

## Participation by Women in Behavior Analysis. II: 1992

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Participation by women and men in (a) the editorial process and publication of three behavior analysis journals, (b) leadership in the Association for Behavior Analysis (ABA) and the Society for the Experimental Analysis of Behavior, and (c) participation in the 1982 and 1991 conventions of the Association for Behavior Analysis are described. The data indicate that the relative involvement of women in all three areas is lower than the percentage of ABA members who are women (31%) and is considerably lower than the percentage of women in society at large (51%). This underrepresentation of women in editorial and leadership roles in behavior analysis mirrors the reported phenomenon of a glass ceiling for women in leadership roles in business and industry. The men who control our institutions are asked to share power and responsibility by increasing the involvement of women in behavior analysis.

*Key words:* participation, publishing, affirmative action, equal opportunity, women

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Recent data indicate that women hold a disproportionately small percentage of top positions in business and white collar professions (Saltzman, 1991). In fact, the U.S. Department of Labor (1991) found that women face a "glass ceiling" in pursuing upper management jobs and formal control in organizations. The glass ceiling may also apply to the dynamics of academe. For example, in engineering and the sciences (including psychology), women have lower salaries and make slower progress (i.e., attaining tenure, promotion, or management jobs) in comparison to men with similar experience and credentials (Vetter, 1992).

The discipline of behavior analysis includes opportunities in academe, business, and human services for its members. Leadership and publication in behavior analysis organizations and

journals can be important vehicles for professional recognition and advancement. Poling et al. (1983) and Laties (1987) described convention participation and publication and editorial leadership by men and women in two of the established behavior analysis journals.

For both the *Journal of the Experimental Analysis of Behavior (JEAB)* and the *Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis (JABA)*, Poling et al. (1983) noted that there has been an increase since inception in the percentage of first authors who are women. They further noted that in 1980 and 1981, approximately 28% of the full members and 50% of the student members of the Association for Behavior Analysis: An International Organization (ABA) were women. The percentages of invited addresses, posters, and symposia given by women at the 1982 ABA Convention were 14%, 30%, and 38%, respectively.

Laties (1987) reported that in 1985 and 1986, 13% of the first authors in *JEAB* and 29% of the first authors of *JABA* were women. The *JEAB* editorial board consisted of 18% women in 1980-1981 and 14% in 1985-1986; for *JABA*, the editorial boards were 28% (1980-1981) and 23% women (1985-1986). Laties also reviewed the history of the Society for the Experimental Analysis of Behavior (SEAB), the governing organization for these two journals. Based on his Table 5,

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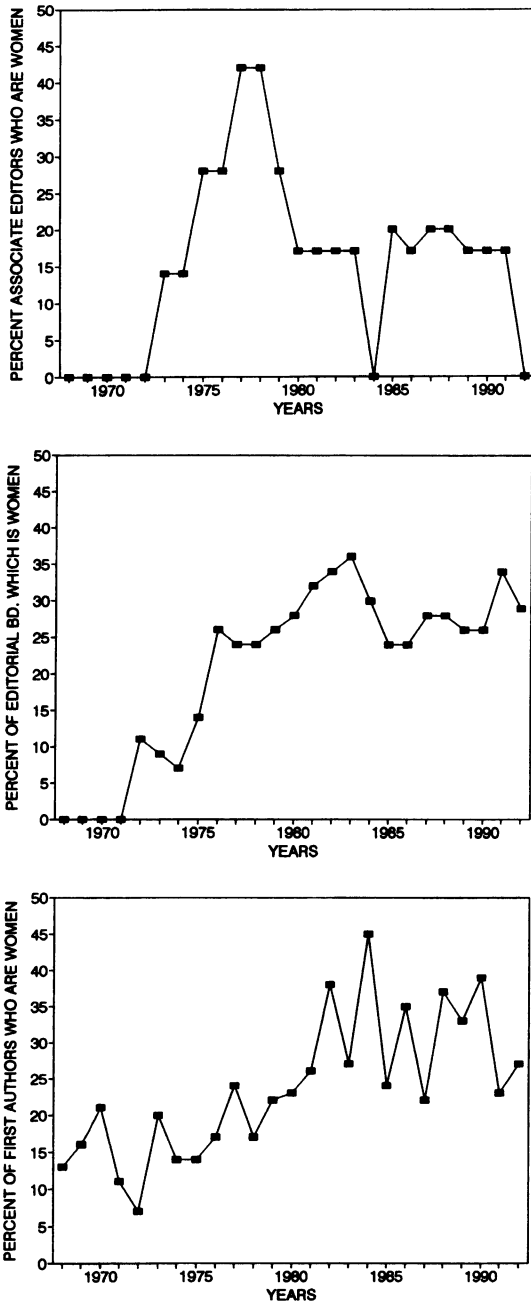


Figure 1. Participation by women in the *Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis*, 1968–1992.

none of the first 40 board members were women, and 17% of the board members appointed between 1973 and 1987 were women. The present article continues this examination of the publication, leadership, and convention participation by women in *JEAB*, *JABA*, and *ABA*, and includes data from *The Behavior Analyst*.

