2012

African/Black psychology: a qualitative investigation of distinguished Black psychologists

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Recommended Citation

Pepperdine University

Graduate School of Education and Psychology

AFRICAN/BLACK PSYCHOLOGY: A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION OF DISTINGUISHED

BLACK PSYCHOLOGISTS

A clinical dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Psychology

by

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June, 2012

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This clinical dissertation, written by

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under the guidance of a Faculty Committee and approved by its members, has been submitted to and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PSYCHOLOGY

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to acknowledge my family for their support and unconditional love throughout the five years it has taken to complete this dissertation. It has been one of the most difficult endeavors I have had to experience and I am so grateful that you were here to assist me in this process.

To my 2 year-old son, Kenneth, whose life began at the pinnacle of this dissertation. I want you to know that you are one of my greatest accomplishments. Your daily love, laughter, and affection motivates me to keep going.

To my dissertation chair and mentor, Dr. Daryl T. Rowe, thank you for your patience, time and understanding. It is difficult to find the words to express how important your presence (real and imagined) has been in helping to shape my professional and personal development. If not for you, I might have never known of African/Black Psychology and in essence, I would have never come to know myself. Thank you so much. I am forever in your debt and hope that I will one day be able to do for someone what you have done for me.

Lastly, I would like to thank GOD for providing the inspiration and encouragement needed to get through all of the challenges that have occurred in my life. I have faith that you will always guide me along the right path.

VITA

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EDUCATIONAL HSITORY

Pepperdine University- Los Angeles, CA
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Clinical Psychology Program

Master of Science in Counseling Psychology, 2004
Mount St. Mary's College- Los Angeles, CA
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Bachelor of Arts in Psychology, 1997
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California State University Northridge- Northridge, CA

CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

Registered Psychological Assistant   *August 2010-present*
Managedmed Inc.,
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- Conduct psychological evaluations and treatment of patients who have experienced work-related injuries.
- Administer neuropsychological assessments and develop treatment plans to assist staff in formulating appropriate clinical recommendations that are within state guidelines.
- Provide psycho-educational groups focused on pain and stress management.
- Maintain outreach program designed to monitor patients who have been identified as "severe" or "high risk".

Psychology Intern   *July 2008 – June 2009*
San Bernardino County–Department of Behavioral Health
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- Complete intake assessments and referrals; provided case management activities, crisis intervention, case consultations, and interdisciplinary client treatment and care.

- Provide individual, group, and family psychotherapy to severely emotionally disturbed adults and children in a general outpatient setting.
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- Conduct psychological test batteries of patient's cognitive, personality, academic, and emotional functioning to assist staff with treatment plan and clinical recommendations.

Clinical Psychology Extern   *September 2007-June 2008*
County of Los Angeles–Department of Health Services
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- Conduct psychodiagnostic and neuropsychological inpatient assessments in psychiatric and medical wards; assessment primarily within the context of probate conservatorships and involuntary holds.
- Conduct outpatient neuropsychological assessment in infectious disease (primarily HIV) clinic.
- Provide assessment, diagnostic and treatment services for psychophysiological and psychiatric disorders.
- Write neuropsychological clinical reports, behavioral management plans and recommendations.
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Clinical Psychology Extern   *September 2006-July 2007*
County of Los Angeles, Department of Mental Health
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- Provided screening, assessment and case management services to patients with co-occurring mental health and substance-use disorders.
- Collaborated with paraprofessional chemical dependency counselors to provide coordinated care for adults receiving inpatient drug treatment.
- Conducted individual and group therapy for individuals with dual diagnoses.
- Provided cognitive and behavioral based interventions designed to enhance client's knowledge and community functioning skills.
- Presented cases to multidisciplinary team of psychiatrists, therapists, social workers and case managers.
- Attended weekly trainings in cognitive behavior and dialectical behavior therapy to enhance therapeutic skills.

Clinical Psychology Extern   *September 2005 – July 2006*
El Rincon Elementary School Family Center
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- Conducted psychosocial assessments and design effective intervention strategies with children in an elementary school-based setting.
- Provided applied psychotherapeutic techniques, assessment, diagnosis, and treatment to groups, families and children.
- Developed treatment goals in collaboration with clients and families that appropriately address presenting problems and cultural specific factors.
- Completed school based social work services and Medi-cal billing.
- Consulted with school teachers and support staff to assist in understanding the best practices of working with behaviorally and emotionally challenged children.

