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## WOMEN IN THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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The purpose of this chapter is to trace the history of women psychologists in the context of their participation in the national professional association. The focus, therefore, is on the American Psychological Association and those women who have played particularly prominent roles in its history, rather than on women psychologists as such. Actually, the history of "women in psychology" would cover the same time period as the history of "women in the APA" because the first women qualified as psychologists at almost precisely the same time as the founding of the APA a hundred years ago. However, the history of women in psychology would require a different approach and would extend well beyond this selective

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Some research was conducted in the APA collection located at the Library of Congress, but pertinent records of later years, relating both to the APA and to Division 35 and destined for archival deposits, were not yet available for use.

A portion of this chapter is based on a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Montreal, September 1980, titled "Women in APA: The first 30 years, 1892–1921."

presentation. Nor is the intent here to deal with women's biographies, their contributions and experiences, though it must be recognized that only by doing so can we fully appreciate the circumstances that provide the context for women's participation in psychology and the APA.

What follows is a portrayal of the roles that women have played in the APA and the way organized psychology has responded to the challenge of its women members. The 100 years of APA history, when viewed from women's perspective, seems to divide into three periods, unequal in time and unequal in the opportunities for women to function as full participants. The first 20 years, 1892–1921, were a time of growth for the APA and of eager entrance by women. This was followed, however, by a half-century, 1922–1971, during which women, though increasingly attracted to psychology, found their professional opportunities sharply limited and their status as professionals seriously questioned. The last period, 1972–1991, shows promise of moving toward a time, still to be realized, of parity in status and opportunity.

#### THE EARLY YEARS: 1892–1921

There were no women included in the first meetings when the APA was formed in 1892. By 1921, when the professional organization celebrated its 30th anniversary, however, 79 women had been admitted as members (along with a total of 457 men). Here we examine the characteristics of those early women and their participation in the APA.

Several considerations suggest the choice of this 30-year period as a special time for psychology and for women. Psychology was rapidly establishing itself as a discipline and as a profession, self-consciously marking its boundaries in the 1890s and then in the next two decades confidently exploring extensions in various directions. By the 1920s, psychology had emerged from the laboratory and was becoming a pervasive influence in education, government, industry, and clinical practice. The early years, then, were a time when the new field was being created and was striving to establish itself. At first relatively sex-neutral and open, it became increasingly sex-segregated as it gained prominence and confidence. This trend was clearly under way by the early 1920s and strongly influenced participation by women.

Another justification for using 1921 as a breaking point is that this was a transition year for APA membership elections. Important organizational changes took place with the adoption of bylaws relating to membership qualifications. During the early years, the criteria applied to can-

didates shifted a bit, as discussed later. After 1921, however, the qualifications clearly emphasized training over academic or professional position; for the first time, published scientific research was required for election to membership. The decade of the 1920s saw other significant modifications in the character and functions of the APA; Fernberger's history (1932) discusses those changes in detail.

The year 1921 also marks a transition for women in society at large, particularly for college-educated women, the group from which psychology drew recruits. This transition involved a subtle shift starting earlier and extending into the 1920s and beyond. Historians have varied in their interpretations of the changes that occurred in the decade following the winning of the vote for women, but there now seems to be general agreement that the political victory marked an apex in the long struggle of 19-century women for "woman's rights," even as progressive women began identifying an expanded agenda (Cott, 1987). However, the success of the suffrage movement did not result in a greatly improved situation for women, even for those aspiring to professional careers (Chafe, 1972).

But to return to the beginnings: Although no women were included in the 1892 meetings and the charter membership of the APA, there were women "in the wings," poised to make their entry into a field that held as much inherent interest for women as for men. It was a time when some women were beginning to eschew the traditional feminine role of wife-mother in favor of the challenge of a career. Educational institutions were beginning to respond by providing both the advanced training necessary to pursue such a path and employment possibilities for those who chose academic careers, then the only choice for persons who aspired to become psychologists (see Scarborough & Furumoto, 1987, for a discussion of the earliest women psychologists).

Among those women who were ready to enter psychology in 1892 were Mary Whiton Calkins, Christine Ladd-Franklin, and Margaret Floy Washburn. Calkins had already begun her formal study with E. C. Sanford at Clark and William James at Harvard, while concurrently holding her position as instructor at Wellesley College (her study on dreams was presented by Sanford at the first APA meeting). Ladd-Franklin had become interested in the field some years before and in 1891-92 studied abroad at Göttingen and Berlin with G. E. Muller and H. Helmholtz. Washburn had spent one year with James McKeen Cattell at Columbia and then transferred to Cornell to study under E. B. Titchener in 1892. These three became the first "women of the APA." Calkins and Ladd-Franklin were elected to membership in 1893 at the second meeting, which Calkins attended. Washburn was elected a year later upon receipt of her PhD in 1894.