## EDITING AND PUBLISHING

The method for collecting the data on journal authorship and editorship was similar to that used by Poling et al. (1983). For *JEAB*, *JABA*, and *The Behavior Analyst*, the number of female associate editors, editorial board members, and first authors, and the total number of men and women in those three categories, were counted. Associate editor and editorial board data were taken from the inside of the front cover of the first issue of each year. Counts of gender of first authorship were taken from all articles listed in the tables of contents of all issues of *JEAB*, *JABA*, and *The Behavior Analyst*. Book reviews and editorials were included, if the author's name appeared in the table of contents of the issue. If it was not possible to identify the gender of the individual, the article was excluded from consideration. This led to the exclusion of the following percentages of articles: *JEAB*, 6%; *JABA*, 3%; and *The Behavior Analyst*, 1.4%.

### *Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis*

The editor of *JABA* for 1993–1995 is a woman, the first in 10 editors. Since 1968, women's service as associate editors has ranged from 0% to 42% per year (42% in 1977 and 1978). In the past 10 years, 14.5% of the associate editors have been women. Percentage of women on the editorial board has ranged from 0% to 36% per year. Over the past 10 years, this figure has ranged between 24% and 36%, with a yearly average of 29%. In the same period, women as first authors have ranged from 7% to 45% per year (the latter in 1984), with an average of 31% (Figure 1).

Poling et al. (1983) conducted linear regression on the authorship data through 1982, and found that there was an increasing trend in percentage of female first authors for *JEAB* and *JABA*. The slope of the regression line for the data from 1983 to 1992 on female first authors in *JABA* was  $-0.42$ , indicating a downward trend.

Regression analysis is not appropriate

to evaluate trends in editorial board composition, because each year is not independent of the previous year. Most editorial board members and associate editors continue for several years, with less than half of the board rotating off the board for replacement annually. The present analysis used 3-year averages over the most recent 15 years to elucidate editorial board trends. Table 1 presents consecutive 3-year averages of percentage of women on the editorial board and percentage of female first authors for *JABA* for 1978–1992. Based on Figure 1, Table 1, and the regression slope, the percentages of *JABA* associate editors and editorial board members who are women appear stable over the past 12 years. The percentage of first authors who are women is at best stable, and is possibly declining.

*Journal of the Experimental Analysis of Behavior*

None of the 11 editors of *JEAB* has been a woman. There has been one female associate editor in 9 of the past 16 years, out of a total of three or four associate editors per year. In the past 10

TABLE 1

Three-year average percentages of women's participation in behavior analysis journals

	1978-1980	1981-1983	1984-1986	1987-1989	1990-1992
<i>JABA</i>					
Associate editor	29	17	12	19	11
Editorial board	26	34	26	27	30
First author	21	30	34	31	30
<i>JEAB</i>					
Associate editor	28	11	0	30	8
Editorial board	12	15	13	12	13
First author	14	11	14	15	15
<i>The Behavior Analyst</i>					
Advisory board	50 <sup>a</sup>	49	50	42	51
Editorial board	24 <sup>b</sup>	26	36	38	37
First author	20	9	12	25	16

<sup>a</sup> 1979 and 1980 only.

<sup>b</sup> 1980 only. No boards listed for the other years.

