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An Examination of the Distribution of Women in Regional Professional Associations of Sociology, Psychology, and Political Science

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN
REGIONAL PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF
SOCIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE

by

Robert Rogers Wheeler

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
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Robert Rogers Wheeler

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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL MILIEU OF WOMEN IN REGIONAL PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Research on women in the academic professions has primarily focused on the national associations or academia. Regional associations, operating closely with both the national professional associations and the academic community, have been for the most part neglected in the literature. However, implications for a study of regional associations emerge from the available literature. National policy is favorable to women, but the distribution of women in academia suggests that national policy may not be implemented at all levels.¹ Although our principal task is to investigate possible inequitable distributions of women in the regional associations of three disciplines (sociology, psychology, and political science) and to search for the implications of this distribution, our study also bears on the larger issue of women in society.

¹Rossi, Alice S., "Status of Women in Graduate Departments of Sociology, 1968-1969," The American Sociologist, V. No. 1 (1970), 1-12; Davis, Ann E., "Women as a Minority Group in Higher Academics," The Professional Woman, ed. by Athena Theodore (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 587-598.

For purposes of investigation women must be considered as career or occupational role incumbents. In an iconoclastic attempt to assert themselves in the professional organizations, women are confronted not with a Weberian ideal of rationality but with the arbitrariness of discrimination and the thankless task of redefining the female career role. The literature treats these as two discrete problems. It can be demonstrated, however, that discrimination and role redefinition are aspects of the same problem and constitute part of the larger social milieu within which women function.

Home Versus Career

Some authors account for the differential distribution of women by suggesting that a choice in career role definition exists for women between family and profession. The two areas are perceived by some as mutually exclusive in that participation in one is accomplished only at the expense of the other. Parsons,¹ representative of this perspective, states that:

Given the independence of the nuclear family, given its spatial separation from work and its personal diffuse character as opposed to the business world, the division of sex role by which the husband alone enters the occupational sphere is a mechanism that minimizes rivalry within marriage and promotes family solidarity.

The conflict, temporally, occurs after the role performance has been

¹Parsons, Talcott, Social Structure and Personality (New York; Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 588.

attempted. Some authors, however, focus attention on the point of entry into the role.

Discrimination

There is an assertion by some authors that differential distributions of women are the result of discrimination at the point of entry into many professions. From this perspective role performance is not so much at issue because occupying the role is at best strongly discouraged and at worst not allowed at all.

To the extent that the professions are rational, discrimination may be seen as originating externally, for discrimination by definition is not rational. Patterson,¹ citing Allport, states:

Discrimination is conduct based on a distinction made on grounds of natural or social categories that have no relation to individual capacities or merits or to the behavior of the individual.

Regardless of the sources of this "conduct," it describes a pattern of differential distribution that is the result of discrimination and that results in further discrimination. The likelihood of women interrupting this pattern is diminished by the difficulty of attaining positions of pattern control or prestige. Patterson concludes:

¹Patterson, Michelle, "Alice in Wonderland: A Study of Women Faculty in Graduate Departments of Sociology," The American Sociologist, VI (August 1971), p. 232 citing Allport, Gordon W., The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1958), p. 51.

What emerges from our study is evidence of a systematic pattern of excluding women from the two organizational rewards that most influence an individual's prestige within the discipline. Women are excluded from high ranking departments and they are excluded from high ranking positions in almost all departments.¹

From this perspective women are more often found in low-status jobs or in the home not so much because of a conflict between family and profession, but because few, if any, options exist. Women remain in positions with little prestige and in the home because discrimination keeps them there. Discrimination describes a pattern which the discriminator may in turn use to justify discrimination. Accordingly, discrimination appears to be widespread. Mitchell and Starr² maintain, "The presence of discrimination against women in the academic professions is no longer conjecture; it is not even debatable." However, it is debatable whether this perspective is wholly separable from the home versus career perspective.

The Professional Woman: A Study in Role

Role is treated conceptually by these two perspectives as rather singular and fixed. However, if role is treated as a cluster of

¹ibid.

²Mitchell, Joyce M. and Starr, Rachel R., "A Regional Approach for Analyzing the Recruitment of Academic Women," American Behavioral Scientist, XV, No. 2 (1971), pp. 183-205.

elements, the two perspectives resolve into different aspects of a single approach. Discrimination may thus be viewed to some extent as the impossible demand that certain inconsistent behavioral elements essential to the performance of the role be eliminated prior to the acceptance of the role by the discriminator. Problems in home versus career are not problems in mutual exclusion from this perspective but problems in performance. Elements of the role may be absent or may not allow for the performance of these two essentially diverse clusters of behavior.

