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BLACK WOMEN PSYCHOLOGISTS: A PSYCHODYNAMIC PROFILE OF THE PIONEERS

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BLACK WOMEN PSYCHOLOGISTS: A PSYCHODYNAMIC PROFILE OF THE PIONEERS

BY

JANICE E. WILLIAMS

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Chapter I

Introduction

How did it come about that black women entered the field of psychology? And what were these first women like? What were the historical and cultural circumstances that shaped the careers of these women? What were the self perceptions and how did those perceptions match those held by other pioneer psychologists. We can petition historians to provide us with the answers, but we will be disappointed with the historical yield. Data about the history of early black women psychologists, have not only trickled into the history books but have arrived at an uneven pace. If not for the efforts of a few, such as Green, 1946; Wispe, 1969; Guthrie, 1976; O'Connell and Russo, 1983, the record would be less than minimal.

Webster's definition of history is "to do or be

important enough to be recorded". Discrimination laws and social customs served to thwart attempts by black women to make history. What made history in regard to black women were the laws which excluded them and the symbols of oppression which followed them and grew to be, an externally imposed part of their identity. It is because of the absence of any in-depth record of the lives of early black women psychologists that I have elected to research into "her story" with reference to her background, her development, and contributions.

The absence of historical data in regard to women psychologists has been cited by Furumoto & Scarborough (1986). They bemoan the fact that although there is growing interest in the achievement of female psychologists the dearth of historical data on these women constitute a serious gap. If this is true for white women psychologists, it is more so for black women psychologists. While this study focuses on the developmental stages experienced by pioneer black women psychologists, it takes into account social historical variables as well.

Statement of the Problem

Prompted by the dearth of material on early black

women in the field of psychology, this study seeks to detail the history, aspirations, career development and self reflections of black pioneer women psychologists. It is anticipated that it will expand the existing information base in the psychology of the professions, the psychology of women and the psychology of minority women who pursue professions. One would expect that it will also contribute some newer insights into child and adult development as precursors to the success of black women.

Purpose and objectives

The overall purpose of this study is to explore the lives of the first cohort of black women psychologists from a life cycle developmental perspective. Attention will be directed toward their significant relationships from early childhood through adulthood, their experience(s) of themselves as black and female, the impact of their social and cultural milieu as they grew up, their coping styles during their educational years, their commitment to psychology as a profession and their management of their profession as student and as practitioner. And, finally, the focus will be upon the way in which these

women have approached the concluding stage of their lives.

Discussion of the Problem

My interest in this study is derived from the fact that no systematic investigation of pioneer black women psychologists exists in the literature. What can be found are ongoing chronicles of the lives and contributions of white male psychologists (Boring, 1961; Fancher, 1979 and Watson, 1978), and more recently, but to a lesser degree, white women psychologists (Bernstein and Russo, 1974; Goodman, 1980 and Furumoto and scarborough 1986). Much less frequent are references to the domain of black psychology and to the role of black psychologists both male and female (Jenkins, 1982; Jones, 1980). Only a few studies have addressed the black psychologist from a historical perspective. One such study was conducted by Wispe, et al (1969). Guthrie (1976) undertook the most extensive research to date, which investigated the background, training and contributions of black men and women psychologists. Guthrie recounts the historical coupling of psychology and anthropology and that research which relegated non-white populations to an

inferior cultural and intellectual status thus creating an inhospitable climate for black people to enter the field. These works present the large canvass of the field through the years. The current study draws attention to the impact of gender and race on the professionals, especially on the first black women to enter the field.

Racial prejudice and discrimination placed blacks at the bottom of the professional hierarchy. This was particularly true for black women. Black women entered the field later than any other group, ie., behind white males, white females, and black males. The first white American to receive a doctorate in psychology was, Joseph Jastrow. The year was 1886 and the graduate institution was John Hopkins. Margaret Floy Washburn became the first white woman to be awarded a Ph.D. in psychology. Washburn received her doctorate from Cornell University in 1894. Francis Cecil Sumner, in the year 1920, became the first black man in the United States to receive a Doctoral degree in psychology. The graduate institution was Clark University. When Ruth Howard Beckham was awarded a Ph.D. in psychology in 1934, from the University of Minnesota, she became the first black woman in the United States to receive the

highest academic degree in psychology. This was 14 years after the first black man, 40 years after the first white woman and 48 years after the first degree was awarded to a white man. Between 1943 and 1950, only a total of six black women in the United States had obtained their Ph.D. in psychology (Guthrie 1976).

The significance of a doctorate for early black psychologists lies deep within the social, economical, psychological and political templates of that era. From the 1940's on, gradual erosion of segregated practices had to take place specifically in the South and to some extent in the North before any significant change could occur in the higher education of black men and women.

In order to establish the entrance of black women into the field of psychology, it was necessary to trace the professional ascent of those groups which preceded them, namely white males, white females and black males. As the literature to be reviewed describes, the order of assent of these groups into the profession of psychology, one's understanding becomes clearer as to the impact of race and gender. The literature also sheds some light on the attitudinal and social climate that prevailed with respect to each of these groups as

they entered into the profession.

In summary, this dissertation, will present the earliest entrance of black women into the profession of psychology by establishing varying points of attention to their developmental years, and by placing these careers of black women in contrast to other groups who preceded them.

The next section explores the relevant literature in this study.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Entrance of White Males and Females into Psychology

Extensive research into the lives and contributions of early male psychologists and the rise to prominence of men in the profession, is recorded in the writings of (Boring 1950, 1961; Fancher 1979; Watson 1978). For 5 decades, beginning in 1930, A History of Psychology in Autobiography, the seventh volume by Lindzey (1980) has supplied the profession with a roster of outstanding psychologists, primarily males.

The history of women in psychology, is not reflected in the psychological literature as in the case of men. Recent efforts to bring the development of psychology up to date by including and preserving women's place in the profession has been carried out

by Bernstein & Russo, (1974), Goodman, (1980), O'Connell & Russo, (1980), (1983), Furumoto & Scarborough, (1986). The entrance of women in psychology paralleled the entrance and acceptance of women in other professional fields. For the most part, during the early 1900's women were perceived and were treated by society as second-class citizens. For example, women were not established in the professions or in business in sufficient numbers to accord them even limited power in their rights as citizens. They did not have the right to vote.

Walsh (1977) gives an account of the strategies employed by male physicians to exclude women from medicine. These strategies took on many forms of intimidation, including regulations and restrictions including limiting women from attending certain classes with men. Rossiter (1982) describes the social and psychological climate which prevailed with regard to women in the scientific arena during the latter part of the 1800's and the beginning of the 20th century. The lag of women behind men in science, and resistance to their acceptance is reflected in the theory that prevailed at the time, the "variability theory". This theory, born out of Darwinism, proposed that men were

more variable than women. Men were seen as more suitible and therefore more adaptable to a wider range of situations than women. This theory was extrapolated to also give credence to the intellectual inferiority of women and the notion that they constituted poor candidates for achievement. The variability theory was promoted widely through the efforts of a number of outstanding scientists. According to Rossiter:

> ...leading American social scientists such as G. Stanley Hall of Clark University, Edward Thorndike of Teachers College, and James Mckeen Cattell of Columbia University all held tenaciously to the Variability theory of male superiority.
>
> The variability theory was detrimental enough to women's aspirations when it was communicated in professional writings and textbooks, but these men sought to apply it to the burgeoning world of educational and scientific administration, in which they were prominent participants, as well. (p. 105)

Such was the prevailing attitude toward women in society and in the profession of psychology as they sought to establish a benchmark within the profession.

The psychological literature reflected the plight of women during this period. Bryan and Boring (1944) identified the number of women in the American Psychological Association (APA) and the American Association of Applied Psychology (AAAP). The APA, at that time, was more oriented toward rigorous scientific pursuits and was heavily male dominated. Although there was a higher percentage of women in AAAP, that number did not assure greater participation by women within the organization. The critical factor was votes. Men elected men. For the most part women also elected men, because, as the investigators conclude, women have historically culturally subordinated themselves to males. This point is emphasized by Bryan and Boring (1946) who observe that female deference to males was strongly imbedded in the culture. The notion of male superiority was also supported in a second report by Bryan and Boring (1946). The Office of Psychological Personnel (OPP) questionnaire was a instrument used to provide information on the status of women in psychology. Men and women who held membership in APA and AAAP were polled in 1944 regarding their educational background and employment within the profession. Of the 4,580 subjects, men comprised 63%

of those who held Ph.D. degrees. Of the total number of subjects, 1,371 were women, of which 642 or 47% held the Ph.D. degree. The investigators concluded that the Ph.D appeared as a more sought after and attainable degree by men than by women. "Not only does a male Ph.D have the advantage of being male and of having earned a Ph.D, but his Ph.D is worth somewhat more to him because he is male" (p. 78). Bryan & Boring go on to explain that "Presumably women get less money than men for equal work because they are newer competitors for professional positions and because they are working against the culture" (p. 79).

Mitchell (1951) found that "...women have not become Fellows, officers, committee chairmen, committee members, editors, representatives to other organizations, members of the Council of Representatives, members-at-large on the Executive Committee or division presidents of APA in proportion to their numbers and qualifications" (P. 200). Mitchell suggests that if the second class status accorded to women is a measure of women's achievement in the profession, then it is urgent that psychology exert every effort to promote the position of women in the discipline. Recent studies point out that progress

in assimilating women into the profession, still has some distance to go. Fidell, (1970), Gottfredson et al. (1985) address the concerns of employment. Shields (1975) places the lack of progress which women have experienced in the profession in a historical perspective. The variabiltiy theory drew heavily upon the evolutionary theory of Dawinism which was influencing both the biological and the social sciences. According to Shields if discrimination toward women, existed and continues in the present, it is the functionalist position, that such discrimination served the purpose of perpetuating the continued dominance of white males as leaders in the profession.

While gender was a critical factor which marked the development of white males and females in the profession of psychology, race became the critical factor influencing the pace of development of black men and women in the field of psychology.

Race: A Critical Factor Influencing the Development of a Black Professional Class.

The Negro in the United States by E. Franklin Frazier documents, with sequential clarity, the strivings of a people to assimilate into a culture

different from their own. The way in which the receiving culture, the United States, responded to this group was also documented in this study. The Frazier book covers the period from slavery through subseqeunt historical stages marking the adjustment of the Negro in this country. How the Negro family, the church and business interfaced with the larger society was explored. The climate of racial apathy and racial assult was supported by legal and extra-legal segregation practices and customs enacted on a national scale level. Frazier (1949) quotes John F. Adams in a speach Adams made in Richmond, Virginia. The year was 1908.

