy of Sciences 16 College Entrance Exam Board 17 Metropolitan Applied Res Center 18 United Negro College Fund 19 American College Test. Program 20 U. S. National Student Association 21 Southern Educational Foundation 22 Southern Regional Council 23 Southern Educational Bd 24 Southern Fellowships Fund 25 State Departments of Education 26 27 28 29 30 51. Educational Associations not named below 52. American Assoc. for Higher Education 53. American Council on Education 54. American Association of University Professors 55. Southern Assoc. of Colleges and Schools 56. American Association of Community and Junior Colleges 57. Association of American Colleges 58. National Education Association 59. American Association of State Colleges 60. American Association of School Administrators 61. Assoc. of Amer. Univ. 62. Progressive Education Association 63. Neighborhood Teachers Association 64. 65. 66. 67. 99. NA

Number	Variables	Column Nos.	Descriptors
26	Public, Private, or Mixed	41	1. Public 2. Private 3. Mixed 4. 9. NA or Don't know.
27	For Purpose of General Educational Development or Policy Making	42 (Use always with 39,40)	1. Council 2. Commission 3. Task Force 4. Conferences 9. NA
28	Educational Experimentation or Demonstration. (Extra-curricular & intra-curricular)	43	1. Camping 2. Work-Study 3. Agricultural 4. Commerce/Trade 5. Adult Educa. 6. Alternate Schools or Free Schools 9. NA
29	Co-supported by other Foundations or Government	44	1. Yes 9. NA
30	Costs of Publication of Journals or Books	45	1. Yes 9. NA
32.	Community Involvement and/or Control	47	1. Local community control 2. Local community involvement, without control. 9. NA

APPENDIX 2. CONSTANT DOLLAR COEFFICIENTS
(For Converting Current Dollars to Dollars of
1967 Purchasing Power)

Year	Constant Dollar Coefficient
1900	4.00
1905	3.70
1910	3.44
1915	3.28
1920	1.66
1925	1.90
1930	2.00
1935	2.43
1940	2.38
1945	1.85
1950	1.38
1955	1.24
1960	1.12
1965	1.05
1967	1.00
1970	.85
1973	.75

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1973 and earlier editions.

QUESTIONS FOR RECIPIENTS OF FOUNDATION AND GOVERNMENT GRANTS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

1. Please compare your experience in securing support for research and development projects from private foundations and from federal government agencies.

2. Did the one or the other type of organization do a more satisfactory job of evaluating your projects? If so, will you comment on the differences?

3. In your contacts with government officials and with foundation officers when you sought financial support, did you have better experience with one or the other group? Please explain.

Please return to: Professor Robert J. Havighurst
Department of Education
The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois 60637

4. The federal government agencies often use a committee or council of your peers to determine which research applications should be supported. Private foundations rely on their staff members for this determination. What has been your experience with these two procedures? Do you favor one or the other?

5. If Foundations had the same amount of money to award as government agencies, would you prefer doing business with one or the other agency? Please explain.

6. Since 1960,

a. About how many research grants have you received from government agencies? ______________

b. About how much money did these grants provide? ______________

c. About how many research grants have you received from private foundations?

____

d. About how much money did these grants provide? ______________

7. On the basis of your experience and your knowledge of Foundation activity in the broad field of education, would you name the three Foundations which you think have performed most usefully and efficiently since 1950. We are not thinking here of quantity of money granted, though that may well figure in your judgment. Rather, of the competence of the Foundation staff, the efficiency of their operation, the quality of their policy-making, the success of the projects and programs they supported.

Please rank the Foundations, and add one or two if you cannot easily limit yourself to a list of three.

1. ____________________

2. ____________________

3. ____________________

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