Marriage and Family Therapist Trainee   *August 2003 – June 2004*
Coalition of Mental Health Professionals, Inc.
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- Provided individual, group and family counseling services to a multiethnic, multi-lingual, and low income residents of South Los Angeles.
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- Completed administrative assignments including intake referral, case write-up, and clinical evaluations.
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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Student Professional Worker   *June 2001 – May 2008*
County of Los Angeles, Department of Public Health
Child and Adolescent Health Program
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- Supported program staff in planning, coordinating and providing health education and training
- Prepared reports, conducted research, and made investigations on a variety of youth related topics.
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- Conducted data collection
- Performed other administrative duties (i.e., answering telephones, typing, filing, maintaining calendars, scheduling meetings)

Research Assistant   *November 2006-July 2007*
Pepperdine University
Graduate School of Education and Psychology
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- Researched and organize articles and information from magazines, newspapers, journals, books and web sites in the area of cultural specific therapeutic and psychological interventions.
- Assisted in curriculum development.
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- Maintained a bibliographic data base of theoretical, empirical and program evaluative literature.

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

Child Life Program Volunteer   *2001-2003*
Children's Hospital of Los Angeles
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- Assisted Child Life Specialist in the constructing, supervising and encouraging children (ages 1–18 yrs) to participate in hospital-based activities in art and play therapy techniques.
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REFERENCES
References will be furnished upon request.

ABSTRACT

Over the past 40 years, researchers have made numerous attempts to document and expand upon the literature surrounding the development of African/Black psychology. Yet little is known about the contextual factors that might have influenced individual decisions to become involved in the movement. This study examined the early life experience of 13 Black psychologists whose autobiographies were published in Robert Williams (2008) book, *History of the Association of Black Psychologists: Profiles of Outstanding Black Psychologists.* Data for this study were analyzed utilizing a qualitative research approach. Themes that arose from the analysis included: (a) direct exposure/awareness of oppressive social, political, and environmental practices; (b) supportive role of family in providing a sense of direction, structure, and safety; (c) early childhood education emphasis; and (d) collective work and responsibility. Findings from this study expand on communal ways of coping with aversive life experiences such as racism.

Chapter I. Introduction

The role of African people in psychology has been traced to ancient Egyptian

civilizations that were located along the Great Lake region of east Africa (Diop, 1981;

Kambon, 1998; Van Sertima, 1993). It is believed that the philosophical underpinnings of

these civilizations are responsible for the foundation of psychological thought and

praxis; with emphasis placed on religion/spirituality as the guiding principle for

authentic human development (Mbiti, 1969; Nobles, 1972).

Many researchers (i.e., Asante, 1991,1998, 2003; Belgrave & Allison, 2006; Grills,

2004; Kambon, 1998; Nobles, 1986) contend that the Egyptian civilization of Kemet[1]

profoundly influenced the field of psychology. In fact, Nobles (1986) argued that it was

in ancient Egypt (KMT) that the establishment of critical thought and the exploration of

self began. The Kemetics (i.e., Kamites) are considered to be the first Black philosophers

and psychologists of human civilization who provided one of the first organized systems

for governing society. Their development of the Memphite Theology (the Kemetic Story

of Creation) is said to provide one of the first conceptual paradigms for explaining

human evolution, human development, human relatedness in regards to spirituality and

nature, and the basic elements of the universe (Kambon, 1998).   It is in the philosophy

of the ancient Kemetic and the other classical African civilizations that followed (i.e.,

Carthegenian, Ghana, Mali, Songhai) that the basic tenets of human existence are

provided.

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[1] The term Kemet is used to refer to an ancient civilization of people that settled along the Nile Valley
region of Africa (Kambon,1998). It has also been referred to as the land known as Egypt (Asante, 1990).

