

Women's Place in the History of Sport Psychology

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Abstract:

Women and women's issues have a place in sport psychology today, but women have no place in most histories of the field. Some women sport psychologists, particularly Dorothy Harris, were instrumental in the development of sport psychology as a subdiscipline in the 1960s and 1970s. Re-searching the historical foundations reveals that the notable contributions of Harris and other women sport psychologists have roots in earlier work in both psychology and physical education. Pioneering women psychologists conducted research and challenged sexist assumptions and practices since psychology's earliest days. At the same time, prominent women leaders developed women-oriented programs and contributed to the professional literature in physical education. Women and women's issues have a place in sport psychology today, but too often that is an "other" or special interest place. By taking steps to re-place women in history and by engendering current research and practice, sport and exercise psychology will be a stronger science and profession.

Article:

Do women have a place in the history of sport psychology? Clearly women have a place in sport and exercise psychology today. The latest Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology (AAASP) newsletter indicated that the 1994 membership is 41% female, and my unofficial count from the 1993 North American Society for the Psychology of Sport and Physical Activity (NASPSPA) directory indicates a similar 46% female membership. The current past-president, president, and president-elect of AAASP are women, and NASPSPA has had several women presidents. In 1994, two of the major sport psychology journals, *The Sport Psychologist* and the *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology* had women editors, and beginning in 1995 the *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology* also has a woman editor. Women also take on important committee assignments, serve on editorial boards, and are highly visible as authors, presenters, and professors. Clearly, women are active and visible in the world of sport and exercise psychology.

Do women have an equally prominent place in the history of the field? Can you name women who were active in the formation of the subdiscipline? Can you cite early women psychologists who contributed to the knowledge base? Can you find the foundation for current women's concerns and gender issues in earlier research and writings? I suspect most readers will have difficulty answering these questions. And you will still have difficulty answering them even after searching the literature. Histories of the field, including a chapter that I recently prepared (Gill, in press) and other articles in this special issue, seldom mention women and women's issues.

In preparation for this article, I gave a brief survey to participants at the 1994 NASPSPA conference asking them to list women and women's issues in the history of sport psychology. Only one person returned a response, and that person claimed not to be a sport psychologist. Surveys at conferences often are neglected, but I also suspect that most people could not think of anything to list. Given that lack of response, I mailed a survey to a selected sample of 25 women and men who had been active in the field for some time, asking for their suggestions. Most responded and offered helpful information. My informants named several women as influential, and indeed, the women cited helped form the discipline in the 1960s and continue to influence the evolving sport and exercise psychology of today. However, nearly everyone cited is currently active rather than a "historical" figure from the past. For example, Tara Scanlan (current president of AAASP), Jean Williams (current past-president of AAASP), Bonnie Berger, Carole Oglesby, and Diane Gill were cited several times.

Carole- is known for her advocacy for women; she contributed an influential book on women in sport in the 1970s; and she highlighted women's contributions and perspectives in her 1993 AAASP Coleman Griffith Lecture. But Carole is an active scholar, and although the rest of us have been in the field over 10 years, we would probably consider ourselves midcareer scholars.

The one person cited most often, and the one I intended to highlight in this article, is Dorothy V. Harris: Dorothy's research, writing, professional activity, and life brought women's issues to the forefront of sport psychology and paved the way for women scholars who followed. Still, Dorothy Harris is more contemporary than historical to me. If cancer had not cut her life short a few years ago, she would be an active scholar today, and probably would be writing this article.

Given that no one cited female contemporaries of Norman Triplett or Coleman Griffith, or any historical roots reaching back beyond 1960, let me return to the question, Do women have a place in the history of sport psychology? My answer is yes, but researchers must look harder. First, keep in mind that one must look hard for any historical foundations. Sport and exercise psychology as a subdiscipline only emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, so one would not expect to find people or issues identified as sport psychology in earlier times. Coleman Griffith is the most widely recognized historical figure in sport psychology, and the article by Gould and Pick (1995) in this issue describes Griffith's work. However, sport psychologists have not always recognized Griffith's contributions. During my graduate program at Illinois in the 1970s, I had classes in Griffith's lab, yet I never heard his name or read any of his work until after I had graduated and left Illinois. To advance as a field, we as sport psychologists must recognize our history; we must understand our foundations, assumptions, and biases to place our current work in context and use that understanding to move on. This special issue takes an important step by bringing our history to today's sport psychologists. Current scholars had to rediscover Griffith's work for the rest of us. We must do some similar- searching to rediscover women's place in the history of sport psychology. The current work on gender issues, and the groundbreaking work of Dorothy Harris and Carole Oglesby in the 1970s has foundations in much earlier work by and about women in both psychology and physical education.

