Psychology's Feminist Voices Oral History Project

Interview with Hope Landrine

Interviewed by Leeat Granek
San Francisco, CA
August 18, 2007

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HL: Hope Landrine, Interview participant
LG: Leeat Granek, Interviewer

LG – So the first question is a very general question: How and when did you first develop a feminist identity?

HL – Okay. I was an undergraduate college student, it was 1971 or '72, I think it was the end of either my freshman or sophomore year and I was home with my family for summer vacation and I spent my summer vacations trying to read as many books as I could; read things that I wanted to read instead of what we were assigned. So I would go to the public library in my neighbourhood and just pick a book that looked interesting. And this particular library, near each new book that they would display, they had a list of associated books that you may want to read. So I walked in and I walked up to the kiosk of new books and there was a book, and they had several copies, called *The Feminine Mystique* and I thought the title was intriguing. So I walked over to that book because I thought the title sounded so neat and I picked that up and I turned that over and it said "This book is about the problem that has no name." And I thought, wow, what is this? So I opened the first page and I read like a few pages and I thought wow this sounds really really good. So there were a set of other suggested books, so I took Betty Freidan's *The Feminine Mystique*, I took *The Church and the Second Sex* and *Beyond God the Father*, by Mary Daly, I took *The Prostitution Papers* by Kate Millett; I took every book that they recommended – anyone who reads this one try these others. And these were books that had just been released at that time. So I left the library with an armload of what I did not know were feminist books; I had no idea.

LG – Yeah.

HL – I thought the title *The Feminine Mystique* was so interesting, and the few pages I read seemed to be about married women who were depressed. And I had an English professor who was extremely depressed, who was my favourite professor, she was incredibly intelligent, but she was so depressed that I actually used to spend some weekends at her house; she didn't want to be by herself because she thought she would kill herself.

LG – Oh.

HL – You know I'm a freshman and she says come and stay at my house, so I would sit in a chair and watch her finally fall asleep, and go back to my dorm. So I had this really really depressed English professor – I went to a private college where all the faculty and students lived on the campus, so that's how that could happen.

LG – Okay.

{3:05}

HL – And it was a small private college and there were only five students in a class. But anyhow, that's why I thought *The Feminine Mystique* looked so interesting. But I ended up taking these extremely radical feminist books that I had no idea that that was the content. So I got them all home and my thing for the summer was that I would read all of these books, so I read them all, and I went back to college somebody else. I was nothing like the person I was prior to that. And it's funny, when I look back now, I look back at a book like *The Feminine Mystique*, and it's a really simple and conservative kind of book, and it has very conservative and simple arguments, but in 1970 and '71, those were not simple conservative arguments; those were very radical and new ways of thinking. Thinking about women as a class and thinking about marriage as an institution, those were very radical and new ideas. Now when I look at it it's kind of elementary, but it wasn't then. So I read Dworkin and Millett and I read a lot of history books, and mythology books, and anthropology books, that had all been recommended at the library. And I went back to college and I was someone else. I had been certainly interested in political issues before I read all those books. I grew up in a welfare family in the slums, we were very very poor, so poverty was something I was interested in, and I had been a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, and I had been the president of the Black Student Union, before I went home and read all of those books, and then I came back and I joined other groups and started to do other things and thought in a very different way.

LG – Okay.

HL – And you know there's no turning back; once you are feminist, you just are. And there's no going back. So I joined a women's caucus that we had on campus. Prior to that it would have never occurred to me to join that group or find out what they were doing. So I joined a women's caucus on campus and there was a women's rights and concerns group, and I joined that group, and participated in some others. So that was about '71 and '72, and I continued reading – I got back to college and read every feminist book I could find in our college library; there were certainly far more than in the public library in my old neighbourhood. So I read all of those and then in about 1974 or so, a new book was released called *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, and I went and got the book the week that it was released. So I read that and in there there were addresses that you could write to, for the women of the Boston Women's Health Collective, who had written this book together. So you could, for several chapters they gave addresses if you had questions or if you wanted to talk to people. So I sat down and I started writing letters to the authors of the chapters of *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, asking all sorts of questions about various feminist issues and ways to be part of the movement, and ways to do things for women, particularly poor women. And people answered me. I got a whole bunch of letters back. And one woman in particular from the Boston Women's Health Collective, her name was Joan, started writing to me regularly, telling me about the work that they were doing and things that were going on, things that I could participate in if I wanted to when I graduated. So a year later I graduated from college and I had been writing to Joan for a year, and Joan came down and picked me up after I graduated and drove me up to Boston. Joan and I were roommates for awhile and I worked at the Cambridge Women's Centre with a group of people who had produced the first edition of *Our Bodies, Ourselves*.

{7:04}

LG – Wow.

HL – So I moved to Boston. I hope that gives a sense of what all of this had done to me. This was a very serious change in how I understood the world and in what was important to me.