The Role of African People in Western Psychology

In Western psychology, the majority of literature on African people reveals that African descendants (or Black people) have often been utilized as a tool to promote theories of superiority/inferiority (Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008). There are vast amounts of comparative studies that have attempted to attribute the physical, psychological, economic, and social decline of African Americans to be a function of race (Rushton & Jensen, 2005; Sriwattanakomen, et al., 2010). African Americans have been reported to demonstrate lower cognitive and academic abilities when compared to that of their White counterparts (Mehta, et al., 2004; Morgan, Marsiske, & Whitfield, 2008; Yeung, & Pfeiffer, 2009). African Americans have been reported to display higher levels of aggressive behavior (Guerra, Huesmann, Tolan, Van Acker, & Eron, 1995; Hatcher, Maschi, Morgen, & Toldson, 2009; Kim, Kamphaus, Orpinas, & Kelder, 2010), ineffective parenting styles (Krishnakumar, Buehler & Barber, 2003; Schroeder, Bulanda, Giordano, & Cernkovich, 2010), poor health (Chae, Lincoln, Adler, & Syme, 2010; Ruland, Hung, Richardson, Misra & Gorelick, 2005; Thomas, Nelson, Ziegler, Natarajan, & Dimsdale, 2009;), and high unemployment (Cooke, 2004; Smith, 2006). It is also been reported that African Americans are at increased risk for psychological distress, mostly depression (Lincoln, Taylor, Chae, & Chatters, 2010; Schulz, et al., 2010).

However, Black psychologists such as Kambon (1998) who are centered in the theory of African psychology have reasoned that these findings are insufficient and ineffective in describing the reality of Black people. The main premise for Kambon's belief is predicated on the assumption that psychological research in Western society

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was built upon oppressive ideals of Western/European White people (Guthrie, 2004b; Smedley, 1999). Many believe that white supremacy, which is defined to be varied manifestations of violence (i.e., cultural, economic, social, ideological, political, religious, and psychological), aided in the oppression of African descendants and contributed to the loss of identity (Sutherland, 1993). Wright (1984) refers to this oppressive nature of traditional Western psychological thinking as "psychopathic" and he believed that the psychological research of the 18th and 19th century provided the impetus for deliberate and systematic destruction of the African mind with the ultimate goal being to destroy or extirpate the group.

Psychological Research of the 18th and 19th Century

Much of the work on Black people in psychology during the 18th and 19th centuries was conducted by European theorists who engaged in race comparative studies, often referred to as anthropometry (Guthrie, 2004a). Anthropometry is a term used to describe a classification system that was based on the categorization of certain physical attributes held by a particular group or groups of people (i.e., skin color, hair texture, brain skull capacity, lip size, etc). The term represented an early attempt by Western society to develop models for differentiating between African descendants and Whites (Smedley, 1999). The practice of anthropometry also influenced later attempts by European psychologists to expand physical differences to support findings that purported the mental capacity and personality of African descendants to be inferior. Gould (1996) uses the term biological determinism to refer to racial comparative studies. This represents a process whereby the worth of an individual or group is

assigned based on cranial and psychological measurements of intelligence. Gould

suggested that the system of racial ranking (i.e., ranking groups according to race) was a

product of society's views of Blacks as biologically inferior. It was his position that

leaders and intellectuals of the 18th and 19th century rarely questioned this ideological

perspective because their thinking had been dominated by the theory and scientific

study of intelligence, which was gathered through White/European constructed tests of

cranial measurement and psychological testing (Smedley, 1999). Further examples of

anthropometric studies include Carl von Linnaeus 1735 classification system based on

skin color which classified Blacks as characteristically slow, weak-minded, cunning,

negligent, dull, and indulgent and John Friedrich Blumenbach's 1824 *norma vertical*

classification system which hypothesized that the shape and cranial variation of an

individual's skull was a valid predictor of his/her racial group. There are also other

comparative studies that measured modalities, such as hair texture, smell, taste,

reaction time, and skin sensitivity, to conclude that there were valid evidence that

illustrated significant differences between Whites and African descendants (Baker,

1998; Haller, 1995; Marks, 1995; Smedley, 2007).

In addition to the study of anthropometry, Guthrie (2004a) proposed that there

were four major events that influenced the profession of psychology and affected the

philosophical bias concerning Africans. These events were Darwin's *Origin of Species by*

Means of Natural Selection, William McDougall's *Theory of Instincts*, Sir Francis Galton's

Eugenics, and Mendelian genetics. They were significant because they provided

European theorists with "scientific" evidence to support subjective claims of human difference (Kambon, 1998).