> The American system, as we know, was founded on the assumed basis of a common humanity, that is, absence of absolutely fundamental racial characteristics was accepted as an established truth. Those of all races were welcomed to our shores, They came, aliens; they and their decendants would become citizens first, natives afterward. It was a process first of assimilation and then of absorption. On this all depended. There could be no permanent divisional lines. That

> theory is now plainly broken down. We are confronted by the obvious fact, as undeniable as it is hard, that the African will only partially assimilate and that he cannot be absorbed. He can neither be assimilated nor thrown out. (p. 687)

Frazier concludes that four decades after this speech was made many changes had occurred in the lives of black persons - changes which were to portend a different future direction for them. Some of which were to be described by W.E.B. Du Bois.

The Du Bois study which was orginally conducted from 1896-1897, was revised and published in a second edition in 1967 attesting to its continuing relevance to the conditions of blacks. The study was the first and the most comprehensive investigation of blacks living in a large northern metropolis. Addressing the problem of assimilation Du Bois, comments that "...in the case of the Negroes the segregation is more conspicuous, more patent to the eye, and so intertwined with a long historic evolution, with peculiarly pressing social problems of poverty, ignorance, crime and labor, that the Negro problem far surpasses in scientific interest and social gravity most of the

other race or class questions" (p. 5).

Out of the social environment described by Frazier (1939, 1949); Du Bois (1967) arose a class of black professionals. Edwards (1959) gives an account of the amorphous state, out of which the black Professional class emerged. Edwards notes the pressing need for black professionals who would provide the services that were either inassessible to black persons or were in limited supply from white professionals. Curtis (1971) describes the conditions of black people:

> The wretched conditions among the masses of freedmen in Washington, D.C., demanded immediate action of some kind after the Civil War, for there were over 22,000 unemployed Negroes there, and a like number who were patients in government hospitals. Faced with the massive need for emergency health, education, job-placement, and welfare services, it was clear that a university which would be open to all persons without regard to color was an important need. Howard University was opened in 1866 and its medical school opened in 1868 as an attempt to meet some of these urgent needs. Only

> seven Negro physicians practiced in Washington, D.C., then. (p. 13)

Blacks had to await the establishment of colleges such as Howard, Fisk, Tuskegee, and medical schools such as Meharry Medical College and Howard Medical School before an adequate supply of professionals could be made available to the black population. No graduate school training was available in the South and few blacks could either afford or were admitted to schools in the North.

Curtis (1971) clearly depicts the social environment as it impacted on health care. It became the rule that blacks and whites seeking or needing hospitalization, would be relagated to separte wards within a hospital. In some cases only black nurses were permitted to care for a black male patient. Black colleges and universties, although they eventually developed into reputable academic institutions, still could not match the resources, traditions or facilities of white institutions, North or South.

With the arrival of integration, black educators began moving into predominently white educational institutions. Moss (1957) draws attention to the interrelationship between integration higher education

and society's racial mores. "...the integration of Negro teachers into predominantly white colleges reflects prevailing racial patterns in the society at large and in the community in which the college is located. Where such is not the case, we may account for such differences by factors peculiar to the college itself" (p. 274).

The nursing profession is an example. As recently as 1941, only a handful of nursing schools accepted black students without regard to race. Students were forced to attend one of the 29 black nursing schools established to meet the need of blacks hoping to become nurses. (Staupers, 1961, p. 63)

The history of the black professional including doctors, teachers and nurses among others, emphasize the disparity between the academic institutions available for them for training and the unmet needs of a black population requiring their services.

The issue of gender among black professionals has never been as stark as the issue for white males and females, as described in the first part of this review. Although historically black males did proceed females in medicine, black women have dominated the fields of teaching, nursing and social services. The number of

black professional males as compared to black professional females been as great as the difference in number between white professional males and females (Edwards 1959).

Franklin (1960) provides us with some early history on the pioneers among black professionals. According to Franklin, blacks had already entered the field of teaching, law and dentistry by 1859. Roderic Badger was already practicing dentistry in Atlanta in 1859. There were at least 2 medical doctors who received commissions as surgeons, during the Civil War: Alexander T. Augusta and Johy V. DeGrasse. At least 5 black doctors were practicing medicine in Washington, D.C. during the same period, and a small number of ministers were commissioned as chaplains during the Civil War. Rebecca Coles is on record as having practiced medicine from 1872 to 1881, (Curtis 1971). Mable Keaton Staupers (1961) identifies Mary Mahoney as the first black nurse having completed training in 1897. Twenty-three years was to elapse before the first black male, and 37 years befor the first black woman entered the field of psychology.

Giddings, (1984) has provided an up-to-date historical trestise on the black woman in American

society. Lerner(1972) addresses the early attempts by black women to educate their people, Noble (1956) focuses on the higher education of the black women and makes this critical observation about the importance of education for females as it relates to the traditional occupations available in the South to blacks. The economic ladder has traditionally had as its first rung "taking in washing and ironing" or "working in white folks homes...Negro folklore is full of stories about mothers who worked as domestic servants and underwent many sacrifices to educate their daughters for a "dignified job" (p.30). La Frances Rodgers-Rose(1980) discussed the cultural definition of the black woman as a matriarch and her struggling role to perceive of herself as a mother and as an individual capable of fulfilling a variety of roles in American Society. Laggon also addresses the issue black women faced, as they sought to "mainstream" themselves in the American professional world. It would seem that for the advancement of black women, the ever present obstacle was race, more so than gender. Race was also a factor when blacks sought to enter the profession of psychology.

Race: A Critical Factor Influencing The Development Of Balcks Into The Profesion Of Psychology

Joseph Jastrow, the first recorded psychologist, received his Ph.D. in psychology in 1886. It was almost 10 years later, 1894 when Margaret Floy Washburn, the first white woman psychologist, received her doctorate. Francis Cecil Sumner, the first black man to receive the degree, was awarded the degree by Clark University in 1920. It was almost 15 years later 1934, before the first black woman, Ruth Howard Beckham received her Ph.D. degree in psychology from the University of Minnesota. By 1944 approximately 2,640 white men and women had earned doctorate degrees in psychology (Bryan and Boring 1946). By that same year only 17 blacks had received a Ph.D. in psychology (Guthrie 1976). Even though psychology is considered a young profession, by 1944 white psychologists were well established in the field. The Blacks had to confront their own apprehensions about applying to white institutions and the racist theoretical commitments of those responsible for the psychology programs in these institutions, before they could submit themselves to the training of these programs. Guthrie (1976) has made the most impressive investigation of the history

of psychology with respect to its posture on race.

According to Guthrie (1976), psychology and anthropology united to produce data on racial differences, most of it proclaiming the inferiority of black people. Charles Darwin's and Sir Francis Galton's "theories" among others were drawn upon heavily to support the notion that black persons were both biologically and intellectually or morally inferior. Guthrie cites Mayo's position that northern Europeans approximated the purist of all races, and were assigned a position of superiority over all other whites. Any variation therefore, by other whites from this pure stock of the northern Europeans, rendered those racial variations as deviant, and therefore inferior. Mayo's study was published in 1913. Ferguson, says Guthrie offered the hypothesis that the mental ability in the black person was proportionate to the amount of "white blood" he possessed, (p. 43) and Crane, (1923) investigated the morality of blacks. Crane sought to answer the question "What is the psychological explanation of the immorality which the negro everywhere manifests?" (p. 43). The methods used in Crane's inquiry are seen today as faulty and his findings invalid. Guthrie concludes that "It was

unfortunate that studies such as those by Mayo, Ferguson, and Crane were representative of psychology's investigations into racial differences. They not only provided inaccurate data that led to racist conclusions, but they also called into question the intentions of psychological researchers" (p. 45).

Herskovits (1934) was one of the few scholars, during this period who questioned the assumption of racial inferiority of blacks. Through his studies on race, Herskovitz concluded that no significant difference could be found when researching intelligence and the presence or absence of Negro blood in the person. According to Herskovitz, inherited racial difference cannot be substantiated regardless of the testing measures employed. Klineberg (1935) also studied racial differences and concluded that no significant difference exists between the races. Klineberg writes that "There is no reason, therefore to impute invidious racial comparisons because two people differ in their physical type. There is no justification for denying a Negro a job or an education because he is a Negro. No one has been able to demonstrate that ability is correlated with skin color, head shape or any other anatomical characteristic used

to classify races" (p. 345).

Through their research, Herskovitz and Klineberg have provided the basis for formulating more favorable attitudes and conceptions of blacks as potential professionals in the field of psychology. For example, Brunschwig (1941) describes society, at the time of her writing as being in a period of "social change and uncertainty". Nevertheless she urged that black students train and prepare to enter the field. For Bernal and Padilla (1982) the issue has shifted somewhat. While the recruitment and training of minorities in psychology is still a critical issue, Bernal and Padilla, address the need for expanding the training of all psychologists, to meet the needs of minority populations. Taylor was still calling in 1976, for a more expanded presence of ethnic minorities in the field of psychology.

Since blacks first entered the field of psychology almost 70 years ago, there has been a gradual enlargement of their presence. Yet their numbers remain pitifully small. According to Gottfredson et al., (1985) whites make up 89.9% of the doctorates in psychology while blacks make up only 4.1%; the rest are distributed among Hispanics (2.8%), Asian-American

(1.5%), and the category of "other and unknown" (1.8%) (p. 8).

The paucity of black psychologists in the field, has contributed to their tendency to focus attention mostly on race related issues (Jenkins 1983; Jones 1980) revolving around the patient/therapist relationship. In addition, black psychologists are heavily represented in institutional work. The sometimes limited world that the black psychologist moves in, has been commented on by (Wyatt 1982; Allen, Heckel and Garcia (1980). Attention, however, on these timely issues has diverted research away from the origins, growth and development of black psychologists as professionals. Only a few black or white psychologists, found either the resources, the time or inclination to study the historical origins and the critical stages of development of black psychologists in their professional field.

