

Harold W. Stevenson

- Born 11/19/1924 in Dines, WY; Died 07/08/2005
- Spouse - Nancy Guy Stevenson
- Ph.D. and M.A. from Stanford University (1951 and 1947); B.A. from the University of Colorado (1947)

Major Employment:

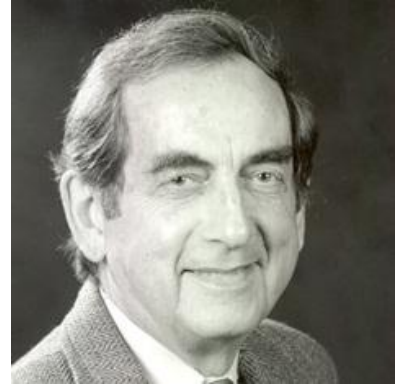
- Pomona College - 1950-1953, Psychology
- University of Texas - 1953-1959, Psychology
- University of Minnesota - 1959-1971, Institute of Child Development
- University of Michigan - 1971-2001, Psychology

Areas of Work:

- Learning in Children, International Studies of Cognition, Socialization and Achievement, U.S. Education Reform

SRCD Affiliation:

- Editorial Board Involvement: *Child Development* (1959-61, 1965-69, 1971-77); Governing Council Member (1961-1973); President (1969-1971); Committee Chair of Social Policy (1974-1979)



SRCD ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

Harold Stevenson
University of Michigan

Interviewed by Alberta Siegel
At Stanford University
June 8, 1993

Siegel: Today is Tuesday, June 8th, 1993. I'm Alberta Siegel. I'm a Professor of Psychology at Stanford. This is an interview with Professor Harold Stevenson from the University of Michigan, who is visiting at Stanford at this time, and the interview is taking place in his office on the Stanford campus. The purpose of this interview is to gain background information for the Society for Research in Child Development by talking with people who are leaders of this Society, and to cover not only their activity with the Society, but also their professional history in general. We don't know what uses these interviews might be put to in the future so we're casting a wide net. And sometimes I'll ask you a question, Harold, not because I don't know the answer, or not even because I want to hear the answer, but because I think it belongs on the record as part of the overall project. So you use your own judgment about that. Let's start with the time that you went to college, and let's talk about your college career and then your graduate career and then move into your professional life. So give me a date and a place.

Stevenson: Well, I think what you've become, in part, is dependent upon where you live, and I happened to live in a little town called Longmont, which is known only because of the fact that it is near Boulder and the University of Colorado, and the University of Denver and Colorado State University. But, anyhow, here we were in this little town in the West, but we were surrounded by universities, so all of us had this wonderful opportunity of visiting universities in various ways. For example, the University of Colorado every commencement lacked members of the band, and so they would come and get some of us from the Longmont High School Band to come over to Boulder to play in the commencement exercises at the University of Colorado. Every summer the University of Denver, which was well known in those days for speech and drama, had a summer session and they recruited high school teachers to help them, and so my high school teacher, for example, took us to Denver in the summer to be in these plays and things at the University of Denver. So it's interesting that you can be in a place like Longmont, which no one has ever heard of, and still be so surrounded by these universities. This was very important to me, the high school part of it. I always thought my high school was especially remarkable because my best friend went to Harvard Law School, my other friend got his PhD in chemical engineering, another friend became an artist, and another one became a doctor, and so on. But when I went back to a reunion recently I realized, I think maybe I told you, that that was the academic group in that high school. Most of the others ended up being farmers and lay workers. So anyhow, that was very important to have these friends. And then the war came.

Siegel: So you enrolled at...

Stevenson: So anyhow, it was obvious that I wouldn't go to the University of Denver, because it was very expensive; it was a private school. I would go to the University of Colorado, which I did as a freshman. The war was in progress but I didn't see any reason at age seventeen to join the army right off the bat. I tried to get into the naval ROTC, but I didn't make it because I had a crooked toe—which is an interesting story, but irrelevant. But they said, "You can get into the V12 program." That year in Boulder was very important because they had the Chinese Language School there, and so I saw all these people studying various languages and I thought it was really fascinating, but that was just in the back of my head. I did join the V12, and as of May 15th, or whenever it was, we were all gone from the University of Colorado and shipped off to various V12 training programs.

Siegel: And this would be May 15, 194_?

Stevenson: 1943.

Siegel: 1943.

Stevenson: Yeah. And off I went, never to return really. We went to New Jersey, and Pre-Midshipman School and Midshipman School in Chicago, and before that to V12 programs in New Mexico, all of which were irrelevant to anything I was especially interested in. Finally when it was time to get through with Midshipman School you have interviews. In the first one—we took these open tests indicating what we could do—the only advice they gave me was, "Don't go to the one having to do with electronics because your knowledge there is so bad you'll never conceivably get into the school," which was fine. So I did other interviews. There was a man, Commander Heinmarsh, who played a very important role in many people's lives, who was interviewing people for the language school. I thought well, gee, that really looked interesting. And his first question was, "How many foreign languages have you studied?" I said, "None," and so I thought, well, that's hopeless. But, I don't know, he saw something, and so I got assigned to the Japanese Language School. By the time we finished, we were all ready to go to Japan to accompany the invading armies, but then the war was over.

Siegel: Now where was the Japanese Language School?

Stevenson: The Japanese Language School was at Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Siegel: Oh, boy!

Stevenson: That was one of the most bizarre things I've ever been in in my life. Here were hundreds and hundreds of navy men, no women, all men, and we were all in uniform, and we used to go to Oklahoma City or Tulsa and see the ballet or something, all these navy men speaking to each other in Japanese! So anyhow, the war was over, and you had the option of joining the army and going to Japan, which seemed frivolous to me, because I had only had nine months of college. And so I decided, no, I need to get back and get a BA, because it was very clear what I wanted to do—I wanted to go to law school because we had been debaters in high school, and all my friends and I wanted to be lawyers. And so I got there, and they said, "Were you in either the army or navy?" And I said, "Yeah." And they said, "Oh, well, you have fifteen college credits." Then they said, "What did you do in the navy?" And I said, "Well, I was in the V12 program." "Oh, well, then you get forty-five credits."

Siegel: Now this is where?

Stevenson: In Boulder.

Siegel: Back to Boulder?

Stevenson: Back to Boulder.

Siegel: Okay. Yes. Well then what did you do?

Stevenson: When I enrolled and explained that I was in the Japanese Language School, and they said, "Oh, well, you have enough credits to be a senior!"

Siegel: Harold, you're telling me you hardly ever went to college.

Stevenson: I took only two years of college to get my BA.

Siegel: I didn't know that.

Stevenson: And so, I thought, this is great, I'll be a senior. What will I major in? Well, I had taken some math, but if I majored in math, I had to take physics or chemistry as a minor, and I couldn't possibly do that quickly and that was uninteresting to me anyhow. I'd had one semester course in psych, and I thought well, I'll major in psychology, and then I can use math as a minor. That's what I did, and in May I was enrolled in law school. When I went to the Psychology Department Chairman's house for the graduation tea, his wife said, "Now what are you going to do next year?" I was about to say, "Well, I'm going to law school," whereupon the chairman said, "Oh no, he's going to go on in Psychology." I thought, "That's really bizarre." Then there was a hiatus; I can't figure out what went on in my mind, but I didn't go to law school.

Siegel: You did not?

Stevenson: I did not go to law school.

Siegel: Would you have gone right there at Denver, I mean at Boulder?

Stevenson: Boulder, yeah, right.

Siegel: So you weren't all set to pick up and pack and move some place else?

Stevenson: No.

Siegel: I see. It would be easier to make the transition to grad school at Boulder.

Stevenson: Yeah. Well, another friend went to Boulder Law School, then one went to Harvard Law School, another went to Boulder Law School—the last one got arrested for being a crook. So anyhow, then the question was what to do. Well, my friend in the navy had been David Veeth, whose father was a professor at Yale, and so I thought, well—and I knew about Yale, and I thought that's where I really want to go. And so I wrote to David, and he and his mother went over to see Clark Hull and his wife, Bertha Hull, and told them about this friend in Colorado, and said I had math. And he said, "Oh, well, that's what we're looking for, and so tell your friend he should apply at Yale next year." And I thought, well gee, the guy at Boulder said, "You should stay in Boulder and get your master's degree," but I didn't think they were very strong. I thought the place really I should go to prepare for Yale is Stanford. And so this chairman graciously wrote a letter to Hilgard (who was the Psychology Department chairman) in May, and other people, I guess, wrote letters. Anyhow, I got in Stanford; I came out here in September, 1947. When I got here I thought, "Why would I want to go to Yale?"

Siegel: That was a smart move, Harold!

Stevenson: And so I stayed at Stanford.

Siegel: And the name of this chairman at Boulder was?

Stevenson: If you go to Boulder, the Psych building is called the Muenzinger Building. His name was Carl F. Muenzinger.

Siegel: And he was the one who said, "Oh, he's not going to law school, he's going into Psychology."

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: That's interesting. I never heard that story.

Stevenson: So anyhow, when I got here, with this background in math and so on, it seemed reasonable to do Experimental Psychology, which I did. And then I took one course in developmental.

Siegel: So you did experimental with Hilgard and—

Stevenson: Lawrence.

Siegel: Doug Lawrence.

Stevenson: And Stone.

Siegel: C.P. Stone.

Stevenson: Taylor.

Siegel: Don Taylor. Did you do a PhD thesis?