Darwin's *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* is regarded as one of the most significant and influential theories of human behavior that shaped the development of modern psychology (Belgrave & Allison, 2006). Based on William McDougal's creation of the dogma of "instincts" which purported that inborn and unlearned response tendencies determined social behavior, Darwin's "survival of the fittest hypothesis" supported the notion that only the strongest and most intelligent (i.e., Whites) survive the struggle between the individual and the environment (Belgrave & Allison, 2006; Smedley, 2007). According to Guthrie (2004a) Darwin's work led psychology to focus study on sensory and intellectual differences in order to determine which group of people would succeed and which would not. According to Gould (1996), the theory of evolution marked the beginning of deficit modeling and promoted a form of "scientific racism" because it presented the general public with quantifiable data to support claims of Black inferiority.

The eugenics movement provided another biological framework from which people could conclude that African descendants were physically and genetically subordinate (Belgrave & Allison, 2006; Kambon, 1998; Gould, 1996; Guthrie, 2004a; Haller, 1995; Marks, 1995). According to Nobles (1986), Sir Francis Galton's "scientific" study of race found that the average intellectual standard of Negroes was two standard deviations below that of Whites. Galton's work led many to believe that the acquisition of intelligence and other personality attributes had a greater inheritability factor and

the White man is invariably the better man (Gould, 1996). Galton's work in quantifying

data also influenced the idea of racial improvement through mating (Guthrie, 2004a).

Mendel's introduction of genetics and inherited factors reportedly provided objective

evidence to suggest that human differences were innately determined and devoid of

environmental or contextual factors. Moreover, Kambon (1998) asserted that Galton's

and Mendel's works on eugenics provided further evidence that Blacks and other ethnic

minorities were unfit.

The problem with the models of the 18th and 19th century is that they assumed

that the work regarding human behavior and/or psyche was universal. They were

ethnocentric in their approach to and "scientific" study of human behavior. Grills and

Rowe (1998), in examining the use of traditional medicine as the basis for an African-

Centered approach to healing, posited that Eurocentric approaches had: (a) become

inclined towards etic versus emic approaches in understanding human behavior; (b)

placed Europe as the essential source of definition , perspective, and foundation of

psychology; (c) failed to adequately examine or consider non-Western factors such as

religion or spirituality in influencing behavior; and (d) lacked attention to the ecological,

cultural, and ethnic factors that could account for the variability in human physical and

psychological development.

The models were destructive because they resulted in the stigmatization of

other groups of people and led many to perceive differences as deficiencies (Jones,

2010). The models seldom addressed psychological phenomena (i.e., values, beliefs,

behaviors) from a cultural perspective outside of their own, leading many people to

draw erroneous conclusions about the reality of Black people (Akbar, 2004; Azibo, 1989; Holliday, 2009; Howe, 1998; Kambon, 1998; Morris, 2001; Nobles, 1986). In fact, many Black psychologists argued that the theories were in direct conflict with the nature/philosophy of African people. They suggested that rules regarding the acquisition of knowledge or what determined intelligence were not the same for African Americans. Nor was the relationship between the individual and his/her environment. For African people, surviving the struggle between nature and environment was not the main objective, as was connectedness or unity with one's environment (Kambon, 1998).

African People and Psychological Research of the 20th Century

Moving beyond genetic theories of superiority and inferiority, the course of psychological research towards the mid-to-late 20th century, focused more so on the social standing of African descendants. In fact, Baratz (1966) proposed that following the 1954 Supreme Court decision that disbanded the segregation of public schools, the theories of genetic inferiority which had promulgated throughout the 18th and 19th century was being replaced with theories of social pathology. Modern perceptions of African descendants in Western society characterized the group as unstable, uneducated and disorganized. A brief academic search of Black people and psychology during the 1960s frequently referenced the findings presented in the Moynihan Report (1965). It is in this report that Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan discusses the social standing of African descendants, more specifically the "Negro family" as characteristically pathological (Bobo & Charles, 2009; Wilson, 2009). The report stipulated that poverty and the predominant structure of the African family as a single

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parent female-headed household somehow contributed to the low rates of unemployment and low academic performance among children. The absence and alienation of Black men was also seen as a contributor to Negro pathology.