Present state of the literature on black psychologists

There is some literature which has documented the development of black psychologists. Green (1946), Guthrie (1976), Wispe et al. (1969) are credited for their contributions in this area. A roster of black

scholars including psychologists who earned Ph.D. degrees or equivalent awards during the period from 1876-1943 was published by Green (1946). Green identified black psychologists by the specialty, the degree awarding institution, the research interest, the occupation, and the "significant achievement" of the holder of the doctorate. His purpose in providing a breakdown by discipline, was to lay the groundwork for further study of black doctorates in their respective professions. Green (1946) has provided psychology with a beginning record of the early black psychologists in the field. The research carried out by Wispe et al (1969) illuminated previously undocumented data about the black psychologists' educational beginnings, salaries and occupations; as well as accounts of the vicissitudes of being black and a psychologist. Guthrie (1976) researched the black psychologist from a different perspective. He included an historical overview of psychology and its relationship to the black population. He also documented the entrance, training and career development of black psychologists. Guthrie draws attention to the differential treatment which potential black psychologists experienced in their gaining admission to schools of the caliber that

were more readily open to their white counterparts. Clark University, the most notable graduate training university, was one of the first institutions which did accept black graduate students during the early 1900's. Black students hoping to gain entrance to Clark, found that they could take the admission examination on black college campuses which were primarily located in the South. But Clark Universtity was an exception. Guthrie comments on the usual practices of white institutions toward admission of black graduate students:

> Recruitment policies, teaching assistantships, and other inducements were rarely directed to black students. Since the majority of black college graduates lived in the South and southern white universities denied them admission, the total number of black graduate students was limited. Geography became a major factor in determining whether one would attend graduate school, and a negative correlation existed between the distance from the North that a black college graduate lived and his chances for enrollment in that graduate institution.

> Even when the decision was made to attend graduate school, the cost of out-of-state fees, tuition, relocation, and minimal maintenance forced most potential black graduate students to delay their training for many years until sufficient money had been saved. This delay elevated the median age of black graduate students. Especially hard hit were those students from the South, 10 to 15 years older than their white counterparts. (p. 121)

A roster of those early men and women psychologists who obtained degrees between 1920 and 1950 are recorded in the Guthrie book. Also presented are brief biographical sketches of some of the early holders of doctorates in psychology. The Green, Wispe et al (1969) and Guthrie (1976) studies provide a foundation upon which a more in-depth investigation of black psychologists may be undertaken. The black womam psychologist is included in all three studies, but a microsopic biographical profile of early black women psychologists is not included in any of the above studies.

Gender has been recognized as a critical factor in

the development of both white males and females in the field of psychology, but race also has been a critical factor which marked the development of blacks in the field of psychology. This study seeks to provide a base of historical knowledge as to how both of these variables impacted upon the development of black pioneer women in the field of psychology.

Theoretical Frameworks Considered

Early black women psychologists were born and grew up during a period in history, when male dominance and white supremacy were flaunted with society's acquiescence. A theoretical framework that is necessary is one that would capture and bind the significant aspects of that history as it intertwines with the individual at critical developmental stages of their lives. The stages would span the years beginning with early childhood and ending with the concluding stage of each life studied. Achievement motivation is a factor to be considered. Mc Clelland, conducted the research in achievement motivation almost 40 years ago. In his studies, Mc Clelland related the achievement motive to the economical and technological improvements by developing countries. (Atkinson & Feather 1966; Mc

Clelland 1976). Berkowitz (1964) suggested guidelines which parents could follow to promote the development of an achievement motive in their male children. Horner (1972) focused on women. She observd that unlike the case for men, society's message to women was that to be intelligent, competent, independent and competitive, were negative attributes. Women who posessed these characteristics, were deemed unfeminine and were vulnerable to rejection by society. Conflicted, by the disparate roles of womanhood and the limited choice available, a new dimension was added to achievement motivation in women: fear of success. This third dimension was in addition to hope of success and fear of failure. Stewart and Chester, (1982) on the other hand, investigated studies on sex differences in the social motives of achievement, affiliation and power, and found that although women were included in some of the studies, they were not included in the analyses of the data addressing sex differences. Stewart and Chester also determined that there is a absense of research which focuses on sex differences as related to the above three motives. The investigators conclude that "neither gender nor sex role was originally conceptualized as a relevant or irrelevant

variable in theoretical writings about motives (p 174). It is assumed that achievement played a significant part in the lives of black pioneer women psychologists, but it is not within the purview of this study, to investigate the lives of black pioneer women psychologists within an achievement framework.

The research in adult development tends to focus on specific aspects of coping styles, emotional growth, or change which takes place during the adult years. Vaillant (1977) became a part of an ongoing longitudinal study of coping strategies on adjustment in life. The subjects included a select cohort of men recruited from private colleges all of which were located in the Northeastern part of the United States. By the time Vaillant became a part of this study, the men were approximately in their late 50's. Gould (1978) studied personality stages in men and women. He observed that adults bring with them from childhood "false assumptions" about life which retards their emotional growth. Levinson (1978, 1986) investigated adult development in men. A recent study by (Ruffin 1986) looked into the lives of eight black women using Levinson's adult development framework. Levinson proposes that there is an orderly progression in the

"life cycle" of every individual which is independent of the person's uniqueness. All individuals, according to Levinson, enter periods in the "life cycle" around the same time, chronologically. Ruffin found that women in her study compared similarly to the men in the Levinson study, in that they entered the early adult transition period (17-22), and the entering adult world transition period (22-29) around the same chronological time as predicted by Levinson. Ruffin found that the age thirty transition period for her subjects was different from what was predicted by Levinson. Conclusion about the mid-life transition period could not be determined since all subjects in the Ruffin study were between the ages of 41-49 and had not yet completed this stage in the life cycle. Ruffin views the socio-cultural aspect of life as a critcal factor in the study of her subjects. Investigating the lives of black women psychologists using an adult development framework would yield informative data about their adult years.

The study of pioneer black women psychologists requires a framework which will address the lives of these women as they proceed throughout the various stages of their lives into their aging years. A

framework which would encompass the full life cycle of the individual is appropriate.

Eriksonian Framework

Erikson's developmental theory was selected as the theoretical underpinning of this research. The Eriksonian theory provides the necessary structure in conducting an in-depth investigation of critical developmental stages. In addition, the Eriksonian framework, the Eriksonian framework, places value on the biological, social and psychological components of an individual and the integration of these components with society as they take place during a shared historical era. As such, it was felt that the Eriksonian framework would be appropriate in the study of pioneer black women psychologists. Erikson's psycho-social stages of development, delineates a profile of the entire life span. It is his belief, that growth is a process which continues throughout the lifetime of the individual. And, as the person matures the "significant other" in their life changes and the radius of social interactions with disparate apects of society increases. For the infant, the mother is the most important person and the interaction is a limited,

one to one. But, as growth continues, the mother is replaced in rank of significance, by others, such as extended family members, peer groups, competitors, close friends, sexual partners and so on. The Eriksonian model allows an investigation of the earliest memories of pioneer black women psychologists and their relationship to parents and subsequent groups.

Erikson (1980) describes growth within the context of the epigenetic principle. This principle, he says:

> ...is derived from the growth of organisms in utero.... this principle states that anything that grows has a ground plan, and that out of this ground plan the parts arise, each part having its time of special ascendancy, until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole. At birth the baby leaves the chemical exchange of the womb for the social exchange system of his society, where gradually increasing capacities meet the opportunities and limitations of his culture. (p. 53)

Erikson conceptualizes a dialectic using eight opposing reactions. The resolutions of each stage leads to

confrontation with the issues of the next.

Erikson's Eight Epigenetic Stages of Development

Stage 1. Trust vs. Mistrust. The initial stage of development takes place during the first year of life. The significant other during this period is the maternal figure who by her consistent, reliable nurturance, imbues in the infant a sense that things are all right with the world. The infant experiences a sense of "trustfullness" toward others and a sense of "trustworthiness" toward self. Failure to develop this "attitude" toward self and others, leads to a sense of mistrust.

Stage 2. Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt. The significant social relationships are the parents. The debut of this stage is marked by the development of musculature of the anal sphincter. The child, now in the second year of life, has the ability to release or retain, and in subsequent years to maintain a sense of self and a sense of self control. Failure to acquire self-control results in a sense of doubt and shame.

Stage 3. A sense of initiative vs. guilt. By the time the child reaches this stage, which is about four and

five years old, they have developed good language skills and have increased their mobility. The social contacts remain primarily within the family structure. Sexual curiosity is present and one can observe the fascination with the adult world, which is the focus of imitation. "The child", says Erikson (1980) "thus develops the prerequisites for masculine and feminine initiative". This stage lays the foundation for sexual identity. The child during this stage, has fantasies about overpowering the parent of the same sex in order to replace him or her. The unconscious fear, that these fantasies will be discovered, ushers in feelings of guilt. (p. 82)

Stage 4. Industry vs. Inferiority. The six year old now has acquired an occupation, which is that of a student. Social contacts have reached beyond the environs of the home and spread to the community and school. From now until puberty, the focus will be on developing intellectual, social and physical skills. In other words, the child is developing a sense of industry. Working side by side with others is a critical component of this stage. It is the child's first experience with division of labor. If, during

this stage, the child feels that he or she may never measure up to their own expectation or that of others, then a sense of inadequacy and inferiority follow.

Stage 5. Identity vs. Identity Difussion. Childhood is abandoned, but not the culmulative experience of past stages of development. Integration of skills and competence in working with others contribute to the adolescent self perception and the perception of him/her by others. Erikson (1980) says, "...for the young individual must learn to be most himself where he means most to others-those others, to be sure, who have come to mean most to him. The term "identity" expresses such a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others" (p. 109) The task of this stage is to bridge childhood and adulthood, which includes a choice of career. Doubt about one's sexual identity, a disequilibrium of selfsameness, and confusion about career choice leads to role confusion.

Stage 6. Intimacy vs. Isolation. This period occurs from about 20 to 45 years. The young adult in this

stage, having found himself or herself, is now prepared to seek an intimate relationship with another person. But this relationship involves commitment of a kind never before experienced. Rather than risk the imaginable loss of self in another, an individual may avoid intimacy and seek refuge in the self. The result, a fall into a state of isolation.

Stage 7. Generativity vs. Stagnation. From approximatly 45 to 65 years, the middle aged individual is concerned for the next generation, either progeny or humanity or both. Concern is expressed in guidance directed toward the next generation and a wish to leave something behind and to be productive and creative. Without this drive, the individuals retreat into themselves and a sense of stagnation develops.

Stage 8. Integrity vs. Despair. This stage begins around 65 years of age and continues until death. As the individuals enter this stage of life their coping reflects the integration of all preceding stages. This stage produces either a sense of integrity or dispair. in dispair, there is chronic and pervasive "contemptous displeasure" for other individuals and stuctures within the society. Individuals cannot accept the end of life

because it has fallen short of what they wish could have been.