LG – Okay.

HL – And so I didn't apply to graduate school, I didn't do anything. I just wanted to go and work at this place.

LG – Yeah.

HL – And work with these women who had participated in writing *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. So I graduated from college and I moved to Boston. I had never been there in my life, and I didn't really have a career goal, I just wanted to do stuff with women, particularly battered women, abused women, poor women. So I moved to Cambridge, I volunteered at the Cambridge Women's Centre for a long time and I had a paid job at a feminist treatment centre. It was the first feminist drug treatment centre ever, called Women Incorporated, in Roxbury, and I worked with a group of poor women who were drug addicts, and the issues for those women at the time were not just their drug abuse but gendered inequality and abuse in their lives, prostitution, and difficulties making a living, and other issues. So I worked at Women Incorporated and volunteered at the women's centre and I guess that's pretty much how it started and I continue to follow that.

LG – Okay. Can you talk a little bit about, you talked so much about being a changed person. What was it about your worldview that shifted so radically that as you say, you just moved to Boston to be part of this work?

HL – Yeah, first I did not perceive women as a class of people. I perceived poor people as a class. And as I said I was in the Young Socialist Alliance and so I had a way of thinking about the nature of inequality in the world; I was very Marxist. So I did not think of women as a class, not really, until I read all those books.

LG – Okay.

HL – And then that's a very very different way of looking at the world. So now I saw women as a class and as an important class.

LG – Okay.

{9:25}

HL – And it led me off in a direction that I've never really come back from. Although the other things that I had been doing when I was an undergraduate, I had been in the Young Socialist Alliance and I had been president of the Black Student Union, and I had been interested in ethnic and class inequality, before I had been interested in gender inequality. I remained interested in those things and then obviously that stayed with my life, but this became a new big part of it. So I graduated from college in 1975 and I moved up to Boston. When I look back at it it's actually kind of odd that I was so taken by all of it that I just moved up to Boston. But I didn't really have a career direction and I hadn't applied to graduate school. I had not been interested in Psychology at all. Actually, I went to college as a chemistry major, and I thought at the time [I would go into chemistry] - I was really young when I went to college, I was sixteen and I was twenty when I graduated. And, I believed that chemistry was a way to solve some of the problems that concerned a sixteen-year-old from the ghetto. I was interested in poverty, health

disparities, and thought that being a chemist would make a difference. So, I went to college as a chemistry major, I got there and for some reason, for all of us who were involved in my going to college early, for some reason it did not occur to us that I would have trouble being a chemistry major when I never took high school trigonometry or calculus; for some reason this never occurred to anyone, you know! It was like: "You have straight As, high school is too slow for you, if you take the SATs and you can score at least seven hundred, we would let you go and the college will *[admit you]*." So I got there and sat in my college chemistry class, and I had absolutely no idea what was going on. I mean, there were symbols on the blackboard that were absolutely meaningless to me. And so, I sat with my advisor and we were trying to figure out what to do; *[because]* it was not going to be possible for me to try to take my college classes and somehow take the high school math classes that I had never taken, but there were just no ways I was going to make it as a chemistry major [not being involved in the lectures]. So, I sat with my advisor and we said "Well …" I said "Well I still want to stay *[in the sciences]* I am convinced that science is a way to change the world." And, he said well: "We're going to have to think of a science that you can major in that does not require you to have taken trigonometry and calculus in high school". And he said: "Ah! I know one". And, so I became a psychology major.

LG – Wow.

HL – I had no interest in Psychology. So he just said: "That is the only science I can think of where you will not need this." And it is science where, you know; maybe you can still make the kinds of contributions that you want to make to the [poor] and [ethnic] minorities, so try Psychology". So you know, I thought, Ok I guess I will do this. As a major, it was interesting. I was not in love with it, I was not against it. I went there by default, not by desire. And even as an undergraduate, I had concerns about it; I thought it was conservative. Remember, I was a radical Marxist before I [went ahead] with the radical feminism. And so, I thought it was conservative; I perceived it - even as an undergraduate - as a field that seems to have a potential to defend the status quo not challenge it; by locating problems within people instead of outside of them.

LG – Right

{13:11}

HL – I had read all Marxist books, and I still had very Marxist ways of thinking about things. And a Marxist view of Psychology is not terribly a positive one.

LG – How did you then merge your feminism with the work you did in Psychology?

HL – Well, I wasn't … you mean as an undergraduate? Because, I am still [not done] (13:35) with being an undergraduate, how I became a Psychology major…

LG – Oh, I'm sorry

HL – I am still trying to explain … one of the questions is, you know, what attracted me to Psychology; how did I get into it?