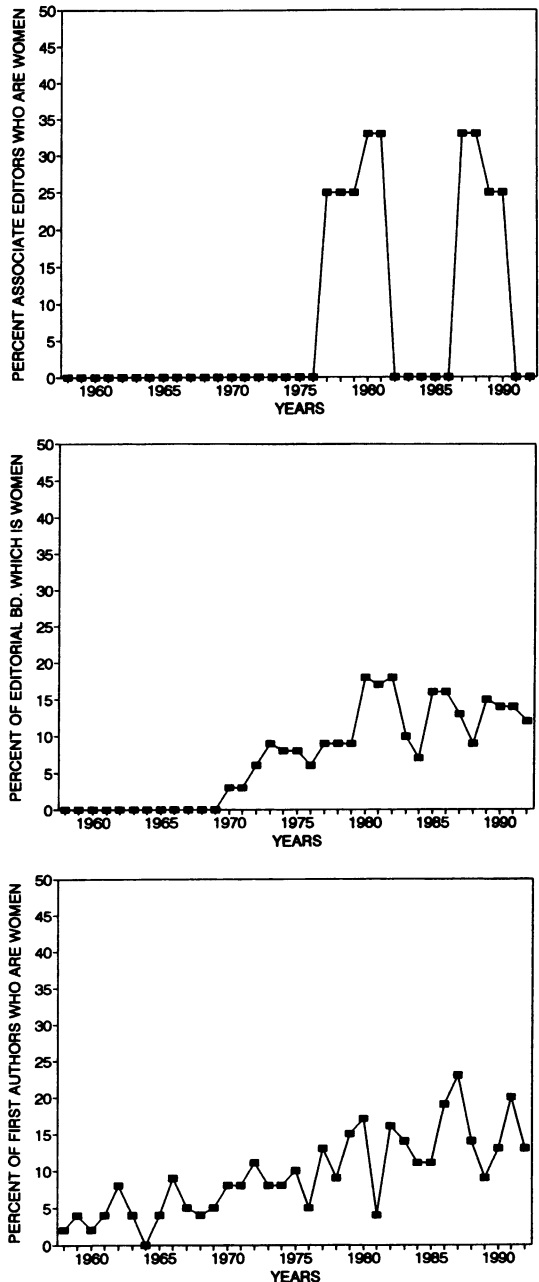


Figure 2. Participation by women in the *Journal of the Experimental Analysis of Behavior*, 1958–1992.

years, editorial board composition has ranged from 7% to 16% women per year, with a mean of 13%. Women have been first authors of an average of 15% of articles per year over the last 10 years, with a range of 9% to 23% (1987) (Figure 2). Figure 2 and Table 1 indicate stability in *JEAB* editorial board composition and variability in number and percentage of

female associate editors. The slope of the regression line for the 1983–1992 data on women as first authors was 0.15, a slight upward trend.

### *The Behavior Analyst*

Three of the eight (38%) editors of *The Behavior Analyst* have been women, as is the current editor-elect (who will assume duties as editor for 1994–1996). There was no advisory board listed in the first volume of *The Behavior Analyst*, but since then the percentage of women has ranged from 42% to 54% per year, with an average of 48% over the last 10 years. Editorial board composition has ranged from 29% to 40% women, and has stabilized over the past 10 years, with a 10-year average of 36% women (Figure 3). (No editorial board was listed for the first 2 years.) Three-year averages presented in Table 1 indicate stability in percentages of women on the advisory board and on the editorial board. Women have been first authors of an average of 16% of the articles in the past 10 years; this figure has ranged from 7% to 33% (in 1988) of articles during the journal's 13-year history. The slope for the regression line of percentage of female first authors by year for 1983–1992 was 0.96. Along with the 3-year averages, this slope indicates an increasing trend, with a transient 10% to 15% increase in 1988–1989 in percentage of women as first authors.

## MEMBERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP

### *Membership in ABA*

One estimate of professional involvement is membership in ABA. In 1981 and 1982, approximately 50% of the student and affiliate members of ABA were women, and 28% of the full members were women (Poling et al., 1983).

Figure 4 presents annual membership data for 1981–1992. These data were furnished from ABA office records, and no data were available for several of the years. The percentage of full members (including sustaining and supporting members) who are women has been sta-