Integrity implies that individuals have arrived at the conclusion of their lives and that this life is the only life they have, and that death is an imminent part of their life. There is an acceptance of what was and a realization that their life could not have been any other way. There is a new love of one's parents with a sense that they too could not have been different. The person who has a sense of integrity is undaunted by the worldly possessions of others. Rather they live out their life protective of the dignity which they perceive in themselves and which they have developed over their lifetime.

The eight epigenetic stages are outlined on chart #1, as reproduced below, Erikson (1980)

VIII	MATURITY							EGO INTEGRITY VS. DESPAIR
VII	ADULTHOOD						GENERA-TIVITY VS. STAGNATION	
VI	YOUNG ADULTHOOD					INTIMACY VS. ISOLATION		
V	PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE				IDENTITY VS. ROLE CONFUSION			
IV	LATENCY			INDUSTRY VS. INFERIORITY				
III	LOCOMOTOR-GENITAL		INITIATIVE VS. GUILT					
II	MUSCULAR-ANAL	AUTONOMY VS. SHAME, DOUBT						
I	ORAL SENSORY	BASIC TRUST VS. MISTRUST						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

The empty spaces which are adjacent to each diagonally charted developmental stage, are meaningful component of the epigenetic chart. The spaces suggest a dynamic progression of each developmental stage. For example, trust in stage I (1) differs from the trust which accompanies the emergence of autonomy in stage II (2). The progression of each stage continues to evolve throughout the lifetime of the individual. Not indicated on the epigenetic chart, but a noteworthy consideration is that Erikson (1980) prefaces each stage of development with the term "a sense of". These words define the affective alternative states of the individual. The behavior of these affective states may be observed by others, or they may be part of the individual's conscious experience, or they may be in the individual's unconscious. (p. 58)

Versus, is a term that is constant, in each of Erikson's developmental stages as noted on the epigenetic chart. Versus separates the outcomes of each stage. Erikson clarifies the term by explaining that "we do not consider all development a series of crises: we claim only that psycho-social development proceeds by critical steps "critical" being a characteristic of turning points, of moments of

decision between progress and regression, intergration and retardation. (p. 270)

Researchers, particularly those interested in developmental theory, have recognized Erikson's contribution to the illumination of adult development (Gould, 1978; Hareven, 1978; Levinson, 1978, 1986; White, 1972). Erikson's experience in studying cultures other than his own and his foresight to envision the potency of history enriches his approach to developmental research. His study of child rearing practices of he Sioux and Yurok Indians is a case in point (Coles 1970).

The study of individuals through biography, has a history of its own. Buhler's (1935) research of life histories through biography, led her to notice that "...there is positively a regular sequence in the events, experiences, and attainments in life" (p. 406). The critical component which leads to the understanding of development, particularly adult development is grounded in the life history/biography of that individual. His work on Martin Luther and Mahatma Ghandi examplify Erikson's focus on the "historical moments" in an individual's life and the meaning of that life relative to its place in history. Erikson's

contribution to the incorporation of history within the context of an individual's life, adds to the understanding of that life. It permits us to see how the biological, social and psychological elements are negotiated over time. Thus it gives a dynamic quality to the developemtal stages, through which the individual passes.

In this study we are assuming that development takes place from birth to death, and that biological, social and psychological factors impact along the way as the person mediates each stage and subsequent stages of psycho-social development. In looking at black pioneer women psychologists, we will be looking at them through each stage as suggested by Erikson. The critical life stages in which they pass constitute their history. The Eriksonian model provides the kind of perspective that guides the analyses of the history, aspirations, career development of these women who pioneered the black woman's entrance and subsequent work within the field of psychology. This study seeks to document the careers of those black women who exposed themselves to a demanding profession that appeared to be not only inhospitable to black people but also to women.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses under investigation are concerned with two specific areas:

1. Race more than gender will be perceived by black pioneer women psychologists as having greater impact on the developmental years and on their professional endeavors.

2. Black pioneer women psychologists toward the end of their lives, give evidence of having successfully negotiated "a sense of" integrity over despair.

Definition of Terms

1. APA is an abbreviation for the American Psychological Association; the major professional organization of psychologists in the United States.

2. AAAP was an abbreviation for the American Association for Applied Psychologist. The AAAP no longer exists.

3. Epigenetic Stages refers to the eight stages of psycho-social development proposed by Erik H. Erikson.

4. Interviewing Guide refers to the instrument used in the study to elicit information from the respondents around specific areas of inquiry.

5. Black Pioneer Women Psychologists refers to the cohort of first black women psychologists who received the Ph.D. degree in psychology, in the United States.

6. Model Subject refers to the recorded interview of Dr. Mamie Clark by Ed. Edwin and is a reference interview incorporated within the study. The date of the interview was May 25, 1976.

Chapter III

Methodology

Criteria for selection of subjects

The subjects in this study include all of the living black pioneer women psychologists who could be identified. They are all natural born Americans of African descent. All of our subjects have earned the Ph.D. degree in psychology and have carried out professional roles as a psychologists. They are at least 70 years of age. The rationale is that by 70, even those pioneers who might have been delayed in obtaining their Ph.D. degrees, still would have had time for full careers as psychologists. By age 70, our respondents have lived through periods in history in which there has occurred, social, economical, psychological and political change which impacted on

their perceptions as to how these forces impacted positively or negatively on their lives, especially as they sought entrance into the mainstream of society and entrance into the profession of psychology. And finally, according to Erikson, by age 70, the cohort of pioneer black women psychologists have reached the stage of integrity vs. despair.

Selection of Subjects

The roster of living black pioneer women was developed from published bibliographic reference works which were examined for names of black women psychologists. In addition the subjects of this study were asked to identify other pioneer psychologists. This inquiry did not yield additional names beyond those already on the roster of subjects. Pioneers were also identified by those knowledgeable about the historical context of the field. Our subjects came through their education and training years in psychology at a time when few black women were entering the profession. As such the number of subjects in our study was limited to 5.

Informants included Dr. Robert Guthrie (1976) who had been involved in previous research on early blacks

in psychology, Dr. Nancy Russo who investigated the history of white women in psychology, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, former president of the American Psychological Association, Dr. Vera Paster, chair of the faculty committee for this study.

Oral history sources such as the repositories at Columbia University and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture were thoroughly checked for additional persons.

One of the pioneers was Dr. Mamie Clark. An audiotaped interview of Dr. Clark is on record at Columbia University Oral History Library. Listening to Dr. Clark speak about her growing up years in Hot Springs Arkansas, and her initial interest in the field of psychology, her development in the field of psychology as well as her role as wife, mother and researcher, provided this investigator with a model of what it must have been like for other black pioneer women psychologists, women, who like Dr. Clark, entered the field more than 50 years ago.

Dr. Mamie Clark was born in 1915 in Hot Springs Arkansas. She attended Howard University where she received her A.B. and M.A. degrees. She received her Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1944. Along with her

husband Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, they published research on early racial identification of black children. They were also co-founders of Northside Center for Child Development which was established in 1936.

Dr. Mamie Clark is included as the model subject in this investigation because had she would have been among the pioneer black women psychologists. Her interview is used to highlight the consistency of experience which she shared with other pioneer black women psychologists. See appendix B for excerpts from this interview.

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Dr. Mamie Clark is included as the model subject in this investigation because had she would have been among the pioneer black women psychologists. Her interview is used to highlight the consistency of experience which she shared with other pioneer black women psychologists.

Design for Qualitative Analysis of the Interviews

Each of the five audiotaped interviews was transcribed for qualitative data. The interview for each subject was the analysed for memories of the subject, the setting in which the interview took place, recollection of the tone and affect revealed by the respondent and to remember the historical period and the social-cultural setting about which the subjects made reference. Finally, the interviews were read to identify the content which illuminated the key findings, as elicated by the interviewing scheduale

Analysis sheets were then constructed. Each

question from the interviewing guide was tested and compared across subjects. It was noted where the respondent did not answer, where the question was not applicable, or where the question was not asked.

Tables were constructed to graphically illustrate the key findings from the interviews. The key findings of this study are presented in the next chapter.

Instrument

The interviewing guide was constructed to elicit data around each of Erikson's psycho-social stages of development. The interviewing guide was selected as the most appropriate instrument to provide the respondents with the latitude to explore their experiences at each developmental stage. A specification sheet governing the construction of the interviewing schedule was devised. The Training Guide on Constructing Questionnaires and Interview Schedules, from Columbia University was also consulted. In addition, the questionnaire used in the research conducted for the National Urban League, Tri-state study of minority faculty and administrators provided additional information which supported those questions pertinent to the career years.

The interviewing guide was evaluated by three established professional psychologists to determine the relevance of the questions to the working hypotheses of the study. Only those items which received unanimous concurrence were retained. The interview has been administered to two participants as a pre-test of the instrument, for the purposes assuring that the questions were phrased to elicit the specific information sought in the study. Also, check questions were included for the purpose of testing the reliability of the respondent's replies.

Procedures

The initial contact with each of the subjects in the study was by telephone. The interviewer, who in all cases was the investigator, introduced herself as a doctoral student in the clinical psychology program at City University of New York. Subjects were informed that the research was an investigation of the lives and careers of the earliest black women in psychology. They were asked to consent to an audiotaped interview, which would take approximately two and one half hours. Arrangements for the time and location of the interview were scheduled in the homes of the women. Subjects

were asked to identify other black pioneer women psychologists for purposes of enlarging the research universe.

Before the actual interview began, time was allocated for establishing rapport with the subjects.

The interviews took place in May and July, 1986. They were all interviewed in their homes the locations of which represented 3 regions of the country: the Midwest, Northeast and the South

CHAPTER IV

Findings

This chapter of the dissertation presents the findings from the collective interviews of five black pioneer women psychologists, and the model subject Dr. Mamie Clark.

The interview that follows was conducted by Ed. Edwin in May 1975, in New York City

Model Interview of a Pioneer Black Woman Psychologist: Dr. Mamie Clark

Interviewer: Could you briefly trace how you grew up with special reference to what influenced you as you grew up to take the course that you have into psychology, specifically working with children and then coming to set up your work here in Harlem.

Dr. M. Clark: What a big question. I was born in Hot Springs Arkansas in 1917, my father was a physician and

my mother was a housewife. My father's name is Harold H. Phipps and my mother's name was Katie Florence Phipps.

Interviewer: What were the circumstances of your childhood just generally.

Dr. M. Clark: I had a very happy childhood I really did. We were comfortable and we lived through the depression but somehow it seemed to strengthen the family ties rather than anything else... we had to cut back on the kinds of things we always had in our lives but it really wasn't that much hardship. At the end of it I went to college...I had happy childhood I enjoyed everything. I enjoyed school I loved school-recreation the little traveling that we did I was very happy. I can't say it was impoverished for me it was privileged for me. But by objective standards I guess I would say it was just an average family. But it was a very privileged childhood.