Stevenson: Well, I did a master's thesis with rats with C.P. Stone.

Siegel: That was good.

Stevenson: And I found that utterly disgusting. And so, it was swimming in a water maze over in that physics corner where all these—what were they, the something brothers who then became so famous—

Siegel: Oh, I know who you mean.

Stevenson: They had all their equipment down there.

Siegel: Varian.

Stevenson: The Varian brothers were on the floor below, anyhow, and this was a water maze with these rats swimming. And so the rats loved to swim, I found, they didn't avoid it at all, and I stood there and stood there for weeks as they swam this maze. It was supposed to be aversive, you see, the cold water. But the day the last one did it, I chloroformed them all, went to Stone, and he said, "Oh, well you really should continue," blah, blah, blah. And I said, "Impossible, they are all dead!" So that was that! The last time I touched a rat.

Siegel: Hints on how to complete a Master's Thesis!

Stevenson: So then for a dissertation in learning, I thought an obviously interesting group would be children, and so I did take a course in Child Psych, and that course then changed my whole life. Then in 1950 now this is, we got married, but financially it was impossible to stay there. They only had one research assistantship and three teaching assistantships in the department.

Siegel: Really?

Stevenson: And the research assistantship was in eyelid conditioning, which was totally uninteresting to me, and I'd had the teaching assistantships, so anyhow, I got a job at Pomona and finished my dissertation there.

Siegel: Did you collect the data here or there?

Stevenson: I collected it all here except for a couple of subjects, which I collected there.

Siegel: So you collected the data out at the old -

Stevenson: Stanford Nursery School.

Siegel: —Stanford Nursery School. And by then Edith was director, Edith Dowley.

Stevenson: Right. And so the committee was: Hilgard was the chairman, Don Taylor and Lois Stolz.

Siegel: And the one course you took in child psychology was from Lois?

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: And you met Nancy here, or you had known her already?

Stevenson: No, she and I had met in Boulder.

Siegel: And so she joined you here and took her master's.

Stevenson: And then, which was unfortunate really for her, because there was the matter of money, and so we really left when she should have finished. Were it today she would have, but eventually she did.

Siegel: She persevered. But, when you left she finished her master's with Lois on the—

Stevenson: She hadn't finished it. She still had statistics to do. So then she did do the statistics course and got her master's.

Siegel: But she had collected her data?

Stevenson: Yes. It was the observational part of the Father Relations of War Born Children study.

Siegel: The Father Relations study.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: So that's how you got in on the Father Relation study, was working with Nancy?

Stevenson: No. I had nothing to do with the Father Relation study.

Siegel: You didn't?

Stevenson: No.

Siegel: I'd forgotten that.

Stevenson: Just Nancy.

Siegel: I see.

Stevenson: And then when we were at Pomona she continued to work on it and used to come up here.

Siegel: How long did you stay at Pomona?

Stevenson: Two and a half years.

Siegel: And you were teaching what subjects? Everything!

Stevenson: I taught Physiological, History, Mental Testing, Child Psychology, and Beginning Psychology. I'm sure there are more, but anyhow, it was ridiculous. The salary was so lousy that you had to teach

in the evening, which meant I was teaching five courses every semester because the regular load was four courses. And so then Harry Helson, who had been in the next office as a visiting professor at Stanford, wrote and said, "Why don't you come to the University of Texas for an interview because we have a job in Developmental Psychology?" And I wrote back and said, "I really have no interest whatever in going to Texas; that isn't where I'd like to live. Thank you very much." And so he wrote back and said, "Well, why would you not even come and see it? You've never been here." I thought well, that's logical, and so I went. And they were building a new psychology building, and really pushing ahead. And so as fast as I could, I'd gone out. And Pomona, "Well, you can't leave in the middle of the year." And I said, "Well, yes, but I have a good friend who's looking for a good job." And so we called Don and Margaret Faust, and Don said, "Yes," he would like the job, and Margaret took Nancy's job. They moved into our house and we left in January, 1953.

Siegel: I never knew that.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: And they stayed on until this very moment.

Stevenson: Well, the conditions obviously couldn't continue the way they were when I was there, so they got better, and the course load got lighter and so on, so it was a desirable place to be, but it was very different when we were there.

Siegel: So the date that you went to Texas was?

Stevenson: 1953.

Siegel: 1953. Now, when I interviewed Paul Mussen, we were talking about when Developmental emerged as a distinctive field. And you're saying that Helson said we had a job in Developmental.

Stevenson: No, he didn't say Developmental, he said Child Psych.

Siegel: I understand. Okay, but Child Psych?

Stevenson: Right.

Siegel: But Child Psych was identified at Texas at that time as a distinctive field, and you would have somebody who did Child Psych.

Stevenson: You had one person in the whole department.

Siegel: You'd have one person.

Stevenson: Right. I mean you had Clinical Child people and a Child person, but I think that's all they had for years.

Siegel: And when you were at Stanford in the years before you went to Pomona, they had in Child, Lois Stolz.

Stevenson: In the graduate seminar. Oh, Lois Stolz. Yes. She taught Child Psych, Adolescent Psych, a graduate seminar, and I guess she didn't teach the Observation course, did she? That was Edith Dowley.

Siegel: And Edith taught the Observation course. And was there anybody else in the department?

Stevenson: Frances Orr.

Siegel: Frances Orr. Who was--

Stevenson: But that was Clinical.

Siegel: Who was Clinical?

Stevenson: Edith wasn't in that department.

Siegel: Right, and you don't think of Maude Merrill-James?

Stevenson: No, I think she was a very early clinical psychologist, after having been the test and measurements person, but I think she really was a clinician.

Siegel: That's my memory.

Stevenson: But I took Mental Testing from her, and thought it was a great course.

Siegel: And she was running the Clinic--

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: --at that time. I mean my memory is that she was entirely on the Clinical side.

Stevenson: Yes. Well, and then there was Hunt, but he was abnormal psych. And he taught Psychoanalytic Theory, which people tended to take--all the graduates--that's Howard Hunt.

Siegel: Oh, Howard Hunt. That's a name I'd forgotten.

Stevenson: Yes. It was an interesting time, because then they had a group of Jungian analysts from San Francisco who came down and offered a seminar in Jungian analysis.

Siegel: And that was taken by the clinical students?

Stevenson: All of us took it. I took it. And then Hilgard had a seminar in hypnosis. So I always feel that one doesn't mean to be inscrutable, but nobody understands that I took more of that type, you know, those theoretical things than I have taken of developmental or experimental.

Siegel: Well, as I say, we were trying to talk about how the field impressed us as we got into it, because I remember when I was a graduate student at Stanford there was a PhD major in Developmental. Or, as you say it, it was called Child, or maybe it was called Child and Adolescent, but it was a PhD major.

Stevenson: I think it was between the early 50s and late 50s.

Siegel: That these things emerged.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: Okay, I didn't mean to interrupt your narrative. You went on to Texas.

Stevenson: Well, Texas, and that was fine. They were wonderful students. Again, it's very important not to prejudge. I mean, the first class I taught in statistics I'll never forget. Scottie Ray Stevenson was there, and she said, "I just don't understand what you mean by a standard deviation." I thought, oh God, all year I have to face this. Well anyhow, it turned out that Scottie Ray got an A+. I mean, the way she asked the question and her knowledge were, in my view, totally uncorrelated. Ed Zigler was there, and Mort Weir was there, and Laurel Hodgden, and a whole bunch of people who were very good, and so it was a very good time. A good time to be there, but then what happened, is—I don't know how, but John Anderson wrote to me and said they'd like to have me come to Minnesota to be a consultant about what they should do with the Institute. So I went, and it was an unbelievable situation because they had something like fifteen, I think it was, tenured positions, of which only two had tenured people in them. And thirteen had people who were—some of whom might have been tenurable, but most of whom were not. I mean, people teaching clinical psych with MAs, and people giving courses on family with BAs in this institute that was supposed to be so good. I don't know what happened, but anyhow they offered me the job of being the Director at a young age. Being on this campus reminds me of the time Jerry Kagan and I were here at a meeting much later, and walking over by Owen House, and this car came screeching up behind us and out jumped Pat Sears and she said, "How old were you when you became the Director at the Institute at Minnesota?" And I said, "I think I was 33—34 maybe, I don't know. 1959, so I was 34." And she said, "Oh, I thought so." She said, "Bob was 33 when he became Director at the Institute at Iowa," and she dashed off. So anyhow, you know, you look back and wonder, but in two years had gotten rid of all the untenured people except one, I think, and began building the place up. One of the funny stories was, the summer before going there I had said I would be a visiting professor at Iowa, and I met Shirley Moore at Iowa. And for an early childhood educator who knew analysis of variance and all she was very impressive. By the end of the summer I said, "Well, Shirley, if there ever is an opening at Minnesota would you be interested?" She was just finishing her PhD, although she had been teaching for a number of years. And she said, "Oh sure." So we got to Minneapolis at the end of the summer, ready for the fall, and a few days after getting there this dean called and said, "Oh, I have terrible news for you." And I said, "What?" And he said, "The head of the nursery school has just resigned." And I said, "Really!" So anyhow, I was on the phone to Shirley within hours and said, "Come up, a job is open." She about fainted. And anyhow, she came up October or so, and did the interview, and came in January, and so she was the first person. Then John Wright and Brit Ruebush were out here. They were very impressive people, and they came. Bill Charlesworth came from Cornell, and then we got Bill Hartup. And then I met John Flavell and immediately thought he was great, and got him to come and Sandra Scarr and Phil Salapatek and so on.