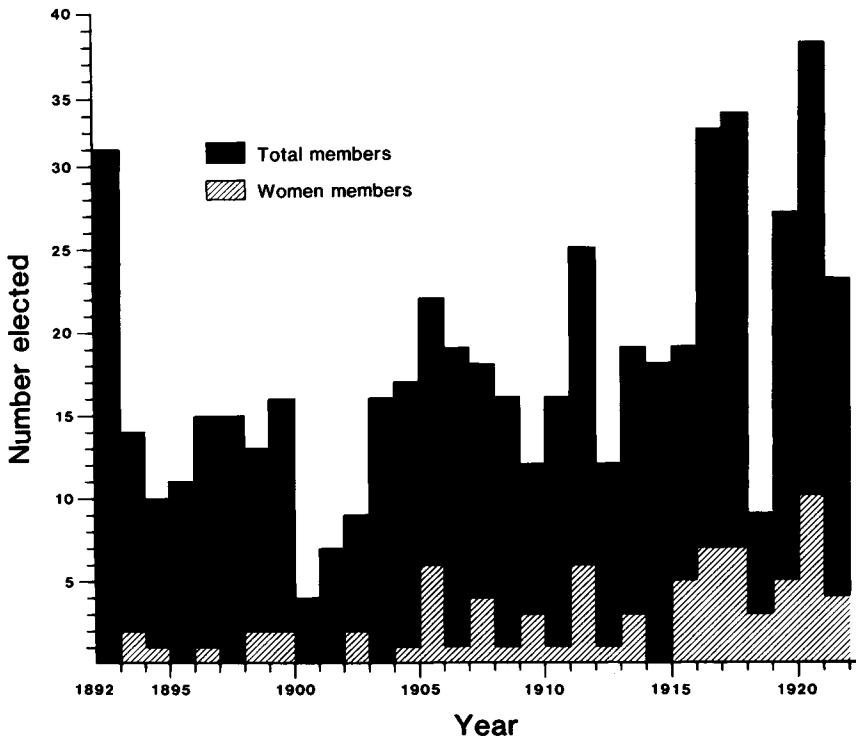


Figure 1: Members elected to the APA by year, 1892–1921.

It was Cattell, a member of the first Council, who nominated Calkins and Ladd-Franklin, presumably on the basis of their having already contributed to the literature through journal publications. He was apparently aware that he was proposing an unusual precedent and wrote to G. S. Fullerton, another Council member, “I suppose we psychologists ought not to draw a sex-line.” In his formal proposal to Joseph Jastrow, secretary of the association, Cattell added, “Please let me know whether you favor the election of these (especially the women)” (cited in Scarborough & Furumoto, 1987, p. 172). Later he commented, “We were thus tolerably prompt to recognize equality of opportunity for the sexes, and this record we have maintained, for we now have 39 women among our members” (Cattell, 1917, p. 278).

Between 1893 and 1921, the APA elected 79 women (14.7% of the total elected). For 7 of these 30 years, no women were elected. The percentage of women elected during the other 23 years ranged from 6% to 33%, with 1918 having the highest percentage and 1920 having the greatest number of women elected. Figure 1 presents the comparative membership data for this period.

Throughout this time, nomination to membership was the responsi-

bility of the Council, composed of the president and secretary–treasurer along with six members. Fernberger (1932) detailed the shifting criteria that were used. Periodically these became more stringent, resulting in a decreased number of new members for a given year. By 1921, the qualifications clearly emphasized training and research contributions (i.e., publication) over academic or professional position. Fernberger suggested that a 1906 statement of qualifications “had the function of henceforth making eligible for election only individuals who were primarily and professionally interested in psychology and who were sufficiently well placed academically so that there was reasonable assurance that their interest would be permanent” (p. 9). We do not know how women as individuals or as a “class” were discussed in the Council’s deliberations, but subsequent records do indicate that the women’s interests tended to be permanent, though their “placement,” particularly in academic positions, was problematic (Furumoto & Scarborough, 1986).

Data on the variables reported below for the women elected during the APA’s first three decades were obtained primarily from the annual proceedings of APA meetings (published regularly in *Psychological Bulletin*), APA membership directories, and the *Psychological Register*, Volume 3 (Murchison, 1932). All but 15 of the 79 women were included in the *Register*, indicating that they were still affiliated with the field around 1930.

The institutions from which the women received their baccalaureate degrees are known for 72 of the 79 individuals. Six types of institutions are noted: women’s colleges (34% of the women psychologists), state universities (28%), private universities (14%), private coeducational colleges (9%), state normal schools (4%), and foreign colleges (4%). Those institutions that produced three or more women baccalaureates who joined the APA before 1922 were Vassar (9), Nebraska (6), Smith (5), Wellesley (5), Chicago (4), and Mt. Holyoke (3). Fernberger (1921) referred to baccalaureate origins as sources of “first psychological inspiration.” Tabulation by decades indicates the shifting importance of the women’s colleges, where students might expect to encounter a woman psychologist as professor, as sources for recruiting women psychologists. During the first decade (1892–1901), seven of the eight women elected were graduates of Vassar (3), Wellesley (2), or Smith (2); the eighth was from Ohio State. The prominence of the eastern women’s colleges declined, however, over the next two decades, so that the state universities of the Midwest and western regions produced 38% of those who joined during the third decade (1912–1921), compared with the 24% who then came from the women’s colleges.