Interviewer: The elementary school and high school that you went to was of course a segregated school.

Dr. M. Clark: It was absolutely segregated there was only one school for blacks and one school for whites and you went all the way right through 12 grade in that school.

Interviewer: Do you recall when you became acutely aware of the separation.

Dr. M. Clark: I think that I became acutely aware of that in childhood because you always had to have a certain kind of protection, armor about you all of the time...You had to be on guard all of the time you learned that very early. The white school and the black school were on opposite ends of the town and you learned the kinds of things not to do, which streets not to go through when going to high school, so as to protect yourself. I was also aware of what happened in the stores. In that town it happened that my father was a well respected black person and it was a phenomenon even in a highly segregated situation you will have a few blacks who are permitted to cross certain lines. For example, to go on, to certain stores and be waited on not restaurants but stores with merchandise, and my father was one of those people. So

you were always aware of where you could go and what you could do and what you couldn't do. There was a real chasm between the races, but you knew at certain times that this was a critical thing because every now and then there would happen a crisis. You would have a lynching somewhere in yoUr town or a nearby town and that would cause great aggravation and concern on the part of everyone, so you were always... and then as you got older you began to read and to be aware of the total situation.

After recalling the first episode of lynching, she was about 6 years old, Dr. Clark ends that by saying, "The thing that saved the day in terms of your own protection, or your own protective armor was that there were many in the town who were white who didn't like that either. And I will never forget the Arkansas Gazette had a very moving editorial against this whole thing".

Interviewer: How much of this did you learn from instruction from your parents and how much did you learn or be conditioned by your schoolmates or just being conditioned from the outside.

Dr. M. Clark: I would say most of it from my parents because we had to be prepared before we were sent out alone. Really nothing was a surprise it was never a surprise. I knew for instance when we went to football games out of town we would have to take our own lunch, we would have to find our own bathroom facilities, I knew that all of the time and everybody knew that so you just protected yourself that is all that you did.

(Researcher insert): Dr. M. Clark describes how it was when she first went off to college.

Dr. M. Clark: Not so chilling is that when I first started to go to school to college. We went on a train that time of course. I went to Washington D.C. from Hot Springs Arkansas I went with a friend of mine. My father had bought a compartment for us and he had warned us to keep the shades down and never to go out of the compartment, and he had made arrangements with the porters whom he knew on this train to protect us and see that we got fed and that we were never to get out. So I will never forget that first trip I made to college. We -- this closed up room only peeking out of

this closed up window. And the train came through the South. It came through Louisiana, Georgia and up to Washington D.C. We were very wary and it was not a good way to go through college.

Interviewer: Up through High school what kinds of studies interested you the most.

Dr. M. Clark: I liked everything I really did. I liked everything I was very good in math and decided to major in math when I went to college, which is what I started to do.

College Years

Interviewer: You started out majoring in math and then you switched to psychology at some point. Did you have any other switches before you switched to psychology as far as interest?

Dr. M. Clark: I was in math when I met my husband and he was psychology. At the time I was having difficulty with a math teacher and he persuaded me that I shouldn't stay in math, I would never get by this man.

He was head of the mathematics department and he consistently gave me a C. So my husband persuaded me and it didn't take much working to go into psychology.

Interviewer: When you were having trouble with math of course you could have switched to a major other than psychology besides your husband to be's recommendation.

Dr. M. Clark: Well, I always had an interest in children, always from the time I was very small. And I always thought I wanted to work with children and psychology seemed a good field because I wasn't interested in teaching and going into education and psychology seems to offer a potential in several different areas.

Interviewer: Now did you go right into graduate work after you graduated from college?

Dr. M. Clark: Yes directly into graduate school.

Interviewer: Where was that?

Dr. M. Clark: At Howard, I stayed right there.

Interviewer: Did graduate studies offer you any more in the children's field, than in undergraduate studies?

Dr. M. Clark: Well I think so. Here you had to do a dissertation and I did my dissertation in Washington. And I was first interested in children and the development of consciousness of self which was the title of my masters thesis at Howard.

Interviewer: Did you visit quite a number of schools in Washington to do this?

Dr. M. Clark: In order to do this I had visited about a dozen schools. It was a good exposure to the public school system in Washington it was a broad experience.

Interviewer: To what extent were these schools integrated at that time?

Dr. M. Clark: No, these schools were not integrated and the work that I did was all with black children in those schools.

Interviewer: What briefly were your conclusions in that thesis?

Dr. M. Clark: In that thesis, the main conclusion was that children became aware of their own blackness very early. It was a conclusion that we were later to test, my husband and I in Northern and Southern schools on a much broader scale.

Dr. M. Clark: There is one experience that I must tell you about between college and graduate school. And that was the summer that I stayed in Washington before going to Graduate school and it happened just shear accident that I got a job in the office of Charles Houston. And at that time the whole business of the segregated cases were just beginning and in this office came many lawyers including Thurgood Marshall, Charlie Houston's son and I can't even remember the names of all of them. But they conversed in this office to prepare these cases and that was the most marvelous learning experience I have ever had and the whole sense of urgency of breaking down desegregation and the whole sense of...blasphemy to blacks was bought very clearly to me in that office, it really was. It was

the kind of exposure I never had.

This is about the Brown vs. the United States case.

Interviewer: What was the main thrust of your testimony?

Dr. M. Clark: I was obstensively to help refute Garrett's testimony. And Garrett, as you know, had testified about the inferiority of black children and Garrett had been my sponsor at Columbia. It was felt that because I was a student of his and because I had some authority at the time about children that I could help refute his testimony.

Interviewer: When did you decide to go to Columbia?

Dr. M. Clark: Well, by the time we were married we knew what we were going to do. We had planned it. We would both go to Columbia because we were both going to live in N.Y. That was a critical decision that had been made.

(Researcher insert):Dr. Clark says something about

graduate school.

Interviewer: When you got to college...?

Dr. M. Clark: I enjoyed going to school and I enjoyed the subjects that I took for the most part.

Interviewer: Your masters thesis influenced you more?

Dr. M. Clark: Influenced us both.

(Researcher insert):Dr. Clark commented on what she thinks helps to pull children through, especially when they suffer from hate of their own blackness.

Dr. M. Clark: It is a crucial part of children's lives, no matter what happens. There has to be a degree of security and acceptance on the part of your parents and I had that.

(Researcher insert):Dr. Clark talks about one of her first jobs. She says one evening she said to her husband " Kenneth, I just can't work with people. I have to do something by myself. And he said, "well,

why don't you do something on your own." He encouraged it actually. I left the American Public Health Association and went to the Riverdale Children's Association, which was a happy thing. It was while I was there it seemed worthwhile to set up something for children and Ken was very encouraging, he agreed, and he said, "I'll help you". Although he was at City College at the time teaching and, indeed, together we developed the concept of this facility.

Interviewer: There was one question in your professional history that I missed earlier. After you received your Ph.D. did you have any trouble looking trying to get a job one that you were qualified for?

Dr. M. Clark: Well I had trouble with that. I had to take what I could get the time. I was really over qualified for most things. I was trying to get into...In those days people were hiring people without Ph.D.'s and I had a Ph.D. so in that sense I was over qualified.

Interviewer: Did you get any feeling that a black Ph.D...?

Dr. M. Clark: Oh definitely, I mean nobody really wanted a black Ph.D. they really didn't.

Interviewer: When did that occur, when did that come as a surprise, or did you anticipate that?

Dr. M. Clark: I anticipated that.

(Researcher insert):Dr. Clark married when she was a senior in college).

In our interviews, our respondents expressed their perceptions of their life experiences during critical developmental stages from early childhood through adulthood.

All of the respondents are the biological offsprings of their parents. The youngest respondent is 72, and the oldest is 87. See table 1.

The findings focus on seven areas in which Erikson's developmental stages are incorporated, namely:

1. The significant relationships from early

Table 1

Respondents: Age, Residence in Childhood

			Residence in Childhood		
Respondents	Age	No.	Midwest	South	No.
Dr. A	72-77	1	1	0	1
Dr. C	" "	1	0	1	1
Dr. D	" "	1	0	1	1
Dr. B	78-83	1	1	0	1
Dr. E	84-89	1	0	1	1
Total 5		5	2	3	5

childhood through adulthood

2. Their experiences of themselves as black and female
3. The impact of their social and cultural milieu as they grew up
4. Their coping styles during their educational years
5. Their management of their profession as student and practitioner
6. Their commitment to psychology
7. And finally, attention is directed to the way in which these women have approached the concluding stage of their lives.

To preserve continuity of their life experiences the first factor, significant relationships, will be extended throughout the findings and identified at the appropriate developmental stage.

Significant Relationships During Early Childhood

All but one of the respondents report the presence of both parents living in the household during the early childhood years. Dr. B the exception in this group, never lived with her father and contact with him

was not established until she had reached her adolescent years. Not until her adult years, did Dr. B. meet her father face to face. She maintained a connection with him until his death last year. Because of marital difficulties, her parents separated before she reached her first birthday. After the separation, she and her mother joined the household of her maternal grandparents which was also the residence of Dr. B.'s three maternal aunts. Comments about her father were "always negative" she says, and for a long time just his name would frighten me". Dr. B feels that the love of her mother, grandmother and aunts provided the nurturance and security needed during her formative years. Their love of her seemed to override the rejection she felt by her father's absence.

Most of the remaining respondents, describe their fathers as gentle, protective and loving parents, who would see that they had whatever they needed.

All of our subjects spent their early childhood years with their mothers, without any extended or protracted period of time away from them. With the exception of one respondent our subjects expressed the feeling that they were very close to their mothers. Where this was not the case, our respondents indicated

that it was usually due to the number of siblings in the household, which for them, meant that attention from the mother had to be shared

Relationship With Siblings

Three of the five respondents had from 4 to 7 siblings. See table 2. None of our subjects was first born. Their relationships with siblings, depended on their sibling rank. Experiences with brothers and sisters ranged from being teased, to having to, "attend to younger siblings". One of the subjects felt that she was an "extension" of her mother, in that she too nurtured the "babies" as they were born into the family. Dr. A. speaking about the disciplinarians in the family, says that her mother "...usually cut privileges, she didn't spank that often. She might smack you right fast if you said a word that she didn't allow you to say, but for the most part it was my older sister. In those days, an older sister was just like a mama, even though she wasn't much older. What she said you had to do just as if she was your mother." This older sister according to Dr. A was quite talented in music. Dr. A acknowledges that it was this same older sister who taught all of them to

Table 2

Respondents: Gender of Siblings, Sibling Rank

Respondent		Males	Females	Sibs	Total No. of Children in Household Including Respondent	Rank
Dr. A	1	1	3	4	5	4th
Dr. B	1	0	0	1	1	0
Dr. C	1	0	0	1	1	0
Dr. D	1	2	5	7	8	3rd
Dr. E	1	1	6	7	8	8th
Total	5			23		

play the piano. In another family, competition was openly practiced. One respondent, however, Dr. D., says that although they were "highly competitive" with each other they "loved each other and protected one another from outsiders".