The issue of women in the professions, then, can be treated as an issue in role playing. Roles with incongruent elements are demanded. A stable traditional performance can scarcely be given by a woman in the role of competitive professional. At issue, then, is whether performance in such situations is possible. The literature suggests that this situation greatly reduces the probability of success.

Women's Traditional Career Roles

Traditionally, the career role of women is held to be the wife/mother role.¹ Attributing the formation of this role to women's

¹It is recognized that "wife" and "mother" can be treated as two distinct roles. However, for purposes of brevity, in the context of this discussion the two will be treated as a single behavioral complex.

capacity to bear children, Davis¹ says " . . . forced to carry the parasitic embryo in her body for an extended time and to nurse the helpless young for a period thereafter, she is limited in what she can do." Davis, however, recognizes that the interpretation of status based on biological function generates a number of problems and states that:

The great error in interpreting ascription of status on the basis of sex (as in other cases of ascription) is to assume that the ascribed behavior springs from the biological qualities of the groups concerned.²

There is little question that many women perceive the wife/mother role as their prescribed occupational role. Hurvitz³ asked women to choose the most salient elements of their roles. In every case the elements chosen were related to the family; hence, to the wife/mother role. If this career role has traditionally been defined in terms of others (the family), it has similarly been defined as supportive and based on co-operation as opposed to competition.

¹Davis, Kingsley, "Status and Related Concepts," Role Theory: Concepts and Research, ed. by Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 70.

²ibid.

³Hurvitz, Nathan, "The Components of Marital Roles," Sociology and Social Research, VL (April 1961), pp. 301-309.

Angrist¹ proposes that women remain flexible and uncommitted to a career in order to conform to a future husband (co-operation).

Friedan² similarly holds that women are husband dependent (supportive).

From the functionalists' perspective, however, many of the functions of the traditional female career role have disappeared.³ But the woman who attempts to move into another, perhaps more fulfilling, role finds that social definitions still tie the woman to the family. She is expected to be stable in her relationships with others and to use the symbols of love and affection as an interactional medium of exchange. Any attempt to move into a professional role is accompanied by the adoption of a monetary medium of exchange, competition, and instability. These elements of the professional role appear to be unreconcilable with many elements of the traditional female career role.

Men's Traditional Career Roles

If women are defined in terms of men, then for purposes of

¹Angrist, Shirley S., "Measuring Women's Career Commitment," Sociological Focus, V, No. 2 (1971-72), pp. 29-39.

²Davis, Ann, op. cit., pp. 589-590 citing Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: Norton, 1963).

³ibid.; Davis, Kingsley, op. cit.

contrast, the male career role must be briefly examined. Grønseth¹ notes that the male career role in this society is increasingly enmeshed in bureaucracy and capitalism. It is thus implied that the male occupational role is increasingly extrafamilial. The male is expected to be progressive. In other words, within the context of the political and economic institutions, he is expected to change jobs, endlessly "jockeying" for a position which either places him in a position to advance or actually represents an advancement. In contrast to the traditional female career role, the elements of the traditional male career role are easily reconcilable with the elements of the professional role.

Professional Roles

Many professional roles appear to be designed for men only. With respect to the academic professions, Patterson² holds that: "The structure of academia has been designed through time to routinely accommodate the work needs of the male professional." Rainwater³ also implies that a male orientation exists.

¹Grønseth, Eric, "The Husband Provider Role and Its Dysfunctional Consequences," Sociological Focus, V. No.2 (1971-72), p. 10.

²Patterson, Michelle, loc. cit., p. 233.

³Rainwater, Lee, "Personal and Role Factors in the Desire for Small and Large Families," Family Roles and Interaction: An Anthology, ed. by Jerold Heiss (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969), p. 298.

All in all, though our society no longer officially maintains that a woman's place is only in the home, many of the forces which operate in the day-to-day interactions of the wife who goes out of the home serve to tell her that home and husband's side are probably the safest places for her.

If these contentions are true, we might expect to find that women in many professions have somewhat more difficulty than men in similar positions.

Women and Professional Roles

Other authors have reviewed the literature on the professional woman.¹ A few examples from that literature will show the lack of congruence between the traditional female career role and the professional role. Lewin and Duchan,² noting disparities between male and female professionals, state that, "Perhaps the most conspicuous discrimination is evident from salary differentials between men and women." Others have noted not only lower salaries,³ but also the disproportionate number of women in low-status positions

¹See, for example, Theodore, Athena (ed.), The Professional Woman (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971).

²Lewin, Arie Y. and Duchan, Linda, "Women in Academia: A Study of the Hiring Decision in Departments of Physical Science," Science, CLXXIII (September 1971), pp. 892-895.