This led to subsequent research that sought to provide support for claims that the Negro family was socially deviant. It was hypothesized that African American males and females, who were raised in poor single parent households in which the father was absent, developed less internal controls for aggressive behavior and were at increased environmental risk for factors such poverty, drug use, risky sexual behavior, violence and low academic performance (Battle & Coates, 2004; Brophy, Shipman, & Hess, 1965; Bowser & Word, 1993; Goldstein, 1972; Hill & Madhere, 1996; Paschall, Ringwalt, & Fewelling, 2003). But opponents of this theory found it necessary to focus on the social and political movements of the late 1960s. It was their opinion that the behaviors of African Americans should be evaluated within the oppressive social and political context of American society (Grayman, 2009; Hammack, 2003; O'Neal, Medlin, Walker, & Jones, 2002; Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005). It was during this time that Black psychologists began to organize and develop frames that were consistent with the philosophical reality of Black people; allowing them to paint a picture of Black people that was consistent with their own life experiences, versus relying on the definitions/theories of others. The social movements of the late 1960s also encouraged Black psychologist to seek out alternative explanations for explaining human difference. Many turned to the philosophies of ancient Africa for conceptualizing Black behavior. It was believed that core values (i.e., interdependence, family, spirituality) that were

present in African/Black people were found to be more consistent with the philosophy of ancient African civilizations.

Research Objectives

The overall objective of this dissertation is to further explore some of the thinking that emerged out of the development of African/Black Psychology and to identify specific contextual factors that may have influenced Black psychologist's decision to shift towards African/Black Psychology. Some authors (e.g., Belgrave & Allison, 2006; Guthrie, 2004a; Kambon, 1998) have approached this task by presenting work that evolved from Black peoples' response to Western/European psychological research during the 18th and 19th century. Other authors (e.g., Williams, 1974, 2008) have approached the task by focusing on the formation of the Association of Black Psychologists during the 1960s, and its seminal role in creating reflective space to consider how best to understand the psychology of persons of African descent. Then there are authors (e.g., Chioneso, 2006; Moses-Robinson, 2006; Kambon, 1998) who have focused on qualitative interviews and narrative summaries of individual life experiences before and during the African/Black Psychology movement; thereby providing contextual information on the individual issues and events that surrounded the foundation of African/Black Psychology.

This dissertation reanalyzed autobiographies of distinguished Black psychologists published in the book, *History of the Association of Black Psychologists: Profiles of Outstanding Black Psychologists* (Williams, 2008) in order to identify some of the personal and contextual factors that may have influenced individual decisions to take

part in the African/Black Psychology movement. The ultimate goal was to identify themes in their narratives that would help in understanding what factors influenced their work and why they became part of the African/Black Psychology movement.

Furthermore, it is the researcher's hope that this dissertation will help frame the experience of African-American psychology students, such as herself, who have struggled with understanding and utilizing traditional theories of Western psychology to treat people of African descent. This paper will demonstrate that African/Black Psychology provides a more authentic way for Black psychologists to relate to people because it (a) is grounded in cultural values that have been embedded in the lifestyle and ethos of their own culture (Akbar, 2004; Belgrave & Allison, 2006); (b) provides insight into ways of modifying traditional Western/European psychological theories to reflect principles that are relevant to the African-American population; and (c) presents culturally relevant perspectives for dealing with issues, such domestic violence, substance abuse, and HIV that are problematic in the African-American community (Akinyela, 2005; Gilbert, 2009; Goodley, 2005; Rowe & Grills, 1993).

The study of African/Black Psychology further helps students to discover their fundamental role as African-descent psychologists and students within the discipline. It may help them to develop a broader sense of self-understanding that is reflective of African value systems and the psycho-historical treatment of African descendants in Western society. It may also validate their skepticism of literature which has looked to race as a way of explaining issues within the Black community and ultimately shift how they think about ways of developing successful interventions for treating human beings.

Chapter II. Review of Relevant Literature

It has been well documented that prior to the establishment of the Association of Black Psychologists, African- Americans were predominantly assessed, conceptualized and treated from Western/European psychological frames that were culturally incongruent (Akbar, 2004; Ani, 1994; Guthrie, 2004; Oshodi, 1999; White & Parham, 1990). This presented a challenge to early Black psychologists and students of the field because it placed them in the position of having to examine the African American experience from a perspective that was inconsistent with their own (Baldwin, 1992). It was also a challenge because it required Black psychologists and psychology students to integrate theories that viewed Black's cognitive, social, and emotional development to be inferior (Thomas, 1971).

In response to these conditions, Baldwin (1992) asserted that early Black psychologists initially "functioned in the in the service of continued oppression and/or enslavement of Black people rather than in the service of [their] liberation from Western oppression and positive Black mental health" (p. 49). He based this assertion on the fact that they utilized European historical, philosophical, and cultural realities to explain Black psychological functioning. Baldwin also based his assertion on the fact that early Black psychologists were dependent on European research activities to determine what research and data collection methods were legitimate and valid. Black psychologists further applied clinical interventions and mental health services that were culturally insensitive to Black communities; these practices continue to the present.