LG – Right

HL – Well, I actually fell into it by default. I became a psychology major and it was not a field that I was interested in; but I was already in college and I had to pick a science, my advisor suggested that one. And I had problems with it, I thought it was conservative; and adding a feminist identity to it when I came back from that summer vacation just made me see it as even more conservative. I saw it as conservative and sexist on top of everything else. So, I graduated with no plan for graduate school; no desire to actually pursue Psychology at all. I was not sure what I was going to do, actually. So, I went and I worked in the women centre, and I worked at "Women Incorporated". Working at "Women Incorporated" made me want to come back.

There I was introduced to kind of new concept of feminist therapy and tailoring treatments for populations. And those were new concepts in *[the seventies]*. But, these were impoverished ethnic minority women with multiple problems that, certainly nothing in mainstream Psychology applied to. A group of very multicultural radical feminist women had created this new treatment centre that, at the time, was very radical. Their approach was very radical; everybody lived there, the women lived there with their children. One problem in Massachusetts was that, if a woman admitted to having a drug abuse problem and sought treatment of any sort, her children were automatically taken away from her. And so, there were extraordinarily sexist laws on the books that made it impossible for women to receive treatment. So, "Women Incorporated" got this sort of special permission to have all these women come forward and say they have drug problems, they have alcohol problems, and not lose their children. And so, it was a residential facility where the women stayed and their children stayed with them. And so, working there, got me more interested in Psychology again; because these women had a very different approach to a field that I had come to see as a kind of backward field. They had… I guess they would say, yeah it was a backward field, but they did not have to do it that way.

LG – Yeah.

HL – So, they had their own way to doing things. So, that interested me in Psychology again. So, I applied to graduate school and I went to graduate school

{16: 27}

LG – Ok.

HL – I went into a Masters program in experimental social psychology at City University of New York. I was interested now in prejudice, discrimination, and other factors that I thought might play a role in health. I was a student of Stanley Milgram; one of the very last people to ever be a student of Stanley Milgram.

LG – Wow.

HL – While I was in this program, that was in New York City, I worked for… I continued to do stuff in the women's movement; so I worked for New York City women's paper, it was called "Majority Report" now "The Font" but … [not so many] (17:09) radical publications… but I worked for "Majority Report" for the while that I was in graduate school. I started to work on a Master's thesis in which I was trying to demonstrate, through this elaborate experiment with multiple deceptions and manipulations - after all Stanley Milgram was my advisor. So, I was doing this really radical study where I was trying to test the question of whether women make feminist statements because they have low self-esteem or because they have high self-esteem. It is 1976, and the idea that women became feminist because they could not get a man and because

they could think much of themselves was very popular; I suppose that it is still around, but in the early seventies that is what everybody thought.

LG- That is interesting

HL – So, I started a pilot study for my Master's thesis which Stanley thought was great, I think Stanley thought it was great because I had so much manipulation and deception going on. But, I worked on that … and by the way, at least the pilot work, I did not do the full thesis, but *[in]* the pilot work women made more feminist statements when I, in the laboratory experimentally raised - not lowered - their self-esteem. When I experimentally lowered their self-esteem, they did not say much to a sexist confederate of mine who was sitting in the room with them and saying a set of sexist, ridiculous things to them. So, when I raised their self-esteem they said many more feminist statements and then, one of them beat him up and I had to stop this case! And so, he said, you know: "That's it, I'm done. I'm not being your confederate anymore". This one feminist got up and she hit him in the head! He made… I cannot remember what he said but I have the script of horrible sexist things he was to say to a group of feminist women that I had recruited from the lesbian archives and couple of other places in the city I know all these women, and so he said some sexist things to one of them and I had just raised her self-esteem and she hit him.

Anyway, I worked on that and I was ready to do my Master's thesis on that, and at the same time I had applied to doctoral programs in clinical psychology and I got into the one that I wanted to get into. And I thought, well I am not going to sit here and finish this Master's thesis; I am about to find another guy who is willing to possibly get beaten up by these feminists so, forget it. So, I left New York City and I went off to get a doctorate in clinical psychology, and I picked the University of Rhode Island because it had a very eclectic clinical program. There were a lot of behaviourists, a lot of family and community and systems people and, those were the perspectives that were closest to, {19:50} the perspectives that I found acceptable. So, I went to the University of Rhode Island and did a PhD in clinical psychology; and my goal was to either figure out how psychiatric disorders could be a product of inequality or to figure out some new treatments. And, that is what I set out to do.

I end up by writing a dissertation on how psychiatric disorders could all be a product of inequality without any psychological or intra-psychic processes. I wrote a dissertation called "The Politics of Madness"; and I spent my entire time in graduate school pretty much working on that really, kind of a standard clinical treatment. But, I was still the same radical that I had been before. And so, for me the question was: if indeed I understand the world in political terms, if I understand what happens to people as a function of disadvantage and inequality; then how do I explain psychiatric disorders and psychiatric symptoms in a similar manner? Is there a simple set of principles that would account for the various kinds of disorders that exist in a stratified society and for the epidemiological distribution of those? I had noticed that, if I looked at other cultures around the world, cultures differed enormously in how many psychiatric disorders they recognized; whether they had a category of psychopathology and then how many categories they had. So anyway, I developed a purely political theory of psychopathology; that is what I did in graduate school.