³Holmstrom, Engin I., and Judd, Catherine B., document published (no title) by the Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc. (Washington, D.C., August 17, 1971).

in academia (Rossi¹ and Patterson²), and the difficulty women have finding jobs.³ Thus, it appears that the present structure of academic professions is designed to accommodate the male, and it is in this context that the professional woman operates in the regional association. If her accomplishments seem small out of context, they seem great within the larger context discussed above. The professional woman is operating under the burden of a complex set of demands, contradictory to her socialization yet complementary to her training. Women who survive the rigors of such an existence must indeed be a resilient group of individuals.

¹op. cit.

²op. cit., pp. 226-234.

³Fidell, L.S., "Empirical Verification of Sex Discrimination in Hiring Practices in Psychology," The American Psychologist, XXV (December 1970), pp. 1094-1098.

CHAPTER II

PROFESSIONAL WOMEN AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Recently, interest has grown in the participation of women in all phases of professional life. However, most attention has been focused on women at the national level of professions (in national professional associations) and at the operational level of professions (at work, frequently in the academic setting). The regional professional associations have largely been neglected. It is interesting that scholarly work has often failed to focus on these groups, for it is within these groups that national policy should be affected. Furthermore, patterns of feminine participation in regional associations may compare or contrast interestingly with those of the national associations or academia. Thus, information secured from regional associations may have implications for the professions as a whole, regardless of the level of analysis.

Statement of Problem

Accordingly, it is the purpose of this study to examine the implementation of the policy of national professional associations through the patterns of participation of women in three groups of

regional professional associations, representing the disciplines of sociology, psychology, and political science. These are particularly appropriate disciplines because each has an active women's caucus, and each has expressed concern over women's professional situation.

An examination of the literature on women's professional participation suggests three general trends. The first and perhaps most obvious trend is the increase in literary activity on the subject. Klotzburger¹ compiled an inclusive bibliography on women in the professions. The distribution of articles in the bibliography reveals an increasing frequency of articles on the subject. Of the 193 articles published between 1950 and 1970, fully half were published during the last five years. It is thought that this is, in a measure, an indicator of professional interest in the subject of women's professional participation.

The second trend is the support professional women in sociology, psychology, and political science have received for the policies they have initiated. Oltman² observes, for example that the women's caucus of the American Sociological Association:

¹Klotzburger, Katherine M., "A Selected Bibliography on the Status of Women in the Professions," Women in Political Science, Studies and Reports of the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Professions (1969-71), pp. 117-132.

²Oltman, Ruth M., "Women in the Professional Caucuses," American Behavioral Scientist, XV, No. 2 (1971), p. 287.

. . . has succeeded in getting a number of major resolutions passed by convention, supporting priority in hiring and promotion of women, equitably awarded graduate stipends, women's study programs, day care centers, flexibility in teaching assignments (part- and full-time), open employment of faculty, and addition of more women to advisory and governing boards of ASA.

Such support has probably not always been secured easily,¹ but it has been secured, and it indicates a national policy favorable to professional women.

The third trend that is suggested by the literature is that national associational policy may not be implemented. Rossi² suggests that female professionals in sociology are likely to occupy low-status positions in less prestigious universities while holding superior credentials. Questionnaires were mailed to 188 sociology department chairmen.³ The information from these revealed distinct patterns of participation for women. The percentage of women active in sociology decreases from 43 percent ("college seniors planning graduate work in sociology") to 0 percent ("full professors in five elite departments").⁴ Patterson,⁵ Jackson,⁶ Davis,⁷ and others,

¹loc. cit., p. 283.

²Rossi, op. cit., pp. 6-9.

³loc. cit., p. 1.

⁴loc. cit., p. 11.

⁵op. cit., pp. 227-233.

⁶Jackson, Maurice, "Minorities and Women in Sociology: Are Opportunities Changing?", The American Sociologist, VII, No. 8 (1972), pp. 3-5.

⁷Davis, Ann, op. cit., pp. 595-597.

offer data which support these findings. Schuck¹ found similar patterns in political science. A questionnaire was sent to chairmen of political science departments.² Women were found to be about 18 percent of all graduate students in the universities investigated by Schuck,³ but women were only one percent of the faculty of distinguished departments.⁴ Fidell⁵ asked 228 graduate departments of psychology to indicate the desirability of ten psychologists described in paragraphs. First names were manipulated such that preferences based on sex and not on qualifications would appear. Fidell⁶ states that, ". . . higher levels of employment were indicated for males on all of the experimental paragraphs except (one)." It appears, then, that national policy has not yet been implemented at the national level of the professional associations.

Epstein⁷ maintains that, "Women are less active in professional organizations than are men, particularly at decision-making levels."

¹Schuck, Victoria, "Women in Political Science: Some Preliminary Observations," Women in Political Science, Studies and Reports of the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession (1969-71), pp. 37-39.

²loc. cit., p. 39.

³loc. cit., p. 47.

⁴loc. cit., p. 47.

⁵op. cit.