This article focuses on those early foundations and on the task of placing women in the history of sport psychology. As Bohan (1992) noted in a similar history -of women in psychology, the task is more correctly described as re-placing women. As Bohan stated, women have always -been;present. Women have been invisible; have been neglected,. Have faced exclusionary practices, and have been misrepresented and trivialized, but women have not been absent. Marginalization of women in psychology persists in that women pioneers are still neglected, feminist challenges to research are unrecognized, psychology theory retains androcentric bias, the curriculum neglects women's issues, and women are underrepresented in the power elite, despite a growing majority in the discipline. Despite the visible presence of a few women sport psychologists as editors and organization leaders, marginalization of women and women's issues in sport psychology parallels psychology. More women are leaders, and women's issues are more prominent than ever before, but women do not share the mainstream with men. A separate article is needed to highlight women's place in history so that we as sport psychologists can incorporate women's perspectives to expand and enrich our scholarship and practice.

Early Foundations

Early roots of sport psychology may be found in both psychology and physical education, and both of these areas have their beginnings in the late 1800s. One can find women and women's issues in both histories, but the histories are quite different. In psychology one finds women pioneers facing discriminatory practices and attitudes, but persisting to make a place in the academic discipline of psychology, much as women have made a place in many scholarly fields. In physical education one finds a legacy of strong women leaders who developed women's physical education as an alternative, separate from men's physical education programs. These two separate roots of women's place in sport psychology seldom crossed or interacted. Sport psychology has drawn from psychology theories and research since its emergence in the 1960s, but sport psychologists have not drawn upon the psychology of women scholarship. The psychologists (mostly women) working on gender issues have largely ignored sport and physical activity. Women and women's issues in sport psychology today have roots in

women's physical education and have some parallels in psychology. There are, however, few direct ties, and one must do some searching to find those roots.

Psychology Foundations

Within the last decade, women's early contributions to psychology have been rediscovered, and women's issues, such as violence toward women, have become prominent. As Bohan (1992) noted, neglect of women and neglect of women's issues are separate but related issues with common origins in society and the sociocultural context of the discipline of psychology. Denmark and Fernandez (1993), in the opening chapter of a highly recommended handbook on the psychology of women (Denmark & Paludi, 1993) describe psychology as traditionally male-dominated, and report that women were invisible before 1970, with almost no research on women or gender comparisons. As most psychology of women scholars suggest (e.g., Bohan, 1992; Denmark & Fernandez, 1993; Marlin, 1993), psychology of women as a subdiscipline emerged and grew rapidly in the 1970s.

As the psychology of women developed as a field, some scholars looked at the history of psychology from a woman's perspective and discovered early women pioneers. Denmark and Fernandez (1993) cite Mary Pumam Jacobi's (1877) book, *The Question of Rest for Women During Menstruation*, which argued against the belief that women should refrain from physical activity during menstruation, and Mary Bissell's arguments against the "fragility" of women and advocacy of outdoor play and physical, as well as intellectual, development for women. These works stand out not only as neglected psychology works but also as works that have particular relevance for sport and exercise psychology.

Several women who did psychology work around the turn of the century are now recognized as pioneers, specifically, Mary Calkins, Christine Ladd-Franklin, Margaret Washburn, Helen Thompson Woolley, and Leta Stetter Hollingworth (Denmark & Fernandez, 1993; Furumota & Scarborough, 1985). These women completed important work despite formidable obstacles. Both Calkins at Harvard and Ladd-Franklin at Hopkins completed all PhD requirements but did not receive degrees because of the prohibition against women. The other eventually obtained degrees, but only after confronting and finding ways around similar obstacles. Not only did these women confront obstacles in obtaining their graduate educations, but they also met resistance in the academic and professional world. Women scholars typically found employment at women's colleges, if anywhere, and married women were barred from many institutions. For example, Calkins taught at Wellesley, Washburn at Wells and Vassar, and Ladd-Franklin never had a regular faculty position.

Still, these pioneers conducted research, published and were active in psychology organizations. They were recognized for their contributions, and their writings foreshadow more current feminist views. Most of these women took on topics that now fall within the realm of psychology of women or gender issues, and generally, their findings and interpretations rejected social Darwinism by emphasizing sociocultural influences and refuting myths of male superiority. Thompson's (1903) studies of sex differences in mental ability stressed similarity of the sexes and environmental influences, and Hollingworth's (1914) study on mental and motor abilities refuted myths about sex differences with logic and empirical evidence.

Although Freudian views and psychoanalytic approaches dominated the first half of the 20th century, some women psychologists challenged sexist bias and the "biology is destiny" view within the psychoanalytic field. Karen Homey (1926) questioned male bias, described "womb envy," and noted the role of sociocultural factors on psychic development. Clara Thompson took similar positions in the 1940s, and Viola Klein and Helen Hacker contributed work on female stereotypes in the 1950s (Denmark & Fernandez, 1993).