Siegel: The Picks.

Stevenson: The Picks. Herb Pick from Wisconsin, and then Ann Pick was a post-doc when they got there. Anyhow, it was really rapidly built up so that was very good. And so then the problem, I think, is what you want to do with yourself, and it had become very successful, but I wasn't doing anything I wanted to do. I was managing things for everybody else. The idea is if you want to be a manager of a million dollar plus venture, why don't you go into business. And so I decided we really should not tarry there too much longer. So anyhow, the question was, where should we go?

Siegel: You're going too fast for me, Harold. Now when you were at Minnesota, the years that you were at Minnesota were?

Stevenson: 1959 to 1971.

Siegel: 1959 to 1971. And during that period you came out to the Center?

Stevenson: In 1968.

Siegel: So that was your first visit to the Center, 1968. And that's when you decided that you didn't want to be a manager for the rest of your life.

Stevenson: Right. Well, I kept getting offers like, "Would you like to be the dean; would you like to be the vice-president; would you like to be head of this," and so forth. And it took the latency of one millisecond to say, "No," I didn't want to be those things. And I thought, well, if I don't want to be a dean, if I don't want to move up the academic ladder, what am I lingering as an administrator for? And also I thought the Minnesota scene was, in many ways, very frustrating because they kept emphasizing the Institute should be in the College of Education. With success come problems. We had no TAs (teaching assistants), so you go to the College of Education and say, "Now we have thousands in our courses. We have over a thousand every year in beginning Child Psych alone, and we need some real teaching assistants." "Oh, well, we can't give you the assistants because your students are all from Liberal Arts." You go to Liberal Arts and they say, "Oh, well, we can't give you assistants because you are administratively in the School of Education." That was one of the major problems, plus the fact that I didn't want to do it. And so I decided then that I would leave, and I don't think they really thought I would leave but I did, and it was a very wise move, I think, too.

Siegel: Now some of your children were born in Texas, weren't they?

Stevenson: Two, yes, and two in Minnesota.

Siegel: Two in Texas and two in Minnesota.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: So when you went on to Michigan, which was in 1971?

Stevenson: Yes. Well, you know, would I be the Director at Berkeley, you remember?

Siegel: Yes.

Stevenson: Then I decided, well, why would I move to Berkeley especially? I shouldn't be so candid, but why especially because the director's job—the tenured position—was at Ed Psych, which wasn't what I wanted to do, so I didn't see that. At UCLA, they actually announced that I was coming, but I hadn't said I was going. And where else? I mean, Yale? Would I be interested in being a chairman at Yale?

Tape 1, side 2

Stevenson: The one that seemed most interesting was the one at Michigan, which was half-time research and half-time teaching. At first I didn't think I wanted to go to Michigan; it was such a big university and Psych is so huge there. So anyhow, if I were to advise administrators, they wrote and I said, "No, I really don't want to come." They wrote again and I said, "I really don't want to come." The third time I said, "Okay, well, I'll come and look at it, I've never been there." And I thought it was great, and then on the basis of that visit I decided this not only would be a good place to be, but it's also a very nice place to raise kids. It turned out to be both, and we're still there.

Siegel: And then you had a second year at the Center.

Stevenson: Well, the critical thing--there are critical points in your life, and one of them was going to China with that first delegation that went from the National Academy of Science to the Chinese Academy of Science. And I went with all these people, and they knew nothing about the Asian language. And I thought this is ridiculous. I mean, I know Japanese. I know the Chinese writing system. I know a lot of history. I know a lot of stuff. Why don't I do something with it instead of just letting it go by? China was in the middle of the Cultural Revolution, a fascinating time. And then I went to Japan, and I began taking lessons again in Japanese, so I could actually talk. And then I decided, these people kept saying, there are no reading problems in Chinese and Japanese, and so I read all the stuff and decided I don't believe this. There are no data, and so we began in the late 70s to do this stuff that we have been doing ever since. Americans just don't know any of this, and there is no one, and there hadn't been people in China, Taiwan, and Japan to write about it, so it was really fascinating stuff. You look back and say, I wish I could have done that in the 50s and still had so much more of a career to do it in because everything you touch just unfolds as fascinating stuff. So we've done a whole series of studies now. We've written up some of them, but we still have huge, huge amounts of data to write up.

Siegel: Well, before you got started in Japan, hadn't you done work in Peru?

Stevenson: Yes. Well, I was always interested in other cultures, partly because as a child my best friends were Italian kids. The kid next door was a French kid. I went to school with black kids from first grade and so on. My father's best friend was a Yugoslavian, and so that I've always been interested in that. In New Mexico, I was fascinated when I was in the V12 Program, to go visit all the pueblos. Anyhow, the guy in Michigan was going to do a study in Peru. He was a native, Quechua speaking and said, "Why don't you do some psychological stuff?" And this was 1973. I said, "Well, it would be very interesting," and so we did. It came out as a monograph, and now we've done another huge one, which I haven't written up yet, but hope to soon. But that isn't where I have a special strength. I mean, if you knew Quechua, the language of the Incas, and Spanish well, and so on, it would be fabulous. But now, of course, it's so dangerous you couldn't do anything there anyway. You would have had to change. We just finished a follow-up study there of what happened to the kids that we studied earlier.

Siegel: Have you?

Stevenson: Yes. And we published a couple articles from that. So, that's where it is.

Siegel: That's a hop, skip and a jump.

Stevenson: That's a hop, skip and a jump. But it's interesting to me that it brings three things together that I've always been interested in: that is, math—I was always interested in; Japanese, I've always been interested in; and Chinese, I've always been interested in; as well as psychology. And so they all fit together in this research that we are doing. Japanese and Chinese are very, very difficult, and if you don't have a long time to work with it, it's not something you just pick up and decide you're going to do, and so I think the number is increasing of people who can do it.

Siegel: Yes. Did you ever wish you were an anthropologist?

Stevenson: No, because I think their methodology is not satisfying. And I think the psychological methodology is very good. The way we've done these things—if I could show you some of these curves,

they are so systematic. But they are based on large samples. They're based on careful wording, careful training of examiners and so on. We are getting very good data; it is not elusive, qualitative kinds of stuff. It's just that, that's where we've got the strongest positive response to this research. It's that the stuff is so systematic, it's not idiosyncratic. That's not by chance.

Siegel: It's not by chance, it's because you are using psychological methods.

Stevenson: Because we are using psychological methods, and because everybody working on the stuff knows Asian. I mean, we have native Chinese speakers, and native Japanese speakers, and most people know at least two languages, and one knows three.

Siegel: Well, I remember once when I visited your laboratory in Ann Arbor; it's basically all people with Asian backgrounds.

Stevenson: Yes, right.

Siegel: Asian ethnicity, Asian language speaking, etc.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: Some from Mainland China, some from Taiwan, some from this country.

Stevenson: Yes, some from Japan.

Siegel: Some from Japan, and that took some doing.

Stevenson: Yes. Well, I mean, it is very satisfying for them too because they really feel they are contributing, and they are.

Siegel: Yes.

Stevenson: And then the people come back. For example, the people we worked with in Taiwan and Japan we've worked with now since 1978; that's fifteen years. And the one in China since the early 80s.

Siegel: Jing?

Stevenson: No, we've never done any studies with Jing. We've done them with people in developmental there.

Siegel: That Jing helped you get together with--

Stevenson: Right.

Siegel: --because you've known him a long time.

Stevenson: He was the first Chinese visitor to the U.S. after the opening up of China. Yes, so that was 1979.

Siegel: When you were over there with that cultural exchange group, I'm going to say that National Academy group, did you meet Jing at that time?

Stevenson: No, we didn't meet anyone in from Beijing. We saw one woman, way over in the corner who, it turned out, was the Foreign Secretary of the Institute of Psychology, but then we later met some people in Shanghai. And it was fascinating to talk to them about our visit ten, twelve years earlier, and what they thought about it.

Siegel: They thought you were creatures from another planet?

Stevenson: No, they were delighted to see us, but they couldn't talk to us very much because they were being monitored. They had been brought in from the countryside. We had a meeting in San Francisco, I don't know if you were there or not, but the reason I remember it especially is that Dorothy Eichorn gave me this big pile of *Child Development* journals to take to China. And so the first place was in Quan Jo, and I said we have these journals and nobody ventured to take them. So I lugged them to Beijing and indicated that I had these journals, and no one took them. And finally in Shanghai, which was the end of the trip, I said, "Well, here they are," and I just left them, but they couldn't take them because they were being monitored, and this was foreign stuff.

Siegel: When you say people were brought in from the country, this was kind of window dressing?

Stevenson: Well, no, we really insisted that the one thing that we were lacking was any contact with psychologists, and so only under exhortation did they decide that they would go out to the countryside and get these people and bring them in and they were all members of the staff at East China Normal University.

Siegel: This was the time of the Cultural Revolution?

Stevenson: Right.

Siegel: And so they, in fact, were not doing psychology.

Stevenson: No. It was a very dramatic time.

Siegel: Yes. By now, how many times have you been over there?

Stevenson: Oh, I think ten or eleven to China.

Siegel: When you have students that come from mainland China, have you recruited them while you were over there?

Stevenson: No, the people that I know sent them. Each case has been difficult, but anyhow it's worked out.

Siegel: And the funding is all American funding?