⁶loc. cit., p. 1096.

⁷Epstein, Cynthia F., "Encountering the Male Establishment: Sex-Status Limits on Women's Careers in the Professions," The Professional Woman, ed. by Athena Theodore (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 595-597.

Marrett¹ found that women in the American Sociological Association held only 10 percent of the elective offices and 5 percent of the committee seats (constitutional and standing committees only). If it can be established that rather general conditions may contribute to these patterns of participation, it may be held that similar patterns could exist in regional associations.

Researchers suggest a number of causes for these patterns. Feminine acquiescence,² lax enforcement of the norms of equal opportunity,³ and discrimination⁴ are offered as causes by some sources. Evidence of role conflict was presented in the first chapter. Oltman⁵ and Abelson⁶ add that women have little legal support other than a single executive order. The interplay of these factors may result in a circular problem for professional women. Few women participate; hence, few women are in positions of influence. As a result, few women enter the professions, etc. Epstein⁷ notes a pattern of mutual professional reinforcement

¹Marrett, Cora Bagley, "The Participation of Women in the American Sociological Association," unpublished research paper (n. d.)

²Davis, Ann, op. cit., p. 597.

³Mitchell and Starr, op. cit., p. 202.

⁴Abelson, Philip H., "Women in Academia," Science, CLXXV, No. 4018 (1972), p. 127.

⁵op. cit., p. 282.

⁶loc. cit.

⁷op. cit., p. 61.

(which may not be available to women):

Membership and participation in professional associations characterizes the active professional and reinforces his ties to colleagues and work. At professional meetings information is traded about new techniques and theories, and informal judgments are exchanged about the professions' 'rising stars.' Professional friendships develop into professional relationships at the cocktail hours, and at committee and dinner meetings. The appointment of members to special committees may publicize their achievements to colleagues.

Patterson¹ concludes:

For women, the same circuitous relation becomes a vicious circle: because women do not have high prestige, they do not advance in their careers; they do not receive organizational rewards; and because they do not receive organizational rewards, their prestige remains low. Thus, the system of sponsored mobility in academia systematically excludes women from organizational rewards.

Women in the professions, then, appear often to be excluded from this pattern of mutual reinforcement.

Some suggest that women gain admittance to professions for different reasons than men. Jones and Taylor² imply that a career with a large number of vacancies will more readily admit women. Gross³ holds that women are often admitted into professions at low-

¹op. cit., p. 233.

²Jones, Arthur R. and Taylor, Lee, "Differential Recruitment of Female Professionals: A Case Study of Clergywomen," The Professional Woman, ed. by Athena Theodore (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 355-362.

³Gross, Edward, "Plus Ca Change . . . ? The Sexual Structure of Occupations Over Time," The Professional Woman, ed. by Athena Theodore (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 198-208.

status levels only. Hence, males in the professions are forced upward in status. Theodore¹ maintains that women are usually found in sex-typed professions.

The above discussion supports Patterson's² suggestion that women may frequently operate professionally outside of the male-dominated prestige system altogether. And this may be central to patterns of participation of women in many professional areas. It can be suggested, therefore, that these patterns may not be dissimilar to those of the regional professional associations.

Most of the sources concur that the solution for these rather inequitable patterns of participation lies in structural change. This situation is recognized in both the popular and the scholarly literature. Thus, Decter³ maintains:

Whatever view one takes of the women's liberation movement's aims, they are radical aims, to alter as we know them institutions no less basic to our common existence than work, marriage and parenthood.

Patterson⁴ also implies structural problems. "If the object of the

¹Theodore, Athena, "The Professional Woman: Trends and Prospects," The Professional Woman, ed. by Athena Theodore (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 3.

²op. cit.

³Decter, Midge, "The Paradox of Women's Liberation," Newsweek, LXXXI (January 23, 1973), p. 7.

⁴op. cit.

academic experience is to limit the field to men and superwomen, the present structure of the university is finely attuned to the task."

Grønseth¹ succinctly states:

In summary, it appears that the problems of work and socio-political fulfillment are not problems merely of choosing between participation either in the family or in occupational and political life, but also--and more basically--are those of developing different kinds of work, political, and family institutions

In short, the literature supports the observation that women participate less frequently in the national associations and in academia for a variety of reasons. This indicates a failure to fully implement national policy. It can further be held that the literature contains implications for a study of regional associations. It tends to support four hypotheses. These hypotheses in turn suggest an incomplete operationalization of national associational policy.

Previously cited studies suggest that rates of participation in academia and in the national professional associations are higher for men than for women. Hence, Hypothesis One:

RATES OF PARTICIPATION IN THE REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF SOCIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, AND POLITICAL SCIENCE WILL BE HIGHER FOR MEN THAN FOR WOMEN.