In fact, several authors have discussed the use and misrepresentation of the inferiority, cultural deprivation/deficit and multicultural psychological theories in the conceptualization of the Black psyche, with specific emphasis on the development of the Black family (Abernathy, Houston, Mimms, & Boyd-Franklin, 2006; Collins, 2004; White 1970; Williams & Parham, 1992). Inferiority models which proclaim that Blacks are genetically and biologically determined to be intellectually, physically, and mentally inferior to the White counterparts, have repeatedly been labeled as racist and oppressive towards individuals in the Black community (Asante, 1990; Sutherland, 1992).

The Cultural Deficit/Deprivation models that have looked to the environment as an explanation for intelligence, coping style, and family functioning have been regarded as insufficient (Dyk & Nefale, 2005; Piper-Mandy & Rowe, 2008; White & Parham, 1990). Similarly, multicultural psychology (although labeled one of the most culturally competent and sensitive models of our time), have, according to the Association of Black Psychologists' Statement of Purpose, failed to address the broader issues related to the definition of health and mental health within the Black community (Williams, 1974, 2008). It has also failed in its ability to adequately incorporate and understand the role context plays in shaping a human being (Karenga, 2002; Williams, 1974).

Hence, it has been suggested that the practice of Black psychologists utilizing clinical interventions and mental health services that are culturally insensitive to Black communities have contributed to the development of biased psychological theories (Guthrie, 2004; Kambon, 1998). The over-reliance on existing clinical interventions has

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also contributed to policies and procedures that have shaped the social, political, and economic welfare of current day African Americans.

Banks (1999) posited that the most significant growth of knowledge in African American psychology (and for that matter the development of an African/Black psychologists) is the examination of the historical context in which it occurs; a context which involves two major aspects. The first aspect is the ascendance or attention to the foundations of African American psychology. The second aspect is the focus on early and current African American scholars whose work is specific to African American psychology. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the developing roles of Black psychologists within psychology.

Most of the literature reviewed is devoted to discussing the work that evolved from Black peoples' response to Western/European psychological research of the 18th and 19th century and how that work was critical to the development of African/ Black Psychology. However, before we begin that process, the researcher finds it necessary to address the development of the Association of Black Psychologists as well as discuss some of the qualitative work (i.e., narratives) that significantly influenced the re-conceptualization of Black people in psychology, and the greater society.

The Association of Black Psychologists

Prior to 1968, the task of highlighting the racist and unfair practices of utilizing psychological testing and other empirically-based instruments to explain Black intellect, identity, and personality fell to Black educators and scholars of other disciplines (Kambon, 1998; Williams, 1974, 2008). There was no organized body of Black

psychologists who could address the inherent fallacies of European theories regarding

Black people. This was in part due to the fact that the number of Blacks who were

trained and awarded advanced degrees in psychology was limited.

Hence, the Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi) was organized in 1968 by a

group of psychologists, led by Charles Thomas and Robert Green, who were interested

in forming an organization that would promote (a) the advancement of African

psychology, (b) social change, and (c) the development of programs that would assist in

solving the problems of Black and other ethnic communities. It was reported that Black

psychologists, at the time, were dissatisfied with European approaches for addressing

the problems of Black Americans and their communities (Williams, 1974).

Furthermore, it was ABPsi's claim that the American Psychological Association

(APA) had failed to recognize or consider the new Black movement of the 1960s to be a

promising practice for solving problems that stemmed from the effects of racism and

oppression in America. Hence, a document entitled "A Petition of Concerns" was

submitted to APA at the Annual convention in 1968. In the document, members of ABPsi

voiced their concerns regarding APA's inability to relate to the needs of the Black

community and utilize available resources to assist the Black community in overcoming

the effects of racism.

Following that petition, additional documents were submitted that focused on

revisions to education and training, testing on Black children, and the representation of

Blacks in higher education. Although it was difficult for Black psychologists to develop a

substantial amount of literature and research to invalidate Western, European-based

theories that categorized Blacks as biologically and genetically inferior, it was Williams'

(1974) position that the organization represented the first establishment of

independent Black psychologists who were committed to challenging racism and

poverty within American society. It was also his position that the organization provided

the most promising ideological model for solving the social, political, and cultural

problems of African Americans during that period.