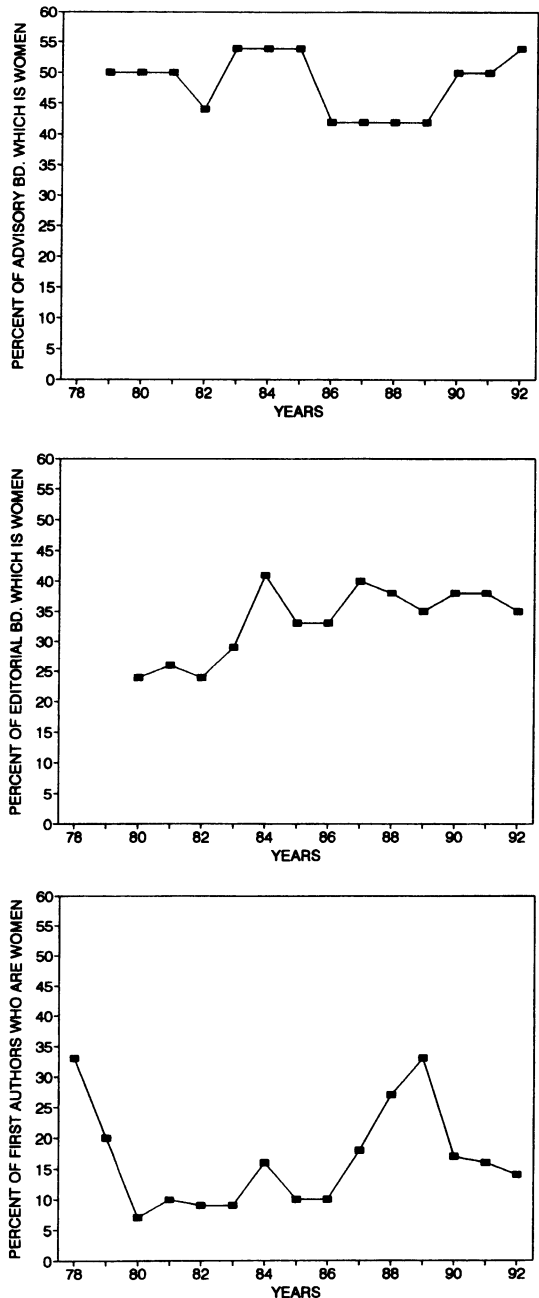


Figure 3. Participation by women in *The Behavior Analyst*, 1978–1992.

ble at 31% since 1986, while the percentage of student members who are female increased to a decided majority of 60% in 1991. The figure of 31% of full members who are women can be used as one benchmark for other measures of involvement in behavior analysis, including leadership, convention participation, publication, and editorial involvement.

When the publication and editorial data

described previously are considered in light of the 31% female membership of ABA, representation of women in editorship (editor and editorial board) and on the advisory board of *The Behavior Analyst* exceeds their proportion of ABA membership. There is an increasing trend for female first authorship in this journal, although women are still underrepresented in comparison to ABA membership. Women have proportionate representation as first author in *JABA* and are underrepresented in *JABA* in editorial responsibility. The trend may be increasing for *JEAB* first authors, but women are underrepresented in *JEAB* at all levels.

The discrepancy between the figure of 55% to 60% of student female members and the 31% of female full members might predict the following: As the 55% to 60% of female student members attain terminal degrees, they will convert to full status, and the percentage of female full members will increase above 31%. However, the percentage of women who are full members has not changed since 1986. It seems that the percentages and absolute numbers of female ABA members are not increasing at the rate that might be expected if a reasonable proportion of female student members were attaining degrees and converting to full membership. Apparently one of the above assumptions is flawed. Either (a) few of the student members are doctoral students and student members do not attain terminal degrees, (b) women students attain terminal degrees at a lower rate than men (there is some evidence for this in psychology), or (c) proportionately fewer women are choosing full membership after completing their degrees.

#### *Governance and Leadership in Behavior Analysis*

Laties (1987) listed the first 81 members of the Board of Directors of SEAB. As indicated earlier, none of the first 40 board members (1957–1972) were women; from 1973 to 1987, 7 of 41 board members (17%) were women. Recent data on board composition were found in the 1982, 1986, 1990, and 1991 issues of *JEAB* and *JABA*. The percentages of

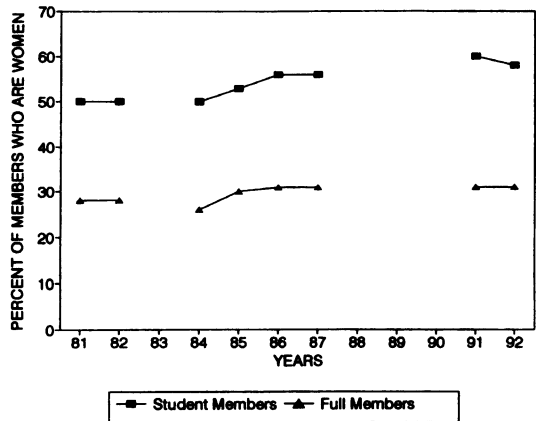


Figure 4. Participation by women in ABA (student members and full voting members), 1981–1992.

women on the SEAB board in these 4 years were 12%, 19%, 8%, and 13%, respectively, an average of 13%. Two women have served as president of the board, in 1975–1976 and in 1991–1992. The purpose of SEAB is to publish *JEAB* and *JABA*, and a major function is to select the editors for *JEAB* and *JABA*. Membership on the SEAB board is self-perpetuating; the current board selects individuals to replace a member as his or her 8-year term expires. Thus, the SEAB board determines the composition, including gender representation, not only of the board itself but also of the editorial leadership of *JEAB* and *JABA*.