Concerning their degree status at the time of election, 71 of the 79 women held the doctorate. Christine Ladd-Franklin and Lillie Martin had

completed doctoral-level studies at Johns Hopkins and Göttingen, respectively, prior to their election but were denied the degree because of their gender. Mary Calkins was engaged in such study at Harvard and completed her work two years after election, but she, too, was denied the degree. Ethel Puffer (Howes) was elected in 1898 without the degree but having completed doctoral work under Hugo Münsterberg at Harvard; she received a PhD from Radcliffe in 1902. Three later women (Grace Kent, Rose Hardwick, and Frances Lowell) held M.A.s at the time of election but were granted PhDs shortly after. Only Margaret Prichard, elected in 1905, did no doctoral-level work (she studied at the University of Pennsylvania, but at a time when women were not accepted as degree candidates even at the baccalaureate level). Thus, 99% of the women completed doctoral training.

Of the 20 graduate degree-granting institutions represented, 4 contributed 47 women doctorates, or 60% of those who received the PhD: Chicago (19), Columbia (12), Cornell (10), and Clark (6). These four universities, plus Harvard, were clearly the most productive for PhDs in psychology during this period—for all psychologists (Fernberger, 1921). Radcliffe College produced four women doctorates; Johns Hopkins and Pennsylvania each had three; Brown, George Washington, Illinois, Yale, and Zurich, two. Eight institutions produced one doctorate in this cohort: Bryn Mawr, California, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio State, and Wurzburg.

Comparisons across this time period reflect two trends: the geographic dispersion of graduate training sites and the increased accessibility of graduate-level education for women, each an important characteristic of this period for both the history of psychology and the history of professional women. Cornell was the only degree-granting institution for women who joined the APA before 1902. Chicago was preeminent in the second decade, producing 42% of the women who joined then. In the third decade, 1912–1921, Columbia was most heavily represented (22%), with Chicago in second place (18%).

While discussing degrees, it might be noted that two of the women (Mildred Scheetz and Olga Bridgman) held M.D. degrees prior to receiving the PhD and APA membership. Three others (Clara Jean Weidensall, Anna Rogers, and Mabel Goudge-Crane) received medical degrees subsequent to their PhDs and APA election. Each of these received the M.D. from a Midwestern institution and joined the APA in the third decade.

Analysis of employment status at time of election indicates that 67% of the women were engaged in academic positions, nearly half of these (45%) at women's colleges. The other academics were at teachers colleges (19%), private universities (13%), state universities (9%), and private

coeducational colleges (8%). Four women (6% of the academics) were listed as holding fellowships at the time of election; these were people who would not have been eligible for regular membership after the tightening of membership qualifications in the 1920s, the group for whom the associate status was provided in 1926. Twenty-five percent of the total group of women were in applied settings at the time of their election, with half of those in clinical psychology and the remaining in social work, applied education, and industrial psychology. It is important to point out that academic employment was predominant even for women up to 1921. Also, it is noteworthy that 8% of the group were apparently unemployed at the time of their election, despite the fact that holding a "psychological position" was a primary membership requirement during this early period. A reasonable assumption is that these women were sponsored by their graduate school mentors, men who were well placed and influential in the APA political hierarchy.

Concerning the areas of research interest, Boring (1920) presented an analysis of the 61 women and 332 men listed in the 1920 *Year Book*. He used 21 categories for "field of research" and showed that women were represented in all but anthropology, psychiatry, statistics, social, and miscellaneous. Fernberger (1928) later published a statistical analysis of APA membership and reported comparisons between 1920 and 1928. For this purpose, he collapsed Boring's 21 categories into 5: *experimental* (animal behavior as well as all kinds of experimental psychology), *applied* (abnormal, psychopathology, applied, tests, industrial, clinical, vocational, educational, genetic, and child psychology), *theoretical* (general, theoretical, social, and religious psychology), *not psychology* (philosophy, aesthetics, statistics, education psychiatry, physiology, and neurology), and *no research*. Fernberger converted to percentages and showed that women and men expressed almost equal interests in *experimental*, *not psychology*, and *no research*. They differed in that women were more highly represented in *applied* and less represented in *theoretical* fields.

Most people listed more than one field of research (one as many as eight). For the 61 women members in 1920, the most representative fields were tests and experimental psychology, these being reported by 25 (41%) and 22 (36%) of the women, respectively. Less than half as many women (10) were involved with research in educational psychology, and an even smaller number (5) were in clinical. Only nine women (15%) reported no research. (Of these nine, none appears to have been located in a situation supporting scientific research work: Four were married and listed home addresses in the *Year Book*, suggesting that they were not employed; another listed a home address but is not known to have been married; two were

involved in instruction at institutions; one listed a company business address; and one was an administrator in a public school system.) Thus, most of these women were persevering in their discipline, with research interests spread across the spectrum of work then being conducted in psychology, although most heavily concentrated in testing and experimental topics.

Regarding participation in APA affairs by women, they were most active in presenting papers at annual meetings. Over the first 30-year period, 105 papers by women (10% of the total number presented) were listed in the proceedings, with the numbers doubling by decade. A classification by title suggests that overall, 53% of these dealt with experimental psychology, 29% with testing, 8% with theoretical and philosophical topics, and 10% with miscellaneous topics. In the first decade, experimental and theoretical papers were equally represented. Experimental topics dominated in the second decade, accounting for 69% of the women's papers. In the third decade, however, the papers were almost equally divided between experimental and testing, these two categories encompassing 88% of the papers given by women during this period. Certain women tended to be repeaters, presenting a number of papers during the time surveyed. Several were students when their presentations were made, and some of these did not later join the APA.