Psychology of women came on strong in the 1970s. Bardwick's book, *The Psychology of Women* appeared in 1970, and Sherman's influential handbook, *On the Psychology of Women* followed in 1971. *Sex Roles and Signs* began publication in 1975 and the *Psychology of Women Quarterly* first appeared in 1976. In response to challenges posed by the independent Association for Women in Psychology, Division 35 (Psychology of Women) officially formed in 1973 and remains an influential part of the American Psychological Association.

Three Division 35 fellows have been APA Presidents: Florence Denmark in 1980, Janet Spence in 1984, and Bonnie Strickland in 1987.

Although psychology of women scholars have not embraced sport or physical activity, some have made important contributions to our field. Janet Spence's work has been as influential in sport psychology as in the larger field of psychology. Her early work on anxiety is cited in our competitive anxiety literature, and her work and measures of instrumentality/expressiveness and achievement orientation have influenced many sport psychologists. Spence has given major addresses at sport psychology conferences and reviewed for sport psychology journals. Bonnie Strickland's influential clinical and health psychology work has not been directly adopted in sport psychology, but with increasing attention to exercise and health, her woman-oriented approach may become relevant in sport and exercise psychology work. Also, Strickland has a physical education background and presented the first Coleman Griffith lecture at the first AAASP conference in 1986.

Many sport psychologists have used the work of Spence, Denmark, and other psychology of women scholars, but the woman psychologist with the greatest influence is Carolyn Sherif. Sherif's work is highly regarded in social psychology, as well as in the psychology of women. In an influential article, "Psychology Constructs the Female," Weisstein (1971) identified the overemphasis on internal dynamics and disregard of social context as particularly problematic for women. Sherif, who had emphasized broader questions and sociocultural context from her early work (e.g., Robber's Cave field studies on children's competition) posed an early, persuasive feminist challenge that helped turn psychology away from the delimiting internal focus identified by Weisstein to a more social and woman-oriented perspective.

Carolyn Sherif's legacy is evident in all of psychology today. Moreover, Sherif often contributed directly to sport psychology. Sport psychologists that I contacted who had been at Penn State (e.g., Deb Feltz, Sue Ziegler) noted the influence of Carolyn Sherif, as well as of Dorothy Harris. Sherif was a speaker at the 1972 research conference on women and sport organized by Dorothy Harris, and her insightful paper on females in the competition process appears in those proceedings (Sherif, 1972). Sherif also gave major addresses at sport psychology conferences, invited addresses at university sport psychology graduate programs, and reviewed for sport psychology journals. Fortunately, I heard Carolyn Sherif speak both formally and informally, and her early and persistent advocacy of social psychology, as well as women's issues, has had considerable influence on my thoughts and work, as it has on several others in our field.

Physical Education Foundations

Just as women had a place in the formation of the psychology discipline in the late 1800s, women had a place in the early days of physical education. Indeed, women had a highly visible presence. Women's colleges, which offered academic homes to women psychologists, typically promoted physical activity as part of women's education and development. Moreover, physical education for women was considered separate from men's physical training, and women specialists in women's physical training were needed to plan and conduct such programs. Women's physical education, organized by and for women, provided a woman-oriented environment that promoted women's development and achievement long before the women's movement of the 1970s began to encourage such programs.

Betty Spears (1979), in a historical discussion of women leaders in physical education, notes that the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics (BNSG), with its director, Amy Morris Homans, was particularly influential in developing early women leaders. Boston philanthropist Mrs. Mary Hemenway established the BNSG in 1889, naming Homans as director. BNSG later became part of Wellesley College (also the academic home of psychology pioneer Mary Calkins). Spears reported that when the prestigious American Academy of Physical Education (now American Academy of Kinesiology and Physical Education) elected its 100th member in 1952, the 33 women in the Academy included 9 from that one program: Homans (a charter member), J. Anna Norris, Mabel Lee, Blanche Trilling, Helen McKinstry, Josephine Rathbone Karpovich, Anna Espenschade, Elizabeth Halsey, and Louise Cobb. As a sidenote, my count of the 1993 Academy membership list reveals that 28 of the 100 currently active fellows are women, a drop perhaps suggesting that today's women scholars have not

regained the academic status of those early leaders in the first half of the 20th century. By all accounts, Homans was a strict mentor in a tightly controlled program who personally placed her students in their academic positions. Indeed, the field of women's physical education through the first half of the 20th century seems a close-knit profession with its own "politically correct" code of conduct for the women in the field.