In the governance of ABA (which is 31% women), 6 of 18 presidents (33%) have been women. The first five presidents were men. Two of the next five presidents (1981–1986) were women, two of the third quintet of presidents (1986–1991) were women, and two of three presidents from 1991–1994 were women. Subsequent to the first five presidents, then, at least 40% of each quintet of presidents have been women, with the possibility that the fourth quintet might include more than two women. On the ABA Council, membership from 1982 to 1992 has included five women of a total of 19 members. Two of these women served on the council in 1982, and only three of the last 16 council members (19%) have been women. Student members elect nonvoting council members, and the student category previously fell under the

TABLE 2

**Summary of indicators of women's participation in behavior analysis publishing and leadership**

	Indicator	Percent women	Sample size or date span
<i>Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis</i>	Editor	10	All 10
	Associate editor	14	1983-1992
	Editorial board	29	1983-1992
	First author	31	1983-1992
<i>Journal of the Experimental Analysis of Behavior</i>	Editor	0	All 11
	Associate editor	14	1983-1992
	Editorial board	13	1983-1992
	First author	15	1983-1992
<i>The Behavior Analyst</i>	Editor	44	All 9
	Advisory board	48*	1983-1992
	Editorial board	36	1983-1992
	First author	16	1983-1992
Association for Behavior Analysis: An International Organization (ABA)	President	44	1985-1994
	Council member	19	1984-1992
	Voting member	31	1986-1992
	Student member	57*	1986-1992
	Student council member	67*	1986-1992
ABA Convention	Invited address	15	1982 & 1991
	Invited symposia	31	1982 & 1991
	Other addresses	26	1991
	Other symposia	39	1991
Society for the Experimental Analysis of Behavior	Board member	13	1982-1991

Numbers in **bold** exceed 31% (proportion of ABA members who are women). Numbers indicated by an asterisk approximate or exceed 51% (proportion of women in the general population).

broader category of "affiliate." Six of nine student representatives to the ABA Council from 1987-1992 have been women.

### *Convention Participation*

Recall that 14% of the invited addresses at the 1982 Convention were given by women, and 31% of the symposium participants were women (Poling et al., 1983). Data on participation in the 1991 ABA Convention were gathered from the convention program. The numbers of women and men listed as first authors of presentations in several categories were identified and tabulated. If the gender could not be determined, that presentation was not considered. For symposia and panels, only individuals listed with presentation titles on a panel or symposium were tabulated; chairs and discussants were not included.

sium were tabulated; chairs and discussants were not included.

At the 1991 Convention, women constituted 15% of the presenters of invited addresses and 31% of the participants in invited symposia. In 1991, women made 26% of the noninvited addresses, and 35% of the presenters at noninvited symposia were women. These 1991 Convention figures are virtually identical to those in 1982.

### **SOME BASES FOR COMPARISON**

Table 2 lists the 22 indicators of participation that have been reviewed, along with a summary value for the percentage of women's participation and the sample size or date span involved. What might be a basis for assessing the degree of participation of women in behavior analy-

TABLE 3

**Gender equity ratios of percentages of women in editorial positions (associate editor and editorial board) to percentages of female first authors**

	1978-1980	1981-1983	1984-1986	1987-1989	1990-1992
<i>JABA</i>					
Associate editor	1.38	0.57	0.35	0.61	0.37
Editorial board	1.23	1.13	0.76	0.87	1.00
<i>JEAB</i>					
Associate editor	2.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	0.53
Editorial board	0.86	1.36	0.92	0.80	0.87
<i>The Behavior Analyst</i>					
Advisory board	2.50	5.44	4.17	1.68	3.19
Editorial board	1.20	2.89	3.00	1.52	2.31

sis? One basis might be the proportion of full members of ABA who are women, 31%. The values in bold typeface in Table 2 are the nine indicators considered herein which attain or approximate this standard: *JABA* first authorship, *The Behavior Analyst* editor, *The Behavior Analyst* editorial board, *The Behavior Analyst* advisory board, ABA presidency, student membership on the ABA Council, student membership in ABA, and the two measures of symposium participation at ABA in 1981 and 1991.

Another basis for assessing relative participation could be the proportion of women in the general population, which is 51%. Indicated by an asterisk in Table 2 are the 3 of 22 indicators of women's participation which approximate this 51% figure: *The Behavior Analyst* advisory board, and student membership in ABA and on the ABA Council. The figures for student membership in ABA ( $M = 57\%$ ) are similar to psychology in general, where 55% of doctorates were awarded to women in 1988 (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). Admittedly, the gender distribution of doctoral students, as opposed to master's and undergraduate students, in the ABA student membership is not known.