Stevenson: Well, it depends. The first guy who came did have money from the Chinese government, but that ended. And since then people have to have funding from the U.S., which makes it very difficult because we can't hire a TA at Michigan or Penn reasonably unless they've passed all these language tests, because students complained so bitterly about not being able to understand them, so you can't get a TA job. For an RA (research assistant) job at Michigan the stipend is so high that you're nuts if you hire somebody you've never met for an RA-ship; it costs tens of thousands of dollars, and so you're not going to do it. So you have to work out some way of interviewing the person. During the

early years they got fellowships for two years from their government. Now they have to go to another university. For example, the guy who's here now went to, I think, Bowling Green or something, and then came for an interview and we hired him.

Siegel: They have to go to another university first?

Stevenson: The best universities are so full of visiting Chinese scholars that they don't recruit anything but the absolute best, whereas universities that aren't so selective still have very good students, and they can offer them money, whereas the competition is so intense that we can only offer money to people—I mean this guy is 800 in his GREs, 700 in his verbal; a foreigner if you will.

Siegel: A language not his own. Now have you had any of these students finish with you?

Stevenson: Oh, yes.

Siegel: What happens to them?

Stevenson: Well, varying degrees of success. The one who is through got a job at Irvine and is doing very well. They are very amazing students. All of the visiting students from China that I know, except for a couple, are still students. It takes a long time.

Siegel: Sure.

Stevenson: Because you see it was only in the 80s, so that the most someone would have been here absolutely would be ten years, but that would be very, very few who would have come that early.

Siegel: I see.

Stevenson: And those few—

Siegel: Do any of them want to go back to China, or do they want to remain in this country, or no consensus?

Stevenson: Some of them have gone back to China, but most of them want to stay here. And the sad part, not the ones we've had, but the sad part is people getting their PhDs and then going and taking menial jobs just to stay here because they can't get jobs in the universities here unless they are spectacular. So it's somewhat of a lost cause. And universities now are very, very chary about giving fellowships because the university gave them the fellowships in the first place to build up psychology and the sciences in China, not in the U.S., and so in neither place is it justifiable in these hard times to get much in the way of fellowships. And that'll need to change. There are something like forty-five thousand visiting Chinese scholars in the United States.

Siegel: Is that right?

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: In all fields.

Stevenson: In all fields, but that's a lot of people, and to a great degree, the cream of the crop. Not always, but often. It should get increasingly attractive in China. I mean, the human rights thing is opening up. The economy is developing at 10 to 12% a year.

Siegel: Tough, very tough situation. I hadn't heard you discuss that for a while, so I didn't know where that situation stood now. Are you still collecting data over there, or are you mostly analyzing existing data?

Stevenson: Well, we had just finished the high school study in China a year ago, so we're at the point now of—well, what I'm working on here is sort of high school stuff, but not from China yet.

Siegel: But you also collected data in Taiwan and...

Stevenson: Taiwan, Japan, Hungary, Canada...

Siegel: Hungary! I'd forgotten about Hungary.

Stevenson: Yes. The core of what I'm interested in is Asia, but with this project we used people in Hungary, and one of the people at the Center is very interested, and so NSF was interested in giving us a modest supplementary grant to do the work in Hungary for two reasons. One is because Hungary is fabled for its scientists and mathematicians; discoverable early. And the second thing is that there is gender equity in Hungary, fabled gender equity. And so they wanted to know what was going on. What we have found is very interesting: that yes, there is superiority of girls, but the problem is that you have disproportionate representation in the gymnasium and the vocational schools. So the girls go to the gymnasium and the boys disproportionately go to the vocational schools, and the level of science and math differs so that if you take only the boys and girls in either school, then you don't get the effect.

Siegel: But the gymnasium is the better education?

Stevenson: Right, it's the one that people prepare to be scientists in. The other thing that we found is, as you might guess, great disenchantment in the students in high school. The high school did not do well in Hungary. The answer that we found, the best one I know of, is from a Hungarian mathematician we talked to, who said, "Well, I can explain it this way; in Hungary no one knows how to swim, hardly anyone knows how to swim, but we have one of the best water polo teams in the world." So it is very elitist. Anyhow, they are working up an analysis of the Hungarian data, and the guy is coming from Hungary. Actually he is invited—they have this special fund up here for outstanding people from Eastern Europe and he got invited to the Center, so he should be here in a year.

Siegel: I was going to say; when you speak of the Center right now you are speaking of the Center for Advanced Study.

Stevenson: Yes, the Center for Advanced Study, yes.

Siegel: But when you said a minute ago that you had a colleague—which is—I call it the Growth Center.

Stevenson: The Growth Center. Yes.

Siegel: And at the time you went there was a new Interdisciplinary Center for Human Growth and Development. And at that time the University of Michigan had not had something like that.

Stevenson: Well, no. It was in the process of being developed, yes. I mean they had started it. It's now 25 years old, so that means it was started in 1967, so I got there a few years after it was started.

Siegel: Now do they make faculty appointments directly to that or are they all in departments?

Stevenson: The only way you can get tenure at Michigan is through departments.

Siegel: So in that way it's like the Berkeley Institute.

Stevenson: Right.

Siegel: And unlike the Minnesota Institute.

Stevenson: Unlike the Minnesota Institute, which can give tenure within itself, but it is a teaching and a research institute at Minnesota, where the only thing at Michigan is research. You can organize a small mini course, something like that.

Siegel: But the teaching that you do, you do through your department. You don't do it through the Growth Center.

Stevenson: Yes, which I think is absolutely critical. You should be evaluated by your peers, not by people in totally unrelated fields. I mean, they participate in the discussion, but the basic decisions about you are made in your department.

Siegel: Does it make for difficulties with recruiting?

Stevenson: In the sense of what?

Siegel: Well, you were saying that when they tried to recruit you at Berkeley the slot that they had was an Ed. Psych slot, whereas what they really wanted you for was to run the Berkeley Institute.

Stevenson: Right. Well, at Michigan you can't offer anybody a job unless you have that department that is willing to put up half of the money. Well, of course, many departments are very enthusiastic, because it means they only have to pay half the person's salary, and so Psych has had me for half salary for all these years. So it is with everyone.

Siegel: So it is the salary arrangement that makes it work.

Stevenson: I think it's the salary arrangement, plus the fact that you have tenure in the department, so if the Center were to fold it would mean simply that your money would all come from the department then.

Siegel: But the facility is independent of the department, it's a separate standing facility?

Stevenson: Yes. And, of course, that's the strength. And one of the problems in Michigan is that there are many, many of these institutes and centers, and it has many values and also has a problem that they can be dumping grounds in these Centers for somebody who can't teach, that doesn't want to teach. I mean, for example, you want to write a beginning textbook; well, that isn't what the Center is for. And they have no way of really getting rid of such people.

Siegel: Well, that's not unique to Michigan.

Stevenson: No, it's not unique.

Siegel: It happens.

Stevenson: By having your tenure in the department you avoid a little bit of that.

Siegel: And your graduate students get their degrees in the department?

Stevenson: Yes. Well, as in any university, you can construct your own degree program, but those are the very exceptional students, usually exceptional both in interests and ability. Only the highest level of ability can put together a program that is acceptable in most cases, I think.

Siegel: So Jim Stigler, for example, was a PhD from the Department of Psychology—

Stevenson: Right.

Siegel: —who worked with you at the Growth Center as an RA.

Stevenson: Yes. Shin Ying got her degree in Psychology. They've all been Psychology students, which is odd because here we are investigating educational issues, and none of us has ever had a course in education, or ever been in the Department of Education.

Siegel: But the arrangement at Minnesota was and is that the students took their PhD in the Institute.

Stevenson: Right. Which was a PhD in Child Psychology, offered through the graduate school.

Siegel: Offered directly through the graduate school and not through the Department of Psychology.

Stevenson: Right.

Siegel: And the Department of Psychology basically ceded that topic to the Institute and didn't compete with it.

Stevenson: Right. Otherwise it would be untenable.

Siegel: If a student were to write to the Department of Psychology and say I want to study Child Psychology at Minnesota they'd say, you've made a mistake, you should be writing to the Institute.

Stevenson: Right.

Siegel: They are the ones who offer that degree.

Stevenson: Right. And the only problem is, where is Clinical Psych, Clinical Child Psych?

Siegel: At Minnesota?

Stevenson: At Minnesota.

Siegel: And what was the answer?

Stevenson: The answer is, it never was resolved, really. Brit Ruebush was in *Child Development*, but the others were in the Psych Department, and so it ended up, the program more or less disappeared, which they're trying to re-institute now.

Siegel: Yes. I'd heard that. Well, these institutional arrangements aren't always a topic among developmentalists. You remember that conference we went to once on Institutional Arrangements for Child Development, because different universities have done it so many different ways, but obviously Minnesota was one of the right ways.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: Because that whole thing just flourished, and continued to flourish after you left.

Stevenson: Oh, sure. And I think the only problem they're going to face is that as the strength of other fields like Home Economics declines—I mean the traditional Home Economics and traditional education—then they are going to demand more and more of the Institutes as the avenue to the success of the Child Development programs. It is a bit worrisome, I think. You know what I mean?

Siegel: I don't know about that.

Stevenson: Well, for example, I felt the presence of education at Minnesota much more a couple months ago when I was there, than I had before. And I think that education has been cut, cut, cut, and so in order to remain somewhat luminous they must get the light cast off by the Institute, which means they have to have more controlling mechanisms than were necessary before.