Klotzburger's² bibliography reveals increased interest in professional women in recent years. This may indicate a trend in participation. Hence, Hypothesis Two:

¹op. cit., pp. 15-16.

²op. cit.

RATES OF PARTICIPATION FOR WOMEN IN THE REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF SOCIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, AND POLITICAL SCIENCE WILL BE HIGHEST DURING THE LAST SEVEN YEARS.¹

Many of the previously cited studies found women disproportionately distributed in low-status positions. Hence, Hypothesis Three:

WOMEN IN THE REGIONAL PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF SOCIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, AND POLITICAL SCIENCE WILL BE FOUND MOST FREQUENTLY IN LOWER STATUS POSITIONS.

Similar patterns of distribution were observed in several disciplines.

Furthermore, causes for these patterns were attributed to rather general factors, not limited to a given discipline. Hence, Hypothesis Four:

PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION FOR WOMEN IN THE REGIONAL PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF SOCIOLOGY, PSYCHOLOGY, AND POLITICAL SCIENCE ARE INDISTINGUISHABLE.

Summary

The purpose of this study is to examine women's participation in the regional professional associations of sociology, psychology, and political science. National professional policy appears to be favorable to equitable feminine participation. The literature also suggests a differential distribution of women in the academic professions--that women's rates of participation are lower than

¹This study covers a fourteen-year period (1959-73), which, for purposes of comparison, is divided into two periods of seven years.

men's; that increases in feminine participation have occurred only recently; that women are more often found in low-status positions; and that these patterns are widespread. Based on these findings, four hypotheses were formulated. If national policy is not completely effective at the regional level, the four hypotheses will be supported, and differential distributions similar to those in academia will be found.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Sample

Data were collected from the professional journals of the regional associations and from the associations themselves. Tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 indicate regional associations by discipline, whether the association was included in the study, and if so, the source of information. The criterion for inclusion or exclusion was simply the availability of information. General sources used for the study of the distribution of women in regional associations of sociology, psychology, and political science are listed under the appropriate headings. Sources used for the study of a specific regional association are listed opposite the regional association for which they were used. If information was not available, letters were sent to the various regions. If these were returned with useable information, it is indicated. Tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 show that most of the regional associations were used. However, due to insufficient data, the Eastern Sociological Association and the New England Psychological Association were excluded. Similarly, the

TABLE 3.1--Regional sociological associations and sources used for study of these associations

General Sources	Regional Association	Included ^a	Specific Sources	Letter ^b
<u>American Journal of Sociology</u>	Eastern			
<u>American Sociological Review</u> (1959-1965)	Midwest	X	<u>Sociology Quarterly</u> (1968-present)	
<u>American Sociologist</u> (1965-1972)	North Central	X	<u>Sociological Focus</u>	X
	Pacific	X	<u>Pacific Sociological Review</u>	
	South-western	X	<u>Southwestern Social Science Quarterly</u>	X
	Southern	X	<u>Social Forces</u>	X
Total 3	6	5	5	3

^aThe column shows which associations were included in the study.

^bThe column shows which associations returned useable information in response to letters.

New England, Northeastern, Southern California, and Southwestern political science associations were excluded. The literature suggested similar patterns of feminine participation in and among various professions and associations. The data gathered in this study of regional professional associations also suggested similar patterns of feminine participation among these regional associations. It appears likely, then, that the inclusion of all the associations (if data had been

available) would not have altered the results.

TABLE 3.2--Regional psychological associations and sources used for study of these associations

General Sources	Regional Association	Included ^a	Specific Sources	Letter ^b
<u>American Psychologist</u>	Eastern	X		
	Midwestern	X		
	New England			
	Rocky Mountain	X		
	Southeastern	X		
	Southwestern	X		
	Western	X		
Total 1	7	6	0	0

^aThe column shows which associations were included in the study.

^bThe column shows which associations returned useable information in response to letters.

Procedure

Data concerning the sex of an incumbent, the status of the position held (officer or council member), the year of participation, and the number of vacancies filled by women were sought. The data covered a fourteen year period from the 1959-60 academic year to the 1972-73 academic year. References to year are references to academic year. Thus, a seven-year period refers to seven academic years. To determine sex the most straightforward technique

TABLE 3.3--Regional political science associations and sources used for study of these associations

General Sources	Regional Associations	Included ^a	Specific Sources	Letter ^b
<u>American Political Science Review (1959-69)</u>	New England			
	Northeastern			
<u>Political Science (1968-72)</u>	Midwest	X	<u>Midwest Journal of Political Science</u>	X
	Northern California	X	<u>Western Political Quarterly</u>	
	Pacific Northwestern	X	<u>Western Political Quarterly</u>	
	Southern	X	<u>Journal of Politics</u>	
	Southern California			
	Southwestern			
	Western	X	<u>Western Political Quarterly</u>	
Total 2	9	5	5	1

^aThe column shows which associations were included in the study.