The legacy of the early women physical educators includes some elements that seem to be models for today's sport psychologists, and other elements that present some conflicts. No doubt the active, successful women leaders served as role models to encourage talented women to enter the field. The professional writings of early women leaders are prominent in the overall field and are familiar to anyone who has delved into the history or philosophy of physical education. For example, Ruth Glassow's (1932) *Fundamentals of Physical Education* and Mabel Lee's (1937) *The Conduct of Physical Education*, which includes a chapter on healthy personality, were widely used texts with considerable influence on physical education practice. Anna Espenschade's research and publications (e.g., Espenschade, 1940) are classics continually cited in the motor development literature.

Despite Espenschade's work, early women physical educators focused more on philosophical issues and professional practice than on the scientific aspects of sport and exercise. The professional and philosophical works were highly influential in their time, and some foreshadow current debates. For example, in *New Directions in Physical Education for the Adolescent Girl in High School and College*, Rosalind Cassidy (1938) presented her "organismic philosophy" to meet what she described as the challenges of women's role being redefined in every country of the world, with rapidly changing economic, social, and spiritual life. Cassidy took a holistic view emphasizing social context. She discussed the self as culturally built, and advocated situational thinking or individualized instruction. We can find similar calls for attention to context and individualization in today's sport psychology literature. Of particular note to this article, Carole Oglesby's long-time call for a more organismic approach to the field reflects many of Cassidy's views combined with current feminist thought (see Oglesby, 1993). Still, the tradition of women's physical education did not encourage scientific research, and many women had difficulty maintaining a place in the field with the emergence of the subdisciplines (including sport psychology) and the research emphasis in the 1960s.

In her Amy Morris Homans Lecture, Margaret J. Safrit (1984), a highly regarded scholar in the measurement area, updated her earlier (Safrit, 1979) analysis of women researchers in physical education, noting the low percentage of women editors and authors; gender discrepancies in academic rank, salaries, and hiring; and the general underrepresentation of women in the scientific aspect of physical education. She cited differential graduate training, the support system for women scholars, and academic credentials as factors, and these reflect the professional orientation of the early women physical education leaders. Safrit continued, however, by noting the lack of progress in the 1980s and pointed to more subtle discriminatory standards and practices.

One other aspect of early women's physical education that seems at odds with today's sport psychology is the approach to competition and athletics. Both men's and women's physical education of the late 1800s started with an emphasis on physical training as part of healthy development and education. As men's programs turned more to competitive athletics, women's physical education turned in other directions. An April 1923 Conference on Athletics and Physical Recreation for Girls and Women presided over by Mrs. Herbert Hoover, and attended by key physical education leaders of the day (e.g., Helen Hazelton, Mabel Lee, Frederick Rand Rogers, Blanche Trilling, Agnes Wayman, Jesse Feiring Williams) is a benchmark for this anticompetition movement. The guidelines developed by this conference included putting athletes first, preventing exploitation, downplaying competition while emphasizing enjoyment and sportsmanship, promoting activity for all rather than an elite few, and women as leaders for girls' and women's sports. In a clarifying statement, the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (1930) stated that they *did* believe in competition, but disapproved of *highly intense, specialized competition*. The evil in competition was the emphasis on winning rather than participation, and that statement concluded with the classic, "A game for every girl and every girl in a game" (National Amateur Athletic Federation, Women's Division, 1930, p. 41).

Women were competing in the early 1900s. Gertrude Ederle swam the English channel in 1925, Mildred (Babe) Didrikson set three track and field records in the 1932 Olympics, communities and companies sponsored team sport programs, and women golfers and tennis players received public acclaim. In researching this article I discovered *The Sportswoman*, a magazine that began publication in 1924 with Constance Applebee as editor, and ceased (at least in our library) in 1936. The first issue noted that women's interest and participation in physical education and athletics had increased a hundredfold in the previous 25 years, and the opening editorial stated,

After a long and laborious struggle, mainly on the part of schools and colleges, and recently on the part of the United States Field Hockey Association, women's athletics are at last coming into their own. We feel therefore that it is a propitious moment for the *Sportswoman* to enter the arena, confident that a woman's magazine, published by women, devoted to all forms of sports in which women take part, linking together the interests of all players and keeping them in touch with each other's achievements, will supply a real need. (p. 1)

In a 10th-anniversary editorial Applebee (1934) reminded readers that *The Sportswoman* was founded and published by women, for women, in the interests of women's sports and general physical activities. Although the U.S. Field Hockey Association was the primary founder, the magazine covered all women's sports of the time, such as archery, swimming, golf, lacrosse, tennis, basketball, baseball, and squash. The *Sportswoman* was closely tied to women's physical education. An April 1935 editorial commented upon the 50th anniversary of the American Physical Education Association (now AAHPERD), noting that only two women had been president of the association; Mabel Lee, of the University of Nebraska, and Mary Charming Coleman, of Woman's College, University of North Carolina (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro [UNCG]). Notably, that same editorial reminded readers of the tenets of women's physical education: physical education for all girls, physical education that develops individual potential, sport for the pleasure of playing rather than trophies, and the formation of sport consciousness and confidence in girls.