During my PhD program, I did not work for any feminist organizations; I am sure you know, there just isn't any time in a PhD program to much else, especially a clinical program. I mean, I had my clinical training to do on top of all of my class work, and then this radical dissertation that I was doing. So, I did not do any feminist work, but I had a very feminist mentor, Bernice

Lott, who is well known in Psychology of Women, that had a long history in Feminist Psychology and in Division 35. Bernice was my major professor, and her husband Al Lott who at the time did all his work on racism was another member of my committee. They were a great pair of people to have as mentors; I do not think you would get a better set of mentors. And, I do not even know that I would have made it through school without them. The University of Rhode Island had never had an ethnic minority [I pass] (22: 55). Remember, that was just so long time ago! So, it was just so very difficult for me there. There was some incredibly racist people on the faculty, there were extraordinarily racist people in the administration who just did bad things to me constantly.

LG – Can you talk a little bit about that?

HL – Give you an example of one?

LG – Well, just to give a sense of what was going on for you at the time

HL – I can give a couple of examples of some...

LG – Okay

HL – Let me start with administrators, let's see… I had an APA Minority Fellowship, that was the first year the program began; I was one of the first recipients. And the APA Minority Fellowship is a three year fellowship that pays for your tuition fees, living expenses etc… So, I sat down looking at the course work and realized that I had three years to get in all the classes that I needed to take and with the clinical… our stuff was a lot.

{23: 47}

LG – Yeah

HL – So, I needed to take six classes a semester, I figure that out. And, in order to take six classes a semester, the standard form, to take six classes you needed permission of your department chair and then the dean just co-signed [to add to the] department chair; so I said okay. Well the department chair was Al Lott who was on my committee, who I knew really well. I spent all my time over at his house; I was always over there with Bernice and Al, complaining about the racist and sexist faculty, I was in their house all the time. They actually, if you ask them, they finally put a bedroom in their house for me, because I was always… They lived about half a mile from campus, and someone would do something racist or sexist, usually racist, to me; and I would walk over to their house, knock on the door… actually they gave me keys and then they just started leaving the door open and they put a bedroom in their house for me because I was always over there complaining about horrible things.

But anyhow, so all you needed was your department chair to say: "Yes, I verify that this student is capable of taking six classes this semester, and the psychology department takes responsibility". So, Al signed my sheet saying, "Ok, you can take six classes". And, I went over to the dean's office to get the dean to sign; and the dean was this incredibly racist woman, and she said: "No, I am not signing it". Now apparently, it had never happened in the history of the university that a dean refuses to take a chair's word for something. The dean said: "I'm not signing it!" And I said, why? And she said: "because I don't believe that your people can take that many classes and pass them". And so, I mean, that is the kind of thing that happened to me.

LG – Oh, my God!

HL – And that sort of thing happened to me every week. But, I was really lucky that I had the Lotts; because, after the dean did that… and they did awful things to me all the time, the dean and some of the faculty *[members]*. So, I would go back to Al and Bernice Lott and say: "you know what the dean…"! They ran interference for me and they took care of me. I would not have made it through school without them; and I think, having me as their student changed them. I think they saw things that they might not have had to deal with personally had they not had me as their student. And so now, they got to see that their colleagues were not quite what who they thought their colleagues were. I think it changed their lives, and I am not sure that it changed their lives in positive ways, I am not quite sure. But, I watched them change, having me as their student. Once a week, someone would do something horrible to me; and Bernice and Al had to run interference and protect me from things.

I am just going to give you one more example. I remember the first day of Psychopathology; graduate class in psychopathology, I sat down, the instructor who is actually a well known clinician I will not say his name but… because you know, the guy is such a racist asshole he would probably find something to figure out how to sue me for saying it. But, the first day he took roll and he said… we were talking about what we would be covering in psychopathology, and then he looked right at me, and I don't know it just did not fit in the lecture; he looked at me and then he said: "You of course may not find this class very interesting, but the only disorder that black people have ever had is schizophrenia and they never go to psychotherapy because they don't {27:09} have the ability to delay gratification and go through the process". Now, that is a quote, I am not making that up. You have to remember, this is the early seventies and things like that happen to me every single day. And without Bernice Lott and Al Lott, I just would not have it made through graduate school. I have had other mentors earlier in my life, the mentors were almost always women; and so I had all these very strong women role models from when I was a child. When I was an undergraduate I had - one of the philosophy professors was my mentor, in fact she was the smartest person on the planet, I still actually think that in some ways.

LG – Who was it?

