

ARTICLES

The History and Visions of African American Psychology: Multiple Pathways to Place, Space, and Authority

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The author describes the multiple pathways of events and strategies that served to nurture African American psychology in the United States. Special attention is given to strategies for inclusion and empowerment used in 4 psychological professional and scholarly associations: the American Counseling Association, the American Psychological Association, the Association of Black Psychologists, and the Society for Research in Child Development. In addition, the author describes 4 major intellectual traditions that informed not only the strategies of inclusion but also the theoretical, research, and intervention perspectives and other professional and academic efforts of African American psychologists. Those perspectives are the Afrocentric/African-centered tradition derived from longstanding nationalist/Pan-African and culturally centered traditions within African American communities; the social contextual/multidisciplinary research tradition of the University of Chicago School of Social Science; the empirical social science research tradition of the University of Michigan; and the Black scholar/activist tradition of Howard University. This article also presents a chronological timeline of major events in the history of African American psychology.

Keywords: African American/Black history, psychology, professional associations, intellectual history

The attempt to define a black aesthetic based on the black experience, to find a particular black idiom both for artistic and political purposes, and to reform historical interpretation so that the black will be liberated from the subordinate position assigned him in most Western historical accounts—these are all aspects of the search or research for collective identity and, derivatively, for distinctive personality.
—Raymond Betts (1971, p. 1), Introduction, *The Ideology of Blackness*

African American psychologist Algea Harrison-Hale has observed that there are certain minimum requirements for building a professional and scholarly tradition within an area of interest. These include mentors; colleagues who share common professional or research interests; and financial, administrative, and institutional support (Harrison-Hale, 2006, pp. 168–169). Until the 1960s, due in part to their small numbers, there was little possibility of developing such a tradition among African American psychologists. Indeed, prior to that time, there were distinct and harsh barriers to African American participation in psychology, including restricted training opportunities, ex-

remely limited occupational opportunities, and widely held assumptions among European American psychologists of the intellectual and social “deficits” of African Americans, which promoted a disciplinary consensus of the impossibility, difficulty, or lack of necessity of identifying “qualified” African American graduate students and professionals (Holliday, 1999). Consequently, as recently as the late 1960s, major universities such as UCLA, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois, Yale, Stanford, and Iowa had not granted a single doctorate in psychology to an African American (Wispe et al., 1969).

Such assumptions and restrictions were severely challenged by the Civil Rights era of the 1950s through 1970s, which served to dismantle the legal bases of racial segregation and its associated social conventions. Consequently, institutions of higher education began to seek students of color, and the number of African American students admitted to psychology graduate programs in the 1970s and 1980s was sufficiently large to constitute a cohort. This first cohort of significant size of African American psychologists, in the absence of a prior tradition, was confronted with the challenges of establishing a place in psychology’s occupational and organizational structures and collegial networks, securing an intellectual space within psychology, and acquiring sufficient authority to make a difference.

It is my premise here that U.S. social–political history and unique professional and scholarly organizational histories and cultures, coupled with the influences of varying extant broader intellectual traditions served to promote multiple pathways for addressing issues of place, space, and authority and fostered the rich diversity that now characterizes African American psychology.

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Social and Historical Contexts

The 19th Century and the First Half of the 20th Century: Enslavement, Oppression, and Jim Crowism

The participation of African Americans in psychology can only be fully understood against the background of U.S. history. For example, 19th-century U.S. history is to a great extent defined by colonialism and national expansion that was marked not only by vast land acquisitions, but also by the conquest, oppression, and exploitation of peoples of color—including institutionalized strategies for the management of the U.S.'s enslaved African American population. Slavery and the southern plantation economy it supported were among the major factors precipitating the Civil War. As a result of the war, African Americans were emancipated, but shortly thereafter, an apartheid-like Jim Crow system of social and economic relations was established, especially in the South (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

Emancipation and Reconstruction after the Civil War, however, did bring some benefits that are of enduring significance—for example, the establishment of colleges for African Americans. Some of these colleges were financially supported by African American church denominations and their congregations of newly emancipated slaves. During the first quarter of the 20th century, the push of Jim Crow and the pull of northern industrialization resulted in the Great Migration of 500,000 to 1 million African Americans from the rural South to the urban northern areas (Great Migration, 1999, pp. 869–872). Simultaneously, the legacy of the ethos of slavery, the institutional patterns sanctioned by the Black Codes (which legally sanctioned segregation and subordinate Black social and political status), and the attitudes underpinning the behavioral patterns of Jim Crowism promoted within the fledgling discipline of psychology a type of scientific racism wherein the behavior of White Americans was interpreted as appropriate and normative, whereas African American behavior was interpreted as inferior and nonnormative. More troubling, such inferiority and nonnormativeness were typically viewed as genetically based and not modifiable (Richards, 1997).

During the first half of the 20th century, prior to the eradication of legally sanctioned social segregation and Jim Crowism, African American colleges provided the major institutional base for African American psychologists, who often viewed their teaching and research as opportunities to challenge scientific racism's assumptions and public policy implications, especially those related to the capabilities and education of African American children and youth (cf. Guthrie, 1998; Holliday & Holmes, 2003; Richards, 1997, chap. 2–5).

The Great Depression of the 1930s and the New Deal strategy of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration were especially significant for psychology in general and the nation's small number of African American psychologists. During the Depression, about 40% of members of the American Psychological Association (APA) were unemployed (Miller, 1986, p. 127). This, coupled with the Depression's scope of human misery, caused many psychologists to recognize that social-economic factors affect behavior, and that social issues, problems, and attitudes should be subjects of psychological theory and research, including prejudice and purported racial differences (Finison, 1986; Harris, 1986; Miller, 1986; Morawski, 1986; Sitkoff, 1978, pp. 194–201). In turn, such

assumptions supported the emergence of a distinct "antiracism" perspective in psychology that emphasized such themes as the attribution of racial differences to environmental differences and race as a social construct. This perspective marked a formal (and progressive) challenge of the scientific racism perspective in psychology of innate racial differences (Richards, 1997, chap. 4). However, over time, this "antiracism" research, which most frequently involved racial comparative research paradigms that subtly promoted assumptions of White superiority, resulted in equally troubling alternative explanations of the behavior of people of color, characterized by emphases on "damage," "deficiency," and "deprivation" that were often portrayed as irreparable (cf. Katz, 1969; Pearl, 1970; Rainwater, 1970; Valentine, 1971).

The Depression's economic devastation of African American communities with their relatively small leadership class caused some private foundations (e.g., the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board) along with various New Deal programs to provide both higher educational opportunities and jobs for a small but growing number of social scientists of color, including psychologists (Holliday, 1989, 1999). This served to help strengthen an emerging institutional base for African Americans in psychology. According to Canady (1939, as reported by Guthrie, 1998, pp. 126–129), by 1936 Black colleges had a total of 88 psychology faculty—although most of these were European Americans. At the 1938 meeting of the all-Black American Teachers Association (ATA), a division was organized for ATA members interested in "the teaching and application of the science of psychology and related fields, particularly in Negro institutions" (Guthrie, 1998, pp. 142–145).

The Post-World War II and Civil Rights Era Years

After World War II, psychological research was enriched and transformed by the establishment of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) in 1946 and the National Science Foundation in 1950 (Holliday, 1999; Holliday & Holmes, 2003, pp. 26–27). Simultaneously, psychology continued to flourish at the African American colleges when these institutions were strengthened by the influx of former Black soldiers using their GI education benefits. By 1950, 32 African Americans had received a PhD or EdD in psychology or educational psychology (Guthrie, 1998, chap. 7). These psychologists continued to confront a racially segregated social order and highly restricted professional opportunities. Most were employed at Black colleges; some were able to find employment in public school systems and government. Consequently, the professional efforts of nearly all of these psychologists focused on the needs and education of African American children and youth and gravitated to psychological issues with practical applications (Guthrie, 1998, p. 123; Slaughter-Defoe, 2006b).

However, the progressive racial integration of U.S. social institutions served both to transform social discourse about the place, capabilities, and social roles of African Americans, and to expand the occupational and advocacy opportunities of Black psychologists. By Executive Orders 9980 and 9981 (President Truman), the U.S. civil service and military services, respectively, were integrated in 1948. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the plaintiff in *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*. This decision resulted in dismantling the nation's legally sanctioned segregated

public education systems “with all deliberate speed.” This decision also was notable for two other reasons: (a) It was the first Supreme Court decision to involve the citation of psychological data, and (b) the primary architect in the compilation and use of those data was an African American psychologist—Kenneth B. Clark, PhD (Benjamin & Crouse, 2002; J. P. Jackson, 2006; Pickren & Tomes, 2002).

The *Brown* decision can be viewed as the beginning of the “Civil Rights era,” which lasted for nearly a quarter of a century and primarily involved various social–legal tactics and challenges for both securing protections guaranteed by the 14th and 15th constitutional amendments and for eliminating racially differential, legally sanctioned practices (Jim Crowism) that existed throughout U.S. society (cf. Sullivan, 1999). The success of these efforts served to increase both the Civil Rights movement’s self-consciousness and its concern with group solidarity and self-reliance. It also has been argued that the era resulted in four relatively sudden and major transformations within African American individuals and communities: social–economic (i.e., the distribution of valued social goods and services), ecological (i.e., spatial configurations and environmental features or “behavioral settings” of group and family life), historical imperatives (i.e., guides to future action rooted in the past such as intergenerational and intergroup relations), and cultural imperatives (i.e., subjective interpretations of and responses to the social world as guided by values, beliefs, personal identity, and group ideology; Holliday, 1986).

African American psychologists were not immune from such changes and transformations, which they experienced both personally and professionally. Buttressed by a significant increase in the number of African American psychology graduate students and psychologists, and informed by a history of discipline- and organization-building at Black colleges and in other Black community settings, as well as by the indigenous community-based social change strategies of the Civil Rights movement, African American psychologists assumed leadership during the 1970s of ethnic minority psychologists’ search for place, space, and authority.

The Professional Association and Scientific Society Contexts

Much of African American psychologists’ efforts to ensure their place in psychology’s occupational and organizational structures and collegial networks were enacted in the contexts of professional and scientific associations and societies. The following are limited overviews of African American psychologists’ progressive strategic efforts and associated outcomes in four psychological associations and societies: the Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi), the APA, the American Counseling Association (ACA), and the Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD). This discussion of organizational contexts describes major challenges, strategies, initiatives, and outcomes of African American psychologists’ quest for participation, inclusion, and policy change within the associations and societies of concern. Additional detail of such efforts is provided in Table 1 (also see Figure 1).

A more comprehensive analysis would include reviews of the history of African American participation in the Association for Psychological Science (formerly the American Psychological So-

ciety), in more of psychology’s scientific societies (which are characterized by collegial networks among persons in defined specialty areas in psychology), as well as in multidisciplinary associations and societies that include concern for psychological issues (such as the American Orthopsychiatry Association and the Society for Neuroscience). The four associations discussed here were selected because of the availability of documentation of African Americans’ participatory experiences and the current relatively high visibility of Black psychologists in these associations. Across the associations and societies reviewed, one will note similarities and differences in strategies used by Black psychologists to increase their participation and influence, which are posited as responses primarily to variations in the associations’ and societies’ values, culture, mission, and size. It is also noteworthy that it was (and is) not uncommon for Black leadership to rotate among these associations and societies. Thus, this rotation or expansion of leadership emerges as a strategy unto itself for bringing the experiences of and strategies for African American inclusion and participation to multiple association contexts while simultaneously broadening the experiences, capabilities, and collegial networks of Black leadership in psychology.