^bThe column shows which associations returned useable information in response to letters.

available was used. This consisted of name counting. When names did not clearly denote sex, minutes of meetings were examined for personal pronouns (indicative of gender). A precedent exists in the literature for such a technique. It appears that this technique was

used by Schuck¹ for assessing the number of women who are political scientists. Lewin and Duchan² used names to indicate sex in their study of hiring decisions in departments of physical science. Similarly, in psychology, Fidell³ used names to denote sex in a study previously reviewed.

Although the sample included 725 persons, data arrived at by means of the above procedure give a distribution of positions and not persons by sex and year. This was desirable for two reasons. (1) Organizations consist of positions rather than persons. Hence, the distribution of positions by sex and year more accurately represents the associations. (2) Individuals hold office more than once (some as many as four terms), and the offices varied in length--some were annual, some biannual, and some triannual. An analysis of persons would have thus distorted the results, for some would have been overrepresented while others were underrepresented. The distribution of women gained in this way would not have been representational from an organizational standpoint. The number of positions included in the study, then, was 1,874.

Status distribution could not be determined from the general membership of the regional associations. Hence, the sample was

¹op. cit., p. 37.

²op. cit.

³op. cit.

limited to the officers and council members of these associations. Since executive councils are organized to support officers, it was decided that the position of officer was the higher status position. Officers usually included a president, president-elect and/or vice-president, treasurer and secretary. It was thought that women might not be equitably distributed between these two status categories (officers and council).

Since terms were often longer than one year, the number of vacancies did not coincide with the number of positions. It was felt, nonetheless, that the distribution of women in the regional associations should be reflected in the number of vacancies filled by women, for if the frequency of women is to increase, they must disproportionately fill vacancies.

Analysis

Data secured in the above manner were most often handled as percentages. This procedure proved satisfactory for the analysis and reporting of the data for all the hypotheses. Support for the third and fourth hypotheses also required the computation of chi square. Data were accordingly analyzed for officers, council members, and vacancies by year and for officers and council members by discipline.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Rates of Participation

The first hypothesis tested states that rates of participation in the regional associations of sociology, psychology, and political science will be higher for men than for women. Table 4.1 gives the data for the two seven-year periods. Women held few positions, and these positions accounted for only a small percentage of the total positions during the period. It is observed that in all the groups combined, women never held more than an average of 4.9 annual positions as officers and 6.7 annual positions as council members. Thus, the percentage of positions held is low--never more than an average of 8.3 percent of the available annual positions (both as officers or council members). The rate of male participation is higher as suggested by the first hypothesis.

The second hypothesis tested holds that rates of participation for women in the regional associations of sociology, psychology, and political science will be highest during the last seven years. Table 4.1 shows increases during the last seven years in rates of

TABLE 4.1--Number and percentage of positions held by women (all regional associations^a), 1959-1966 and 1966-1973^b

Year	Positions					
	Officer		Council		Both	
	Mean no. of posi- tions held	% of all positions	Mean no. of posi- tions held	% of all positions	Mean no. of posi- tions held	% of all positions
1959- 1966	3.0	5.4	2.0	2.7	5.0	3.9
1966- 1973	4.9	8.2	6.7	8.4	11.6	8.3

^aSee Tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3.

^bThe apparent overlap in year is caused by the use of "academic" years.

participation of women as officers and as council members. The use of the seven-year period actually distorts these gains to some extent. The most dramatic gains have occurred since the 1971-72 academic year. Table 4.2 shows these recent gains for women as officers and council members. Not all positions are vacated every year. Table 4.2 shows also the distribution of women in the positions that were vacated. Increases in feminine representation in vacated positions were reflected in the increases observed in feminine representation as officers and council members.

Table 4.3 shows that these quantitative increases have been accompanied by temporal increases. Hence, not only are women found in higher numbers in these regional associations in recent

TABLE 4.2--Feminine representation as officers and council members and in vacated positions by year in regional associations of Sociology, Psychology, and Political Science

Year	Officers and Council Members		Vacancies	
	No.	%	No.	%
1959-60	6	5	2	3
1960-61	6	5	3	5
1961-62	6	5	2	3
1962-63	6	5	2	3
1963-64	2	2	1	2
1964-65	2	2	2	3
1965-66	7	5	6	10
1966-67	11	8	6	9
1967-68	8	6	2	3
1968-69	6	4	2	3
1969-70	9	6	7	10
1970-71	9	6	6	9
1971-72	17	12	9	13
1972-73	21	15	12	20
Total	116	*	62	*

*The column gives annual percentages which do not sum to 100.