Siegel: And are you also saying that students in education are more likely to want courses in the Institute and—

Stevenson: Oh, that's always been the case. And that's been fine. In fact, I think one of the tragedies is that more students in Education don't take the courses in Development and then they get a different tier of people, I think, in Development in lots of Schools of Education—not the best ones, but a lot of them have people who haven't had lots of training in the field.

Siegel: And aren't as research oriented.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: Well, I'm going to suggest that we wind this down for today, and then I'm going to suggest that we reconvene some day soon. And maybe that would be a time specifically to talk about SRCD.

Stevenson: Sure.

Siegel: Do you want to do that?

Stevenson: Whatever you say.

Siegel: Okay.

Tape 2, side 1

Siegel: Today is Friday, June 11, 1993, Stanford University. I'm Alberta Siegel. I'm interviewing Harold Stevenson who is visiting Stanford from the University of Michigan, where he is Professor of Psychology and a member of the Growth Center, and we are in his office. When we talked last time we thought we would resume today by turning to the topic of the Society for Research in Child Development. Stevenson, do you remember when you joined the Society?

Stevenson: Well, I remember when I went to the first meeting. I don't remember joining.

Siegel: When was the first meeting that you went to?

Stevenson: What year? Well, it was when I was at the University of Texas, so it must have been—let's see; are they held on the odd years—

Siegel: Yes.

Stevenson: —or even years? So it must have been 1957.

Siegel: And you went to?

Stevenson: Well, I remember it very vividly, because there was a nursery school teacher, or head of the nursery school, there by the name of Sally Beth Moore. And Sally Beth Moore and I got on a plane in Austin on the way to Dallas to make connections to wherever the meeting was, and there had just been a tornado in Texas, and so we flew over that, which was interesting. However, we got to the airport, and they said, "Scatter the planes, scatter the planes. Tornadoes at Ames at Carter field heading this way," whereupon we went into the terminal, and she said, "Well, what do we do, have a cup of coffee?" I was wondering if we would survive. Anyhow, that was the first meeting. Maybe it was the University of Iowa.

Siegel: I was going to say I think it was Iowa. I didn't get to that one. The first one I got to was two years later, but the Iowa meeting must have been on the campus?

Stevenson: Yes, it was at the Continuation Center or something like that. There were about two hundred people there. Anyhow, they could all be housed in that one building.

Siegel: Did they run simultaneous sessions?

Stevenson: Oh, I just don't remember at all.

Siegel: The people lived on the campus.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: And, do you remember what anybody was talking about?

Stevenson: I don't have the slightest remembrance!

Siegel: That's what they call your advanced education here.

Stevenson: Yes, terrible.

Siegel: Yes. Then 1959 was the 25th Anniversary—

Stevenson: Bethesda, wasn't it?

Siegel: —and that was Bethesda.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: And I remember seeing you there.

Stevenson: I remember that.

Siegel: I think that must have been my first meeting, and they had some ceremonial events in honor of the 25th.

Stevenson: Yes. Well, that was interesting by then, because knowing all these people who started it, and all the people at that time at NIMH were a very good bunch of people and then all the visitors, so it was a very impressive opportunity to see all these people and hear them.

Siegel: See the new facilities.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: And that's when Lois Stolz and I told you that Dale Harris was leaving Minnesota to come to Penn State, and we talked about it briefly, and then subsequently you went up to Minnesota and took the job that Dale had had there.

Stevenson: Yes. Yes.

Siegel: I remember you wrote and said, "When you and Lois told me about Dale Harris' leaving Minnesota, I had no idea that it had anything to do with me."

Stevenson: Yes. Yes.

Siegel: So that was '59 and then '61 was at Penn State.

Stevenson: I never went to that.

Siegel: You didn't come to Penn State?

Stevenson: Oh, yes, I did. I did, because the most memorable thing about that whole meeting was the fact that somebody leaned on your bookshelf and knocked it down.

Siegel: We had just had that house refurnished. We bought it and had it refurnished, and that bookshelf was the last thing to be installed. And the man who installed it put it in backwards, and we didn't know it until somebody leaned on it, and actually the person who leaned on it was Al Baldwin.

Stevenson: Oh really!

Siegel: Yes, that was 1961. And I think Nancy was the president in 1961, Nancy Bailey. I brought the directory so we can look this stuff up. Yes. Nancy was the president, and Al was the president-

elect. And I think at that point we were still meeting in dormitories, that is, I think people were housed in dormitories; at Penn State, and I think we met during spring break. Does that sound right to you?

Stevenson: I remember very vaguely.

Siegel: And then people also stayed at the new Lion Inn. You hadn't gotten active, I gather, in the governance of the Society at that time.

Stevenson: No, I don't know when that was.

Siegel: Now, I'm going to trigger your memory with all of this stuff. Yes, you had. You went on the Governing Council that year, either you or somebody with your name.

Stevenson: Yes. Well, that was 19—

Siegel: Down in the right-hand corner. Maybe I'm mistaken about the location.

Stevenson: Well, then it begins to be very vivid to me because one of the big problems that the Society had was the fact that it was a home industry.

Siegel: A home industry?

Stevenson: Yes. I mean, the business manager (or whatever function she had), was Bill Martin's wife, and he was the editor, and it was a very nice situation for them. But the Society was growing, the journal was growing, and it got to the point that it just didn't make any sense for them to continue this in that way. That is, you should begin to separate the functions, and the possibility that an editor doesn't continue forever. And so I remember a terrible meeting that we had of the Executive Committee meeting where we discussed these things, and the idea was that there should be terminal points to these appointments. Then in the business meeting, Bill Martin got up and very emotionally responded to all this and he obviously felt very, very deeply about it, and the thing that I couldn't believe was that nobody on the Executive Committee would reply. And so I stood up and said, well, it wasn't about him, it wasn't about a particular person, it was about a policy, and the policy should be one in which there is division of function and there should be a change of people. That was a very interesting experience for me because I thought he merited an explanation of what had happened, and that he shouldn't have been so emotional about it, but it didn't dissuade him, and he remained very, very upset about the whole thing.

Siegel: You know, I think the event you just described occurred in 1963 in Berkeley.

Stevenson: Oh, really.

Siegel: Yes.

Stevenson: I don't remember where, but anyhow that to me was the first really memorable decision.

Siegel: You probably had been discussing it in Governing Council-

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: —because by 1963 in Berkeley, Al Baldwin had become the president, and I think it was he who had to take on the task of reorganizing the Society with Bill's resignation. Bill's wife was Kate Hoffman—

Stevenson: Yes, right.

Siegel: —and was listed on the masthead under the name Kate Hoffman. Were they actually doing the work in their home?

Stevenson: Well, I don't know whether it was physically in their home, but it was their child.

Siegel: That's right. I had the impression that it was physically in their home and they were publishing the journal and the abstracts and the monographs, and he was editing all of them.

Stevenson: Well, it's too bad, when it involves things which are of national scope. I mean, if it were his own publication, fine, but it was not, it represented a Society. First you have the problem of getting people who will do all this intensive work, for which people have to be grateful, but on the other hand once they start doing it, it can't be just their project. It has to have broader representation, so it's a very difficult thing I think for both parts. It's critical that you separate these functions within any society in which you have some turnover; on the other hand it's important to get people who are really deeply involved in it, and sometimes you get mismatches.

Siegel: Yes. Yes. Do you know anything about the decision to move the publication the Antioch Press to the University of Chicago Press?

Stevenson: Well, I don't know that I can remember the details if I did know them, but I thought it was partly because then the business manager, the first business manager, or at least one of early ones, was Hess—

Siegel: Oh, Hess.

Stevenson: —and that probably had something to do with the fact that he took over that function. And then the University of Chicago Press not only functioned as a press, but also as the receiver of money. So he would have been able as a faculty member there to have easier function.

Siegel: I think it may have been the reverse. I think it may be that they decided on the press and then looked for a business manager in Chicago.

Stevenson: I don't know.

Siegel: That's my memory of it, but I don't know what all the considerations were that made them make that move. You had probably been publishing in *Child Development* at that time.

Stevenson: I don't know when.

Siegel: Because it was an arrangement, you know, where the printer, the man who was the typesetter, was Champney and he was actually copy editing as he typeset.

Stevenson: Horace B. Champney.

Siegel: Horace B. Champney. And he had left Antioch College, and was continuing to live in Yellow Springs, and that's the way he supported himself. It went from there to the University of Chicago, and my impression was that they chose Chicago first and then Hess became a logical appointee after that. I guess Hess didn't last too long in that job.

Stevenson: No, that was the time when the Society really began to grow, and it required very close supervision, and he wasn't doing it, and Louie wasn't doing it and just gradually by mutual agreement stepped out of the job.

Siegel: Yes. And he was replaced by—

Stevenson: Margaret Keeney, wasn't it?

Siegel: Margaret Harlow, yes, who was, as I recall, very devoted—

Stevenson: Well, it was fantastic; I mean, she really knew how to manage money, and she took a Society that was in the red and brought it into hundreds of thousands in the black over the period that she had the job. She knew how to buy stocks, but what she also did, which would not be acceptable anymore, but she also knew how to buy jewelry, and she had the best people coming from Chicago to give her advice about what to invest in, and she made lots of money for the Society.

Siegel: I never heard that.

Stevenson: Harry said, "If you'd only invest our money as effectively as you invest the Society's money, we'd be rich."

Siegel: I never heard that story. That's marvelous.