HL – Her name was Eva Cadwallader, she was an analytic philosopher. And, I took…I went to a private liberal arts college and in those days you were required to take four years of a language and six semesters of foreign literature, and all of these things nobody is required to take anymore. But I am glad I was, maybe well rounded, well educated, but you were required to take several philosophy classes, several religion classes, several anthropology classes; they were just required. So, I took the three required philosophy classes, well they were humanities classes, and I took Intro to Philosophy with her, and thought she was so great that I took all the other classes she taught. So, I took nine philosophy classes as an undergraduate and I spent my time hanging around with her. And, she was brilliant! She was good mentor, she was a great role model; I learned a lot about what is like for women in the academy, when I was still just an undergraduate, but just having her as a mentor. But she taught logic, she taught me how to think. She taught logic and she taught philosophy of science; we are still friend by the way. We write weekly, that was thirty-five years ago.

LG – Wow

HL – She retired to Texas; and I still see her. I dedicated one of my books to her. I still talk to her, I still see her. So anyhow, I did have really, really great mentorship as an undergraduate. But, in graduate school, without Bernice and Al I don't know what would have happen to me. It was both of them, it was not just Bernice who was a really, really strong feminist; it was Al too, the two of them, who sort of surrogate parents. I mean, they get a bedroom in their house; and I was always crying about something, always running out of school crying about something, I come running over and crying on Al's shoulder and he would say: "Just go and take a nap". So, they gave me a bedroom in their house. So, it was the two of them. They were in … she had been a long time a professor in that department and had a lot of power and he was the chair. And that made a really big difference. In people trying to play game with me, they still had to deal with the chair.

LG- Yeah

HL- I did tell him fortunately about what that racist man said in psychopathology. He told me that he pulled the guy into his office and told the guy: "If you ever make another racist statement, I'll make sure that all your classes are at seven in the morning! So apologize to her, and don't you dare say anything like that in the class again {30:36}. And the guy did apologize to me. I mean, it did not change his attitudes, but it certainly altered his behaviour.

LG – Right

HL – And that, in the end, is what matters. So, as the chair of the department, Al Lott could make an enormous difference in the things that happened to me. So, they were great mentors.

I did not get to do any work in the women's movement while I was doing my PhD program. I took six classes a semester, after Al went over and told of the dean -

LG – Right

HL – who would not sign my form. I took six classes a semester, so there was not a way for me to do anything in women's the movement when I was there. But, once I finished I went back to being active. With a major professor like Bernice Lott, it is hard not to be. I knew Bernice, I knew many of the women who were her friends and colleagues. And Bernice did a good job in introducing to me to a lot of women who were doing really good work. And so, I got to be part of book chapters and other things that were going on - she did a good job of involving me in things. I joined Division 35 pretty young; right after graduating. And I stayed active in Division 35 for a very long time, I am not as active now as I had been. Bernice was the president of Division 35 in 1990-91. She appointed me to direct the division's task force in cultural diversity.

LG – How was that like for you?

HL – It was interesting to be really involved in division politics. I was not sure what division politics would be like. It was a lot of work, I found out that volunteering to run a division task force, or anything else at APA, was more of a burden than it was anything else. It was ridiculously time consuming; but we had a good positive outcome. But I did learn that the organization is extraordinarily complex and very, very hard to manoeuvre. It was the first time I had ever tried to organize a group of people, of that [inaudible] (33:13). But, it was a good experience to be on the Division 35 executive committee. I was still a pretty young assistant

professor; that was a good experience. So, again there is Bernice putting me in things and making sure that I am part of things.

And then, I was… I can't remember who was the editor, Janet Hyde I think, one of the old editors of *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, asked me to be a reviewer, and I had been a reviewing for them for a long time and then they put me on the editorial board. So, I was on the editorial board, starting at about 1990 or so. So, I worked for the journal for a really long time; and then I became an associate editor in… wow, I should pull out my CV, because I don't know…

LG – That's Okay

HL – I became an associate… I was one the editorial board, and then I was a consultant editor for many, many years; and so that was my major way of being involve with Division 35 {34:25}. And then I was the associate editor of *PWQ* for about five years, maybe six years. First with Jackie White and then Jane (34: 38). I cannot quite remember, I just recently resigned from that circle.

LG – From *PWQ*?

HL – From *PWQ*, so I don't do that anymore

LG – Can you tell me a little about how you got involved in health psychology, I notice that especially that you have been working on cancer and smoking in particular, and how that evolved for you?