ABPsi

ABPsi was established in 1968 in San Francisco at the annual convention of the APA in protest to APA’s lack of responsiveness to the interests and needs of African American psychologists and the communities they serve. Nearly all of the national ethnic minority psychological associations and Black caucuses within psychological associations and societies point to ABPsi as the inspiration and model for their establishment. As noted in a press release announcing its establishment, ABPsi was founded as an ethnocentric and community-centered organization and in reaction to the insensitivity of APA:

Members of the Association have pledged themselves to the realization that they are Black people first and psychologists second The membership assumes primary responsibility for engaging in critical thinking about the relationships between Black people and the society in which they live . . . we are pledged to effect change in those



Figure 1. The “Fathers” of Black psychology: Joseph L. White (left) and Robert L. Williams, shown here in 1994. Photo by Halford Fairchild.

Table 1
Timeline of the History of African Americans in U.S. Psychology

Year	Event
1869	Major General Canby, military commander of Union forces occupying Virginia, authorizes the establishment of the first U.S. institution for the exclusive care of African American mental patients. Howard's Grove Asylum, later name Central State Hospital, was opened April 1885 near Petersburg (Street, 1994, p. 42).
1892	The American Psychological Association (APA) is founded by 26 [White] men (Street, 1994).
1899	Howard University offers its first psychology course, "Psychology: The Brief Course" (Hopkins, Ross, & Hicks, 1994).
1917	U.S. War Department adopts the Army Alpha and Army Beta tests developed by psychologist Robert Yerkes (Street, 1994).
1920	Francis C. Sumner is the first African American awarded the PhD in psychology from a U.S. institution (Clark University); dissertation title: <i>Psychoanalysis of Freud and Adler</i> (Guthrie, 1994; Street, 1994). J. Henry Alston is first African American to publish a research article ("Psychophysics of the Spatial Condition of the Fusion of Warmth and Cold in Heat") in an exclusively psychological journal, <i>The American Journal of Psychology</i> (Cadwallader, as cited by Benimoff, 1995).
1928	Psychology department is established at Howard University chaired by Francis C. Sumner (Hopkins, Ross, & Hicks, 1994).
1930s	Four Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) offer psychology as an undergraduate major (Evans, 1999; Guthrie, 1998).
1933	Inez B. Prosser is first African American woman awarded a doctorate (EdD) in psychology from a U.S. institution (University of Cincinnati); dissertation title: <i>Non-academic Development of Negro Children in Mixed and Segregated Schools</i> ; Benjamin, Henry, & McMahon, 2005; Guthrie, 1976).
1934	The <i>Journal of Negro Education</i> (published by Howard University) develops a special issue of 14 papers that challenge the functions and findings of racial differences research.
1937	Alberta Banner Turner is first African American woman awarded a PhD in psychology from a U.S. institution (Ohio State University; Cadwallader, as cited by Benimoff, 1995; Guthrie, 1976).
1938	The first ethnic minority psychological association is established as Division 6, the Department of Psychology, at the meeting of the all-Black American Teachers Association (ATA) for ATA members interested in "the teaching and application of the science of psychology and related fields, particularly in Negro institutions," with Herman Canady, psychologist at West Virginia State College, elected as its chairman (Guthrie, 1998).
1942	Kenneth B. Clark becomes the first African American faculty hired at City College of New York (J. P. Jackson, Jr., 2006).
1947	Mamie and Kenneth B. Clark publish doll studies that demonstrate Black children's preference for White dolls, which the Clarks interpreted as indicating the development of racial concepts and conflict in the children's ego structure (J. P. Jackson, Jr., 2006).
1951	The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund enlists the assistance of Kenneth B. Clark to (a) be a witness in <i>Brown v. Topeka Board of Education</i> , (b) enlist other social scientists, and (c) work directly with NAACP lawyers in going over the briefs that deal with social science material, such as racial differences in intelligence, psychological damage derived from segregation, and prejudice/intergroup contact, and how these might affect the process of desegregation (J. P. Jackson, Jr., 2006).
1954	U.S. Supreme Court rules on <i>Brown v. Topeka Board of Education</i> , and requires the dismantling of racially segregated systems of education "with all deliberate speed." Decision in part relied on psychological and social science data on the effects of segregation that were prepared by a committee of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI—APA Division 9) that included Kenneth B. Clark, PhD, Isidor Chein, PhD, and Stuart Cook, PhD (Benjamin & Crouse, 2002).
1955	Publication of <i>Prejudice and Your Child</i> by African American psychologist Kenneth B. Clark.
1958	Publication of Audrey Shuey's <i>The Testing of Negro Intelligence</i> , which argues the existence of native [innate] racial IQ differences of 13 to 15 points (Richards, 1997).
1963	The APA ad hoc Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Psychology is established by the APA Board of Directors in response to a proposal from Division 9 (SPSSI) relative to the training and employment of Negroes [<i>sic</i>]. The committee is charged "to explore" the possible problems encountered in training and employment in psychology as a consequence of race . . ." (APA, 1963; Comas-Diaz, 1990; Wispe et al., 1969).
1965	Kenneth B. Clark, in his book <i>Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power</i> , is one of the first scholars to describe U.S. race relations through use of the colonial metaphor by portraying Harlem as an internal colony of the White United States that had been systematically looted by the White power, which had profited from its social isolation (J. P. Jackson, Jr., 2006).
1967	Dr. Martin Luther King, at the invitation of Milton Rokeach, PhD, and the SPSSI (APA Division 9) Council, presents an address "The Role of the Social Scientist in the Civil Rights Movement" at the annual APA convention. African American psychologist Robert L. Green, PhD, was pivotal in securing King's attendance and in providing assistance with the drafting of his presentation. Correspondence files also indicate that APA was unwilling to contribute to assist SPSSI in defraying King's associated travel expenses (personal correspondence, Joseph White to Bertha Holliday, February 6, 2007; Milton Rokeach correspondence files at the Archives of the History of American Psychology, University of Akron).
1968	The Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi) is established at the APA convention in San Francisco, with Charles L. Thomas, PhD, and Robert L. Green, PhD, elected as co-chairs on September 2 (Street, 1994; Williams, 1974). ABPsi Co-chair Charles L. Thomas presents a petition of concerns to the APA Council of Representatives that addresses three major issues: (a) the extremely limited number of Black psychologists and Black graduate and undergraduate students in psychology, (b) APA's failure to address social problems such as poverty and racism, and (c) the inadequate representation of Blacks in the APA governance structure (Baker, 2003; Guzman et al., 1992; Williams, 1974).
1969	Howard University, a HBCU, establishes a PhD program in psychology (Hopkins, Ross, & Hicks, 1994). The Black Students Psychological Association (BSPA) is established at the Western Psychological Association meeting in Vancouver, BC (Williams, 1974). BSPA President Gary Simpkins presents demands to APA related to the recruitment, retention, and training of Black students and faculty (Figueroa-Garcia, 1994; Guzman et al., 1992; Street, 1994; Williams, 1974).

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

Year	Event
1970	<p>APA establishes the Commission for Accelerating Black Participation in Psychology (CABPP) composed of representatives of BSPA, ABPsi, and APA, and charges CABPP to address BSPA's concerns (Blau, 1970; Williams, 1974).</p> <p>ABPsi provides all graduate departments of psychology its 10-point program for increasing the representation of Blacks in psychology; 35 departments agree to immediately implement the entire program (Williams, 1974).</p> <p>ABPsi and APA develop a 3-year Black visiting scientist program to HBCUs (Williams, 1974).</p> <p>BSPA opens offices in the APA building in Washington, DC, with APA providing 3 years of funding; Ernestine Thomas is the office's director and BSPA national coordinator (Figueroa-Garcia, 1994; Williams, 1974).</p> <p>Kenneth B. Clark, an African American who previously served as the first Black on the APA Board of Directors, becomes the first person of color to become APA president (Pickren & Tomes, 2002; Street, 1994).</p>
1971	<p>In response to demands of the Black Psychiatrists of America, the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs is established with a focus on (a) funding investigator-initiated studies on the mental health concerns of ethnic minorities; (b) establishing and administering six research and development centers, each of which focuses on mental health needs of a particular racial/cultural group; and (c) initiating the Minority Fellowship Program, which provides funding to five professional associations including APA to administer minority fellowships for research and clinical training in psychiatry, psychology, psychiatric nursing, psychiatric social work, and sociology (Guzman et al., 1992; Parron, 1990).</p>
1972	<p>Publication of the first edition of <i>Black Psychology</i> edited by Reginald L. Jones, PhD, which heralds a proactive perspective of the psychology of African Americans.</p> <p>The Bay Area chapter of the Association of Black Psychologists issues a position statement on use of IQ and ability tests, which demands that the California State Department of Education declare a moratorium on these tests' use in assessing Black children (Richards, 1997).</p> <p>The Association of Non-White Concerns in Personnel and Guidance is founded as a division of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) with voting rights in both APGA's Senate and on its Board of Directors.</p>
1973	<p>As a result of a vote of the APA membership, the APA Board for Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology is established with a mandate that includes issues related to minority participation in psychology (Pickren & Tomes, 2002).</p> <p>Joseph Hodges, Ura Jean Oyemade, Graham Matthews, and others convene the first meeting of African Americans interested in child development research (BICD)—the forerunner of the Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD) Black Caucus—with goals related to professional networking and support, linkage with other groups with similar interests in Black children, development of a position paper on its relationship with SRCD, and promotion of research and discussions on issues of significant for Black researchers and Black children. BICD renamed itself the Black Caucus of the SRCD in 1975, and Jean Carew became its first official chairperson in 1977 (Slaughter-Defoe, 2006a).</p> <p>Diana Slaughter on behalf of the SRCD Black Caucus prepares the first directory of some Black Americans interested in child development research, which lists 68 names.</p>
1974	<p>The APA Minority Fellowship Program is established, with funding provided by NIMH and Dalmas Taylor, PhD, as director (Comas-Diaz, 1990; Guzman et al., 1992).</p> <p>ABPsi publishes the first issue of the <i>Journal of Black Psychology</i> edited by William David Smith, PhD (Street, 1994).</p> <p>ABPsi issues <i>Psychological Testing of Black People: A Position Paper</i> (B. Holliday's personal files).</p>
1975	<p>As a result of the California Supreme Court's decision in <i>Larry P. v. Wilson Riles</i> that use of intelligence tests results in racial bias in the placement of students into programs for the educable mentally retarded, the California Board of Education declares a moratorium on the uses of such tests for such purposes. African American psychologist Asa G. Hilliard III served as principal architect and lead expert witness of this challenge of the use of IQ tests (Bowser, 1996; Street, 1994).</p>
1977	<p>SRCD establishes the Committee on Minority Participation (COMP) with Algea Harrison as its appointed chair and with the goal of diversifying SRCD. In its 1978 initial report to the SRCD Governing Council, COMP recommended strategies for increasing minority participation relative to governance, professional socialization (including increasing Black participation in the SRCD publication process), and professional integration. Later, COMP becomes a SRCD standing committee (in 1985) and is renamed the Committee on Ethnic and Racial Issues (Garrett et al., 2006, pp. 197, 200; McLoyd, 2006, p. 137).</p>
1978	<p>With the leadership of Dalmas Taylor, the Dulles Conference is convened by the APA Board of Directors, the APA Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility, and NIMH on the topic of expanding the roles of culturally diverse peoples in the profession of psychology and recommends the establishment of an APA Office and Board on Ethnic Minority Affairs (Comas-Diaz, 1990; Guzman et al., 1992; Street, 1994; S. Sue, 1994).</p> <p>Kenneth B. Clark receives the first APA Award for Distinguished Contributions to Psychology in the Public Interest (Street, 1994).</p> <p>The APA ad hoc Committee on Minority Affairs is established, and later notes that major areas of ethnic minority concern include (a) psychological and educational testing, (b) APA accreditation criteria and procedures, (c) ethnic minority curriculum issues, (d) licensure/certification issues, (e) publication/editorial activities, (f) underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in APA's governance structure, and (g) APA's involvement in court and legislative advocacy (Comas-Diaz, 1990; Holliday, 1992).</p> <p>ABPsi declines to attend the Dulles Conference because of "numerous attempts by ABPsi to work out strategies with APA which met with nonresponsiveness in addition to an apparent "hidden agenda" to program the conference to deliver a recommendation for a Minority Division of APA" (ABPsi, 1978, p. 7).</p>
1979	<p>The APA Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs (OEMA) is established, with Estaban Olmedo, PhD, as its director (Comas-Diaz, 1990).</p> <p>U.S. District Court rules that in regards to <i>Larry P. v. Wilson Riles</i>, California's use of standardized intelligence testing in schools for purposes of placing children in special education was discriminatory and therefore illegal (Guthrie, 1998; Hilliard, 1983; Street, 1994).</p> <p>ABPsi publishes <i>Sourcebook on the Teaching of Black Psychology</i> (two volumes) edited by Reginald L. Jones. Volume I (640 pages) provided undergraduate and graduate course outlines, and Volume II (320 pages) provided instructional materials such as films, activities, exercises, case studies, tests, group discussion topics, questionnaires, audiovisual materials, bibliographies, etc. (ABPsi, 1979).</p>