Grandmothers and grandfathers, both paternal and maternal, played an integral part in the early developmental years of our respondents. One respondent, Dr. A. says that it was her grandmother who cared for the children in her mother's absence. She describes her as "...a delight. We loved her because she was so different. She didn't know how to cook she could only make fudge, lemonade and pancakes" which is what the children were fed ntil their mother returned home. Dr. A commented that her grandmother had come from a background where she grew up, married and was able to have domestic help, therby freeing her to carry out her avocation as a seamstress. Dr. A also remembers that it was her grandmother who taught the children the "social graces".

Grandparents continued where parents left off in whatever area a deficit was manifest. They also provided the outlet for family rituals which served to ecourage unity among extended family members. It was

the practice in the family of Dr. C for the grandparents to give their children a plot of land once they married. As a result, she says,

> ...around my grandmother's house, there were many other houses - my uncles, my aunts, my cousins...We would get up early and on the way we would call cousins. 'Come on over'. That meant come to my grandmother's house. And she had a yard full of children. And then my grandfather would take the mule and wagon or horse and buggy and bring us to within about a mile...of home. I felt that I had brothers and sisters. They were cousins but we were in and out of each other's houses and we spent the night with each other and we obeyed each other's parents and so on and so on.

The extended family was an institution well observed among our respondents. Our respondents were surrounded by a host of close family members who constituted the significant others during their developmental years. Their presence provided security, healthy restraints, guidance and models of behavior. Pioneer black women psychologists departed from those

critical early years with a sense of trust in themselves and in the significant people in their lives.

Experience of Being Black

The data indicate that 3 of the respondents perceived race to be a critical factor during the early years of development. One respondent had a moderate perception and one did not perceive race to be a factor at all during this stage See table 3, and 4. Three varibles contributed to the intensity of race perception. One variable was whether or not they lived in segregated or integrated communities. A second variable was their economic status. The third variable was related to the frequency in which race was discussed or overheard in the home. Dr. C recalled the sequence to a knock on the door. "...if a man came to the door - a white man is at the door. Of course, it wasn't just a man at the door, but a white man at the door."

Dr. C's family was respected in her community. This connection between race and economic status was especially true in the south. For example, the father of Dr. Mamie Clark, our model subject, was a physician

Table 3

Frequency of Race Discussion in the Household

Respondents	Frequently	Never	No.
Dr. A	1	0	1
Dr. B	0	1	1
Dr. C	1	0	1
Dr. D	1	0	1
Dr. E	0	0	0
Total 5	3	1	4

Table 4

Occupation of Parents, Perception of Economic Status in Childhood

Occupation	Respondent's Father	Respondent's Mother
Beautician	0	1
Clergy member	2	0
Housewife	0	4
Mail Clerk	1	0
Merchant	1	0
Unknown	1	0
Total	5	5

and was considered by her community as privileged and well-to-do. Similarly, Dr. C's father was a respected minister, and they as a family were economically secure. Whites "accepted" her father because of his position. There were two different messages she says. She use to hear white people in town politely acknowledge her father with "how are you Reverend, how are you Preacher." On the other hand she adds, "...I went to my church and they went to theirs, I went to my school and they went to theirs. I never knew any white children my age, I just didn't know them." Dr. C felt that the parents did not teach her to hate white people. Dr C says of her father, "He did not discuss it with me. But I could hear discussions with him and others around me and I felt that white people weren't for black people, or Negroes as we called ourselves - They just weren't for us, they weren't our friends, I had that feeling...especially those that I didn't know." Her parents sent her to a black boarding school located in another state when she was twelve years old because the segregated school in her town were inferior as compared to white schools.

Another respondent, Dr. A, remembers a race riot in her town, which occurred within a few years after

World War I. It was sparked by the rumor that a black man had molested a white woman. A lynching was to replace a trial. But, this respondent recalls that "...black soldiers who had just come home said 'oh no. You are not going to lynch anybody. You are going to have a trial'." According to Dr. A, her community and her father, suffered a financial loss from the destruction of the black business area by whites. Not only was her father's clothing business destroyed but her home so damaged that her family had to relocate. Dr. C. was 6 years old at the time of the riot. She remembers asking her mother, "why were they shooting at us?" Dr. A's feeling is, "...it affected me more that the other kids because...when we moved to ___ the schools were integrated and I just refused to go to school. I said I won't go... If I can't have a Negro teacher, I just won't go." Her parents eventually found a school for her where "colored" teachers were instructing students.

Despite the privileged class of our model subject, Dr. Mamie Clark, did not escape the brutality of race, as exemplified by this quote from her taped interview with Ed Edwin. "So you were always aware of where you could go, and what you could do and what you couldn't

do. There was a real chasm between the races, but you knew at certain times that this was a critical thing because every now and then there would happen a crisis. You would have a lynching somewhere in your town or a nearby town, and that would cause great aggravation and concern on the part of everyone." Everyone including the white community spoke out against this type of incident. Dr. M. Clark, like Dr. A., was only 6 years old when the lynching incidents occurred.

Being "very fair" and having "good hair" altered one respondent's experience with race as an issue. It did not alter her perception of race as a critical factor during her childhood. They lived, however, in a segregated neighborhood but they did not resemble the black people who surrounded them. "We were taught to be clannish", she remembers. She came from a large extended family. "...my mothers's mother had eight girls and my father's famiy was 10, so you see it was a large family and we had a lot of cousins, aunts and uncles... they didn't live with us but we spent much of our time with our grandmother and grandfather....we were just a different family. Quite often our color was different, the texture of our hair was different, our background was different." Her aunts, who were

"very fair", often talked about segregation and hated it. She said when she got older she questioned them as to why they never decided to go North and pass for white.

Race was not an issue discussed in Dr. B's household. Her neighborhood was integrated but only a few black people lived there. Dr. B says that she "...never grew up with the feeling of - you're black.

Race was discussed in Dr. E's family, because she says, in referring to her southern residence, "Well, you couldn't help it because you know ___ was a very prejudiced city."

Race was perceived as a critical factor for most of our respondents both in their early years, as well as adolescence and beyond. The sting of discrimination might have been temporarily postponed during the early years, by the sheltered atmosphere provided by their parents. With increasing age, however, and as the lives of these women interfaced beyond their family, and expanded into the wider community of society, race as an issue could no longer be avoided.

Experience of Being Female

Three of our respondents in this study, perceived

their mothers to be in some cases dominant members of the household. Mothers made decisions and metered out spankings. These mothers were described as ambitious, and were viewed as individuals who stood up for what they believed. One measure of women's freedom in today's society, is the rate of their employment outside of the home. The fathers in our sample worked. The mothers, for the most part, did not.

Only one of the mothers of this group (Dr. B's mother) worked outside of the home, and she owned a business. The others were primarily homemakers. The South was well represented as the region of the country where most of these black women were born. This fact helps us to understand the position of black women in the labor market in the South during the early 1900's. Dr. C. comments that her mother never worked outside of the home, nor did she as a youngster work away from home. The only positions for black women at that time, particularly in the South, were in domestic service. Dr. C. remembers that "even some ten or eleven year olds, babysat or had been some little white child's...uh uh, my father would have died." His aim was to keep us from any kind of work relationship with whites." "Strong woman, dominant character and Rock of

Gibralter", were some of the labels that our respondents assigned to their mothers. These mothers represented strength to them. To our group of respondents, being a female meant that you were entitled to the same opportunities as the male children in your family. You were entitled to speak your mind, you were also entitled to equal access to education. You were a female but you were not inferior, was the clear message given to our respondents

None of the women in our study received messages from either parent that they were inferior because of gender. On the contrary, signs of equality were always present. There was a total of 21 siblings among all respondents. Only 4, were male children. All of the children were sent to college and were encouraged to pursue whatever vocation or profession that they might choose for themselves. Where distinctions were shown because of gender, it was out of deference to their development into womenhood. For example, Dr. D's father was the disciplinarian in the family. He spanked his 6 girls and 2 boys when they misbehaved. This practiced ceased, however, once the girls reached puberty. "When the girls started menstruating, he never would spank us anymore, and that

was the end of that." Dr. D says that it was her mother who "dominated the rearing of the children and so we developed...into that the female sex was alright, we didn't have any negative or inferior feelings toward the female." Dr. C. makes a comparison between her grandmother and mother about being a female. Although her grandmother thought that there were "certain things" not becoming of girls, such as hunting and fishing, and they had to be "extra modest". Dr. C felt that her mother had a different outlook on what a girl could and could not do "...my mother never would have emphasized a difference, because there were so many things that she enjoyed doing that one might expect a man to do."

Dr. B. was another respondent who "...never thought about being a female". She was influenced by her grandmother who she recalls, "...did all the management of the money. She handled everything, the business person...she ran the house."

Impact of the Social and Cultural Milieu as they grew up

One of the 5 respondents, Dr. D, said that the economic circumstances in her household was poor, and

with the depression of '29 things were worse. But she was atypical of the group. The rest of the women, described their families as well respected members of the community, they owned property or business. The respondents did not want for anything. Dr. C expresses her economic status as "well off", "...my father had a farm...he always had a plenty. And I don't know, we never had dollars and dollars and dollars, but we had land and houses and I never wanted for food and couldn't get it, never new dress and couldn't get it, and never a trip that couldn't be had, never a school that I couldn't go to."

The depression seemed to only temporarily interrupt their lifestyles. Dr. C. accelerated her college education so that she could complete her bachelor's degree in 3 years instead of 4. Dr. A. delayed her education so that an older sister could graduate before her. Dr. A., in turn, completed her college work. Dr. B. who was raised without her father, was well cared for also. "I was the only child, only grandchild, only niece" she says. Her mother was a beautician. Her grandmother and aunts operated a successful hand laundry and had, "for customers, some of the wealthiest people" in Dr. A's

community. Dr.E. remembers living in a large house and that her family was the only one in their community who was wealthy enough to own an automobile.