A third standard for comparison is the gender equity ratio (Teghtsoonian, 1974; A. White, 1985). This ratio has been calculated for editorial participation in relation to publication; that is, publication (proportion of first authors who are

women) constitutes the standard against which editorial representation (proportion of editors who are women) is compared. Table 3 presents the gender equity ratios for percentages of female associate editors and members of editorial and advisory boards to percentages of female first authors for the respective 3-year averages presented in Table 1. An equity ratio smaller than 1.00 indicates that the proportion of women in editorial positions is less than the proportion of female first authors; a ratio larger than 1.00 indicates that women are present in editorial positions to a greater degree than their first authorship proportions.

Gender equity ratios for *The Behavior Analyst* leadership (advisory and editorial board) compared to first authorship are consistently above 1.00 and are above 2.00 in several instances. That is, women are represented in those leadership roles in greater proportion than their publication participation. This editorial and advisory board presence is also greater than their 31% membership in ABA. Most of the equity ratios for *JEAB* and *JABA* for the past 9 years have been less than 1.00, indicating underrepresentation of women in editorial capacities.

In summary, most of the indicators for editing and publishing showed an increasing trend in relative participation by women through the early to mid-1980s before leveling off in the past 10 years. Women have been leaders in *The Be-*

*havior Analyst* in excess of their ABA membership proportion and in excess of 40% for editor and advisory board. There is an increasing trend in percentage of female first authors in *The Behavior Analyst*. *JABA* has its first female editor, and the percentage of female first authors has been increasing slowly for *JEAB*. Otherwise, women are still underrepresented in editorial positions in *JEAB* and *JABA*: in relation to their publication, to their association membership, and to their 51% of the general population.

Four of the last nine ABA presidents (44%) have been women, and student presence (member, council member) in ABA exceeds women's presence in the general population. Women have been underrepresented in other influential positions in behavior analysis—the ABA Council and the SEAB Board.

## DISCUSSION

In the first 40 years of the founding of the field of psychology and prior to attaining suffrage, women were essentially closed out of science and academe in general (Rossiter, 1974) and psychology in particular (Bryan & Boring, 1944). Only two of the first 769 members of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) were women (Bryan & Boring, 1944). The current situation in science and psychology is little changed (Vetter, 1992). In science careers, women earn less and advance more slowly and in proportionately smaller numbers than men. Women comprise slightly more than 4% of the current NAS members (Vetter, 1992).

Pfafflin (1984) and Vetter (1992) noted that, in relation to the general population, women are underrepresented in science and technology, although they are best represented in behavioral and social sciences. The percentage of baccalaureate and doctoral degrees in psychology awarded to women has increased consistently since 1950 (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). In 1988, 70% of baccalaureate degrees and 55% of doctoral degrees were awarded to women. The percentage of doctoral psychologists who are women

increased from 19% in 1973 to 34% in 1987.

Women received more than 50% of doctorates in all subfields (clinical, developmental, educational, etc.) except experimental and industrial, for which percentages of women were 48% and 46%, respectively. Although behavior analysis is generally considered a branch of experimental psychology, first authorship data for *JABA* and *JEAB* indicate that women publish at twice the rate in applied areas (clinical, educational, developmental, developmental disabilities) as they do in basic behavior analysis.

For the past decade, the percentage of female student members in ABA has been almost double the percentage of female full members. However, there has not been the increase in the percentage of female full members which might be predicted as students attain doctorates. Why are some female student members not affiliating as full members after receiving their degrees? A more pointed issue is whether the nearly double percentage of female student members over the past 10 years in relation to the proportion of female full members represents a caste system.

### *What's Going On Here?*

The historical underrepresentation of women in the academic professions, including science and technology in general and behavioral sciences, psychology, and behavior analysis in particular, may be a function of several factors. One factor is the traditional role of women in domestic partnerships: to be the primary homemaker and parent. These obligations compete with the intense involvement necessary to publish and fulfill other requirements for academic and other professional success (Favell, 1989). Boring (1961) described the asymmetric value of marriage to professional men and women: Ostensibly, marriage and a family facilitate a man's career, but they compete with a woman's pursuit of the activities leading to professional success. Indeed, this is probably still true, as married female health professionals report-



edly do a disproportionate share of homemaking and child care (Pizurki, Meija, Butter, & Ewart, 1987). Furthermore, because women are single parents more often than men, parenting is likely to compete with more women's pursuit of a career.