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

Year	Event
1980	Unable to gain election of a person of color to the SRCD Governing Council, the council appoints African American Harriette McAdoo, PhD, to the council (Garrett et al., 2006, p. 197). By vote of the APA membership, the APA Board of Ethnic Minority Affairs (BEMA) is established; Henry Tomes, PhD, is elected chair. John McAdoo, PhD, becomes the first African American appointed to the editorial board of SRCD's journal, <i>Child Development</i> (Garrett et al., 2006, p. 198).
1981	Black Caucus of SRCD issues first issue of its newsletter (Garrett et al., 2006). BEMA establishes a task force on minority education and training. Diana Slaughter becomes the first person of color elected to the Governing Council of SRCD (Slaughter-Defoe, 2006a). William Hall, PhD, becomes first African American to serve as program chair for the biennial SRCD meeting (Garrett et al., 2006, p. 198). John McAdoo in <i>Black Families</i> publishes probably one of the first studies on the topic of involvement of fathers in the socialization of Black children.
1982	Initial multicultural competencies are authored by Derald Sue and others and published in <i>The Counseling Psychologist</i> .
1983	Na'im Akbar, PhD, and Wade W. Nobles, PhD, author ABPsi's <i>Ethical Standards of Black Psychologists</i> , which addresses the eight standards of responsibility, restraint, respect, reciprocity, commitment, cooperativeness, courage, and accountability, and notes, "only persons of African Descent and who are completely committed to no less than the absolute liberation of the Black mind shall be recognized as legitimate Black Psychologists" Association of Black Psychologists, 2006.
1984	BEMA establishes a task force on communication with minority constituents, which is charged to (a) identify and increase ethnic minority membership in divisions and state associations, (b) help divisions and state associations establish ethnic minority-oriented committees, and (c) increase ethnic minority participation in APA governance (Comas-Diaz, 1990).
1985	BEMA with the approval of the APA Council of Representatives establishes the BEMA Committee on Ethnic Minority Human Resources Development (CEMHRD) to address ethnic minority student and faculty recruitment and retention, and development of ethnic minority education and training resources, and appoints Martha Bernal, PhD, as CEMHRD's chair. NIMH is reorganized; ethnic minority research is "mainstreamed": All of NIMH's three research divisions assume responsibility for funding ethnic minority-focused research and ethnic minority investigators The Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs is discontinued (Parron, 1990). Publication of <i>Beginnings: The Social and Affective Development of Black Children</i> edited by M. B. Spencer, G. K. Brookins, and W. Allen, which was the product of the first SRCD study group focused on Black children and families (Garrett et al., 2006, p. 200). ABPsi issues <i>Position Paper on Apartheid</i> , authored by Bertha G. Holliday, PhD, Dorothy Granberry-Stewart, PhD, and Sylvester Turner, MA (personal files of B. Holliday).
1986	The Association of Non-White Concerns changes its name to the Association of Multicultural Counseling and Development. The Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues (APA's Division 45) is established (Comas-Diaz, 1990; Street, 1994). The Society for the Clinical Psychology of Ethnic Minorities is established as Section VI of APA's Division 12 (Clinical Psychology; M. Jenkins, 1994).
1987	In response to significant financial losses associated with the APA's purchase and operation of <i>Psychology Today</i> , the APA central office is streamlined and reorganized into four major directorates. The BEMA/Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology (BSERP) Task Force on the Status of Black Men and Its Impact on Families and Communities is established (Comas-Diaz, 1990). The BEMA Task Force on the Delivery of Services to Ethnic Minority Populations is established and later issues APA council-approved <i>Guidelines for Providers of Psychological Services to Ethnic, Linguistic, and Culturally Diverse Populations</i> , under the chairship of Joseph Pine, PhD (Comas-Diaz, 1990).
1990	APA's governance structure is realigned with its directorate structure. As a result, BSERP and BEMA are merged into a single Board for the Advancement of Psychology in the Public Interest, and a Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs is established.
1991	SRCD Black Caucus explicitly opens its membership to persons who are not of African American descent (Garrett et al., 2006, p. 203). Henry Tomes, PhD, former president of ABPsi and former commissioner of mental health in Massachusetts, is the first African American to serve as executive director of an APA directorate (Public Interest). African American William Hall, PhD, chairs the SRCD Publications Committee, which formally reaffirms its commitment to diversity in the content of its publications and the make-up of its editorial boards, and initiates three strategies for facilitating achievement of these commitments (Garrett et al., 2006, p. 203; McLoyd, 2006, p. 131).
1992	APA's Public Interest Directorate sponsors the first APA miniconvention (at the Washington, DC, APA Centennial Convention) focused on ethnic minorities: "Ethnic Minorities: Issues and Concerns for Psychology, Now and in the Future." The miniconvention was organized by OEMA director, L. Philip Guzman, PhD (Holliday, 1992). At the Centennial APA Convention in Washington, DC, the Council of National Psychological Associations for the Advancement of Ethnic Minority Interests (CNPAEEMI) is established on adoption of the CNPAEEMI governing rules. CNPAEEMI comprises the presidents of the nation's ethnic minority psychological associations and APA (Holliday, 2006). Gail E. Wyatt, PhD, an African American, is first the person of color to receive a NIMH Research Scientist Career Award (Street, 1994).
1993	With the leadership of African American psychologist Jessica Henderson Daniel, PhD, and chair of the Massachusetts Board of Registration of Psychologists, Massachusetts becomes the first state to require program and experience related to racial/ethnic basis of behavior for licensure (Daniel, 1994). APA Council of Representatives passes a resolution declaring ethnic minority recruitment and retention as a high priority (APA, 1997). Vonnie McLoyd becomes the first African American to be appointed associate editor of SRCD's <i>Child Development</i> journal (McLoyd, 2006, p. 139).

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

Year	Event
1994	African American psychologist Brian Smedley, PhD, becomes the first ethnic minority to direct APA's Public Interest Public Policy Office. During his tenure, ethnic minority issues are formally placed on APA's legislative advocacy agenda for the first time.
1995	Jennifer Friday, PhD, is the first African American to be elected president of the Southeast Psychological Association. APA Council of Representatives approves revised <i>Guidelines and Principles for Accreditation of Programs in Professional Psychology</i> , including "Domain D: Cultural and Individual Differences and Diversity," which calls for programs to make "systematic, coherent and long-term efforts to attract and retain students and faculty [or interns and staff] . . ." from diverse backgrounds, "ensure a supportive and encouraging learning environment appropriate for the training of diverse individuals," and implement a "coherent plan to provide students [or interns] with relevant knowledge and experience about the role of cultural and individual diversity in psychological phenomena . . ." (APA Office of Program Consultation and Accreditation, 2007, p. 10). ABPsi issues position paper "A Holistic View of American Violence: A Position Paper on the Federal Violence Initiative" (<i>Psych Discourse</i> [ABPsi NewsJournal], 26). ABPsi is recipient of grant for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention for a national HIV/STD Technical Assistance Project (Noel Brathwaite, PhD, MPH, project director in 1995). Project issued a newsletter, <i>Nia</i> (Williams, 2008).
1996	With funding provided by the Office of Special Populations of the Center for Mental Health Services, APA initiates the HBCU Training Capacity Grant program through which small grants are competitively awarded to psychology departments at HBCUs for activities that will strengthen a department's capacity to effectively recruit, retain, and train students of color for careers in psychology (APA OEMA, 1996).
	Publication of <i>Handbook of Tests and Measurements for Black Populations</i> (two volumes) edited by Reginald L. Jones, PhD.
	APA's OEMA is awarded a \$750,000 grant from the National Institute of General Medical Sciences for the purpose of demonstrating the effectiveness of a "systemic approach" for increasing the number of persons of color in the educational pipeline for biomedical research careers in psychology. Later in the year 2000, the grant is renewed for \$1.43 million. Grant is renewed again in 2004.
1997	APA's Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs organizes within the annual APA convention a miniconvention on "Psychology and Racism" focusing on the three themes of (a) the psychology of racism, (b) racism in psychology, and (c) the psychology of antiracism and involving 121 events and 449 presentations (APA, 1997).
1999	APA's Division 45 (Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues) in collaboration with Divisions 17 (Counseling) and 35 (Psychology of Women) organize the first National Multicultural Conference and Summit in Newport Beach, California, chaired by Derald W. Sue, PhD.
	APA's Division 45 initiates publication of its journal <i>Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology</i> with Lillian Comas-Diaz, PhD, as its first editor.
	APA Council of Representatives passes a resolution on affirmative action and equal opportunity that encourages "psychological and public policy research that would illuminate sources of bias in institutional policies and practices . . ."
	At the opening ceremony of the annual APA convention in Boston, then-APA President Richard M. Suinn presents a presidential citation to the presidents of the four national ethnic minority psychological associations that formally acknowledged their value and contributions. The ABPsi citation was accepted by its president, Samella Abdulla, PhD (personal correspondence: Suinn to Abdulla, March 11, 1999; Abdulla to Suinn, June 17, 1999).
2000	The APA Council of Representatives authorizes funding for a Commission on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention, and Training in Psychology (CEMRRAT) Textbook Initiatives Work Group that is charged to develop guidelines on the inclusion of information and research on diverse populations for publishers and authors of introductory psychology textbooks (APA, 2001).
	APA's OEMA establishes its Psychology in Ethnic Minority Services Institutions initiative aimed at strengthening relationships between APA and these institutions and promoting increased psychological education, training, and research at these institutions (APA OEMA, 2000).
	ABPsi holds its annual convention in Accra, Ghana.
	APA's Committee of State Leaders, with financial support from APA's Practice Directorate and CEMRRAT Grant Fund, initiates its diversity initiative through which state, territorial, and provincial psychological associations (SPTAs) are encouraged to send ethnic minority delegates to APA's annual state leadership conference and mentor them into SPTA leadership positions. By 2007, four African American and three other diversity delegates had been elected president or president-elect of their SPTAs.
2001	APA Council of Representatives passes a resolution "Racial/Ethnic Profiling and Other Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Law and Security Enforcement Activities" (APA OEMA, 2001c).
	APA Council of Representatives passes a resolution "Racism and Racial Discrimination: A Policy Statement in Support of the Goals of the 2001 World Conference Against Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance" (APA OEMA, 2001b).
	APA's Office of International Affairs and OEMA provide financial support for an APA six-member delegation to the U.N. World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance in Durban, South Africa. Delegates are Corann Okorodudu, EdD, (delegation chair and the APA main representative to the U.N.); Thema Bryant, PhD (an APA representative to the U.N.); A. J. Franklin, PhD (president, Division 45); Bertha G. Holliday, PhD (director, OEMA); James S. Jackson, PhD (president-elect, APA's Committee on International Relations in Psychology); and William Parham, PhD (president-elect, APA's Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs; APA, 2002b; APA OEMA, 2001a).
	SRCD initiates the Millennium Fellows Program, which provides travel funds, registration fees, and graduate and professional mentors and meetings with some of SRCD's leaders for undergraduate minority students to attend biennial SRCD meetings (Slaughter-Defoe et al., 2006, p. 190).
	Establishment of ABPsi's Licensure, Certification, and Proficiency in Black Psychology program that seeks to prepare psychologists to work with Black children and families (ABPsi president's message posted August 12, 2007, at http://www.abpsi.org/president.htm).
2002	APA's Council of Representatives unanimously confirms African American psychologist Norman B. Anderson, PhD, as the APA chief executive officer, effective January 1, 2003.
2004	Psychologist Vonnie McLoyd (a 1997 recipient of the McArthur "genius" award) is elected president of the Society for Research in Adolescence (Harrison-Hale, 2006, p. 46).