Much of *The Sportswoman* was devoted to sport skills and organizational information, but one article should be of interest to sport psychologists. Agnes Lamme (1935), a national squash champion, wrote "Attitudes in Match Play." Lamme clearly drew upon her experiences and knowledge (just as today's sport psychologists advocate using experiential knowledge of successful athletes) and presented information in line with current practice. Lamme noted individual styles of play, and stated that as players progress they think less about the opponent, less about winning, and more about the game itself. But, one aspect that might detract from such progress was the nervous strain of competition. Lamme stated that great players did have nerves and got stirred up, but learned to control their nerves. Her specific suggestions for developing self-discipline were (a) do not think about winning and losing, but about doing your best; (b) concentrate on playing the ball, each point; (c) use energy reserves and persist; (d) have confidence in yourself and your shots; (e) learn to trust your mind and muscles; and (f) technique alone is not enough—determination is the key.

Although Lamme was an elite competitor, her article reflected many of the tenets of women's physical education, as well as current sport psychology practice. The distrust of competition and the "play day" philosophy of women's physical education persisted into the 1970s when the women's movement and increasing demands by women to break into competitive athletics led to the 1972 passage of Title IX, which barred sex discrimination in all educational programs, including school athletics. Indeed, many prominent women physical educators resisted women's athletics at their universities and attempted to maintain women's control over participation-oriented, nonscholarship athletic programs. Eventually, men's programs incorporated women's athletics, and the widely recognized dramatic loss of women's positions in coaching and administration accompanied the increasing participation of girls and women in high school and intercollegiate athletics (for details see Carpenter & Acosta, 1993; Nelson, 1991; Uhler, 1987). Many of the issues debated by these women physical educators remain and continue to be debated by both women and men involved in athletics and physical education, and sport psychologists can contribute their knowledge and research to these discussions. As sport psychologists, our contributions will be more informed if we recognize the historical foundations and prominent contributions of the women's physical education movement.

Women's Contributions to the Emerging Subdiscipline

In the late 1960s, as the other articles in this issue indicate, a more research-oriented discipline of exercise and sport science emerged from the more professionally oriented physical education field. Women in physical education maintained an emphasis on professional issues and seemed more reluctant to move away from teaching and service to research. Records of early meetings, conferences, and organizations reveal that sport psychology was heavily male-dominated, like other subdisciplines within exercise and sport science. A few women were active in the formation of the subdiscipline, and these early contributions should be noted.

Dorothy Harris was exceptional in adopting a research approach in a subdisciplinary specialty, claiming her place in the emerging sport psychology of the late 1960s, and maintaining that place through the 1970s and 1980s. As NASPSPA, the main organization for the developing field, was forming, a few other women scholars were influential, but they were more oriented to motor behavior or did not maintain sport psychology activity beyond those early years.

As Deb Feltz (1992) wrote, Dorothy V. Harris's death on January 4, 1991, brought to a close a distinguished 25-year academic career in sport psychology and women's issues in sport and physical activity. Harris received her BS from James Madison, her MS from UNCG, and her PhD from the University of Iowa, but Dorothy is associated most with Penn State, where she spent most of her career. She started the nation's first graduate sport psychology specialization at Penn State, and she organized the influential Research Conference on Women in Sport in 1972. She was the first woman President of NASPSPA (1974-1975) and the first recipient of a Fulbright Research Scholarship in sport psychology. Dorothy Harris published many influential research articles on a range of sport psychology topics including stress, gender roles, and imagery. She published influential sport psychology books including the innovative *Involvement in Sport: A Somatopsychic Rationale for Physical Activity* in 1973, and one of the first applied sport psychology guides (Harris & Harris, 1984). As Feltz (1992) noted, Dorothy battled for the respect, dignity, and equality of girls and women in sport. I particularly remember Dorothy for her ready encouragement of younger women scholars; she was a model and support system for many of us.

Although Dorothy Harris deserves special note, several other women contributed to the early sport psychology literature and to the development of the field. Vera Skubic (1949, 1955, 1956) studied emotional responses in little league baseball in the 1950s, an early predecessor of more recent developmental sport psychology research. And, before sport psychology developed as a specialization, several women contributed important works from a more general perspective.

Eleanor Metheny's (1965) classic work on acceptable sports for women should be familiar to any sport psychologist with an interest in gender issues. Although Metheny was more philosopher than psychologist, her work reflects psychological insights on stereotypes and the role of sociocultural context in individual sport behavior. Metheny also noted race and class influences on sport stereotypes and acceptability, long before the current reminders to do so. AAASP members who heard Ken Ravizza's Coleman. Griffith address at the 1991 conference may recall that he cited Metheny's influence on his sport psychology work.