The presidential addresses delivered by Calkins in 1905 and Washburn in 1921 are noteworthy in that each examined the possibility of a rapprochement between opposing factions at the time, Calkins (1906) dealing with "A Reconciliation of Structural and Functional Psychology" and Washburn (1922) considering "Introspection as an Objective Method." Washburn received further attention in another presidential address when Harvey Carr (1927) focused on a critique of the position she espoused in her book *The Animal Mind* (1908), which came out in its third edition in 1926.

In addition to paper presentations, Ethel Puffer and Margaret Washburn served as early discussants of sessions, and Mary Calkins delivered tributes to Josiah Royce and Hugo Münsterberg at the 25th anniversary meeting of the Association. Christine Ladd-Franklin, Kate Gordon, and Helen Grace Kent provided apparatus exhibits at meetings.

Participation by women in the APA governance was more limited. The significant fact here, of course, is that two women served as president of the Association during its first 30 years. Calkins was chosen as the 14th president by the eight-man Council, which included Hugo Münsterberg while William James was president, these two men having been her mentors at Harvard. Washburn was elected by a mail ballot of all of the members and served as the 30th president. That these women were so honored is

remarkable, given the general status of women in science during this early period, as documented by Margaret Rossiter (1982). However, it is also significant that there then followed a hiatus of 50 years in which the APA, using more democratic procedures than in its earlier years, elected only men as presidents. Moreover, during that time, women came to represent a third of the field.

Calkins and Washburn were also the only women to serve on the Council during the first 30 years, Calkins from 1906 to 1908, just after her presidency, and Washburn from 1912 to 1914, some years prior to hers. Lillie Martin is the only other woman mentioned by name in the proceedings as having taken an active part in business meetings. These three plus two others also served on APA ad hoc committees prior to 1921. Fernberger (1932) discussed the work of these committees, which were generally appointed by the president, but did not always identify the members. Calkins was appointed to the Committee on Methods of Teaching Psychology in 1908 and was also a member of the Committee on Terminology, which functioned intermittently through 1921. Martin served on the Committee on the Relation of the Association to American Psychological Journals in 1910. As a member of the Committee on the Academic Status of Psychology, Washburn wrote the report on the status of psychology in normal schools, which was distributed in 1915 and referred to by Fernberger (1932) as an excellent statistical summary. In 1917, Mabel Ruth Fernald, Leta S. Hollingworth, and Helen T. Woolley were appointed to an eight-person committee charged to report on the qualifications for "psychological examiners and other psychological experts," and Hollingworth and Woolley served on a committee established in 1919 to consider methods for certifying consulting psychologists. The resulting Standing Committee on Qualifications and Certification of Consulting Psychologists, established in 1920, included Woolley. In addition, Washburn served as member-at-large to the Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the National Research Council for 1919 and 1920.

The picture that emerges from this description of early women psychologists is a familiar one: Women were attracted to the field, sought and obtained the necessary training through graduate study, regularly contributed to the knowledge base of the discipline, and were admitted without prejudice to the national association. Full participation in governance, however, was realized by only a very few of them. Explanations for these findings, as well as their importance for the history of American psychology and for the APA, must be developed with care.

One factor was undoubtedly the impact of marriage on a woman's career, discussed in some detail in Scarborough and Furumoto (1987).

Almost half of the women who joined APA in its first 30 years were married at some time; almost a third were married at the time they became APA members. The percentages of those both ever-married and later-married increased across the three decades. Of the women who did marry, 31% married psychologists, some before and some after doctoral study and APA election. During this period, middle-class married women were considered ineligible for employment; their lives were home centered and devoted to domesticity. For those who had sought and obtained the educational training that specifically prepared them for intellectual work outside of the home, this was a painful limitation (Scarborough & Furumoto, 1987, Chap. 3).

Another factor had to do with the limited opportunities for even unmarried women to engage in the kind of work that promoted careers and reputations. Women were barred from positions in the research universities, where psychology was building its research base, because social and cultural conventions assumed that women were incapable of instructing men. Those women who were determined to pursue their research interests did so under the limitations of teaching at women's colleges and normal schools, where laboratory facilities were meager or nonexistent. A few did obtain positions in coeducational institutions, but they almost always held the lower professorial ranks or functioned as "assistants." Thus, women were handicapped by location and heavy teaching demands; they also lacked the opportunity to build up a cadre of graduate students whom they could promote as protégés, a disability shared by women in other professions (see Glazer & Slater, 1987). A further limiting factor was women's exclusion from the social and professional networks that fostered career advancement and the building of national reputations (see Furumoto, 1988; Scarborough & Furumoto, 1987, Chap. 5).

#### NADIR FOR WOMEN: 1922–1971

American women born after 1900 seemed generally less eager than a somewhat older cohort to act as reformers and pioneers. They pursued college degrees in increasing numbers into the 1920s but overwhelmingly chose marriage and homemaking as careers. For them, the home-economics movement effectively portrayed homemaking as a socially desirable "profession" for the educated woman. Those who rejected marriage or attempted to combine that traditional role with a profession outside of the home became increasingly clustered in the "female" occupations: teaching, nursing, and social agency service. Professionally minded women continued to be attracted to psychology, and in record numbers. But in psychology, also,

women became clustered, and concentrated in the applied areas: testing, child welfare, school psychology, and clinical work. Their status in the field actually declined before it improved.