HL – Yeah, from the beginning my interest was poor people and their health and their problems. That is why I was a chemistry major; I thought I could find new ways to produce foods and medicine. And then, I was an idealistic sixteen years old skipping grades to go into college, and I thought I was going to solve everything in my chemistry lab. All you had to do is put on a white coat and go into the chemistry lab - and I was going to fix everything. And so, the interest in the health problems of the poor was my original motivator and so that never went away. And so, I worked at "Women Incorporated," and those women had multiple health problems. In graduate school I could not really, there was not really Health Psychology as a field, when I was in graduate school, there was not such a thing. And so, it was not possible to pick a physical health topic; and so I took mental health in general. And as soon as I was done, I went back to physical health issues. I think behavioural medicine as a discipline emerged in, in what, 83-84, something like that; I had already had a PhD, you know what I mean.

LG – Yeah

HL – It did not exist before, I think the journal *Behavioural Medicine*'s first issue was in 1985. And I started graduated school in 1977, so there was no such a thing. So, the interest was always there, it was not actually possible; it was not easy to pursue such interest until the disciplines emerged. And the disciplines emerged after I had finished school.

LG – Okay

HL – And then I immediately went back to working on those topics. You know, I was a kid in a slum, with parents who did not finish high school. Both of my parents were very sick; everyone

around was sick, and it was not psychiatric. I guess some people were depressed, but that was minor relative to how sick everyone was.

LG – Right

HL – My parents died before I graduated from college, because they were poor people who were sick. Neither of my parents made it to anywhere near as old as I am. I am so much older than either of my parents ever lived to be! It is weird, I look at photos of them and I am way older than like they are in the pictures; so I always had an interest in health. {37:31} But, at the time that I was in school health was not an area within psychology. And I did not have any advising to suggest public health to me as field.

LG – Yeah, it sounds like a lot of that research is in that area

HL – Yeah and I had no advising. If I did my career over again, and actually knew what all the options were and also knew that I would never make it as chemistry major without high school trigonometry, I probably would have gone to school in Health Science and Public Health. I probably would have bypassed Psychology all together. I will still consider getting a degree in public health; and people keep telling me, why bother, you know, you are on the public heath faculty; you can't go get a degree! But, that perspective is certainly closer to my own perspective than a psychological perspective. I mean, I do not really believe that internal psychological factors like beliefs, and attitudes, and knowledge are the major factors that account for people's health status, or people's heath behaviour even. I mean, not only as a radical feminist and as a radical Marxist, but as a behaviourist my underlying assumption is that environmental context determines people's behaviour. And that is really a public health point of view.

LG – Yes

HL – They are more interested in larger factors that account for health disparities by gender, by ethnicity, and by other factors. And that is not say that Psychology has nothing to add, we do, but I like their perspective better. Actually, I do not have much of an allegiance to Psychology as a discipline.

LG – I noticed in your CV that you do, do some clinical practice as well…

HL – *[No]*

LG – No? When you were licensed.

HL – I did do all the hours you need to do to be licensed because if you are not licensed it is very difficult to get a job as a member of a clinical faculty. Even in doing pure BMed – Behavioural Medicine – within a clinical faculty you have to be licensed; and to get licensed you have to do all of those hours. So, I did all the requisite hours; with that time I mostly did testing, I did tests to weed out neurological disorders. I published a book on a variety of physical disorders that women tend to have that get misdiagnosed as psychiatric. Women spend fifteen years sitting in therapy and taking eight or nine different anti-depressant for what is not psychiatric; for what is a simple thyroid disorder that no one checked for. So, I published a book in 1997 on a variety of physical disorders that women have that are almost; always misdiagnosed as psychiatric. And so, in those hours that I had to do, what I did that I found socially and politically acceptable was give a lot of tests and take a whole bunch of people and say: nope, these people have this physical

disorder they don't need to be sitting in all this treatment. So, that is what I did it. I did a whole lot of neuropsychological testing.

LG – Which publication would you say that you are most proud of and why? And which publication do you feel has had the most impact? And those may or may not be the same one {41:22}.

HL – Yeah, I don't think that they are

LG – Okay

HL – What's had the most impact? I think, in feminist psychology the publication of the *Schedule of Sexist Events* had the most impact. Finally, there was a measure of discrimination; I do not understand why feminists devoted so many years to developing measures of sexist attitudes, sexist beliefs, but not measures of the actual discrimination that women experience. So that we could then demonstrate the discrimination, empirically, demonstrate it and take steps. I do not know why no one did it. But, I will say for feminist psychology, my development of a measure of discrimination was probably, probably had more of an impact than other things that I did. It was a big factor in becoming a fellow, and division 35 was ____(42.21). And a lot of people used that measure; there have been countless law suits. People used the data… well, I collected a lot of data demonstrating that gender discrimination harms women, harms them psychologically and harms them physically. So, I spent many years doing that, and that had been the first time it had been done. Now, if you wanted to sue an employer for gender discrimination and you wanted to claim that discrimination harmed you physically; that the reason that you have hypertension is because, at least partly, is because of the way they treated you. And you want to claim that it harmed you psychologically, that the reason you have insomnia, or some sort of mood disorder or anxiety disorder is because for fifteen years they treated in this discriminatory manner. Then you have all these empirical evidences that I spent all those years collecting.