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

Year	Event
2005	In response to the horrific absence and shortcomings of first-responders to the New Orleans victims of Hurricane Katrina, ABPsi issues <i>Guidelines for Providing Culturally Appropriate Services for People of African Ancestry Exposed to the Trauma of Hurricane Katrina</i> authored by Kevin Cokley, PhD, Benson G. Cooke, EdD, and Wade Nobles, PhD. Jessica Henderson Daniel becomes first African American female elected to the APA Board of Directors. James S. Jackson is appointed director of the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research.
2006	The ABPsi Foundation is founded with the purpose of raising funds for scholarships, research, and other endeavors that promote the mission and vision of the ABPsi (Association of Black Psychologists, 2007; ABPsi president's message posted August 12, 2007, at http://www.abpsi.org/president.htm). Gwendolyn P. Keita becomes the first African American female APA executive director (Public Interest Directorate).
2007	The Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues (APA Division 45) establishes the Psi Alpha Omega, "the national honor society in psychology for students of color and students interested in the study of ethnic and cultural issues" (retrieved October 15, 2007, from http://www.psialphaomega.com). The APA Council of Representatives authorizes a membership vote on an APA bylaws change that would establish a seat on the APA council for each of the national ethnic minority psychological associations. APBpsi is unwilling to commit to assume such a seat, whereas the other minority psychological associations express a willingness to do so. The required two-thirds vote is not achieved. The APA council authorizes a second bylaws vote in 2008 on seats for the national ethnic minority psychological associations. Again, the vote falls short of the two-thirds majority needed for approval, this time by 126 votes of more than 10,300 votes cast on this amendment.
2008	Archie Turner is appointed as APA's first African American chief financial officer.
2009	In response to the nation's economic downturn, APA effects a significant disinvestment of its funding of ethnic minority programs and initiatives.

areas in which the American Psychological Association has been insensitive, ineffectual, and insincere. (Williams, 1974, pp. 11–12)

At the 1968 APA convention, ABPsi presented the APA a petition of concerns. This petition addressed the three major issues that would serve as organizing principles for future professional organization activities of persons of color in psychology. These issues were (a) the low numbers of Black psychologists and Black graduate students in psychology, (b) APA's failure both to direct its scientific and professional energies toward the solution of permanent social concerns—particularly those of poverty and racism—and to address social problems of concern to communities of color (e.g., the Kerner Report on Civil Disorders; IQ testing), and (c) the inadequate representation of Blacks in the APA governance structure (Baker, 2003; Pickren & Tomes, 2002; Williams, 1974, 2008). The petition included specific proposals for addressing these issues (Williams, 1974, 2008). The petition would guide many of ABPsi's activities for nearly a decade.

The next year, in 1969, approximately 85 students at the Western Psychological Association meeting in Vancouver, British Columbia, established the Black Students Psychological Association (BSPA). Later, at the 1969 APA convention, BSPA students interrupted the APA presidential address and made a brief presentation of their concerns followed by a request to meet with the APA Council of Representatives for more detailed discussions. The students were informed that they would be able to speak to the council the next day—and the APA president was then allowed to present his address uninterrupted. The next day, BSPA President Gary Simkins presented a 5-point program to the council related to increasing ethnic minority recruitment and retention. In response, the APA's council and board immediately took action in support of BSPA's concerns (Williams, 1974).

Later that year, consistent with its petition, ABPsi issued its 6-point statement related to a need for a moratorium on testing that placed Black children disproportionately at educational and developmental risk. In 1970, ABPsi sent to all graduate psychology

departments its 10-point program for recruitment and retention of Black doctoral students. At least 35 departments reportedly adopted the entire program and numerous others adopted parts of the program. Also in 1970, ABPsi and APA launched a 3-year Black visiting scientist program to approximately 30 Black colleges (Williams, 1974).

In 1971, ABPsi, for the first time, conducted its convention at a site separate from that of the APA convention. Nevertheless, ABPsi President Reginald L. Jones addressed APA's council and again noted the gulf in the interests of the two associations—as epitomized by the finding that the word *racism* occurred only once in the 182-page 1971 APA convention program. Jones also made recommendations for needed changes in APA's administrative and governance structures that would serve to enhance ethnic minority recruitment and retention and multicultural training (APA, 2003). In that same year, an ideological-political chasm began to emerge between ABPsi and BSPA. Meetings focused on effecting a merger between the organizations met with little success. This was a harbinger of the periodic challenges and struggles that ABPsi would have with its student members.

According to Williams (1974), during the 1971–1974 period, in addition to its concerns with minority recruitment and testing, ABPsi efforts also focused on developing publication functions, strengthening its organizational infrastructure, and developing public policy advocacy processes including cultivating a relationship with the Congressional Black Caucus. As a result of the leadership of Reginald L. Jones and others, ABPsi launched its *Journal of Black Psychology* in 1974.

Currently, ABPsi is governed by a board of directors that includes four regional representatives. It also has a Council of Elders that advises the board, and a General Assembly that consists of volunteers from ABPsi chapters throughout the nation who carry out projects commissioned by the board. In addition, historically many ABPsi concerns have been taken on by one of its local chapters. For example, in 1972, the Bay Area chapter issued a

position statement on use of IQ and ability tests, which demanded that the California State Department of Education declare a moratorium on these tests in assessing Black children (Richards, 1997); in 1980, the Bay Area chapter issued another position paper on the mental health needs of the Bay Area Black community (ABPsi, 1980, p. 11); in 1981, the Nashville chapter opposed the Tennessee Board of Education's implementation of a statewide proficiency examination of teachers, for which it solicited and received support from the Tennessee Psychological Association (B. Holliday, personal files, 1981); and in 1985, the Nashville chapter developed on behalf of the national ABPsi a position paper on apartheid (B. Holliday, personal files, 1985).

In 1973, many of ABPsi's concerns were further legitimized through the conduct of landmark conferences. For example, African American counseling psychologists Thomas Gunnings and Gloria Smith held a national conference on counseling minority students that identified special concerns and strategies in counseling these students. A national conference on testing was conducted in Hampton, Virginia, that focused on issues and concerns related to testing persons of color in education, government, and industry settings. And the attendance of 25 Blacks and other ethnic minority psychologists at the APA- and NIMH-sponsored 1973 Vail Conference, which examined the appropriateness of psychology's scientist-professional model of training, ensured that each of the conference's workshops included discussions of the relevance of such training for people of color.

Around 1975, ABPsi's annual convention program began to include African-centered presentations, thus marking the beginning of ABPsi's ideological transition to a more African-centered one. This transition was neither easy nor without costs, and continues to be a source of significant tension within the organization.

The distinct African American brand of "nationalism" (or post-colonial racialized perspectives) that currently underlies many of ABPsi's African-centered perspectives makes it difficult for some of their adherents to enter into formal collaborative action with non-Black organizations and institutions, without fear of cooption, coercion, or loss of independence or clarity of vision. This has served to limit ABPsi's ability (especially at the national level) to engage in long-term strategies in support of some of its original critical goals—such as enhancing the numbers and educational experiences of African American doctoral psychology students, and influencing public policies and professional and technical standards related to testing. For example, in 1978, ABPsi refused to attend the Dulles Conference, which was cosponsored by APA and NIMH and focused on the roles of ethnic minority psychologists in organized psychology. This refusal was due to "numerous attempts by ABPsi to work out strategies with APA which met with nonresponsiveness in addition to an apparent 'hidden agenda' to program the conference to deliver a recommendation for a Minority Division of American Psychological Association" (ABPsi, 1978, p. 7). In the letter of response to this invitation, ABPsi Chairwoman Ruth King noted, "We (ABPsi) will consider APA serious only when their Board of Directors is willing to sit with the Board of Directors of the Association of Black Psychologists on an equal basis and honestly deal with the serious psychological issues which face us all" (ABPsi, 1978, p. 7).

More recently, in response to a proposal to create a voting seat on the APA Council of Representatives for each of the ethnic minority psychological associations, ABPsi exhibited significant

reticence and resistance. The majority of members present at the 2006 business meeting of the ABPsi Annual Convention voted against accepting such a seat. Later, in 2007, the ABPsi president forwarded the following communication to APA:

As long as it is clear that ABPsi has at present elected to not avail itself of the voting seat on Council, I see no inherent problem in OEMA or DIV [sic] 45 or whomever is responsible for moving this issue forward pursuing Council seats for all of the Ethnic Psychological Associations. I do not interpret such action as reflecting paternalism. I consulted with Dr. Holmes, our incoming president. She is of the opinion that it would be presumptuous and possibly inappropriate for ABPsi to tell APA how to manage their internal affairs. She sees the C/R seats as an issue subsumed under the large question of what type of relationship ABPsi wishes to have with APA, resolution of which she anticipates will require several years of dialogue within the ABPsi. (R. Atwell [personal communication] as cited in APA council, 2007, p. 68)

The collaborative limitations of ABPsi's African-centered stance is counterbalanced by ABPsi's increasing focus on such priorities as nurturing the development of African-centered theory and practice in psychology, refining internal and African-centered organizational procedures and rituals, and most recently, developing a program of certification and training of Afrocentric/African-centered clinicians, and establishing an ABPsi foundation that might eventually support training and community projects (Williams, 2008). However, such internal efforts from time to time have presented difficult challenges, in part due to the inherent social conservatism of many "traditional" African tenets, which some members view as homophobic, sexist, and dogmatic. To ABPsi's credit, such concerns often have been heard by ABPsi leadership, and related proposals and activities have been reconsidered or restructured (cf. Parham, White, & Ajamu, 1999, pp. 19–22). However, the energy required for the association to go through these periodic internal conflicts has been draining and disillusioning to many ABPsi leaders and members. Nevertheless, most members view the annual ABPsi conventions as a respite and a homecoming: It is a place and intellectual space in psychology that African Americans crafted for themselves.