TABLE 4.3--Percentage of academic years during which women held positions as officers and council members in regional associations of Sociology, Psychology and Political Science

Year	Discipline		
	Sociology	Psychology	Political Science
1959-66	50	43	71
1966-73	86	93	86

years, but they are found more frequently in recent years as well.

Thus, the second hypothesis is supported by both the increased frequency of feminine representation and the increased percentage of the time women are represented.

The Distribution of Women by Status

The third hypothesis tested holds that women in the regional professional associations of sociology, psychology, and political science will be found most frequently in lower status positions.

Support for the third hypothesis must be inferred from the data, as direct evidence was not available.

Addition of Positions

Table 4.1 shows that the percentage of women holding positions as council members is approximately the same as the percentage of women holding positions as officers. There is some indication that this might not really represent an equitable distribution.

The increase in the number of officer and council positions in these regional associations nearly matches the increase in the number of women holding such positions in these associations. Fourteen officer and council positions were added during the period studied, and fifteen additional women held positions. Hence, although the number of female-occupied officer and council member positions has increased, the percentage of female-occupied officer and council member positions has not increased as rapidly. The absolute increase in positions has lessened the proportional impact of increased feminine representation. It appears likely, moreover, that women occupied some of the new positions. None of these positions was the position of president. In fact, more low-status (council) positions were added than high-status (officer) positions.

Length of Term

The average length of term for officers was 1.5 years. For council members the average length of term was 2.7 years. Positions for officers become available more frequently than for council members. Thus, if the trend were toward an equitable distribution, we might expect greater gains for women occurring in the officer category than in the council category. However, although the opportunity to hold an officer position occurs more frequently, Table 4.1 shows that the largest gains for women occurred among

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the council positions.

Data on the addition of positions and the length of terms, then, infer support for the third hypothesis.

Homogeneity

The fourth hypothesis tested holds that patterns of participation for women in the regional professional associations of sociology, psychology and political science are indistinguishable. Table 4.4 shows a redistribution of the data by discipline. The similarity in the proportion of representation is at once apparent.

TABLE 4.4--Percentage feminine representation in regional associations (1959-73) by position and discipline

Position	Discipline		
	Sociology	Psychology	Political Science
Councils	5	4	7
Officers	6	9	6

This suggestion of co-variation was further explored. Homogeneous patterns of participation among the three groups of councils (by year) were found to be significant at the .20 level. The sample size interferes with the assertion of any direct and definite implications. However, it may be suggested that a relationship may exist.

Patterns of participation among the three groups of officers (by year) were also found to be homogeneous (significant at approximately the .03 level). The patterns of participation among these regional associations are, indeed, similar. These findings support the fourth hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS, IMPLICATIONS AND SUMMARY

The Policy of National Professional Associations and the Distribution of Women in Regional Professional Associations

All of the results yielded explicit information about the four hypotheses. All of the results, however, seemed to bear directly on the larger issue. The literature reviewed in the second chapter suggested that national policies favorable to women's participation might not be implemented at the regional level. The results do not indicate that favorable national policy is not a factor involved in the recent increase in women's participation at the regional level. The results do indicate, however, that factors are operating which limit the impact of this increase (organizational growth, differential distribution of women by status, etc.). Moreover, the results seem tentatively to suggest that other factors, perhaps external to the national and regional associations or perhaps operating in conjunction with factors internal to these associations may be affecting women's participatory rates. The interdisciplinary homogeneity strongly suggests the operation of external factors. It

appears that the factors affecting participation are not peculiar to any single discipline. Close inspection of the results lends supporting evidence to this conclusion, i. e., women's rates of participation (or the distribution of women) in the regional professional associations may be affected by factors external to the associations.

Officer positions appear more resistant to change than council positions. Support for this suggestion is found in the data on length of terms. Since the average council term is over a year longer than the average officer term, vacancies occur more frequently for officers than for council. Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that officers as a category are more likely to respond to policy than council. It has already been shown that this is not the case. Not only does this support the observation that participation may be influenced by the status of the position sought, but it also indicates that something other than national policy is operating on the distribution. Operationalization of national policy should be reflected first in the body of officers, if national policy were indeed all that was affecting the distribution.

It has already been implied that trends in academic literature may indicate professional interest. The increase (by year) of articles on professional women¹ preceded the gains made by women in the

¹Klotzburger, op. cit.

regional professional associations. In other words, activity outside these associations preceded activity within them. Similarly, the observed distribution resembles the distribution of women in academia (see Chapter II). High status is accompanied by a higher incidence of men. Factors contributing to this relationship (which probably also occurs beyond the limits of academia) are in all likelihood manifold and found throughout society.