Women earned 22.7% of the doctorates in psychology between 1920 and 1974, with the percentage of degrees earned by women decreasing irregularly from a high of one third in 1920–1924 to one eighth in the period immediately following World War II and rising again to about one fifth during the 1960s (Women's Programs Office, 1988). Harmon (1964) reported that “these proportions of women PhDs are higher than in most fields. . . . In the physical sciences, by contrast, the percentage of women doctorates has declined more or less steadily for 40 years, from 7½% in the early 1920s to 2½% over the past decade” (p. 629). Women psychologists did not, however, gain status and recognition in the field or in the APA proportional to their numbers (see Mitchell, 1951, for a painstaking analysis of women's status between 1923 and 1949). As noted previously, following Margaret Washburn's presidency, it was a full half-century before the APA elected the next woman to that position.

In the decades spanning 1922 to 1971, the APA underwent a number of changes, each of which had important implications for women psychologists: a rise in the attraction of applied work, the splitting off of applied psychologists to form their own association, a reorganization of the APA that reunited the academics and practitioners, and the first concerted effort of women psychologists to band together to improve their lot. The first three of these developments are discussed elsewhere in this volume. Here, we will emphasize their implications for women and give major attention to the emergence of a nascent woman's movement in the APA of the 1940s.

The successful efforts of psychologists to find practical applications had an important effect for women entering the field, because they found these areas more congenial to their career aspirations than was traditional academia. Finison and Furumoto (1980) argued that a tracking system that channeled women into testing and mental measurement began to operate in graduate education as early as the 1910s. Furthermore, Napoli (1981), a historian of applied psychology, reported that in the 1920s, “women came to comprise a growing percentage of applied psychologists. . . . Many women psychologists found themselves in applied work because academic careers that were open to men remained closed to them” (p. 47). So rare was the presence of women in academe that a former APA secretary, when confronted by a woman graduate student who asserted that as many as 250 of the 688 women members of the APA were in some kind of academic position, went to membership statistics to examine the employment pattern,

possibly to determine whether indeed there could be so many women and, if so, where they might be employed (Fernberger, 1939).

Just as academic psychology was “men’s work,” so in the 1930s applied psychology was “women’s work”: In 1932, 63% of all of the United States’ clinical psychologists were women (Napoli, 1981), and by 1938 women outnumbered men by three to one in school psychology (Finch & Odoroff, 1939). The female dominance of psychological practice apparently had negative consequences for both applied psychology and women; applied work was regarded as second-rate. Napoli (1981) suggested that “even without consciously discriminating against them men may have categorized applied psychologists as sub-professionals like social workers and elementary school teachers simply because most practitioners were women” (p. 47).

The APA, dominated by men academicians, showed little interest in the concerns of applied psychologists. Given the elitist attitudes of its leaders, it is not surprising that women figured very little in the affairs of the Association. Prior to the 1946 APA reorganization, which replaced the eight-person Council with a Board of Directors, only three women had served on the Council: June E. Downey in the 1920s, Florence L. Goodenough in the 1930s, and Edna Heidbreder in the early 1940s. Each of these women held a secure academic position and was a respected contributor to the science of psychology, characteristics that were implicitly necessary (if not sufficient) conditions for such recognition.

Lack of attention in the APA to applied psychologists created strained relations between them and the academics and led finally to the establishment of the American Association for Applied Psychology (AAAP), which in 1937 became the organizational base for professionals who had previously been members of the Association of Consulting Psychologists and the Clinical Section of the APA (see Napoli, 1981, for a full discussion of this development). Despite their greater proportional representation in applied work, however, women were not granted equity in leadership positions in the AAAP. Only 2 of the 29 members of the influential organizational committee were women, and none of the 8 AAAP presidents, who held office between 1938 and 1945, were women. However, women were better represented in the AAAP than in the APA: In 1943, with 33% of the membership of the AAAP, women received 25% of the administrative appointments (one of the most influential women was Harriet O’Shea, chair of the AAAP’s Board of Affiliates). In the same year, women represented 18% of the members eligible for holding office in the APA (many of the women were associate members and therefore ineligible); 10% of the administrative appointments were held by women (Bryan & Boring, 1944).

It was during this period, however, that the first efforts of women

psychologists to act collectively in their own behalf got under way, spurred by the wartime crisis that escalated between 1939 and 1941 and by the blatant exclusion of women from mobilization plans being formulated by psychologists representing several psychological associations (see Walsh, 1985). Gladys Schwesinger spoke out at state meetings and at the annual conventions of the APA in favor of a women's organization; Clairette Armstrong wrote the surgeon general about the omission of women in governmental appointments of psychologists (Portenier, *n.d.*). In the fall of 1941, the National Research Council's Emergency Committee in Psychology (ECP), which had no women members, was coordinating the response of psychologists to the threat of war. The ECP appointed a Subcommittee on the Services of Women Psychologists (SSWP), with Ruth Tolman as chair (Tolman, 1943a). This group, which first met in January 1942, defined its mission as coordinating and distributing information about women's work in connection with the war, and recommended its own discontinuance 19 months later, asserting that the needs of women psychologists were being met by existing organizations (Tolman, 1943b).