LG – That's great

HL - So I published a book called *Discrimination Against Women: Prevalence, Consequences, Remedies* that is a summary of all these studies we had done measuring discrimination and its impact on women. And in the book, there is a chapter by a very famous attorney; at the time he was the senator general of the United States explaining women how you sued if had been discriminated against. That was a really popular book of mine. I think that probably had more of an impact in feminist Psychology than anything else.

LG – Okay

HL – Now I have others things that have had impact in different areas of Psychology, but in feminist psychology I think that is probably the biggest one.

LG – And the one you are most proud of?

HL – I am still proud of the *Theories of Psychopathology*; people do not seem to understand it. In medical sociology it is a very popular text book; it is used as a way of understanding {44:20} the distribution of psychiatric disorders and stratified societies. So, medical sociologists seem to really like the book; maybe because I used sociological Marxist model, I don't know. They seem to really like that. In Psychology, it has not been very successful; that is disappointing to me, but

I still think it is the single most insightful thing I ever wrote. It is odd for me that people in my own discipline do not quite get what it says.

LG – What would you like to see happening in Psychology in terms of the research that you do, in terms of inclusivity, diversity?

HL – Do you mean in Feminist Psychology?

LG – Psychology in general or both, actually you can answer this question any way you *[want]*

HL – Yeah, because they are different!

LG – Yes

HL – My own health research is not terribly psychological, and I think the best that could happen to health psychology is for it to be less psychological and to pay more attention to social context. Tomorrow morning I am getting fellow status in Division 38.

LG – Congratulations!

HL – Thanks. For my making contribution to health psychology; and, I am standing up and giving this speech that does not have any health psychology in it. My speech is about residential segregation and impoverished neighbourhoods and their access, resources and hazards that contribute to health disparities. So there is not a single psychological variable in any of the research that I am doing. I think health psychology could benefit by being less psychological and by focusing a little bit more on the social context. And would say that is true for feminist psychology and for the rest of psychology as well. Feminist psychology in particular… although, I take back the "in particular" because health psychology is just as bad____(46: 30). All the areas of psychology do not pay enough of attention to disparities or to the ethnic groups who, I think, ought to be the focus of research. So in health psychology for example, the major disorders that health psychology focuses on are preventable disorder like hypertension, diabetes, cardiovascular disorders to which health behaviours make a significant contribution. And all those disorders are more common among ethnic minorities, typically those who live in segregated neighbourhoods, but those are not the people who were in the studies. The same with Feminist Psychology, you know if we ask ourselves: ok, what women experience the brunt of what gender means in our world? The women who experience the brunt are minority women in other countries; they are the three quarters of the women in the world who are not allowed education, who can be publicly gang raped as punishment for speaking up against the husband, women in the countries were males are so preferred that females are killed at birth or little girls are starved. Women in all these Asian countries where the rate of malnutrition for girls is fifteen times the rate of malnutrition for boys precisely because of those kind of biases {48:10}. So, I think Psychology as a whole, but feminist psychology and health psychology in particular, are not really living up to what they are supposed to be about. The Feminist Psychology is about doing what we can for women, the women who need the attention are impoverish women in the United States and the women who make up most of the women in the world. All women in Latin America, all women in Asia, those are the women who mostly need our attention. And something that bothers me increasingly about Feminist Psychology is that it is not what it was when I first became involved. You know, I came from the generation that was in the street marching for ___ (49:01). I came from a generation that was at the beginning of the second wave of the feminist movement, so we had marches and demonstrations, we did stuff and the whole idea is to make things happen and

to try to improve the lives of women and of poor people and of minorities. And really, if you look back at the early years of the movement, in the seventies, the women that we were fighting so hard for were impoverished women, I mean look at ___ (49:34). They were disadvantaged women who really needed things from us. Now, if you looked at the pages of *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, do we see any of that? Do we see any articles about any of those issues? One of my own concerns about Feminist Psychology is that I think Feminist Psychology as a whole is becoming increasingly irrelevant to what is happening to women in the world; and the plight of women in the world is actually getting worse, every year is a little bit worse. Women are dying and, I open an issue of *PWQ* and the article is about gender role conflicts, and women rugby players. And that is really hard for me to take, as an associate editor of the journal; I became increasingly disturbed by those kinds of articles. And increasingly disturbed by the articles that we received, by the manuscripts that were submitted, there were not a lot of manuscripts on violence against women, you know, and sexual assaults, domestic abuse or anything in women's health. Instead, they were more and more articles in which researcher were trying to develop some new kind of scale to measure some new internal psychological entity whose relevance to most women in the world - I could not see the relevance. That was one of the many reasons that I quit; I mean, I was supposed to remain an associate editor of the *PWQ* quite a bit longer, and I could not in good conscience continue, I just did not see a point.