### *Job and Economic Discrimination*

Job and economic discrimination is another factor detrimental to women's participation in the workplace, including psychology. Women are paid less than men in equivalent or comparable positions (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991), including psychology (National Science Foundation, 1990). In 1988, women with a college education were still making 60% of the wages of their male counterparts (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991). In the sciences and engineering in 1989 and 1990, women with a bachelor's, master's, or doctoral degree made 73%, 84%, and 88%, respectively, of the salaries of their male counterparts (P. E. White, 1992). In psychology in 1989, women with doctorates earned 86% of what their male counterparts earned; in 1991, women with bachelor's degrees in psychology received offers for starting salaries that were 87% of the offers men received (Vetter, 1992). In 1982–1983, two to three times as many men as women were hired in academic jobs, received appointments at the assistant professor level or higher, and obtained jobs at institutions of higher prestige (Bronstein, Black, Pfennig, & White, 1986). Bronstein et al. (1986) discussed research showing that faculty in the past have taken women less seriously than men and not supported women's career plans as much as men's.

There are indications of a recent trend toward equal treatment and opportunity in psychology (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). Starting salaries for male and female psychologists who received their degrees less than 10 years ago were less discrepant than for psychologists who graduated more than 10 years ago. Although only 21% of tenured psychology positions in 4-year colleges and universities are held by women, over 45% of

tenure-track (not yet tenured) positions are held by women. Despite the latter figure, the change in percentage of women holding tenured positions may be slow, because the untenured tenure-track positions are a small percentage of total faculty positions.

### *Sexual Harassment*

Sexual harassment has been defined broadly to include gender harassment (insulting and degrading sexist statements and behavior); seduction (unwanted physical or verbal sexual advances); bribery and coercion (reward which is promised, or punishment which is threatened or used to obtain sexual activity); and sexual assault (unwanted grabbing and rape) (Paludi & Barickman, 1991). These acts are anchored by the effects on the victim, including making the workplace uncomfortable and interfering with the ability to do one's job, and not by the intent of the perpetrator. The occurrence and effects of harassment are buttressed by the typical status and/or power advantage of men over women. Although we may think of ourselves as so enlightened that harassment is not present, the data suggest otherwise.

Over half of women working in the private sector reported negative consequences (being fired, not being promoted, not given raises) for refusal to comply with sexual propositions (Gutek, 1985). Thirty percent of undergraduate women reported sexual harassment (not including gender harassment) from at least one instructor (Dzeich & Weiner, 1984), and that figure rises as high as 70% when gender harassment is included (Adams, Kottke, & Padgett, 1983; Lott, Reilly, & Howard, 1982). Sixty to 70% of women faculty reported being subjected to sexist comments demeaning to women or remarks about their clothing, body, or sexual activities by teachers while they were in graduate school (Bond, 1988). Between 9% and 16% of college women have reported sexual assault from a faculty member (Adams et al., 1983; Bailey & Richards, 1985; Bond, 1988; Wilson & Krauss, 1983). Twelve to 20% of under-

graduate or graduate women have reported changing their academic programs (course, individual study/mentoring, major) as a result of or to avoid sexual harassment by a faculty member (Adams et al., 1983; Bailey & Richards, 1985; Bond, 1988). The subjects in Bailey and Richards (1985) and Bond (1988) were psychology students. Harassment by their male peers has been reported by 70% or more of the female students at Cornell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the University of Rhode Island (Paludi & Barickman, 1991).

Although some of these data on discrimination and harassment are dated by a decade, they have implications for the departure of women who might have chosen an academic career or a particular academic major. The data also have implications for the continued underrepresentation of women if we do not eliminate discrimination and harassment. Sidman (1989) described how the coercive use of reinforcement and punishment can produce escape from and avoidance of coercive people and settings. Some of these percentages are substantial, and some percentages (9% to 20%) might seem less than problematic, but any incident of discrimination or harassment is abominable. To a victim, the effects of discrimination or harassment may be pivotal to a career and are often devastating to one's personhood (Paludi & Barickman, 1991).

### *Some Suggestions*

The voting power in ABA involves more than twice as many men as women, and the SEAB board is overwhelmingly male. As a result, the presence of women in leadership roles reflects choices that are made mainly by men (ABA members, on the SEAB board, and the journal editorial leadership). A basic issue seems to be whether we males will change our behavior so that we share opportunity and power and do not oppress or exploit women.