One of these existing organizations was the newly established National Council of Women Psychologists (NCWP). Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war by the United States had produced a sense of great urgency. On December 8, 1941, a group of women who had been meeting informally in New York City, eager for action after months of being put off, sent out a call for a meeting that drew an enthusiastic response from women who then voted to organize on a national scale. Five of the women on the SSWP, including Tolman, were elected to NCWP leadership positions in 1942. A contemporaneous record of the early years and the activities of the NCWP was provided by the group's first executive secretary, Gladys C. Schwesinger (1943). Capshew and Laszlo (1986), in an article that was both informative and speculative, examined the events, people, and contributing factors that shaped these women's efforts to participate fully in wartime professional activities.

The NCWP was established to promote and develop emergency services for the duration of the war and to utilize the energies of women psychologists—academicians and practitioners alike—who “felt baffled and frustrated in the early days of the war [and were] eager to discover the fields in which their energy and patriotism could find outlets, impatient with the difficulties and delays which prevented their prompt and useful functioning” (Tolman, 1943b). In addition to the projects sponsored by the NCWP itself, the organization called attention to women's need to be recognized in their professional role. Alice Bryan (executive secretary of the AAAP and a member of both the NCWP and the SSWP) was elected as representative to the ECP and was then invited to serve on the ECP Subcom-

mittee on Survey and Planning. In that capacity, she came into contact with E. G. Boring, who was prominent in all of psychology's organized affairs. Capshew and Laszlo (1986) gave a carefully crafted account of how these two unlikely collaborators (see Boring, 1961) then coauthored a series of papers that brought the issue of women's status in psychology into sharp focus (Bryan & Boring, 1944, 1946, 1947; see also Boring, 1951, Bryan, 1986, for their "last words"). Through her various connections, Alice Bryan was particularly well placed and effective in representing women. The Subcommittee on Survey and Planning engineered a reorganization of the APA that brought the various psychological associations back together in 1946 after the schisms of the 1930s; Bryan played a significant role in mustering support for this reunification plan (Bryan, 1983; Napoli, 1981).

Women figured more prominently in the new APA, although still not with parity in status and leadership positions (Mitchell, 1951). From 1947 through 1971, eight women served on the Board of Directors (including Dorothy C. Adkins and Anne Anastasi, who, along with Helen Peak, were elected recording secretary of the Association in the years from 1947 to 1955). During 11 of those 25 years, there was at least one woman on the Board of Directors; for 10 years, there were two women; and for 1 year, there were three. The years between 1959 and 1969 were the most bleak: In 1960, 1961, and 1962, there were no women on the Board, and in the other years, only one.

This low period coincided with the time when women made their first drive to become a division of the APA, divisions having been provided in the reorganization to incorporate the special interests of the previously separate psychological organizations. Mary Roth Walsh (1985) recounted the efforts of the leaders of the NCWP (renamed the International Council of Women Psychologists to reflect a somewhat different vision after the war ended) to raise the status of women psychologists by establishing a women's division. In 1958, with a "handful of male members," the organization applied for division status, but did not receive a formal response. The name was changed again in the hope that deleting the word "women" would remove the stigma that offended, and again the group petitioned for division status, only to be denied then because of the international focus.

Capshew and Laszlo (1986) concluded that despite some gains made during the war years, the failure of women to change the status quo of gender imbalance in psychology was due to the cultural milieu (which favored the masculine nature of science), to women's acceptance of a false professional ideology of meritocratic reward, and to women's ambivalence about feminist activities. In her commentary on Capshew and Laszlo's article, Alice Bryan (1986), who played an influential role in the activities

that they described, acknowledged “the state of ambivalence that probably affected the thinking and behavior of some of the women” (p. 183).

Cynthia Deutsch (1986), who came to psychology later than Bryan, observed, “What now seems to be a shameful disregard for the contributions of women was apparently tolerated with only limited anger by the women” (p. 186). Commenting on Capshew and Laszlo’s observation that “very few women at the time of World War II had the consciousness or the will to step outside the prescribed female role and form an organization that would persist in working for the attainment of academic and professional parity” (Deutsch, p. 187), Deutsch concluded that “undoubtedly, some of the women involved did have the consciousness but lacked the social support to act on their true understanding of the prejudice and the status relationships that were the source of their exclusion” (p. 187).

#### THE FEMINIST SURGE: 1972–1991

The past two decades have seen an impressive shift toward more equitable representation in the APA governance structure and increased recognition for women. The “social support” required for women to act effectively on their own behalf and to institutionalize these changes depended heavily on the national women’s movement that emerged with renewed vigor in the 1960s. Women in the APA, as in other professional organizations, learned the value of joining together to act on their feminist convictions, with the goal of bringing about organizational reform designed to improve their status and recognition. Although many psychologists may still have felt ambivalent, a large enough group of clearly determined women coalesced to form a critical mass and devised successful strategies.