The 1929 economic decline was not the only factor in society which had an impact on the lives of these women. Discrimination laws reduced the choice of schools available to them during undergraduate as well as graduate study. See Table 5. With the exception of 1 respondent, all went to undergraduate institutions in the region of their birth, although their graduate training was distributed throughout different parts of the country. Education was so valued among the parents of this group, that the father of one of our respondents actually moved with his family to another town, so that his children would have access to college. He did not have sufficient funds to finance dormitory fees and other educational expenditures.

Coping styles during educational years

The stressors identified by our respondents during their college years were primarily financial. Although most of them came from families who were "well off", all of them were attending college just as the economy plunged in '29. Secondary to financial stress was the

Table 5

Respondents: Region of Undergraduate Institution Attended

Region of College

Respondents:	Midwest	South	Total
Dr. A	1	0	1
Dr. B	1	0	1
Dr. C	0	1	1
Dr. D	0	1	1
Dr. E	0	1	1
Total	2	3	5

Region of Graduate Institution Attended

Respondents:	Midwest	Northeast	Total
Dr. A	0	1	1
Dr. B	1	0	1
Dr. C	0	1	1
Dr. D	1	0	1
Dr. E	1	0	1
Total	3	2	5

idea of just being a freshman. The recollections of our respondents of their college years mirror the anxieties experienced by "college kids" today. As our group moved ahead educationally they also moved from from predominently black colleges and neighborhoods to white universities. Problems related to race also increased.

Their strength to cope with the tasks which confronted them during their young adulthood, emanated from the significant others of their childhood as well as the support they received from new groups into which they entered. Our respondents joined various student organizations including black women sororities. They attended religious services from time to time. They also drew upon black political organizations when the opportunity called for it.

Each of our respondents indicated that they enjoyed college, that they enjoyed learning, enjoyed their professors, and, for those who could afford it, enjoyed the social life.

Dr. C attended a black college in the South. She reports this incident that occurred at registration time. When she returned to her dorm her classmates were waiting. "...the kids were looking at my

schedule. Now who is this lady that you have here in English, Mrs. ___ 'Girl you had better - you should never - you have flunked already'. When this respondent decided to take a psychology course with Dr..., she says "my friends warned me about Dr. ___. 'Girl you don't know what you are doing going into psychology. You are going to have to be under Dr. ___ Do you know, if you do that, you have flunked already. He flunked his own wife.' Dr. C wasn't accustomed to flunking anything. She had finished valedictorian of her high school class. Her college life was in contrast to another respondent whose family was poor.

She, too, went to a Negro college, but she felt estranged from other students because she did not have what they had. , "The girls who were popular were the girls on the campus. Because they were all well dressed, because their parents had money...I wasn't well dressed, I had "hand me downs"...I was never aggressive, I compensated in intellectual activities." As for dating, she adds, "I went to some of the dances on weekends. I went with some of the ___ boys, and I went to church on Sunday quite a bit. She joined Delta, her older sister helped with the initiation fees

and other expenses .

Dr. A's parents never fully recovered from the race riot that destroyed her father's business. The depression made the struggle to stay financially afloat all the more difficult. She wanted to attend college and this meant that she would have to work. "...my family helped as much as they could, but that was the depression time, so we had to work." Work and school seemed to leave little time for dating, Dr. A said she "really didn't date that much".

The data indicate that for our respondents, those who were financially secure, who either lived on campus, or who had clothes and enough money to join student clubs or sororities or both experienced less stress. On the other hand our respondents who suffered financial hardships, found themselves outside of the mainstream of social interactions which take place during young adulthood.

Management of Their Profession as Student and Practitioner

All of our respondents received their B.A. degrees by age 22. Three out of the five respondents were 40 or over before they received their Ph.D. degrees in

psychology. From 6 to 25 years had elapsed between their undergraduate work and the awarding of their doctoral degree.

Financial stresses encountered during undergraduate years were not as burdensome during the Ph.D. years. One of our respondents had married before embarking on doctoral work. It was her dentist husband who helped to finance her studies. The father of another respondent had previously provided the financial support she needed, but her father died before she began to study for her Ph.D. She turned to a philanthropic organization for financial assistance. She received almost immediate confirmation. Dr. E. recalls this occasion, "About two days later, a letter came from them saying that I - that they were supporting me to study psychology...And those people supported me for 5,6,7 years as many years as I needed to take all of the things I wanted, so you see I had a lot of good fortune." Dr. C also had a favorable outcome around her educational expenses. Her education was initially stressful as far as Ph.D. study was concerned. When asked if there were any particular psychological stresses during her Ph.D years, Dr. C. replied that there were several, ranging from race to

changes in the curriculum which affected psychology trainees. Dr. C begins her list of identified stressors:

> For the first time I was where there were practically no black folks around. Maybe one or two somewhere, and it looked as though they were afraid to speak to you. And, I had not committed myself to staying away for a Ph.D. degree because I had left my job...with a leave of absence...to say nothing of the stress of how you are going to finance it....then a miracle happened again. The General Education Board took up my tuition and sent me money to spend. So I could stay." Another stress was the department was in the process of reorganization...the country was beginning to look to integrated programs and trying to put disciplines together...some students left...I could take it because I was older, I knew more about how to study, how to handle - and how to organize.

The stress of race related issues reappeared during the Ph.D. years as well as the professional years. The

management of race issues continued. Our respondents still relied on the emotional support of family and the camaderie of black organizations, student and otherwise. At the University of ....there was a white psychology faculty member who according to Dr. B. "was always on everybody's oral and written examination." Dr. B. remembers thinking that she had to find a way of coping with racial and ethnic bias that this faculty member felt free to express.

> This woman had a reputation of being so prejudiced that she would openly in class say she did not like blacks and she called them Negroes at that time. She did not like Negroes and Jews she said. She said that she had never had a Negro to work for her because she assumed that all Negroes had syphilis, and she only had one bathroom. She would make such statememts. I mean she was so rabid and I knew I had to come up against her...I said well, I might as well get some first hand knowledge of her and it's about time she gets to know me."

Dr. B. decided to take one of this professors's clases after having a white girl friend say that this

professor "...didn't like Negroes but she likes brilliant students" Dr.B said she worked hard and by mid-term she had earned a 99 1/2".

Most of our respondents felt that blacks had to be better in whatever they did. Dr. B. felt that if she had been white she might not have felt the need for a doctorate. Without reservations, she felt that "You had to be better if you are black". A year had passed, a new administration had come aboard at the Juvenile Diagnostic Center where she was employed, before she knew that "my salary was $1000.00 less than even the ones with master's there....You see, you struggle against a lot of these odds, all the way through."

Dr. C's view on this matter echos the others: "I think that I had to be better for them to consider me as their peers. I think I had to know more than they, I had to many times pull rank with them that I wouldn't have dared with my black colleagues. But there was almost this need because I was black, for the sake of the race, to knock down stereotypes, when I got a chance to do it , I just did it."

Being black prompted its own response. Our respondents, by the time they reached their professional years, seemed to be more aware of gender

as a critical factor than they were as children and adolescense. But the number of black women in the field of psychology had not reached a threatening level for white men or women to feel competition from them. Dr. C. tells what it was like. "It was rare and some professors didn't take it too well ___himself thought that women ought to be at home. He thought that about his own wife. That wasn't surprising, and again I was use to that. That is the nice thing about being a southern black woman. You are use to some things, they don't concern you at all." Dr. C. equated this general bias toward women with the similar bias of black college administrators toward black women who were faculty members. "The men were the heads of the departments for the most part and if they wanted tea served they called on the women. But you know if they wanted to give you some more money you must be a man."

Our respondents were confronted with the spectre of race when it appeared, and some of them confided in those faculty whom they trusted. Those respondents who made the decision to seek help from whites, received it. According to our respondents, what emerged were some faculty who were both cognizant of racial injustice and sympathetic to the needs of the students.

The result was never an obliteration of the problem, but an alternative solution which permitted them to continue on their course of study.

Commitment to Psychology

When one looks at the research, publications and administrative roles which seem associated with white women psychologists, the same roles were much less extensive and more focused with respect to black women psychologists. Although the initial interest in the discipline varied among our respondents, none of them were encouraged by their parents to enter the field of psychology. All of our respondents suggest that their mothers and fathers knew nothing or very little about psycholgy, nor did they influence their choice of career. Although not tuned into this field of specialization, their parents neverthless provided them with enough encouragement and support, emotional and financial, for the respondents to pursue this profession. Not only were the parents not familiar with the field, but neither were our respondents fully identified with the profession. Dr. A and Dr. D make it clear that the decision to enter psychology was by default. Upon entering college, both were interested

in science courses but that meant laboratory fees. Because of the additional expense, their fathers advised against it. Psychology was taken as part of their liberal arts curriculum.

That first course in psychology according to our respondents motivated them to commit themselves to further study in the field. Dr. E, who was a social worker, felt that she wanted additional knowledge about human behavior and personality than what was the focus of her previous field. She left social work and became an active member of the psychology profession for over 30 years. All of these women voiced an interest in behavior and a curiosity about personality, as one of the motivating factors which influenced their continued study of psychology. Having good psychology professors was another strong inducement for remaining in the profession.

Dr. E did not indicate teaching as part of her role in psychology. All of the other respondents taught in predominantly black colleges. Only one remained in academia and went on to establish a department of psychology in a black college. Other than teaching, the primary field of practice was in institutional work such as a woman's reformatory,

juvenile diagnostic centers and children's clinics. The population served were predominantly black, children or young adults.

Our subjects, without exception, were members of the American Psychological Association as well as the state affiliates and divisional groups. Although all of them were paid members of APA, their participation, was for the most part, limited to membership only. Dr. A is still an active member in psychological organizations. She is a life member, fellow, and office holder in two psychological associations.

Most of the commitment of these women to psychology is exemplified by the work they have done in and out of the discipline. They have represented a psychological perspective in all their endeavors. Dr. C takes pride in the "22 Ph.D." candidates whom she has supervised throughout her academic career and the number of administrative roles relating to student life in the University. Her most rewarding accomplishment has been the establishment of a children's center for the underpriviledged which is connected with a university. The children's center received financial support from educationally related government agencies. Measures of commitment are not limited to the level of

involvement with specific psychological organizations. With regard to personal commitment to the professional organization of psychology, Dr. D described such membership for black psychologists as futile.

What seems to come through with our respondents, is a variety of community roles. Most of our respondents carried out their roles in the institutional infrastructure of black agencies.