LG – So what do you think feminist psychologists or psychologists in general can do to change that trend that you see shifting?

HL – I don't know. I think the question is why is it there? And, I guess that is the issue. What has happened? Is it that the feminism that I grew up with is not like that anymore? Or maybe it is just in Psychology! Maybe it is Psychology and it is not in other disciplines. I do think that we, as feminist psychologists, need to do a lot more. There are some people who are embarrassed to become feminists because the public takes the word to mean that you are some man-hating, bra burning, truck driver.

LG – yeah!

HL – I don't think there is anything wrong in being a man hating, bra-burning, truck driver but, there are people who think that, that is what it means. But for me, I am embarrassed by the word because it increasingly means women who are doing work that has nothing to do with the lives of most women in the world. And I embarrassed to say that I am part of that {52: 47}. Not that, that is true for all feminist psychologists; there are people like Brinton Lykes (52: 51), who does incredible work on Latin American women, incredible work organizing women in Guatemala, Mexico. And people like Antonia Abbey, Karen West, and others who do work on sexual assault and who really, really make a difference in what happens to women; in how a woman's anxious [weight] (53:16) is perceived and treated. People like Eileen Zurbriggen doing stuff on battering; Nancy Russo did all her work on, so much work she did on abortion and the earlier stuff she had done with Gwen Keita (53:32) on depression and prescription patterns. I mean, there are certainly pockets of women who are doing work that really makes a difference in the lives of women, but too much of feminist psychology no longer has anything to do with that and don't know why. I don't why that is the case, but it embarrasses me that it is the case. Maybe it is just the Zeitgeist, maybe it is just this conservative twenty-five years where people are not just the way they use to be, I don't know.

LG – I want to respect your time, it is 4:05; I have not asked you everything that I wanted to ask you…

HL – I know, you can I ask me a few more, I'll wait.

LG – Well, let me just… I'll turn it over to you and say; is there anything else that I have not had a chance to ask you about that you feel it is very important for me to know. Anything about yourself, or your career, feminism, psychology in general; you did cover quite a bit.

HL – I tried to keep talking. I think the question is whether there is anything left in all of this, that you would really like to see me answer before we run out of time? I can talk about people that I mentor. I can talk about what happened to my relationship with my mentor, which is really, really heartbreaking to me. Bernice Lott does not even talk to me; I can talk about all the women I mentor. I told you I have a lab here, I did not say it is this huge group of women who are with me, half of them are minority women.

LG – How about, what advice can you give to a feminist woman coming into the field of Psychology today? What would you say to one of your students who is asking you: "I want to go to graduate school in Psychology".

HL – I would say, tell me the problem or the behaviour that you are the most interested in and I will tell you whether Psychology is where you want to be.

LG – Okay, fair enough.

HL – The women in my lab are interested in women's health; and I suggested to them that they continue to get a PhD; a Psychology PhD is powerful and influential degree that will serve them well in that sense. But, the models, the theoretical models, and the training and intervention models in Psychology are conservative and in many ways misguided. So, I advise them all to get a degree in another field as well. So, all of my student are getting degrees in Public Health along with a PhD in Psychology; and it gives them more opportunity in the job market, they will never ever have problems.{56:32} This means that they can work in more settings, a variety of kinds of settings. I mean, they can run a women's health program for State Departments of Health. Or they can be a Psychology professor if they like with a PhD, but they will be exposed to other ways of thinking and to more community and larger social, political, causal models as well as more community participatory action, intervention models instead of simply individualistic ones. So, I tend to tell people to get other kinds of training in addition to their Psychology training; to be sure that they have a more well-rounded view of human behaviour. There is an old metaphor that Vince Navarro used many, many years ago, to try to describe the difference between Psychology and Public Heath, he said: "You and I are standing on the bank of a Russian river watching people go, drowning in the river. Psychology's approach is to pull those people out of the river and try to find out why some of them were bad swimmers and try to teach them how to be better swimmers and understanding the psychological factors that led them to be bad swimmers. And Public Health's approach is to go up the river and grab the guy who is throwing them all in there." And those are very, very different ways of thinking about the problems of women, and the problems of minorities, and the issue of health disparities. And Psychology's approach is always to do what has been referred as to as "downstream work"; downstream theorising and downstream intervening. And other disciplines are much more upstream theorising and upstream interventions. And so my best advice to anyone is feminist or non-feminist entering Psychology is that: if you want to make more of a difference in the world, if you want to be more of a positive factor in your community, and in our nation, and in our science as well; it is important that you make sure to add some upstream education to your downstream

education in Psychology. So, that you understand a wider variety of ways of conceptualizing problems; and most importantly, a wider range of ways of intervening to make things different.

LG – Thank you

HL – Thank you, I'm sorry I did not answer a lot of your questions

LG – That was just so fascinating, so interesting… it was great.