The APA and its Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs (OEMA), Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs (CEMA), and Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues (Division 45)

The APA promotes itself as the nation's largest association of psychologists, with 148,000 members. It is also the leading publisher of psychological literature in the world and thus is the preeminent gatekeeper of psychological knowledge and research. Its current organization structure includes 54 divisions or special interest groups. It is governed by a Council of Representatives comprising representatives from each of its divisions and from each state, provincial, and territorial psychological association (SPTA).

APA's organizational growth has been characterized by a series of strategic decisions and efforts that served to expand the scope of psychological research and practice. Such efforts include those related to (a) the use of psychological tests as instruments for identifying differences among both social groups and individuals (Gossett, 1963/1965, pp. 368–376; Richards, 1997, chap. 4; Street, 1994, pp. 68, 74, 75, 83, 138); (b) the promotion of clinical and

neurological assessments as necessary tools for diagnoses of mental diseases and disorders (Street, 1994, p. 205); (c) the use of psychotherapeutic and behavioral interventions as treatments for health, psychological, and behavioral problems (Street, 1994, p. 74); (d) the promotion of the salience of psychological research and interventions to critical national needs through an aggressive program of advocacy for both issues and programs of psychological import and federal funding for psychological research (Finison, 1986; Street, 1994, pp. 204–209); and (e) significant control of the published psychological research literature (Street, 1994, chap. 3). In addition, psychological practice has been both protected and expanded through aggressive monitoring and advocacy of state licensing laws (APA approved its first Model Legislation for State Licensure in 1955; Street, 1994).

APA's organizational policymaking often involves highly political decision-making processes—and prior to the late 1960s, on matters of race and civil rights, it was a North versus South divide. Indeed, Richards (1997) has argued that up until the 1970s, APA was “politically paralyzed by the sheer breadth of its members' interests and political attitudes. Any general statement about U.S. Psychology and the Civil Rights movement is thus impossible” (p. 238). Consequently, APA did not even acknowledge its near absence of participation of Black psychologists until 1963, when APA Division 9 (Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues) insisted that APA establish the ad hoc Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Psychology (CEOP) to explore “the possible problems encountered in training and employment in psychology as a consequence of race” (Wispe et al., 1969, p. 142, footnote 3). The committee's final report (Wispe et al., 1969), based on 398 surveys completed by Black psychologists, documented the underrepresentation of Black psychologists and their alienation from mainstream U.S. psychology.

In 1967, at the invitation of APA's Division 9, civil rights leader Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered an address at the APA convention on the role of the social scientist in the civil rights movement that called for more research on (a) Black leadership development, (b) political action and its efficacy as a social change strategy, (c) psychological and ideological changes in Blacks, and (d) related implications for the relationship between Blacks and the greater society, including social institutions.

And then there was the drama of the wake-up call delivered at the 1968 APA convention in San Francisco when the ABPsi was established and its representatives walked in on the meeting of the APA Board of Directors and presented ABPsi's petition of concern. APA empowered a committee to respond to the petition (Baker, 2003). A report from this committee to the ABPsi Executive Committee indicated that (a) APA was willing to appoint a group to consider the psychological implications of the Kerner Report or commission a position paper on the report's psychological implications, but it was inappropriate for APA's board or council to make an endorsement on behalf of APA's members on any issue; (b) in February 1969, APA's board approved the expenditure of \$4,000 for a working conference on recruitment of graduate students and faculty from disadvantaged groups; (c) the APA board had approved the convention committee's recommendation that the theme of the 1969 convention be “Psychology and Problems of Society,” including several symposia organized by ABPsi; and (d) facilities would be made available at the APA convention for ABPsi's social hour and business meeting (Williams, 1974).

In 1969, in response to demands of the BSPA to increase ethnic minority student and faculty recruitment and retention, the APA council immediately adopted a motion that included (a) endorsement in principle of the statement presented by BSPA, (b) a commitment of APA funds to support the 4-point plan, and (c) the authorization of a committee and associated funding to work out details related to (a) and (b). The APA board also took action in support of BSPA's concerns and established a Commission for Accelerating Black Participation in Psychology, which comprised representatives of APA, APBsi, and BSPA. Later, APA provided 3 years of funding for a BSPA office in the APA building. This marked the first time that APA had embraced any organized group of psychology graduate students (Figuroa-Garcia, 1994; Guzman et al., 1992; Pickren & Tomes, 2002; Street, 1994). It also marked the first of several instances when Black psychology students would defy or question the preferred course of action of ABPsi. Undoubtedly, APA's failure to renew funding for a BSPA office after the 3-year period was due to many factors, including the pending establishment of the APA Minority Fellowship Program (MFP). In addition, the continuing schism between BSPA and ABPsi certainly placed APA in a politically awkward position.

In 1970, African American psychologist Kenneth B. Clark, in his role as APA president, urged the APA Board of Directors to place high priority on issues of social responsibility. Consequently, in 1971, APA established the Department of Social and Ethical Responsibility and the ad hoc Committee on Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology. By vote of the APA membership, the ad hoc committee became a standing board in 1973 with responsibility for aspects of psychology involving solutions to problems of social justice, including issues related to ethnic minority participation in psychology (Pickren & Tomes, 2002).

In 1974, APA established its MFP, with funding provided by NIMH. Initially directed by Dalmas Taylor, PhD, later by James Jones, PhD, and currently by Andrew Austin-Daley, MDiv, MFP has to date provided financial support for doctoral study and research in psychology and neuroscience to approximately 1,300 students of color.

The 1978 Dulles Conference titled “Expanding the Roles of Culturally Diverse Peoples in the Profession of Psychology” marked a major turning point for ethnic minority inclusion and participation in APA (see Figure 2). Sponsored by the APA Board of Directors, the APA Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility,



Figure 2. James M. Jones (left) and Asa G. Hilliard III (deceased) are shown at the 1978 Dulles Conference.

and NIMH, the conference's major recommendations focused on the need for an institutionalized ethnic minority presence in the governance and organizational structures of organized psychology. As a result, the APA Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs (OEMA) was established in 1979; the APA Board of Ethnic Minority Affairs (BEMA) was established in 1980 after a successful related bylaws vote by the APA membership, with African American psychologist Henry Tomes, PhD, as its first chair; and the Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues (APA Division 45) was established in 1986 (Comas-Diaz, 1990; Guzman, Schiavo, & Puente, 1992; Street, 1994; S. Sue, 1994). BEMA and Division 45 each adopted a multicultural model wherein governance members were elected or appointed from ethnic-specific slates that ensured a balance in representation and concerns and interests of psychologists from each of the nation's major ethnic minority groups (African Americans, Asian American/Pacific Islanders, American Indians/Alaska Natives, and Latinos[as]/Hispanics).

Over time, each of these entities has assumed a role that is distinct but mutually supportive. For example, Division 45, as a "speciality area" group, focuses its efforts on providing a focal point for ethnic participation in APA, and promoting the stature and visibility of scientific and practice issues of concern to ethnic minority psychologists, primarily through establishment of both its journal and the biennial National Multicultural Conference and Summit, with its hallmark "honoring of elders" and "difficult dialogues." BEMA (and its successor, the APA Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs (CEMA), which was established as a result of APA's 1987 staff reorganization and subsequent 1990 realignment of its governance structure with the new staff directorate structure), in its role as an APA governance group, not only monitors and contributes to greater equity and less racial/ethnic bias in APA policymaking, but also identifies and legitimizes major issues, strategies, and initiatives needed to increase within psychology both the participation of ethnic minorities and the stature of the needs and concerns of communities of color. In turn, many of the initiatives championed by these entities are actually carried out by staff of the OEMA (see Figure 3). Examples of such initiatives include encouraging the establishment and development of more than 60 division and state psychological association committees (or sections) on ethnic minority affairs and diversity as a strategy for increasing ethnic minority membership and participation and ensuring that ethnic minority psychological perspectives influence the policies and activities of divisions and SPTAs; maintaining a database and publishing a directory of ethnic minority psychologists to increase their visibility and ability to network; developing formats for communicating with ethnic minority psychologists; strengthening relationships and communication between minority-serving institutions and APA; developing a mini-convention on psychology and racism; operating and funding model minority student recruitment, retention, and training strategies; and encouraging increased ethnic minority leadership development (Comas-Diaz, 1990; Figueroa-Garcia, 1994; Holliday, 1992; Holliday and Holmes, 2003; Street, 1994).

In addition, in 1992, APA facilitated the establishment of the Council of National Psychological Associations for the Advancement of Ethnic Minority Interests (CNPAAEMI). This council consists of the presidents of APA, Division 45, and the four national ethnic minority psychological associations—the Asian



Figure 3. Kenneth B. Clark (right) with Otto Klineberg are shown at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel during the 1988 APA Convention. Photo courtesy of William F. Smith, Sr.

American Psychological Association, ABPsi, National Latina/o Psychological Association, and the Society of Indian Psychologists. CNPAAEMI was established "for the purpose of both discussing issues of mutual concern and developing joint strategies to address them" (CNPAAEMI *Governance Rules* as modified February 1, 2002; CNPAAEMI, 2002). CNPAAEMI meets semiannually and is staffed by OEMA. CNPAAEMI has developed a publication series focused on ethnic minority-centered perspectives on major psychological procedures. In 2006, CNPAAEMI established the Henry Tomes, PhD, Awards in honor of Tomes's continuous contributions to ethnic minority psychology.

Most recently, CNPAAEMI initiated efforts to establish a voting seat on APA's Council of Representatives for each of the four national ethnic minority psychological associations. Efforts related to this initiative reflect the significant political coordination that has developed among APA's ethnic minority entities. Division 45 assumed responsibility for introducing the proposal for the voting seats to APA's council, gaining council approval for presenting a necessary bylaws amendment for APA membership vote, and organizing a coalition of council members that developed a campaign to encourage members to vote in support of the bylaws amendment. OEMA actively provided consultation to other staff and committees assigned to draft the actual bylaws language and assure its conformity with both APA legal requirements and those of the national ethnic minority psychological associations. But, despite these efforts, the bylaws amendment was rejected two times by very small margins (the second voted failed to gain the necessary two-thirds majority by 126 votes of 10,312 votes cast). In response, CEMA has assumed a liaison role with the APA council work group that was appointed to determine the next steps to be taken on the voting seats proposal.

APA's concerns with issues of ethnic minority students, faculty, and professional training were reinvigorated in 1994 when the APA Commission on Ethnic Minority Recruitment, Retention, and Training in Psychology (CEMRRAT) was established. It issued its final report and plan in 1997 and a progress report on the implementation of that plan was issued in 2007 (APA CEMRRAT, 1997, 2007). In 1999, a CEMRRAT Implementation Fund was established by APA. Up until 2009, this was funded for \$75,000 to \$100,000 per year and used primarily for small grants to APA divisions, SPTAs, academic departments, APA offices, and other groups and individuals who proposed to engage in activities consistent with the APA/CEMRRAT plan. However, in 2009, because of financial restraints associated with the nation's economic downturn, the APA Board of Directors and Council of Representatives voted to suspend funding for the CEMRRAT fund.