Stevenson: But she was a very astute person, and I think played a role, which probably people don't appreciate, in getting the Society into the state that it's in now—the transition between a small, relaxed organization, to one that really had to manage itself in a very efficient, businesslike manner.

Siegel: Oh, I think people who knew about the Society at the time appreciated her.

Stevenson: Oh, yes.

Siegel: She was very much respected and esteemed as a business manager and listened to and carried a lot of weight, partly because she was a fine scientist as well as, as you say, an astute manager. Now this was in Wisconsin where she was working.

Stevenson: Madison, right.

Siegel: Madison. So she would run back and forth to Chicago?

Stevenson: Well, I think they were quite willing to come to Madison to counsel her.

Siegel: I see. I see. And then when did you become president of the Society?

Stevenson: I don't know—1969? Yes.

Siegel: So you were president-elect in '67, and '69 was Santa Monica?

Stevenson: I don't know.

Siegel: Oh, Harold, come on.

Stevenson: I think '69 and '71 were both Minneapolis--

Siegel: That's what I was going to ask you.

Stevenson: --because '69 was in Minneapolis, if I remember correctly, and then there was a big foul-up in the next meetings and fortunately Minneapolis had the hotel space to handle it.

Siegel: Well, the reason I thought it was Santa Monica is that I recall that speech that Julius Richmond gave, in which I think his swansong as president of the Society at the business meeting was a speech entitled, "Dear Harold." Remember that? He was the past president, and you were the president in '69 and '71, and he gave a speech, sort of "Dear Harold--what you ought to do as president of the Society." And I seem to remember that that was in Santa Monica. And I also seem to remember thinking, well, Julie, you've had two years to be president of the Society, and now you're telling Harold how to be president! But I do remember the Minneapolis meeting.

Stevenson: Well, the one I remember is the second one in Minneapolis, because that's when they initiated things like the memorial lecture for--who's the guy who gave all the money?

Siegel: Lawrence K. Frank.

Stevenson: Lawrence K. Frank, yes. And I thought it was very exciting to see people like Eric Erikson and Margaret Mead, and Margaret Mead's daughter, and all those people up there giving talks that represented thousands of people--at least a thousand people there.

Siegel: That's right. And the other thing I remember is, didn't you have Walter Mondale?

Stevenson: Yes. Well, it just seems to me, I mean, this is my problem, not other people's, but it seems to me that you have that one period in which important information can get out, and I doubt that any one person, typically the president, has that much to say of great importance to thousands of people, and I just thought it would be much more interesting to have political figures talking about policy issues. So I invited Mondale and Zigler and Richmond, and I can't remember all the people, but anyhow it was talks and then a panel discussion, and I thought it was very successful. But no one ever followed it up. The rest always felt it was a platform for presentation of their ideas. They've had varying degrees of interest ranging from provocative to boring in its most extreme form.

Siegel: Well, we don't need to fill in the dates of all the meetings, but I do recall that there was a meeting in New York between Berkeley and Minneapolis when Al was president. Al Baldwin gave his presidential address, because I recall his quoting at length from Gilbert and Sullivan, "A is happy, B is not--"

Stevenson: You have a better memory than I do.

Siegel: He gave a very good talk. I do recall that that was in New York because somebody wanted me to go to see "Man of LaMancha," and I said, "Well, I wouldn't go to a Broadway show when I could go to meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development," and they sort of stared at

me and I sort of stared at them. But maybe that meeting was supposed to be in Ann Arbor and got canceled or something.

Stevenson: Maybe that was it. I think that may be it.

Siegel: I do remember that Minneapolis stepped in at the last minute, and you were still director at the Institute—

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: —and so you were in a position to help make things happen.

Stevenson: Well, of course, when that was going on I had no idea I was going to leave.

Siegel: Yes. And then after you were through as president, was Peg (Margaret Harlow) still the business manager when you were president?

Stevenson: I think so, yes.

Siegel: Through July 1971, and then Dorothy Eichorn succeeded her. So did you appoint Dorothy?

Stevenson: Well, I think that it was probably the whole Governing Council. I don't think it was one person.

Siegel: I don't know. And then you were succeeded by Leon Yarrow, and after that Bob Sears. Now you got the Long Range Planning Committee—

Interruption.

Siegel: Question about the Long Range Planning Committee.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: Didn't you put that together as past president?

Stevenson: I'm sure that was part of it, but I can't remember exactly when. I get mixed up because the Division of Developmental Psychology, SRCD and ISSBD, of which I've been on the Executive Committees and the Governing Council and the presidency, and by the time I put all these together it's very difficult to remember precisely what happened in each one.

Siegel: Right, because they were a lot of the same people too.

Stevenson: They were a lot of the same people and a lot of the same problems, I think. It's interesting to have been doing these things at that particular time because it was a transition between how do you get a society or an organization so that they're out of this personality phase and into a more objective, businesslike organization? And I think that some of these things, like the Long Range Planning Committee, that the Society is developing will indicate what needs to be done in this Society. What kinds of activities should be promoted to keep the Society vital because it has to keep meeting contemporary needs as well as doing what was done in the past?

Siegel: As I recall you got some funding for the Society to do Long Range Planning from a foundation.

Stevenson: Yes. I think we actually got it from Burt Brim, of the Foundation for Child Development.

Siegel: I remember it was Burt Brim and Phil Sapir. So you put together a group of people.

Stevenson: That was one of the fun aspects. It was you and Berry (T. Berry Brazelton), and Burt Brim, and Frank Murray, and Harriet (Rheingold) and who else? That's about it, I think.

Siegel: Ross Park. And we met—oh, and Jan DeWitt.

Stevenson: Oh, yes.

Siegel: And we met at all kinds of wonderful places like the Center for Advanced Study.

Stevenson: In Florida.

Siegel: And Burt's place in Florida, Jan's place in Amsterdam, and Berry's—did we meet at Berry's summer place on the Cape?

Stevenson: Yes, I think so.

Siegel: And we met at your place, Inglis House in Ann Arbor more than once.

Stevenson: Well, I think the Society needs to have continuing committees like that, which they don't have. I think what's happening is a lot of people who don't know anything about the background of the Society, or about big organizations, are making decisions about the Society, which are often difficult.

Siegel: Oh, I remember we talked about summer institutes.

Stevenson: Well, and the Long Range Policy Committee.

Siegel: And we launched those summer institutes, which were, I think, enormously successful.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: Language, reading, one thing and another.

Stevenson: I think the policy days at SRCD and the Social Policy Committee were very successful in their ultimate influence when getting the large grants from the Grant Foundation and the Foundation for Child Development to support the Congressional Science Fellowship Program. I mean, not all these came just from that Long Range Planning Committee, but from it and the other committees that were appointed.

Siegel: Well, you remember we had these study groups that we launched.

Stevenson: Right.

Siegel: And then one of the study groups was on social policy, and it was an effort to kind of continue with the Long Range Planning.

Stevenson: That might have been the one that met at Berry's place.

Siegel: I think so. I think you're exactly right, because I think the whole group couldn't have fitted in at Berry's place.

Stevenson: Right. Weren't you the chairman of that?

Siegel: Yes. I was the chairman of that. I remember Ed being there, Ed Zigler, at Berry's house, and our first Washington liaison officer, who was Betty Ruppert.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: Remember, very part-time, and we were trying to get Washington liaison stuff going, and all of that was derived from your Long Range Planning Committee. I think part of the idea was that Harriet was the president of Division 7 at that time, and maybe Jan was the president of the—

Stevenson: ISSBD.

Siegel: —ISSBD. And Burt was the president of something, I forget, but anyway there was a sense in which this was a kind of a recruitment of people who had ways of getting things done in other organizations. I thought it was all very smart, Harold.

Stevenson: Well, I think it was very important stuff to do. And I think, if I were to advise the Society it would be to appoint successive long-range planning committees so that they can be, so to speak, counselors to the Governing Council, because the Governing Council changes and often doesn't know the back roads.

Siegel: In fact, I recall meeting down at North Carolina at Harriet's place at Quail Roost, in which Frances Graham came as president of the Society, and we were planning that function with her and with Mary Ainsworth, who were the presidents along in there—and Dorothy Eichorn was part of Long Range Planning too. Were you acting on the Publications Committee of the Society? No?

Stevenson: No.

Siegel: I remember coming to a reading once in Minneapolis—that's what made me think you were, but it must have been somebody else. What else?

Stevenson: What else, well—

Siegel: You served on the Editorial Board of the Journal for a long time.

Stevenson: Yes. Well, and our ill-fated efforts with those volumes. I think that is too bad that they didn't continue the Social Policy volumes, but I don't know what was wrong that they didn't sell more than maybe two thousand copies.

Siegel: Have you ever gotten up-to-date sales figures?

Stevenson: No.

Siegel: I was thinking of getting them after our last meeting of SRCD, because I think it's probably more than that.

Stevenson: Well, it should be. I edited one of the NSSE yearbooks on Child Psychology. Well, that, in a very short time, had sold more than forty thousand copies. I can't understand why—I mean, obviously you have a huge market with educators and administrators and so on, teachers who are members of NSSE, I don't know how many, but a huge number, I suppose, and so they would buy it, but why didn't more people buy this particular publication from SRCD, and why haven't these other volumes been successful, the ones on the family and so on?

Siegel: Now, were you on Governing Council when those volumes were launched?

Stevenson: I don't think so.

Siegel: I think Burt Brim was behind those volumes, and I think it was when Lois was on the Governing Council. I'm going to go back and see if I can figure out what the date would have been. Mid 50s it looks like.