Celeste Ulrich, an influential physical education leader when the specializations were developing (as well as after that), contributed work from a broader social perspective that influenced the developing sport psychology area. Her 1968 book, *Social Matrix of Physical Education* was particularly influential, and Ulrich's gift for inspiring presentations made her social psychological work familiar to the physical education field.

In the 1970s, several books on women in sport appeared that featured sport psychology perspectives. As noted, Dorothy Harris (1972) edited the proceedings of the conference on women in sport, and those proceedings included articles on body image, stress, personality, aggression and role conflict as well as a s Sherif s article on females in the competition process.. Harris also edited Volumes 1 and 2 of the *DGWS Research Reports: Women in Sports* (Harris, 1971, 1973a), which included articles on psychology topics. In 1974 Gerber, Felshin, Berlin, and Wyrick published the massive *The American Woman in Sport*. Pearl Berlin authored the section on

psychological perspectives including chapters on personality, motivation, and other psychological characteristics. Berlin's extensive review and bibliography provides a nice overview of the sport psychology work at that time, including some works already noted, as well as Pat Griffin's (1973) work on stereotypes, Emma McCloy Layman's (1970) work on aggression, Theresa Malumphy's (1970) studies of personality of women athletes, and Marguerite Clifton and Hope Smith's (1963) studies of self-concept.

In 1978 Carole Oglesby edited *Women and Sport*, probably the first book on women and sport with a clearly feminist perspective. Of particular note for sport psychology, the book included chapters by Oglesby on masculinity/femininity, by Mary Duquin on androgyny, and by Pat Del Rey on the apologetic and women in sport.

The formation of professional organizations marked the emergence of sport psychology in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The International Society of Sport Psychology (ISSP) meeting in Washington DC in 1968 served as a catalyst for North American sport psychologists to begin forming their own organization. The proceedings of that conference (Kenyon & Grogg, 1970) indicated that Ema Geron of Bulgaria (now of Israel) was the only woman on the ISSP Executive Council. Geron's contributions to international sport psychology were recognized at the 1993 ISSP Congress where she received ISSP's highest honor, the ISSP Distinguished International Sport Psychologist Award, for her distinguished professional career. The U.S. organizing committee for the 1968 conference included Frances Cumbee, along with 16 men on the scientific committee. (Interestingly, the social committee included 4 women and no men.)

The proceedings (Kenyon & Gregg, 1970) included a total of 101 invited addresses and reports, primarily presented by men. Emma McCloy Layman presented one of the invited addresses on play and sport in healthy emotional development, and the proceedings included reports by Evelyn Bird on personality of women ice hockey players, Dorothy Harris on physical activity attitudes, and Ema Geron on mechanisms of effort, as well as another paper by Layman on aggression. According to Pearl Berlin (personal communication, July 19, 1994), Emma McCloy Layman, one of the first scholars to bridge psychology and sport, was the daughter of pioneering physical education scholar and researcher C.H. McCloy. Perhaps her early family environment inspired Layman, a trained psychologist, to extend her work to the sport arena.

As other articles in this issue note, NASPSPA formed in the late 1960s and held its first separate meeting at Allerton, Illinois, in 1973. No women were on the program at the first NASPSPA meetings from 1967 to 1970 (Loy, 1974). At the 1970 meeting NASPSPA decided to make an outstanding dissertation award, and at the 1971 meeting, Bonnie Berger received that Outstanding Dissertation Award for her doctoral work, *Relationships Between the Environmental Factors of Temporal-Spatial Uncertainty, Probability of Physical Harm, and Nature of Competition and Selected Personality Characteristics of Athletes*. Notably, that 1971 meeting also included a panel discussion on "Women in Sport: Needed Research and Future Directions" with Bonnie Berger (Dalhousie), Phyllis Day (Temple), Carole Mushier (SUNY at Cortland), and Harriet Williams (Toledo).

The Allerton proceedings (Wade & Martens, 1974) included papers by Dorothy Harris on body image, Dorothy Allen on self-concept, and Tara Scanlan on antecedents of competitiveness (the foundation for her subsequent dissertation research). Several other women presented papers in the motor behavior area (e.g., Waneen Spirduso, Ann Gentile, Harriet Williams, Margaret Robb), but the program was dominated by men.

Dorothy Harris was active in those early years of NASPSPA, and as noted earlier, she became NASPSPA's fifth President in 1974-1975. Six other women have since served as NASPSPA president, including sport psychologists Tara Scanlan (1981-1982) and Diane Gill (1989-1990), as well as motor behavior scholar Waneen Spirduso (1976-1977) and motor development specialists Harriet Williams (1978-1979), Mary Ann Robertson (1986-1987) and Jane Clark (1992-1993).