The results seem to indicate the operation of factors other than national policy. It is not clear whether these external factors operate in conjunction with internal factors, for it is not inconceivable that the stimulus for some of the literary activity came from the regional associations themselves. If these patterns were to be observed in other settings, however, a fair degree of certainty could be attached to this conclusion. The study of the differential distribution of women, then, is inextricably linked to other areas of sociological inquiry.

Implications for Further Research

The results of this study relate to numerous areas of sociological investigation. The results might be interestingly discussed in terms of political sociology, sociology of education, or family sociology. This study might be utilized in an investigation of formal organizations, small groups, minority groups, or as a

study in social differentiation. The differential distribution of women is an issue pertinent to the investigation of social movements and, of course, has implications for research on role theory.

Perhaps most directly, however, the study is a case of the operation of educationally-affiliated organizations. According to Parsons¹, educational organizations might be classified as pattern-maintenance organizations. They may be thought of as contributing to the maintenance of cultural patterns. However, the regional associations vary somewhat from the ideal type. It is perhaps most significant that they must support themselves. Scarce resources must be secured. While many educational organizations are assisted in this by the availability of tax revenues, obviously these associations receive no such aid. A product must be offered. Publications may help to maintain academic credibility and "advertise" the association in addition to disseminating knowledge. Differences in function (between the regional associations and other educational organizations) suggest differences in structure. Further study of this might profitably include whether the structure of the associations is a function of competition for scarce resources.

¹Scott, W. Richard, "Theory of Organizations," Handbook of Modern Sociology, ed. by Robert E. L. Faris (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1964), p. 508, citing T. Parsons, R. F. Bales, and E. A. Shils, Working Papers in the Theory of Action (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1953), p. 106.

It may be suggested that scarcities of power, authority, money, etc., contribute to a general unwillingness on the part of men to share prestigious positions in these associations with women. A relationship might be found between the affluence of an association and the flexibility of its response to changing social demands. If under scrutiny these structures are found to be partially defined in terms of an inequitable distribution of women, then it may be that an entirely new ideology must be accepted and operationalized prior to the development of a new and equitable status for women.

If these are Parsonian pattern-maintenance organizations, interest within them may focus on the status quo. Translating policy into action for economic organizations often results in a tangible change in quality or quantity of the product. Policy in the regional associations might be rendered inoperative simply by means of neglect. No product change would ensue. No direct revelation of this neglect would occur, and the status quo would be perpetuated. Policy exists, but do the mechanisms exist to translate policy into action? Do these associations have a genuine interest in progress on this problem?

Organizations must socialize individuals. Do the top levels-- the levels of privileged knowledge and advanced socialization-- simply facilitate the circulation of an elite? A final implication

for further research remains, and it is, perhaps, of ultimate importance. Do the organizations in education through a process of selection and socialization produce women who do not really want prestigious positions in the academic professions? It is hoped that further research will shed light on these questions and the many others that arise from this study.

Design

Future researchers might profit from this study, then, by noting the suggestions above and by observing the weaknesses encountered in the design. Four difficulties, ranging from rather specific to rather general, were encountered. First, the use of name counting incurs a certain error. It is not entirely without ambiguity. However, this is probably slight, and the accuracy is probably correspondingly high. Second, the sample size interferes with broad generalizations. It is sufficient for this study but would be insufficient if broader implications were sought. Third, the necessity of narrowing the scope of the study excluded the possibility of answering many of the questions raised. Of course, this narrowness did serve to emphasize the singular nature of the study. The data did, then, indicate the operation of several variables on the distribution of women in regional professional associations but failed to identify these variables or their relative strengths. Fourth, and most general, the study suggested avenues

of research but failed to identify the nature or the strength of the variables in these avenues.

Summary

The literature on professional women was reviewed. It suggested a growth in interest in professional women, and it indicated that national professional associations had adopted a policy favorable to women's participation. It further suggested, however, that this policy might not have been operationalized at the national level or in the academic community. Four hypotheses resulted from the analysis of the literature. These were as follows:

- (1) Rates of participation in the regional associations of sociology, psychology, and political science will be higher for men than for women.
- (2) Rates of participation for women in the regional associations of sociology, psychology, and political science will be highest during the last seven years.
- (3) Women in the regional professional associations of sociology, psychology, and political science will be found most frequently in lower status positions.
- (4) Patterns of participation for women in the regional professional associations of sociology, psychology, and political science are indistinguishable.

It was held that the testing of these hypotheses might clarify the relationship between national professional policy and the distribution of women in regional professional associations. The

results with respect to the implementation of national associational policy were mixed. All of the hypotheses were supported by the data. Rates of participation for women increased. This might indicate implementation of national policy were it not for the low overall rate of feminine participation and the disproportionate distribution of women in low-status positions. The high level of agreement among the groups and an analysis of the results seemed to suggest that while national policy may actually be implemented to some extent at the regional level, other factors are operating on the distribution and participation of women in these associations.

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