Stevenson: Yes.

Tape 2, side 2

Stevenson: Those other volumes would have had to be successful for the press to want to continue the publication, so that one on the family by Ross Park, which was some years ago, is the last one.

Siegel: And there was also the one on international studies that Bill Hartup edited.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: And I think that one we did go into the hole on.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: I think that one didn't find a large American market, or a large market, period.

Stevenson: Well, that may have been ahead of its time, I think.

Siegel: Yes.

Stevenson: The thing about the Society is that it is too—if I were to give Bill Hartup some advice—too rooted in the past and not forward looking enough in terms of, say, publications. I mean, why shouldn't the Society have a more active set of publications? They do very little. Why don't they try to get monographs, for example, that are sold as paperbacks? They could sell huge numbers. For example, they told us that that monograph on, whatever it was, *Context of Achievement*, was the second best seller they've ever had. And, I thought, God, how many did they sell? They printed nine thousand copies. Well, for the Society, and for the kinds of things that the members do, they should be able to print lots of things and sell nine thousand copies. For example, in the New York Times today is this big thing about Child Testimony. Well, take that as a cue and extend it and get people to write a monograph of that type. They do that in other countries very effectively, but we don't do it, and it would be a source of support for lots of interesting activities. Or a lecture series, you know. We don't do anything in that way, as APA is doing, which is good, I think.

Siegel: We tape record lectures now, don't we?

Stevenson: Yes, but I mean where they actually have the most outstanding series of talks possible as a preconference lecture series, or something like that, or books of readings. Readings have gone out because of the replacement by reprints, but the reprint business is such a mess now that they're back to books. And so McGraw Hill asks which hundred articles do you want to include in your panorama, and then people will choose twenty-five of those. Well, that is very similar to what was going on before, so I think we could have edited volumes of the best of SRCD meetings, or something like that, to make a contribution, and print them cheaply. I mean, the thing is that everything that is done now is too expensive and could be done quite cheaply. Or publish things on CD-ROM, and then people can buy that for sixteen dollars and get huge amounts of information. Anyhow, there are a lot of innovations that have not hit the Society, in which you should be able to do something via the Society like APA has with the Psych Abstracts, but something which gives you access to a different realm of information than Psych Abstracts would cover; the Society is in the black now to a great degree and could launch some of those things.

Siegel: Let's go back to the social policy day for a minute. What's your memory of how that got started?

Stevenson: Well, I think the idea was that we needed some very focused presentation of policy issues, and so initially it was the day, or a day and a half, before the SRCD meetings, and I thought the format was very effective, that is, having a leader who gave a very brief presentation, and then having respondents, and then having people in the audience open it up. We were getting hundreds of people there. I can see the argument that it should be incorporated more thoroughly into the regular meetings, but the answer is that I don't see that it has been incorporated quite so effectively within the meetings. I mean, there are policy papers, but not so focused, not as frequent as they might be.

Siegel: I can remember at the meeting in Toronto, whenever that was, that was probably early 80s, they had kind of a social policy track that went all through--

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: --and I dropped in and out of several of those meetings, and what you saw was all of the Congressional Science Fellows sort of faithfully trooping from one meeting to another on this track, but the membership at large not.

Stevenson: Well, they don't understand social policy. They don't understand still what social policy is. The typical members say, "Oh I'm not interested in social policy." You say, "Well are you interested in getting a grant? Are you interested in the policies that might govern the administration of funds allocated for practice or research? Is there a problem with practice or training versus researchers?" Well, of course, of course, of course. What do they think those are other than policy problems? It has not been conveyed effectively to the members of this society what social policy issues are and how they can be influential. Maybe it just takes a long, long time, but I wish that there were a more focused emphasis so that people would become aware of the fact that indeed they have things to contribute. They really can have some influence, but they don't present the information in a form that people can understand. We're not having anywhere the impact as a society that we should have, relegating the authority of positions to individuals, which then makes them go in many different ways. But when you have more than single representation in Washington you're going to be more effective, but individuals doing that--very problematic.

Siegel: I remember seeing a review of our book, I think, in a *Child Psychiatry Journal*, and it failed to mention that our book was published by the Society for Research in Child Development, which missed the whole point. And I said to somebody, this review, this is the whole point.

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: This is a statement that has a Society behind it, not just people shooting off their mouths.

Stevenson: Like the student who just came in who is just finishing his PhD, and is doing studies of Japanese schools. Well, today, for example, he has information that is very interesting. One that just pops into my head is this: Students in Taiwan in eleventh grade must take nine different subjects, including physics, chemistry, geology, geography, English, Chinese, social studies—anyhow there are nine of them, plus three to six hours of electives, plus gym, music, art, home economics, and military service. I mean, that is overwhelming, that is incredible, that is unbelievable. There is information like that. What do you mean that we would work our students too hard? Look at those students and then look at the whole picture. They are doing so fabulously, that what in the devil are we going to be doing in the coming decades? We can't compete. It's just unbelievable. I'm not saying that American students should be doing that, but I am saying that there's information available that just throws you for a loop in terms of what is happening in this country, stuff based on research. Well, anyhow, it's that kind of information that it seems to me as a society we need to be getting out and influencing what goes on. And then people say, "Oh, well, our schools are so wonderful. We don't have any problems." Well, I think that's a problem.

Siegel: You know, I've always wondered whether we were wise in the Social Policy Committee to get into the Congressional Science Fellowships so heavily, not because I doubted that they were a good idea. They clearly were a good idea, and you know, you and I both put our efforts behind them and helped make them happen and all that, but I always wondered if they gave too political a slant to the Social Policy Committee.

Stevenson: Yes, maybe, because, you know, there was so much made of the fact that there was the one Republican. I think what you are thinking is, not only was it political, but it was so strongly aligned with liberal politics, and that is difficult then to handle.

Siegel: What did you mean when you said the one Republican? I didn't understand.

Stevenson: Well, that so much was made of the one Congressional Science Fellow who aligned himself with a Republican senator's office. The expectation was they would probably be with more liberal senators, and that isn't good in the sense that—

Siegel: For the society part of it.

Stevenson: Even though they wanted to be with a liberal senator, somehow it would have been useful to have more working for a conservative senator to get the kind of balance in their perspective in the Society, I think. That's in addition to what you're saying that it's not only political, because it was congressional, but also it was—

Siegel: Partisan.

Stevenson: —partisan.

Siegel: Yes. It wasn't partisan in administration.

Stevenson: No. No.

Siegel: And it wasn't partisan in the selection of the fellows—

Stevenson: No.

Siegel: —but it attracted—

Stevenson: Right, people who wanted change; conservative means you don't want that much change.

Siegel: Now you chaired that Selection Committee for the Congressional Science Fellows; what was your impression of the quality of the applicants?

Stevenson: Fantastic. I thought they were wonderful, and, in fact, that year we had some money left over, one year, and we decided to give seven of the Fellowships—or maybe it was nine. Usually we've only given four or something like that they were such remarkable people. I think the counter to the criticism of those is that a lot of these people then have gone on and really influenced many institutions and settings, where had they not had the Congressional Science Fellowship it would have been more difficult for them to penetrate the big time, I think. I don't think, for example, Tony Jackson would now be at the Carnegie Corporation if he hadn't been with the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, and he wouldn't have been there if he hadn't been a Congressional Science Fellow, because it would be very difficult to make the leap from a graduate student at the University of Michigan to be with the Carnegie Corporation on the Select Committee, without the material and experience that he needed to fill in that gap.

Siegel: Lindsay Chase-Lansdale was another example of somebody who has gone on to do some wonderful things, but her first postgraduate jump, if I recall, was being a Congressional Science Fellow.

Stevenson: Well, there were a lot of them.

Siegel: Debbie Phillips. I think Ron Haskins is still in the Congress, isn't he?

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: The woman who is running the National Council on Child Abuse was a former Congressional Science Fellow.

Stevenson: Yes. Well, there is a long list of people who have done these things. What I told the Bush Foundation is that basically you're repeating what happened in the 1930s with the Rockefeller Foundation; that is, you've got social policy centers set up and now that they are going well you say, "Well, we've done our ten years and we're ready to abandon them." But universities can't work that fast, and so there went a source of many of these outstanding Congressional Science Fellows programs that were very good in Child Development. In this case, four programs that were producing an unusual number were these Bush Programs. For Congressional Science Fellows a lot of them came from the Bush programs, but that's dried up and policy programs and universities have dried up.

Siegel: Say a little more about the Bush Foundation Programs. When we were talking about the University of Michigan we never mentioned that.

Stevenson: Yes. Well, it was a very important program, and it started modestly and built up and then it trailed off. But what happened in all the places—Yale, North Carolina, Michigan, and UCLA—is that the people who were interested were among the best graduate students. It would have been the death of the programs if they had attracted people who didn't know what they wanted to do and just did this as a secondary activity, but they attracted really good students. And the students all did very well, that I know of, who graduated from these programs, and I still keep in contact with several of them. I mean, just the other day, here's the kind of latent effect they have. Dustin Hornway was a law student at Michigan and he wanted to get involved in children's issues, and so he took a Bush Post-Professional Fellowship and spent time at the Stanford Law School, Yale Law School and Minnesota Law School on children's issues, went to New York and worked on children's issues, but then found that he couldn't survive financially and went to work for corporate law, and now is back at Michigan working for a regular law firm. But he called the other day asking what did I know about Janet Reno's interest in child issues in the law? And so you never know. He's been back in law firms now for probably five or six years, but really would like to do these other things.