It should be noted that the combination of motor learning/control, motor development, and sport psychology within NASPSPA reflected the field at that time. All were considered part of the psychology of motor behavior

and sport. Graduate programs, publications, and professional meetings often included overlapping content and approaches, and many scholars identified with the overall area rather than one of the three subspecialties. Of particular note for this article, the motor development area has always been a home for women scholars. Although motor development is the smallest of the three subareas in NASPSPA (less than 20% of the membership over the last few years), it is notable that three of the seven women presidents of NASPSPA are from motor development. Also within psychology, many early women pioneers focused on development, including motor development, and often included gender comparisons. In parallel fashion, pioneer women physical education scholars were known for research on motor development. Espenschade's work has already been noted, and I could add work during the development of the subdisciplines by Helen Eckert and Lolas Halverson. Today's sport psychologists might also note that Linda Bunker was a graduate student in the motor behavior area at the Allerton conference, although we now recognize her sport psychology work.

The Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology (AAASP), which formed in 1985 with a more applied orientation than NASPSPA, elected its first woman president, Jean Williams, in 1993-1994, and then elected Tara Scanlan president for 1994-1995. The ISSP has had only four men (serving multiple-year terms) and no women as president since 1965. Division 47 (Exercise and Sport) of the APA has had five men presidents since its formation in 1986.

Journal editorships provide another indicator of the status of women in the field. *The Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology (JSEP)* began as the *Journal of Sport Psychology* in 1979 with Dan Landers as editor, and is the oldest sport psychology research journal. *The Sport Psychologist (TSP)* began publication in 1987 with a more applied orientation, and the *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology (JASP)*, published by AAASP, started in 1989. Although all started with men editors, women have become editors. Diane Gill edited *JSEP* from 1986-1990. In 1992, Robin Vealey became editor of *TSP*, and Joan Duda became editor of *JASP*. In 1995, with Thelma Horn becoming editor of *JSEP*, all three major sport psychology journals have women editors. It should also be noted that the current editor of the *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, the long-time research journal of AAHPERD, is Maureen Weiss, another woman sport psychology scholar. Penny McCullagh, editor of this special issue, has been taking on essential, but often behind-the-scenes, roles throughout the development of the subdiscipline. She began a formal leadership role when she became AAASP president-elect in 1994-1995.

Many other women have contributed to sport and exercise psychology through their research, teaching, and service roles, but as in most fields, women have not attained formal leadership positions in proportion to their numbers. Women researchers have progressed in the 1990s, as compared with the 1970s and 1980s described by Safrit (1979, 1984), but women have not totally taken over. All three journals have a majority of men on their editorial boards, and reports (Duda, 1991; Gill, 1992) indicate that more articles are authored by men than by women.

Gender Issues in Sport Psychology

The preceding discussion of women's place in the history of sport psychology highlights some of the writings and research topics related to women and gender issues, as well as the women scholars in the field. For example, pioneering women psychologists addressed gender comparisons and challenged sexist biases in their work on development and mental abilities. Likewise, pioneering motor development scholars within physical education often incorporated gender comparisons.

Of course, not all women sport psychologists investigate gender issues or women in sport, just as not all prominent women psychologists study psychology of women. However, the personal does become political, at least to some extent, for most women scholars in any male-dominated field. Sport psychology is no exception, and many of the women cited in the preceding sections contributed to the knowledge base. As Bohan (1992) suggested for psychology, women researchers and research on women, although separate, are related. Moreover, without women scholars in psychology and physical education, women's experiences and concerns

likely would have received no attention. Invariably work on women's issues has been done by women, with a few men making important contributions.

Scholarly research and writing related to women's experiences and concerns in sport and exercise paralleled women's activity as scholars. Research on the psychological aspects of women and sport clearly was influenced by social-political events, particularly the modern women's movement of the 1970s. Title IX legislation, and the accompanying dramatic changes in women's competitive sport. As noted earlier, psychology of women as a field developed and expanded quickly in the 1970s, and the changing issues, conceptual frameworks, and methodological approaches in psychology of women provided models for sport psychology. Although we can trace the roots of some current work on gender and sport to the pioneering women psychologists and women physical educators, identifiable sport psychology work on women and gender issues began to appear with the changing social-political status of women and the emergence of the psychology of women and sport psychology subdisciplines in the 1970s.

Sandra Bern's (1974, 1978) widely cited and influential work on masculinity/femininity and gender roles, along with Janet Spence and Robert Hehreich's (1978) similar work, provoked considerable psychology research on gender and moved psychology from an emphasis on sex differences to gender roles through the 1970s and 1980s. Sport psychologists adopted this model by assessing gender roles of women athletes, and some papers in Harris's (1972) and Oglesby's (1978) important early edited works reflect that research. In the 1980s psychologists (e.g., Deaux, 1985; Deaux & Major, 1987) shifted from an emphasis on gender roles and personality to stereotypes and recognition of the role of social context and social processes (see Gill, 1992a, for more detailed discussion of the research trends).