The last stage of development

The women in this study have been active all of their lives. All of them, to varying degrees have been engaged in some form of community or professional activity. Dr. B has left the field of psychology all together and has assumed the position of a regional sales director for a national cosmetic firm. Of her life she says

> I think I've been unusually blessed and fortunate...there are very few things that I have wanted that I haven't achieved. I am very grateful to God that I've been blessed. I've never wanted for anything...If I would die tomorrow, I'd say that it's been a good life.

Dr. D spends most of her time writing, and still caring for her "younger siblings". The illness of a sister brings the reality of old age closer to her. "My sister has been sick for so long, and this health business is the thing that made me realize that I better be thinking about aging. I like aging, I like the subject matter, but the reality of living and trying to find the right place to live in with dwindling income and poorer health and that sort of thing. So, I'm beginning to realize that I am mortal." Dr. D felt that color had impacted negatively on her role as a woman and as a psychologist. When asked if there was anything that she would have done differently in her life, she replied, "...there is nothing that I could have done differently, but if I had been another race I think I could have done many things, I could have gotten rich, I could have gotten powerful."

This group of black pioneer women are all experiencing relatively good health. None were stricken with any serious illnesses during their early childhood. One respondent reported an illness during her young adult years, which forced a 2 year moratorium on her professional activities. Three of the five women married: one married dentist, a second married a

State Department employee, and the third married a psychologist. Only one is presently married. One respondent is divorced and the spouse of the second married respondent is deceased. There are four children among the five respondents. Two were adopted by a single parent, and two are the biological children of one of our respondents and her husband

For Dr. C, her major interest in life is caring for her 101 year old mother. She says that at times she misses having discussions with professional associates. But, she says "...I don't need my profession to be somebody." Dr. C, although caring for her mother, is a very active member of her community.

The oldest of the Group is Dr. E. She reminded this investigator "You must remember that this has been a long life, and much of the details are not with me." Unlike the other respondents, Dr. E is restricted by the limitations of age and health.

When we consider Erikson's final stage of integrity vs. despair, we find these women satisfied with themselves. They have maintained connections with relatives, former students, and associates. They are active within the limits of age and health in their community and in their profession, and, in spite of the

vicissitudes attributed primarily to race, they exhibit very comfortable feelings about themselves and their accomplishments.

The two hypotheses of this study have been confirmed:

1. Race more than gender will be perceived by black pioneer women psychologists as having greater impact on the developmental years and on their professional endeavors.

2. Black pioneer women psychologist toward the end of their lives, give evidence of having successfully negotiated "a sense of " integrity over despair.

Chapter V

Summary.

We found that our respondents not only had the love and nurturance from their mothers, but were born into families whose social structure assured its members a safe environment and the continuity of significant others that would last a lifetime.

Our respondents in this study expressed the feeling that they could rely on their mothers, fathers, and grandparents for social physical and psychological needs. They developed a sense of trust in these significant others and developed within themselves a sense of self confidence and self assurance.

As we look at our respondents in their last stage of development they bring a intact self into these last years of their lives. Although some of them have retired from their professional roles as psychologists,

they are engaged in community activities and embarked on another career. We do not detect any sense of resignation or despair on the part of any of our respondents.

We inquired as to how our subjects experienced themselves as blacks and as females. We found that being black was experienced as critical for them during their early developmental years. But, this insularity did not persists throughout their lives. As they grew older and away from the protective environment of their family and community, their awareness of both race and gender intensified. Gender was never viewed as a critical issue. Our respondents were raised in a cultural milieu in which something akin to parity in treatment existed between men and women. Our findings demonstrate that for our respondents, race continued to be a salient factor throughout their lifetime.

A finding not anticipated in the study was the noteble absence of singular commitment on the part of our pioneer black women to the professional role of psychologists. They used their training in a myriad of ways: community service, teaching in the black college and institutional affiliations. What we found missing in our respondents was active engagement in

research and within the structure of their professional organization, the American Psychological Association.

Implications for Further Study

There are some implication for further research which appear suggested by our study. It might be fruitful to compare the family settings in which our contempory black women psychologists were reared to those of our pioneers. We might also investigate to determine if there has been substantial change in the recruitment, training, and participation of our contempory black women psychologists into the mainstream of American Psychological thought and behavior?

It would be interesting also to observe to what extent the issues of gender and race persist today in a measure substantially different from that of our pioneers.

Black women owe much of their presence in psychology today to the struggles of the pioneer black women who formed the subject of this study.

Appendix A

INTERVIEWING GUIDE TO BE USED IN THE STUDY: BLACK WOMEN PSYCHOLOGISTS:A PSYCHODYNAMIC PROFILE OF THE PIONEERS

1. I would like you to tell me about the family you grew up in.
   Probe: How about other members of the family?
   Probe: Among your siblings, where did you fit?

2. Who were the significant other members of the family in your early childhood?
   Probe: Any others?

3. Tell me, what was the relationship between your mother and father?
   (If subject was raised by someone other than natural parents, use probe.)
   Probe: How did (surrogate) parents relate to each other?

(If one or both parents died during subject's childhood,
Probe: How did you cope with their deaths?
If parents did not die during their childhood, then probe.)
Probe: Have there been any deaths in your family during your childhood?

4. Describe your health during your childhood.

probe: How was this for you?

5. Be your parent and describe you, when you were a child.
Probe: Did this perception of you change as you grew older?

6. When you did things which your parents did not approve of, what did they do?
What were your feelings about that.
Probe: did the form of discipline change as you

grew older?

Probe: how about during adolescence? (If they did change, then probe.)

Probe: What were they and how were they dealt with?

7. Would you describe your parents as strict or lenient?

Why? Give an example.

Were you interested in boys during your high school years?

What were your parents attitude toward you and boys?

8. Starting as far back as you can remember, what were the economic circumstances in you family?

Probe: As you grew older, did that change?

9. What were some of the important aspects of life that you've learned from your parents?

Probe: What were their attitudes about race?

Probe: What about being a female?

Probe: And on being a psychologist?

College Years

10. When did you decide you would go to college?

    What was your parents attitude?

11. Did you live away from home?

    How was that for you?

12. What was it like to be a college student?

    (If response is positive, then ask)

    What was best about it for you in the beginning?

13. How did you help yourself, or were helped to cope with college, especially the problems?

14. Did you belong to a sorority?
    What was your role in it?
    Did you belong to a church?
    Did you belong to another organization or club

15. As you think about it, were there any other times in your life when these organizations played a significant role?
    Probe: Have you continued to maintain your affiliation with any or all of these organiazations?
    If so
    Probe: what is your present role?

16. How soon after you finished college did you pursue graduate work?
    Whe did you decide? How?
    If there was a time lapse,
    Probe: what did you do in those intervening years?

Probe: What was your major field of study in graduate school?

Probe: To what do you attribute your desire to be a psychologist?

17. What had you hoped to do with that major field of study?

Probe: Did that happen?

probe: What if a change took place in your previous field of study?

Probe: What about your Ph.D.

18. Did (name what was said) that excited you during graduate study continue after your obtained you degree?

19. Please describe what it was like to be a Ph.D. student at the time when you were in school?

Probe: were you in any way politically active?

Probe: Were there any particular psychological

stressors?

Probe: How about professional problems?

Probe: What was it like to be a black women in psychology?

20. As you look back over your life, who would you consider to be the most important role model for you?

Probe: Were there any others?

Probe: why was this person so important to you?

21. At what point did you become aware of the importance of this person in your life?

If subject does not answer voluntarily

Probe: What about in college?

Probe: Graduate school?

Probe: Ph.D. years?

Probe: Now?

22. Was there any person in high school whom you regarded as a mentor?

Probe: What about when you were in college?

Probe: How about in graduate school?

23. At the time what was the occupation, race and gender of your mentor?

24. Is she/he still living?

Probe; Are you still in communication with her/him?

25. What effect if any do you feel this has had on your professional growth and development?

If subject did not have a mentor ask

26. Was there any particular reason why this did not happen?

Probe: Do you think that your race and or sex was a factor in your ability to establish or to maintain a mentor relationship?

27. What effect if any do you feel this has had on your professional growth and development?

28. At the time you felt that you were at the height of your career, how did you compare yourself with your white colleagues of similar age and educational background?

    I will listen for the following responses:

    Better than most

    As good as

    Not quite as good

    Worst than

29. At the time you finished your graduate studies what were some of the things that you felt you wanted to do most?

30. Did the thing that excited you about the Ph.D., continue after you obtained your degree?

31. I would like to ask what you feel has been the most
satisfying aspect of your professional career?

32. As you look back over your career, would you say that any one period represented more stress then any other period if so, explain.
Probe: How did you deal with it?

33. Are you interested in research? Have you done research?
How would you characterize your primary research interests?

34. How involved were you in key professional associations in you discipline?
Probe: What were the key professional organizations of which your were a member?
Probe: How active were you?
Probe: do you still maintain an affiliation with them?

35. What were some of the occasions in your life as you recall when you felt you needed somebody and no one was out there for you?

    Probe: To whom did you finally turn?

    Probe: Was there any time before that when you felt that way?

    probe: Was there any time during your professional career that comes to mind?

    Probe: How about now?

36. Are there any periods in your career that stand out more than any other that are significant for you?

    If so

    Probe: Why? Why was that phase more significant than any other.

37. After you completed your Ph.D. how did the pace and pattern of your life change?

    Probe: What about your professional life?

38. At what point did you get married?

    Probe: What were the circumstances around it?

39. Tell me about your own family?

    Probe: What do you feel best describes the relationship between you and your husband?

    What role has he played in your career?

    Probe: Anything else?

    If subject has children

    Probe: Tell me about your children?

    How would you best describe your relationship with them?

    Probe: Where are they now?

40. How have changes in your family life affected your professional development?

    Probe: What about your marriage?

    Probe: What about your children?

RETIREMENT

41. After being active for so many years, how does it feel to be away from all of your professional associates and activities?
    Probes: How else has life changed?

42. what are the major interest in your life now?

43. What are your feelings now for young black women psychologists as compared to your own day?

44. What does it feel like to be in the stage of your life where you are now?

45. As you look back over your life are there things that you would do differently?

Respondents Interviewed

Ruth Howard Beckham, Ph.D. Chicago Illinois

Emma Bragg, Ph.D. Nashville, Tennessee

Olivia Hooker, Ph.D. White Plains, New York

Alberta Turner, Ph.D. Columbus, Ohio

Keturah Whitehurst, Ph.D. Marianna, Florida

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