In 1999, in a gesture of reconciliation, honor, and gratitude, then-APA President Richard Suinn (APA's third president of color) presented a Presidential Citation to the ABPsi and to the other independent national ethnic minority psychological associations. The ABPsi citation, which was accepted by then-ABPsi President Samella Abdullah, included citations of ABPsi's major contributions to psychology.

In 1991, Henry Tomes, PhD, became the first African American hired by APA at the executive director level. In 2002, APA's Council of Representatives appointed psychologist Norman Anderson, PhD, as APA's first African American chief executive officer. In 2005, Jessica Henderson Daniel, PhD, became the first African American female elected to the APA Board of Directors. In 2006, Gwendolyn P. Keita, PhD, became the first African American female APA executive director. In 2008, Archie Turner was hired as APA's first African American chief financial officer.

In 2001, the APA Office and International Affairs and OEMA funded a 6-member APA delegation to the UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerances in Durban, South Africa (see Figure 4). In 2002, the APA council approved *The Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists* (APA, 2002a), which was sponsored by APA Division 17 (Counseling Psychology). In 2007, at the urging of Joseph Horvat, Division 45 established Psi Alpha Omega as a national

honor society. Horvat, an American Indian who had served as the president of the long-established Psi Chi Honor Society in psychology, believed Psi Chi was unwilling to aggressively reach out to ethnic minority students and address their special needs and experiences of marginalization (Autry, 2008; Psi Alpha Omega, n.d.). Psi Alpha Omega is the first national honor society established to meet the needs of and honor ethnic minority and other students interested in multicultural and ethnic minority psychology issues.

The ACA and its Association of Multicultural Counseling and Development

The roots of the counseling profession and discipline are found in educational settings (high schools and colleges), where vocational education and guidance became salient functions during the early 20th century. Later, counseling diversified into other areas such as psychometrics, family and marriage, mental health, substance abuse, criminal justice, and human development. The American Counseling Association (ACA) defines itself as a "partnership" of associations representing professional counselors who enhance human development. As such, ACA is distinguished by its willingness to adapt and reinvent itself in the service of organizational growth. Prior to July 1, 1992, ACA was known as the American Association of Counseling and Development. And prior to 1983, it was known as the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA). APGA itself was created in 1952 through the merger of four independent associations (known as the "founding divisions"): the National Vocational Guidance Association, the National Association of Guidance and Counselor Trainers, the Student Personnel Association for Teacher Education, and the American College Personnel Association. Today, ACA consists of 19 divisions, each of which represents a specific area of interest and practice, as well as 56 branches (states, territories, and foreign countries), which were first chartered in 1970 and organized into four regions.

Major accomplishments of ACA include (a) the continual cultivation of new divisions, (b) the leveling of a hierarchical governance structure, (c) the increased stature and regulation of the counseling professions as evidenced by the adoption of state licensure and certification (state licensing was authorized by APGA in 1974, and the National Board for Certified Counselors was established in 1983), (d) development of a structure and process for accreditation of counseling specialty training programs (Council for the Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs established in 1982), (e) an increased public policy presence, and (f) the establishment of a foundation (ACA, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c; History of Counseling, n.d.).

Because of African American psychologists' early tradition of working with children and youth in educational settings, large numbers of Black psychologists were trained in various areas of counseling. Consequently, significant numbers of African American psychologists were affiliated with APGA during the Civil Rights era. During the 1969 APGA convention, a predominantly African American caucus presented a resolution to establish a salaried National Office of Non-White Concerns to be located within APGA's Executive Office. It has been reported that this action primarily reflected Blacks' frustration with the absence of association support for a Black perspective on counseling that is



Figure 4. The APA delegates to the 2001 UN World Conference Against Racism are shown, from left, Corann Okorodudu (Delegation Chair), Anderson J. Franklin, Bertha G. Holliday, William Parham, and Thema Bryant-Davis. (Not Shown: James S. Jackson).

characterized by such things as a color-conscious cultural-specific perspective, the recognition of a Black culture that contributes to identity and positive adaptations, transformative skills in response to the discriminatory or racist behavior of social systems and institutions, and community-based service delivery (cf. G. J. Jackson, 1977). Indeed, to a large extent, the history of African Americans within ACA reflects the use of political strategies in pursuit of racial/ethnic-centered theories and practices of counseling. According to Daley (1972, as cited in G. J. Jackson, 1977, p. 495), caucus members were “tired of acquiescence; they were tired of an ‘acceptable existence’; they were tired of all the rhetoric about warmth, acceptance, and development of each one’s maximum potential.”

In response to the 1969 caucus resolution, APGA established an Office of Non-White Concerns, which the caucus came to view as a powerless entity intended to pacify its efforts. Consequently, the caucus established itself as a somewhat parallel and alternative dues-paying nonvoting “interest group” of APGA. This interest group attracted more than 400 persons to its pre-APGA convention programs and banquets. Finally, in 1972, after several years of negotiation and struggle with its parent organization, the caucus reestablished itself as the Association of Non-White Concerns (ANWC) in Personnel and Guidance—a division of the APGA with voting rights in both APGA’s Senate and on its Board of Directors (Anderson, 2007; Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development, n.d.).

At its inception, ANWC defined its mission as follows:

To recognize the human diversity and multicultural nature of our society; to enhance development, human rights and psychological health of all people; to identify and work to eliminate conditions that create barriers to individual development of non-Whites; to develop, implement and/or foster interest in charitable, scientific and educational programs that further the interests of non-Whites; to secure equality of treatment, advancement, qualifications, and status of people in personal and guidance work; to publish a journal and other materials with the purpose of raising the standards of all who work in guidance and counseling. (Anderson, 2007, p. 6)

Consistent with APGA’s 1983 name change and its willingness to engage in organization transformation, in 1985, ANWC changed its name to its current one—the Association of Multicultural Counseling and Development (AMCD). A similar change was made in the titles of its newsletter and journal. Indeed, over the years, as the counseling discipline’s membership became increasingly multiracial/ethnic, ANWC/AMCD progressively transformed itself into a multicultural organization, with equal standing with the other ACA partner associations and divisions. AMCD’s current governance structure includes four vice presidents—each representing one of the nation’s four major ethnic minority groups—as well as elected representatives of each of ACA’s four regions. AMCD also charters state AMCD divisions (AMCD, 2007).

AMCD also seeks to actively engage multiple public and professional groups in its core mission. This is best exemplified in the origination, repeated revision, and promotion of multicultural competencies in counseling psychology, which were initially developed in 1992. The first statement of multicultural competencies was published in 1982 in the APA Division 17 journal, *The Counseling Psychologist* (D. W. Sue et al., 1982). In 1992, the

AMCD president requested that the 1982 competencies be updated by a committee headed by the lead author of the 1982 document. The 1992 competencies were published in ACA’s journal (D. W. Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). A few years later, another revision was requested by the AMCD president. This revision was drafted by AMCD’s Professional Standards Committee and featured a more “contextual” approach (Arredondo & Toporek, 2004). The 1996 competencies were published in AMCD’s journal (Arredondo et al., 1996) and later served as the template for the drafting of APA’s *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists* (APA, 2002a), which initially was drafted by members of APA Divisions 17 (Counseling Psychology) and 45 (Ethnic Minority Issues).

Some of AMCD’s most recent activities include the establishment of a leadership development institute, a Southern Africa initiative aimed at expanding multicultural competencies through cultural emergence in HIV/AIDS services settings, and a mentoring program for graduate students and early career professionals in counseling.

The SRCD and Its Black Caucus

The Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD) was established in 1933 as an outgrowth of a National Research Council subcommittee on child development, which was established in 1922–1923. The stated purposes of SRCD are “to promote multidisciplinary research in the field of human development, to foster the exchange of information among scientists and other professionals and various disciplines, and to encourage applications of research findings” (SRCD, 2007). Its current major activities include promoting international interaction and communication related to human development, establishing and maintaining ethical standards for research with children, promoting research and training in diversity, bringing human development research to bear on social policy, and hosting biennial meetings on human development issues (SRCD, 2007). As a scientific society, SRCD members share a common focus of concern—human development research—and SRCD scientific meetings and governance activities are important professional networking opportunities for persons engaged in child and human development research. Indeed, the SRCD journal, *Child Development*, is viewed as the premier journal in this speciality area. Consequently, SRCD serves as the major national gatekeeper of research methods and issues as well as social policy and programs in the area of child and human development.

Inspired by the establishment of ABPsi, the Black Caucus of SRCD was founded in 1973. But in contrast to ABPsi’s desire for organizational autonomy from APA and the rather strident positions taken by ANWC founders, the SRCD Black Caucus, a “special interest group,” from its inception sought to be a means for advancing African Americans’ professional careers *within* SRCD and for contributing to the improvement of the lives of Black children. Indeed, because of the stature and gatekeeping roles of SRCD, Black Caucus members believed the latter could not be accomplished in the absence of accomplishing the former. Consequently, in 1979–1981, when Black Caucus Chair Diana Slaughter-Defoe surveyed caucus members about their action pref-

erences and needs, the three most highly ranked statements of preference were:

- (a) Identify key resource persons within such governmental and private foundation groups who might be of counsel, and so forth as regarding obtaining research funds;
- (b) Maintain close connections with the Committee on Minority Participation in SRCD in particular, so as to be a resource for nominations for various committees, appointments, and sharing grievances within the hierarchy of SRCD;
- (c) Maintain close contact with Black members of the various committees of SRCD so that we can promote the professional socialization of Black members of SRCD. (Slaughter-Defoe, 2006b, p. 21)

In 1977, at the urging of the Black Caucus, SRCD established the SRCD Committee on Minority Participation (COMP), thereby including ethnic minority concerns in the SRCD governance system. Since then, relations between the caucus and COMP have been close, with continual advocacy from the caucus to COMP, and with significant permeability in membership and leadership between the two groups. Thus, COMP became one of the critical means through which the caucus gained legitimacy and SRCD Governing Council support for greater participation of Blacks in all SRCD activities. In its 1978 initial report to the SRCD Governing Council, COMP recommended strategies for increasing ethnic minority participation relative to governance, professional socialization (including increasing Black participation in the SRCD publication process), and professional integration (McLoyd, 2006).

But COMP and SRCD governance did not always see eye-to-eye. Prior to the 1980s, COMP focused strictly on issues and projects related to increasing Black participation in SRCD. But in 1982, the COMP chair, Raymond Yang, in his annual report to the council observed that it might be advisable for COMP to reassess its purpose and function. In particular, COMP requested funding for a special COMP meeting to conduct such reassessment; increased contact with SRCD's Social Policy Committee and with other SRCD committees, especially regarding advocacy of public policies affecting ethnic minority children and families; and a change of name to the Committee on Minority Issues. The SRCD council responded by saying "no" to the name change, requesting a detailed budget for the proposed meeting, and by sharply reminding COMP that its responsibilities were "carefully circumscribed by SRCD's scholarly and scientific functions" (Slaughter-Defoe, 2006a, pp. 55, 62). Shortly thereafter, Yang resigned as COMP chair. In 1985, a name change—from COMP to the Committee on Ethnic and Racial Issues—was approved (Garrett, Slaughter-Defoe, & Harrison-Hale, 2006, pp. 197, 200–201).