Between 1968 and 1971, 44 organizations were formed by academic women (Walsh, 1985). One of these was the Association for Women in Psychology (AWP), which grew into a vigorous organization, sponsoring both an annual national conference for the presentation and examination of research, therapy, and theory, and also regional group conferences. These meetings provided a vital mechanism for women psychologists to engage in mutual support and celebration. Avowedly feminist and politically activist in stance, the AWP’s purpose was, in part, “to expand women’s role in psychology as well as to increase sensitivity within the field to women’s concerns” (Walsh, 1985, p. 23). The AWP gained early attention when, outraged by discriminatory employment practices fostered by the APA, its members demonstrated at the 1969 APA convention (Mednick, 1978).

In October 1970, the APA Council of Representatives established a

task force to prepare a position paper on the status of women in psychology. This eight-person task force, chaired by Helen S. Astin, took as its responsibility a three-pronged mission: to identify problems, to advocate, and to facilitate constructive change in psychology. The overarching goal was to “ensure that women would be accepted as fully enfranchised members of the profession” (Task Force, 1973, p. 611). During its 2-year life, the task force collected information to document the status of women in academe (faculty and graduate students), in clinical settings, in the federal government, in applied areas, and in the school system. Going further, the group provided detailed recommendations in each of these categories and challenged “the policy-making bodies of the APA [to] use all their designated powers to institute the changes recommended by the Task Force” (Task Force, 1973, p. 615). The Board of Directors and the Council were requested to transmit specific recommendations to the appropriate governance units. Recognizing that many of the problems called for continuing attention, the final request was that a Committee on the Status of Women be established within the APA.

In December 1972, the APA provided for continuation of the work begun by the task force by appointing an Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women in Psychology, chaired by Martha T. Mednick, to report to the newly established Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology. This ad hoc committee was granted continuing status in 1973 and continued as the Committee on Women in Psychology (CWP), charged with functioning as a catalyst for change. Since then, the CWP, holding a special position within the APA governance structure, has been signally significant, influencing both psychology and the APA by the creation and review of publications, by affecting the governance structure, and by providing public information and education. The work of the CWP and its accomplishments is summarized in a biennial report (see Women’s Programs Office, 1988), in which it is clear that issues related to minority women have been given prominent attention.

A visible structural element that reflects the APA’s response to women’s concerns is the Women’s Programs Office, now located in the Public Interest Directorate. Established in 1977, this office functions as a resource on women’s issues, distributes information about psychology and women, develops special projects, and provides staff support for the CWP and other APA units. Two PhD psychologists have served the Women’s Programs Office as administrative officer for extended periods: Nancy Felipe Russo, from its inception to 1984, and Gwendolyn Puryear Keita, who was a member of the CWP, from 1987 to the present.

Another highly visible and immensely significant achievement was

the establishment of an APA division dedicated to addressing women's issues. Division 35, the Division of the Psychology of Women, was approved by the APA Council in 1973, coincident with the granting of continuing committee status to the CWP. Most of the division's members had received their doctorates in clinical, counseling, and developmental psychology, but it attracted members from every other division as well (Mednick, 1978). The division quickly became one of the largest ones. In 1990, there were 2,884 members (2,245 APA members, 316 associates, and 323 affiliates), with academicians and private practitioners equally represented (Lott, 1990). A 1989 APA membership survey indicated that over 50% of the division's members were involved in research, over 60% were involved in education, approximately 63% were involved in health and mental health services, and 65% were licensed, certified, or both (P. Carr, 1990).

Consistent with its feminist orientation, the division developed an egalitarian mode of operation, encouraged student involvement, and used an ad hoc committee/task force model to address issues and make recommendations for action. Subsequently, Division 35 evolved a complex structure consisting of sections on Black women and feminist professional training and practice, 11 standing committees, an array of task forces and awards, and an extensive set of liaisons and monitors working with other organizational units (primarily but not exclusively APA governance groups). The establishment in 1976 of the division's journal, *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, initially under the editorship of Georgia Babladelis, represented a major accomplishment because the journal provided "a symbol of the legitimacy of the field as well as a publication resource and outlet for researchers" (Mednick, 1978, p. 128).

The activities and accomplishments just described—establishment of the CWP, Division 35, and the Women's Programs Office—all took place in the 1970s. That decade saw definite improvement in the status of women in the APA, because of the specific efforts of these organizational units and also because of the wider societal supports that helped produce them. A major disappointment, however, came late in 1981, when a Council amendment to establish a permanent Board of Women's Issues was soundly defeated by a membership vote.

Nevertheless, the effects of improved possibilities for women are clear, at least in terms of election to high office. During the APA's first 80 years, only 13 women served on the executive body (the Council prior to the 1946 reorganization, the Board of Directors later), two as president. During its past 20 years, however, 15 women have served as members of the Board of Directors, one as the first woman treasurer, Judith Albino. Five women have held the office of president during this period: Anne Anastasi in 1972,

Leona E. Tyler in 1973, Florence L. Denmark in 1980, Janet T. Spence in 1984, and Bonnie R. Strickland in 1987. With the exception of Strickland, each was elected president after having served on the Board of Directors. Representation on the Board, even during this period, however, achieved a level commensurate with the proportion of women members of APA (about a third) only in 1984 and 1988, and in 1975 there was no woman on the 12-person Board of Directors.