The membership patterns of SEAB and its allied journals and of the ABA Council seem to corroborate the observations of

Bryan and Boring (1944) concerning leadership in the American Psychological Association and the then-fledgling American Association for Applied Psychology:

Men vote for men and women vote for men, not always, but often enough to upset the proportions. Men are in the majority and determine the outcome of many votes. They hold the controlling interest. Women look to men for leadership more readily than men look to women. That asymmetry is deeply imbedded in our culture. And all these influences are cumulative. If women do not get elected to responsible posts as often as men, then there are fewer women of influence around the council table to help correct the discrepancy, and there is also less incentive for career-minded women to enter the field and to attempt in it to satisfy their ambitions. (p. 454)

Although the descriptions of women's choices are questionable, the importance of this quotation is in the description of men's behavior and the potential effects on women's participation.

What can we do to improve the participation of women in behavior analysis? A beginning is to listen to women about their experiences and follow their suggestions for change. We can state our policies and goals in writing, and pursue practices that promote these goals and punish violators. We must monitor our own behavior and that of our colleagues, and refuse to engage in, or allow others to engage in, harassment (Sidman, 1989). We can forsake the "good ole boy" approach in choosing colleagues and voting, and commit to looking for viable female candidates. We need to be sure we are promoting opportunity and development for female students and professionals, including consideration for their multiple roles as homemakers, wives, and mothers.

Either of two contrasting institutional approaches could produce an increase in the proportion of women participating in the leadership and publication of ABA and its allied journals. The first approach has been called "gatekeeping" (Spender, 1981). Gatekeeping begins with the relative participation by women in the organization, at the convention, and in publication. Based on these figures and hopefully an increase in some, ABA, SEAB, and the journals could make sure

that women's participation in the regulatory process and governance is at the same level as membership or publication. In other words, equity ratios should be at least 1.00. The delays by several years in the initial appointments of women as *JEAB* and *JABA* editorial board members and associate editors in relation to their ongoing publication in those journals clearly reflect gatekeeping, and the recent selection of a woman as *JABA* editor may also represent this strategy. However, if gatekeeping is the strategy, there should be immediate increases where women are underrepresented, as indicated by equity ratios less than 1.00: *JABA* and *JEAB* associate editor and editorial board and *JEAB* editor. If ABA membership of 31% women is used as the gatekeeping criterion, women's participation should increase substantially in all *JABA* and *JEAB* editorial roles, the SEAB board, and the ABA Council.

The second approach might be called "entitlement." Recall that the governance of *The Behavior Analyst* appears to reflect such an entitlement strategy, where women are present in proportions that approximate the general population (for the advisory board) or at least ABA full membership (editorial board). This resembles voluntary affirmative action. An entitlement approach would involve substantial increases in all of the roles mentioned in the previous paragraph. This strategy was apparent for associate editor of *JABA* in 1976–1978 and of *JEAB* in 1976–1981 and 1986–1990.

The role of SEAB in determining its own membership and *JEAB* and *JABA* editorship is pivotal. Editors in turn determine associate editor and editorial board composition. Rather than continue to have all SEAB board appointments as successorships, some appointments could be made elective by the subscribers. In addition, there could be a constitutional provision for board appointments that requires either gender parity on the board, or some minimal figure (such as the ABA percentage of female members) substantially above the recent average of 13% women on the Board.

A final strategy is to decrease terms, to

3 or 4 years on the SEAB board, and to 2, or at most 3, years for all levels of editorial responsibility. This would allow more individuals the opportunity to experience these roles and their benefits. Again, those in power have the choice to emit behavior that can result in the sharing of power and in more equal opportunity.

### *Now What?*

The relative underrepresentation and lack of power of female professionals in behavior analysis seem similar to those in psychology, science, academe, the broader world of work, and, sadly, known history. Have women in behavior analysis encountered the same glass ceiling that women have in other professions? The data indicate that women continue to be underrepresented in behavior analysis and in positions of power, and that any change has been far too slow. Poling et al. (1983) were accurate in their prediction that "complex problems have the vexatious quality of failing to disappear, despite all efforts to ignore them" (p. 151). As noted by Vetter (1992):

Historically, the United States is a sexist, racist society that generally subscribes to the myth of white male superiority, even when such feelings are denied. (p. 41)

This statement may seem harsh, extreme, biased, and inaccurate. Nevertheless, as much as we have tried to change our culture and its institutions or deny their effects, it is inescapable that we (individuals and organizations) are affected by the social environment in which we live. This is a cornerstone of our philosophy and application of behavior analysis.

Our specialty is the description, prediction, and control of behavior. This paper describes one product of our own behavior—we have developed a profession and an organization in which more than two thirds of the active and voting participants are men. The question seems clear: When will we make choices and changes that promote greater participation by women?

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