Sport psychology research is moving in the direction of more "social" issues and approaches, and one finds models in sport sociology as well as psychology. Sport sociology had a strong feminist presence and concern for gender relations long before sport psychology developed a similar interest. M. Ann Hall has been a leader in moving the overall field of sport science, as well as sport sociology, in progressive, feminist directions for some time. Her 1978 book, *Sport and Gender: A Feminist Perspective on the Sociology of Sport*, one of the first feminist analyses of women and sport, influenced sport psychologists as well as sociology of sport scholars. Hall continues to offer provocative challenges to sport psychology (e.g., Hall, 1988, 1990), and other sport studies scholars (e.g., Birrell, 1988; Dewar, 1987) contributed feminist analyses that can help sport psychology take a more social, woman-oriented perspective, just as Carolyn Sherif advocated for psychology.

Current work in both sport sociology and psychology calls for attention to gender issues for men, as well as for women. Some male sport sociologists, such as Don Sabo and Michael Messner (Messner, 1992; Messner & Sabo, 1990), have contributed important work on gender issues for men in sport.

Along with extending gender issues to men, one clear direction for psychology of women is to move toward greater cultural diversity. Feminist scholars are vocal advocates of increased diversity and multicultural awareness in curricula, research topics, methodologies, and professional practice for all of psychology, as well as for the psychology of women.

Some sport psychologists have begun to take a broader multicultural perspective, but generally we have been even slower to consider such cultural diversity issues as race, ethnicity, age, physical characteristics, and sexual orientation than to consider gender. Those sport psychologists who have extended gender scholarship to cultural diversity issues often have grounding in sociocultural sport studies or feminist scholarship. Brenda Bredemeier has conducted an important line of research on moral development, and her work has clear ties to feminist studies. That orientation was apparent in Bredemeier's (1992) recent article in a special issue of *Quest* devoted to psychosocial perspectives on girls and women in sport and physical activity in which she called for a multicultural approach to gender and morality.

That special issue also included important sources for sport psychologists interested in women and gender issues: Yevonne Smith's (1992) review of the limited work on women of color in sport, and Pat Griffin's (1992) article on homophobia, sexism, and lesbians in sport. Notably, neither Smith nor Griffin identifies primarily as a sport psychologist, but both bring important perspectives to sport psychology. Griffin has made important contributions to women in sport for some time, and her recent work on homophobia and heterosexism, including an important address at the 1987 APA convention, is critical knowledge for any sport psychologist interested in women and gender issues. Given the almost total absence of any sport psychology research on women of color, Smith's review and call for more scholarship on women of color from diverse ethnic backgrounds and social realities is another must-read.

Along with the call for greater cultural diversity, another trend in the feminist psychology literature that seems relevant to sport psychology is the increasing attention to real-world women's issues and experiences, such as women's health issues and violence toward women. With sport psychology's turn to more applied issues and professional practice, along with a more recent interest in health-oriented exercise, specific concerns, and experiences of women are important for both research and practice.

Finally, I advocate greater attention to the international scene for sport psychologists interested in women and gender issues. International concerns are part of cultural diversity, but North American sport psychologists have been isolated and overly ethnocentric for far too long. And, North America may not be the model of gender equity that we often assume. As noted earlier, Erna Geron was a key international sport psychologist before the North American women that we recognize established their careers. Women sport psychologists are active around the world, and many are interested in international connections. At the most recent ISSP Congress in 1993, I personally spoke with women scholars from Argentina, South Africa, Nigeria, and Japan, as well as Europe and North America, who were interested in women and gender issues. We have much to gain from a more active international network.

Florence Denmark (1994), in the published version of her Distinguished Contribution to Psychology in the Public Interest award address, advocated "engendering psychology" by cultivating a psychology that is sensitive to issues of gender and diversity. Denmark closed her review of the progress made in engendering psychology by noting that the task is not yet complete:

From the classroom to the laboratory to practice we must make psychology more feminist. The approach favored by feminists includes collaboration without direct competition and turf struggles and encourages using a wanner and less detached interactive style with our students, clients, and research participants (Barinaga, 1993). We must realize that psychology is not value free but rather is a creation of the culture and context in which it has developed. If we engender our discipline, it becomes a stronger science and profession. (p. 334)

I would substitute sport and exercise psychology for psychology and make the same statement. An understanding of women's place in the history of sport psychology is a key first step in engendering our discipline. And, engendering our discipline makes sport psychology a stronger science and profession.

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