Another means used by the caucus for promoting its interests was the building of personal relationships with key SRCD scholars and governance leaders. This strategy is exemplified in the published letters exchanged between one of the caucus' founders, Algea Harrison-Hale, and renowned researcher Mary Ainsworth (Harrison-Hale, 2006). As a result of such efforts, African Americans gained access to major SRCD committees and boards. For example, Harriette Pipes McAdoo was appointed to the SRCD Council in 1979; in 1980, John McAdoo was appointed to the editorial board of *Child Development*, and by the end of that year, seven persons of color sat on that editorial board. In 1981, William Hall served as program chair of the biennial SRCD meeting; in that same year, SRCD established a study group on Black families and

children that subsequently published an edited volume, *Beginnings: The Social and Affective Development of Black Children*. In 1990, a special issue of *Child Development* on ethnic minority children was edited by Margaret B. Spencer and Vonnie McLoyd, and in 1993, in recognition of the need for an associate editor with expertise on children of color and associate editors' manuscript overload, McLoyd became the first African American appointed as an associate editor of *Child Development* (McLoyd, 2006).

Such accomplishments within SRCD served not only to promote the scholarly careers of Black Caucus members, they also served to promote a revisionist perspective of Black families and children that emphasized their strengths, resiliencies, and the social contexts of their lives, with significant social policy implications. These accomplishments and their commonalities with the interests and concerns of other child development researchers of color resulted in the Black Caucus becoming a multicultural resource and a critical multicultural collegial support system. Consequently, SRCD's Black Caucus facilitated alliance among SRCD's ethnic minority child researchers in general. In 1991, the Black Caucus of SRCD explicitly voted to open its membership to persons of non-African American descent (Garrett et al., 2006).

In general, African Americans' organized efforts to increase their participation and influence within the psychological associations and societies significantly challenged the existing participatory and political processes and structures. Consequently, in each case examined, new governance structures were created resulting in dramatically expanding African American participation. This, in turn, enabled African Americans (often in collaborations with other ethnic minority psychologists) to establish other organizational venues (committees, work groups, study groups conferences, etc.) focused on further expanding ethnic minority participation in a variety of areas of society or association activity, including activities bearing on the discipline's theoretical and methodological racial biases and public policy issues of import to ethnic minority communities. These were continuous and progressive efforts over decades. Consequently, African American efforts within the associations and societies (with the possible exception of ABPsi) served to increasingly galvanize political and intellectual alliances among all ethnic minority psychologists. This resulted in the ultimate creation of a multicultural perspective in psychology.

Intellectual Traditions and Contributions

African American psychologists' efforts to gain full access to participation and influence within the scientific and professional associations and societies served to promote individual careers. But those efforts also were motivated by a desire to effect and legitimize significant changes in perspectives, methodology, scholarly and research literature, and public policy that would serve to revise and transform psychological knowledge and assumptions about African Americans and their families, institutions, and communities. This same "reformist/revisionist motive" provides the underpinning of meaning and significance of the professional and scholarly career contributions of large numbers of contemporary African American psychologists. The following discussion seeks to identify some of these changes and contributions and to describe some of the major intellectual traditions that informed those efforts. It should be noted that although the intellectual traditions are presented as distinct and independent, more often than not, these traditions to varying degrees interact with one

another in influencing African American psychologists' individual and organizational perspectives and contributions.

The Social Contextual/Multidisciplinary Tradition

This tradition most often is associated with the social science faculty and students of the University of Chicago, especially as articulated and practiced during the 1930s through the 1950s. Because of its historical relationship with the Rosenwald Fund, which was a major financial supporter of Black education prior to World War II, the University of Chicago provided training to relatively large numbers of Black scholars, especially in the social sciences (Holliday, 1989, 1999). For example, Greene's (1946) survey of Black recipients of doctoral degrees found that during the period of 1876 to 1943, a total of 381 Blacks were awarded doctorates, of which 234 (61.4%) were awarded by the University of Chicago, and Chicago was found to be the leading school in the number of doctorates awarded to Blacks in the social sciences. Its Black graduates included such luminaries as Charles Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, Bertram Doyle, Allison Davis, Horace Mann Bond, and St. Clair Drake. These and other Chicago graduates often went on to populate and lead academic departments at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), and later in their careers, often held academic posts at major White research institutions. From these posts and through their research and scholarship, the Chicago graduates influenced the education and training and intellectual and research perspectives of many contemporary Black psychologists (Holliday, 1999; Slaughter & McWhorter, 1985).

During the pre-World War II years, Chicago significantly influenced Black social science not only because it dominated the social sciences during that era, but also because the Chicago School of Social Science included a significant focus on African American issues and communities and use of a "caste/class" paradigm wherein the effects of both social class and racial status were examined. Other characteristics of the Chicago approach to social science research under the leadership of sociologist Robert E. Park include (a) use of multidisciplinary research methods and teams; (b) concern with social-ecological contexts—especially patterns of social relations and community characteristics and processes; (c) concern with social-historical contexts—that is, understanding the natural history of a phenomenon; (d) community-based research; and (e) the linking of research findings to social policy concerns (Holliday, 1989, 1999; Slaughter & McWhorter, 1985).

Some view the American Council on Education studies on Negro youth personality development as one of the hallmarks of Black community social-psychological research conducted by the Chicago School. This was a national research project conducted during the late 1930s, resulting in the publication of seven books, and involving large samples, multiple geographical sites, and multidisciplinary interracial research teams. The project focused on social personality differences as observed and perceived at the levels of the individual, family, and community, with special attention given to the effects of segregation, isolation, and limited participation in civil, social, and occupational activities (Holliday, 1989, 1999).

The characteristics of Chicago's social/contextual multidisciplinary tradition continue to distinguish much of African American psychological research. Furthermore, this tradition has significantly contributed to psychology's increased reliance on multicul-

tural and population- and cultural-specific approaches to psychological knowledge, research, training, and practice.

The Empirical Social Science Tradition of the University of Michigan

This tradition is associated with social science faculty and students of the University of Michigan. Historically, the University of Michigan fostered an empirically based scientific approach to social issues. According to University of Michigan graduate Algea Harrison-Hale (2006),

In the 19th century, when most educational institutions offered a traditional classical curriculum of recitations and lectures, the University of Michigan offered students a seminar on conducting research. By 1890, graduate students at the University of Michigan had to undertake research projects supervised by faculty who were also engaged in empirical studies In psychology, empirical work began when John Dewey came to the university in 1884 and encouraged the founding of its first psychological laboratory in 1890. (p. 165)

Later, Michigan distinguished itself through the development and use of sophisticated sampling techniques and statistical analysis procedures appropriate for large-scale studies and surveys. Thus, in contrast to the Chicago School, the empirical tradition emphasized powerful sampling techniques, controlled collection and examination of data, and subsequent conduct of rigorous statistical data analyses.

Unfortunately, Black academics had little role in developing or refining Michigan's empirical approach. Indeed, APA's Committee on Equal Opportunity Psychology (CEOP) reported that between 1920 and 1966, the University of Michigan had awarded doctorates in psychology to only three African Americans (Wispe et al., 1969). Consequently, during the late 1960s and the 1970s, Michigan began an aggressive program of recruitment of Black students into its doctoral psychology programs.

Algea Harrison-Hale (2006), who was a doctoral psychology student at Michigan during the late 1960s, has described the extraordinary bonding that occurred among the newly recruited Black graduate students and faculty in Michigan's social science departments and how this bonding nurtured their social activism, sense of community, and academic careers.

Consequently, these new recruits often shared common research interests that were often grounded in Michigan's empirical approach. Outgrowths of this Black collegial network included several research programs (e.g., the Program for Research on Black Americans, the African American Mental Health Research Program, and the Center for Urban American Aging Research) of Michigan's renowned Institute of Social Research, which is now headed by African American psychologist and longtime Michigan faculty and researcher James S. Jackson. The university also hosts the Center for Research on Ethnicity, Culture, and Health as well as the Program on Poverty, the Underclass, and Public Policy. These programs have provided funding and empirical research opportunities for a generation of African American students and scholars, including large numbers of Black psychologists. In addition, Black psychology doctoral Michigan graduates of the 1970s era such as Vonnie McLoyd, A. Wade Boykin, and others have headed major research projects that are rooted in the empirical tradition (Harrison-Hale, 2006).

Another major legacy of Michigan's Black collegial network is the "Empirical Conferences on Black Psychology." These conferences were developed in response to the significant increase in the number of African American psychology scholars and researchers during the late 1960s and early 1970s and the unique challenges faced by these early career professionals (e.g., exceptional academic service loads, marginality within their academic departments, and devaluation of their research). Consequently, there was a need for some type of research support system that would serve to mentor and facilitate the research and publication efforts of young Black academic psychologists. In 1974, A. Wade Boykin and J. Frank Yates, who were then graduate students at the University of Michigan, convened the first Empirical Conference on Black Psychology at the University of Michigan with the financial support of the Russell Sage Foundation. This invited, closed forum was conceived as a means for convening "a limited number of persons to critique and present empirical studies, and, in general to promote a research orientation in the field of Black psychology" (Harrison, McAdoo, & McAdoo, 1995, p. 329). It also was a forum that helped persons prepare their papers for publication (Harrison-Hale, 2006, p. 169), and where it was required that all statements about African American children and families be substantiated by hard data (McAdoo & McAdoo, 1985).

The conference's planning committee was soon expanded to include William E. Cross, Anderson J. Franklin, Algea Harrison-Hale, and Harriette and John McAdoo. Between 1974 and 1992, a total of 13 conferences were convened at a variety of sites (e.g., Columbia, Cornell, Hampton, Howard, Lincoln [PA], Michigan State, and Oakland universities, as well as the Universities of California at Berkeley and San Diego, and Delaware), with funding provided by various sources including the National Institute of Education, NIMH, and the Ford Foundation (Harrison et al., 1995; Harrison-Hale, 2006). The conference planners issued several edited books that included papers emanating from the conferences. Examples include Boykin, Anderson, and Yates's (1979) *Research Directions of Black Psychologists* and McAdoo and McAdoo's (1985) *Black Children: Social, Educational, and Parental Environments*.

Collectively, the distinguishing contributions to African American psychology of the empirical social science tradition of the University of Michigan are its dual commitments to active intense career-long mentorship and to empirical research wherein theoretical and conclusionary statements are supported by empirical data.

The Black Scholar/Activist Tradition

This tradition is often associated with social science faculty of the historically Black Howard University in Washington, DC. Howard University is a private university that is governed by an independent board but funded by the federal government. Because of this unique set of characteristics and the consistent funding thus ensured, Howard has emerged as the "premier" historically Black university. Thus, over the years, Howard has been able to attract to its faculty some of the nation's most talented and well-known African American scholars. This was especially true prior to the Civil Rights era of the 1960s and 1970s, which ushered an increased recruitment of faculty of color to predominantly White universities.

Historically, as members of a small highly educated elite of the Black community and as ranking members of a major Black institution, Howard University scholars often were viewed as the nation's Black intellectual leaders. Consequently, Howard University scholars have forged what LaPoint and Thomas (2006) describe as a "historical legacy of articulating solutions to social problems and improving the human condition, especially for people of African descent" (p. 186). This legacy often has been characterized as the "Black scholar/activist" tradition. This tradition involves engagement in the multiple activities of research, scholarship, training, program or organization administration, and community leadership and advocacy. The tradition is epitomized by the lives of such persons as Charles S. Johnson (editor of the Urban League's magazine *Opportunity*, research director of the National Urban League, president of Fisk University), W. E. B. DuBois (academic scholar, world-class intellectual, a founder of the NAACP, and editor of its magazine *Crisis*), and Howard alumnae Mamie and Kenneth B. Clark. It is a tradition that is derived from life experience, Black community norms, and historical necessity.