Other indicators—election to the Council of Representatives and to Fellow status, selection for participation through governance units, and receipt of outstanding awards—present an uneven record. In 1975, 20.2% of the 124 Council members were women. By 1985, the percentage had risen to 38.6%, but in 1988 it stood at 27.8%. From 1975 to 1988, representation on boards, committees, and task forces varied widely across years and governance units; there was some modest gain on most, with the exception of Scientific Affairs. Gains in women's participation were very slight among the Publications and Communications, Professional Affairs, and Education and Training boards. The greatest increase was in two boards, Policy and Planning and Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology, and their associated committees and task forces (Women's Programs Office, 1988).

Election to Fellow status in the APA is an honor signifying "unusual and outstanding contribution or performance in the field of psychology." In 1980, the CWP targeted the underrepresentation of women as Fellows of the APA as an area of concern. In that year, 22.3% of the Fellows elected were women, up from 8% in 1970. In 1989, 23.4% of the elected Fellows were women.

In 1956, the APA instituted an awards program, with the first award designated for Distinguished Scientific Contributions. Through 1990, nine women (8% of the 115 total) had received that signal honor, only two of these (Nancy Bayley and Eleanor J. Gibson) being recognized prior to 1972. However, other award programs were established in later years, and women received proportionately better recognition in one of the other categories: Distinguished Professional Contributions, for which women received 6 of the 53 awards between 1972 and 1990 (see Table 1 for a list of APA awards to women through 1990).

In addition to increased participation in governance and the recognition of women, the range of women's issues that have received attention includes, for example, sexist language in APA publications, the ethics of therapist-client sexual intimacy, sex bias and sex-role stereotyping, women's research needs, the inclusion of gender-related content in graduate education, the APA accreditation criteria, women's mental health needs,

**TABLE 1**  
**Women Receiving Awards From the American Psychological Association**  
**Through 1990**

Year	Name of winner
	<b>Distinguished Scientific Contributions</b>
1990	Frances K. Graham Anne Treisman
1989	Mary D. Salter Ainsworth (with John Bowlby)
1988	Eleanor E. Maccoby
1976	Beatrice C. Lacey (with John Lacey)
1973	Brenda Milner
1972	Dorothea Jameson (with Leo Hurvich)
1968	Eleanor J. Gibson
1966	Nancy Bayley
	<b>Distinguished Scientific Award for Applications in Psychology</b>
1981	Anne Anastasi
	<b>Distinguished Scientific Award for an Early Career Contribution to Psychology</b>
1989	Ruth Kanfer
1988	Barbara Boardman Smuts
1985	Nancy E. Cantor Linda B. Smith
1984	Marta Kutas
1983	Carol L. Krumhansl
1982	Martha McClintock
1981	Lyn Abramson
1980	Lynn Cooper Shelley Taylor Camille Wortman
1977	Judith Rodin
1976	Sandra Bem Rochel S. Gelman
	<b>Distinguished Professional Contributions</b>
1989	Florence W. Kaslow
1987	Mary D. S. Ainsworth Lenore Walker
1986	Nadine Lambert
1982	Carolyn R. Payton
1981	Jane W. Kessler
	<b>Distinguished Contributions to Psychology in the Public Interest</b>
1988	Ellen Langer
1979	Marie Jahoda
	<b>Distinguished Contributions to Research in Public Policy</b>
1988	Sandra Scarr
	<b>Distinguished Education and Training Contributions</b>
1987	Florence L. Denmark

employment opportunities for women, nonsexist guidelines for research, and the visibility of ethnic minority women in psychology.

An issue of increasing concern, under study as the APA approaches its centennial, is the so-called "feminization of psychology," a phrase that would have seemed oxymoronic to earlier generations of psychologists. During the 1970s and 1980s, the percentage of PhDs in psychology received by women increased dramatically and in a steady pattern, from 30.8% in 1974 (Women's Programs Office, 1988) to 56% in 1988–89 ("Fact File," 1991). Segregation by subfield decreased: Women accounted for 50% or more of the the doctorates granted between 1984 and 1987 in 7 of the 16 subfields of psychology (Women's Program Office, 1988). Tipping the percentage of the total in favor of women would produce several positive effects (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). However, in other professions and occupations, movement toward predominance by women has been associated with a loss of occupational prestige and earnings, so this phenomenon is of special concern for psychologists, women and men alike. In 1991, the APA Board of Directors appointed an ad hoc Task Force on the Feminization of Psychology.

## CONCLUSION

Women have been active participants in the APA since its inception in 1892. On the eve of the APA centennial, 39% of the 70,266 members of the APA are women. The distribution across membership categories, however, is skewed: Women comprised 18.2% of the Fellows, 38.6% of the Members, and 52.5% of the Associate members (American Psychological Association, 1990). These statistics demonstrate one of the striking features of the history detailed in this chapter: the underrepresentation of women at the highest levels. That state of affairs reflects a continuing problem regarding the status of women. It has practical implications in that the status of women psychologists is directly related to the seriousness and vigor of the attention paid to issues of special importance to them. Given the present situation, however, it appears that the American Psychological Association itself is in small danger of becoming feminized in the near future.

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