Siegel: Where did the initiative come from for the Bush Centers? Did it come from the Bush people or did it come from you?

Stevenson: No. Well, the story's interesting. Mr. Bush left lots of money, but he was through with 3M. It was hundreds of millions of dollars, and they had a big fight among the Board of Directors, and the Board sued the foundation. However, some Board members sued the other ones—said they weren't spending their money properly, and so the judge decided that, yes, they were spending the money properly, but they had to enlarge the Board. And then came the federal legislation that they had to spend more of their money. So suddenly they found that they were going from supporter of the Grand DeLuth Symphony and the Grand Forks, Nebraska, Art Museum, at modest levels, to having to spend over ten million bucks a year. So they called in some panels of people like Uri Bronfenbrenner and Julius Richmond, and I think maybe Ed Zigler. I don't know who all was on the first one, and they said, "What can we do about children?" And they said, "Personality development. They need a lot on personality and social development." Then they called the next panel in and they said, "Well, whoa, that is what NIMH is doing and NICHD, we don't need that." Eventually the panel, whoever it was, I don't know who all was on it, said, "No. You should now translate the knowledge that you have into some kind of policy, training the people where you bring together social policy and research." And so then they contacted Ed—I think he must have been on that—and said, "What do you think?" And so then Ed got a little head start by months and then contacted me, and I don't know how, then, they visited us, they visited Yale. And then some of us visited North Carolina and then UCLA, and so that's how it got started. Then they put a lot of money into it: we had hundreds of thousands of dollars a year. All of our site visits except UCLA dropped out—they had all kinds of problems. The site visits were very positive, and they said, "Apply, but have your universities sweeten the pot by putting in some money," and so we did. But then suddenly, well, I think a lot of it has to do with Irving Harris if you want to talk about a person who was the mover and shaker in this, because he was on their Board.

Siegel: Oh, was he?

Stevenson: Yes. And he was promoting this with great vigor. And then Irving Harris got off the Board, and suddenly children's issues became much less important; they dropped down on the list and they went back. You see these had been the first national activities that they had undertaken, all of them had been the upper Midwest, and so now they went back to upper Midwest and United Negro College Fund. I think those were the major expenditures.

Siegel: Now you were running the program at the postgraduate level?

Stevenson: Well, we had three kinds of people. One, we started with graduate students and post-docs. Then what happens is that in the schools like Michigan there are wonderful undergraduates, and so we let some undergraduates begin to participate. We were very selective. We allowed only five or six, and we concentrated on minorities so, for example, the first six, only one Caucasian was in, and all the rest, the other five, were minority students. And they did amazing things, I mean, like one of them went to Japan—the one Korean-American who was studying Japanese went to Japan and ended up working on the Japanese diet—and so on.

Siegel: And did you have visiting faculty, or you used only your own?

Stevenson: No. What we did, which turned out to be very useful, was that we told faculty members, if you will submit a page and a half outline of what you'd like to do, or will give you awards up to ten thousand dollars, and you can use the money any way you want. And then the fellows in the program selected the ones that they were interested in. And so we had from three to five of these working groups every year, and they included people from many different departments in the university; like the Law School, Economics, Sociology, and Education. And these people then, some of them took time off, some of them used the money for research and so on. I thought those were very successful.

Siegel: Did the Bush Center have a physical location?

Stevenson: Yes. The University put this suite of offices in the area where Developmental was.

Siegel: But were there offices for the various faculty members, or was it an administrative office?

Stevenson: No. There were maybe seven or eight offices that graduate students and these post-docs had, and then there was an administrative assistant and associate director.

Siegel: And at Yale, I think it was something similar, as I recall.

Stevenson: Yes. The format of the programs differed; they had many more people. They would offer anything from five hundred dollars up, depending on what the student's project was, so they were able to offer Bush Fellowships to many more people.

Siegel: "They" being Yale.

Stevenson: Yale. We, instead, paid the equivalent of a part-time graduate research assistantship. Initially we gave them as fellowships but Michigan's tuition is so high that it was taking up huge proportions of the money, and so then we offered this part-time—what they would have gotten if they were research assistants and without tuition, and so you could give more. And then we ended up with the undergraduates, so we typically started with maybe twelve when we had the most money, and then ended with maybe twenty, so paradoxically we had more, but we reduced the amount each one got. Actually, just a couple weeks ago was the end of the program, and there were by now only ten to a dozen students, and so the program just ended this June because the last money—not from the Bush Foundation, but from the University—was gone.

Siegel: As I recall, one of your major thrusts was minority students.

Stevenson: Well, the last three years when we asked for University money, we said that what we wanted to do was concentrate on minority students. One of the working groups would be on minority

children, and they said, “Well, we’d really like it if you would concentrate the whole thing on minorities,” which we did, and so it’s been the last four years on minorities. And we did things like a very interesting study on crack babies in Detroit, and a study of students’ reaction to their high school experience on white and black students, evaluation of college students in response to their experience on campus, that kind of stuff.

Siegel: I suppose when you say minorities at the University of Michigan you’re talking primarily about black students?

Stevenson: Right.

Siegel: Because I think Michigan has had an outstanding record in graduating black students.

Stevenson: Oh, sure. Oh, yes. Right, especially PhDs. I’m sure that Michigan has awarded, for example, more PhDs in Psychology than any university in the U.S., probably in the world.

Siegel: Yes. Why is that? I mean, is there some individual that spearheaded that?

Stevenson: Well, it’s a big department. The Institute for Social Research has always had research projects, which are supportable. It’s by Detroit, which is the most intense of all cities in racial concerns, and I think—well, you know, SPICI site that’s always had sort of a headquarters there, which sort of gives you a sense of people being interested in issues of social importance.

Siegel: Oh, SPISSI is headquartered at the University of Michigan?

Stevenson: Has been. I think it still is. It has been, anyway.

Siegel: I didn’t know that.

Stevenson: Well, they started a good African-American study program. You know, it isn’t as successful still as they want it to be, but they are devoting enormous efforts to African-American activities, and to Asian-American and Hispanic, but there aren’t very many Hispanic students there, but there are some. It’s also a very, very, interesting place.

Siegel: So the Bush Center was concentrated on college students’ concerns in the area of minorities, or it was minority children?

Stevenson: Well, minority students in urban settings was the idea—some you could go to preschool on through college.

Siegel: Well, you know, when you say that SRCDC doesn’t have a very active publishing program, we have the Social Policy Newsletter, which I think you were quite instrumental in getting started.

Stevenson: Patty designed the format.

Siegel: Did she?

Stevenson: Yes.

Siegel: Your daughter?

Stevenson: Yes. Well, and then Nancy Thomas became the editor. She has been the associate director of the Bush Program for several years—has really run it.

Siegel: And one of your former students, Eileen Blumenthal, was active in trying to get the newsletter going when she was a Congressional Science Fellow, as I recall. I don't remember the details of that anymore, but I've always felt that you were kind of behind getting that newsletter along.

Stevenson: I can't remember the precise background.

Siegel: And I haven't felt that the newsletter represented the whole span of social policy issues.

Stevenson: No, it doesn't. And it was started practically costing nothing, and now at least they are supporting it, but it needs to be amended, but you can't do that without allocating more funds. One of the things, for example, that the Society keeps saying is that they want to be more international. There's this translator I may have mentioned who lives in Palo Alto, and he does Chinese, Japanese, and Tai seemingly very successfully. He wrote—I've corresponded with him now and then—and he said that he always wanted to be in *Child Development*, and that he would be very happy to translate meeting materials from Chinese and Japanese if the Society would be interested in publishing them. But we can't get SRCD, for example, to move enough. I mean it isn't that they're against it, it's just that somebody's got to move them to get this, and I think in these days we should have publications, not frequent, but maybe even a special issue of *Child Development* or a monograph, or something, where we get a sense of what is going on in other parts of the world in languages that are inaccessible to us. But we don't do that, and I think that has to occur eventually, because other countries are doing very well in *Child Development* and developmental programs.

Siegel: When you think back to the meetings that you attended at the University of Iowa and Bethesda and State College, do you recall any people from abroad attending these meetings?

Stevenson: No.

Siegel: I don't either. I recall Canadians.

Stevenson: One big step for the Society was when we had this committee on Intellectual Processes, and Paul Mussen edited that slim little monograph on *Child Development Research in Other Countries*; that was unique. Anyhow, the internationalization is a very important effort, because we are very naïve. I mean, they read our stuff. Like Hong Kong, I couldn't believe—I told you that I'm the external reader in psychology for three years for the University of Hong Kong's Psych Department.

Siegel: That's right, you did mention that.

Stevenson: I didn't read all of them. I read some of the exams. I mean, you know, they have got western psychology down pat, but we don't do much of anything about what they're doing, and they're doing lots of stuff. It's very interesting, and on topics which are of use to us—for example, adolescent suicide. They are very concerned, and yet their suicide rate is way below our suicide rate for adolescents. What are the dynamics? What are they finding? What are the comparable findings? I'm sure that there must be. I mean, I've got a whole stack of papers about the transformation in Hungary, by this very good guy in Hungary.

Those who inspired and were influenced by Sandra Scarr:

Mentors

Doug Lawrence
C.P. Stone
Don Taylor
Lois Stolz
Edith Dowley

Colleagues

John Wright
Brit Ruebush
Bill Charlesworth
Bill Hartup
John Flavell
Sandra Scarr
Sal Paddock