According to LaPoint and Thomas (2006), during the 1970s, Howard University began its transition to a research institution. This transition included the creation of various centers, institutes, and other institutional supports to develop and sustain faculty research. Many of these research entities reflect the scholar/activist tradition of using research in support of social change. For example, the Institute for Urban Affairs and Research (IUAR), which existed during the 20-year period of 1972–1992, was committed to studying and solving social problems, especially those affecting underserved, poor, and urban communities. Thus, the institute not only conducted research but provided technical assistance to community groups, public and private agencies, and professional communities. According to LaPoint and Thomas, "IUAR directed various research projects that focused on understanding and advancing Black children's development in areas such as mental health, child abuse and neglect, the use of social workers in schools, unwed fathers, father involvement in preschool education, substance abuse prevention, and minority male socialization" (p. 184).

A second major Howard University center in which Black psychologists currently are prominently involved is the Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed at Risk (CRESPAR)/Touchstone Institute, which was established in 1994. CRESPAR is a collaborative federally funded project between Howard University and The Johns Hopkins University that seeks "to pursue a basic and applied research agenda, collaborative intervention projects, program evaluations, and scale-up and dissemination activities—all aimed at transforming schools, especially schools for children who have been placed at risk for educational failure" (LaPoint & Thomas, 2006, p. 185). Black psychologist A. Wade Boykin is the project's Howard University principal investigator.

The distinguishing contribution of the Black scholar/activist tradition to African American psychology is its emphasis on the use of research to support social change and empower Black communities, and its assumption that Black scholars have a responsibility to also take on the role of Black community activist.

The Afrocentric/African-Centered Tradition

This tradition is rooted in longstanding Black nationalist, Pan-African (emphasizing connections of various types among persons and communities of African descent), and culturally centered traditions within African communities throughout the African diaspora. Afrocentric/African-centered perspectives have been constructed in response both to the need to explain the integrity of the African American experience and to assumptions that enslavement resulted in African Americans having no cultural referent other than that of the United States (i.e., Eurocentric). It is a tradition that can be traced to several sources, including Marcus Garvey, who during the first quarter of the 20th century founded the 6 million member United Negro Improvement Association and argued for Black economic independence and repatriation to West Africa; the 1920s Black literary movement known as Harlem Renaissance, which celebrated Black culture and a Black aesthetic (i.e., a Black perspective of the substance of beauty and truth); Elijah Muhammed's establishment of the Black Muslims in the 1930s and its cultural, political, and religious ethos in support of Black self-determinism and in opposition to Eurocentric perspectives; the French Negritude movement, which championed the integrity of African culture during the African independence movements of the 1950s and 1960s; the ideology of Black Power as articulated by Stokely Carmichael and others during the late 1960s; and Black cultural and nationalist movements of the late 1960s that continue to find adherents such as Ron Karenga's African-centered cultural nationalism that purportedly serves to galvanize the minds of Black people through cultural unity, the Republic of New Africa's desire to create a African-inspired nation to be carved out of the U.S. South, and the social-political nationalism of the Black Panthers (Betts, 1971, Introduction).

Within psychology, the Afrocentric/African-centered tradition represents a continuum of thought that is linked by its recognition of the relevance of both African culture and the history of Black oppression to the psychology of African Americans (cf. Parham et al., 1999; Whitten, 1993). The psychological Afrocentric perspective was initially articulated to a mass audience by Joseph L. White in 1970 in both *Ebony* and the *Black Scholar* publications. According to White (2004), "Rather than anchoring the search for identity and values in a Euro American perspective, the Afrocentric approach looks within and articulates a point of view that is congruent with the history and culture of African American people" (pp. 13–14).

The more conservative wing of this tradition, the Black psychology/Afrocentric perspective, has been described by Na'im Akbar (2004) as follows:

The axiological [values] of Black Psychology is racialism. The value assumes race to be the critical human issue in the study of African American behavior . . . and views the critical relationship of Black-to-White as the paradigmatic relationship . . . the essential value of Black Psychology is mastery over oppression and the oppressor. (p. 24)

This Black psychology/Afrocentric perspective includes those African American psychological perspectives that acknowledge that Black culture and the psychology of Black people involve a fusion and use of African and Eurocentric elements (i.e., biculturalism) to effect necessary adaptations to both oppression and the dominant

European culture. Thus, this perspective incorporates the consideration of both cultural and historical factors of African American life. Examples of such perspectives include Aldebert Jenkins' (1982) humanistic theory and Anderson J. Franklin's (1993, 2004) theory of invisibility.

The Black psychology/Afrocentric perspective also includes those psychological theories that emphasize the critical role of ethnic/racial identity development. These theories, which often take the form of dynamic stage models, typically attempt to describe how people seek to develop a positive sense of self in the context of devalued ethnic minority and nondominant group status. Examples include William Cross's (1971, 1991) model of Negro-to-Black conversion; Thomas Parham's (1989) African-centered theory of cycles of nigrescence, which postulates identity development processes throughout the life cycle; and Janet Helms's (1990) Black and White racial identity theory.

The Black psychology/Afrocentric perspective also is represented by Joseph White's (1984) own theory of African American psychology, which involves seven primary concepts: improvisation, resilience, transcendence of tragedy, connectedness to others, spirituality, valuing of direct experience, and emotional vitality. According to White, "These concepts are expressed in all Black major social institutions and day-to-day living . . ." (p. 13). James M. Jones's (1991) theory presents a related set of concepts focused on five dimensions of human experience: time, rhythm, improvisation, oral expression, and spirituality (TRIOS), which represent basic ways in which individuals and cultures make decisions, organize life, establish beliefs, and derive meaning.

In contrast, the more radical African-centered perspective of the Afrocentric/African-centered tradition is rooted primarily in an African worldview as defined by African philosophy, values, culture, and systems of spirituality. As Akbar (2004) has observed, "The essential value of the African Psychological system is the centrality of the human being . . . [with] a Divine Creator as the originator and sustainer of man, Nature is in harmony with herself and the desirable [human] state is a harmonious relationship with nature" (p. 25). Others, such as Cheryl Taweda Grills (2004), concur that philosophical and metaphysical concerns underpin African psychology, but locate African psychology as more centrally related to "the healing art and science of traditional African medicine" (p. 171), with communal self-knowledge being the key to mental health.

Some of the key concepts of the African-centered perspective that serve to effect a conceptual bridge between traditional African philosophy and more contemporary concerns include the following: (a) Ma'at, which is viewed as a cardinal principle guiding human behavior that includes the seven cardinal virtues of truth, justice, propriety/compassion, harmony, balance, reciprocity, and order; Maafa, which refers to the horrors of African enslavement and the African diaspora and the associated denial of the validity of African people's humanity; and Sankofa, which refers to the use of one's historical past and traditions as a guide to action in the future (Grills, 2004).

Although frequently implicitly advocating an idealized cultural nationalism, many African-centered psychological theories do not themselves reflect cultural integrity, but instead often draw concepts from widely differing African cultures. Akbar (2004) in part explains this theoretical anomaly by noting that African psychology theoreticians view philosophical foundations of African psy-

chology to “represent a pure model of the African person in particular and universal man in general” (p. 22). Examples of African-centered theories include Wade Nobles’ (1972) theory, which builds on the African notion of the importance of the group to the individual’s sense of identity; Akbar’s (1977) theory, which highlights the African cultural emphasis on affective orientation including caring, empathy, and cooperative efforts as significant sources of behavioral motivation; Joseph Baldwin’s (aka Kobi K. K. Kambon) (1981) theory in which cultural traits of African people are viewed as at least partially biogenetic in origin, and maladjustment is viewed as the result of cognitive misorientation associated with loss of contact with one’s cultural roots; and Linda James Myers’ (1988) optimal psychology theory, which emphasizes the oneness of all, the individual’s embeddedness in a larger spiritual force, and individual’s construction of reality.

The Afrocentric/African-centered tradition has successfully served to infuse the notion of “culturally centered” and “culturally specific” theory and applications into psychology. These theories and applications have revealed the limitations of a search for “universal” theory and “normative” development, behavior, and related intervention in psychology. Consequently, theory and practice in psychology have progressively shifted to population-specific perspectives as well as increased recognition of the variability and social-cultural embedment of development and behavior.

Conclusion

I have briefly described the social and historical contexts of African American psychology, which are marked both by the oppression and denigration that were generally experienced by African American communities and by the restricted professional opportunities in psychology up until the 1960s. Embedded in that history is the story of the contributions that the first cohort of significant size of African American psychologists sought to make, and the types of authority they have pursued, as they made a place and an intellectual space for themselves in psychology. The activities of this first cohort suggest that African American history, skills, knowledge, and abilities it has honed among Black people over generations are not ones that strongly encourage individual achievement of the type involved in the development of an elegant abstract theory of learning. Instead, it is a history that speaks to the need to affirm and contribute to the collectivity—that is, the group and the community.

I also have explored the relatively short history (less than half of a century) of African American’s participation in psychology’s associations and societies. Here, again, we see collective action that is brilliantly envisioned and strategically tailored to the values and structures of a particular organization: Strategies within smaller societies tend to involve appeals that are both personal and political, whereas strategies used in the larger professional associations tend to be more directly political and challenging. Within each of the associations and societies examined, the push for ethnic minority participation and concerns always started as a focus on African Americans, and always (with the exception of ABPsi) ended in multiracial/multicultural structures and solutions. Thus, African American psychologists forged coalitions that resulted in a new stream in the history of psychology—the history of multicultural psychology. Consequently, especially within the larger

associations, one nearly loses the trail of a distinctly African American history in psychology. Thus, it would seem that it falls to ABPsi to maintain and strengthen an identifiable African American history in psychology.

I also have described the intellectual influences on African American psychology. Those influences are themselves best understood in the context of the social histories and experiences of African American scholars, the history of their patterns of participation (and nonparticipation) in U.S. academic institutions, and the legacy of ideas indigenous to the African American community. The intellectual influences identified in this article have actively interacted with one another across space and time, resulting in the rich diversity of ideas and approaches that now serve to profoundly change psychology and promote its transformation from a Eurocentric discipline to a multicultural discipline appropriate for a global and diverse perspective of human behavior.

I have primarily addressed the contributions of that first cohort of significant size of African Americans psychologists who received their doctoral degrees in the 1970s and 1980s as a result of the gains of the Civil Rights era. Regretfully, it was beyond the scope of this article to discuss the second major cohort who received their doctoral degrees during the 1990s. This cohort was benefitted and privileged by the significant mentorship provided them by the first cohort and by the changes that their elders had effected in the organized entities of psychology—its associations and societies, its academic departments and institutes, its licensing boards. This second cohort was further benefitted and privileged by the rich intellectual legacy that their elders affirmed, broadened, deepened, and fought to legitimize so that those who followed them might drink the wealth of this legacy without trepidation (cf. Slaughter-Defoe, Garrett, & Harrison-Hale, 2006). This second major cohort has tremendous occupational options, which it appears to be using both to extend the four major intellectual traditions identified in this article and to establish new ones that are consistent with the increasing entry of African Americans into newer and growing areas of psychology such as health and industrial/organization psychology, neuropsychology, and neuroscience.

The history of African American psychology is entrusted to the second and subsequent cohorts of African American psychologists in the spirit of Sankofa: May you learn from the past and may the past guide your visions of the future.

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