The organization helped increase the number of graduate education and training

available for Black students. It is reported that following World War I, there was a

noticeable increase in the number of Blacks who became interested in the study of race

psychology and the acquisition of higher education (Guthrie, 2004a); and as the number

of Black students within the field of psychology increased between the 1920s and 1960s,

there was a shift in thinking about the African American experience. Advocacy for the

education and psychological training for Blacks, primarily by the Association of Black

Psychologists, led to the establishment of separate psychology departments at historical

Black colleges and universities and a rise in the number of psychology courses being

offered at these institutions (Kambon, 1998).

The Role of Narratives in African/Black Psychology

As previously mentioned, some of the success related to the development of

African/Black psychology was dependent on the work of people from other disciplines.

Kambon (1998) in his discussion of the early informal history of African/Black psychology

discusses the work of individuals like Edward Wilmot Blyden, W.E. B. Dubois, and

Marcus Garvey in helping to reconstruct the psychological condition/portrayal of Black

people.

Rather than rely solely on traditional research practices that emphasized

objective, measurable, and tangible data, many African/Black psychologists found it

necessary to utilize more qualitative methods to fully explore the reality of Black people.

The use of biographies, narrative summaries, and interviews provided an in-depth

exploration into the lives of Black people and assisted psychologists in gathering the

necessary data needed to respond to European assumptions regarding the biological,

intellectual, and social inferiority of Black people.

According to Kambon (1998), W.E. B. Dubois, the first African American to

receive a doctorate degree in sociology from Harvard University, was the first to tap into

the concerns of racism, feelings of inferiority, and cultural confusion experienced by

Blacks. His publications of *The Souls of Black Folk* (1902), *The Negro* (1915), and

Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil (1920) is said to have helped reframe the

psychological state of African descendents in America. Dubois, in *The Souls of Black Folk*

provided a semi- autobiographical sketch of his life in order to reflect the thoughts and

feelings of Black folk during the dawn of the twentieth century. Dubois, in *Darkwater:*

Voices from Within the Veil, discussed being intrigued by modern concerns with

whiteness. He described it as a 19th and 20th century matter that would have been

laughed at in the ancient world; a world which he believed was a time ignorant of color

and race. According to Dubois, people needed to consider whether claims by White folk

regarding the universe were faulty. It was his assertion that white folks were tolerable

of Black folks as long as they were humble and accepting of their "barrels of old clothes." It was only when Blacks started to question the White man's title and make assertions for their rights and freedom that they became insufferable.

Blaisdell (2004) credits Marcus Garvey with being one of the first African descendants to develop a mass movement of and for Blacks in America during the 20th century. Garvey, considered by many to be radical in his thinking, openly stated that Black people should not be encouraged to remain in white people's countries' and expect to be participants of their political system. Kambon (1998) viewed Garvey's development of the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) movement of the 1920s as one of the most significant events to occur in modern history that helped highlight the issues of race in America and openly advocate for the development of Black political, economic, social, and educational independence. Garvey, in creating an organization that would enlist African descendants to create an experience and civilization of their own, helped restructure individual perceptions of political and psychological freedom.

Kambon (1998) also reported that Carter Woodson's publication of the *Journal of Negro History* (1916) and *The Mis-education of the Negro* (1933) led to constructive critique of the educational system's failure to present valid and authentic accounts of the Negro experience. Woodson's writings were reported to have challenged Euro-American theories regarding slavery, race, and Negro relations. Woodson was said to have provided Negro youth with access to information, knowledge, and education. He influenced the Black individuals' self-knowledge, race knowledge, and self-respect. He

also negated the continued mis-education of graduating students and teachers. Woodson's work asserted that the educational and psychological development of Black college students would involve genuine understanding of the Black people's experience in America.

Specific to the field of psychology, Robert Guthrie is reported to be one of the first Black psychologists who attempted to formally document the history of the African/Black psychology movement utilizing non-traditional forms of research (Williams, 2008). Guthrie (2004a) reportedly utilized qualitative methods of data collection to present, document, and analyze stories he found to be meaningful to the study of psychology. His book, *Even the Rat was White*, originally published in 1976, was one of the first publications to discuss the impact of race on Blacks (Belgrave & Allison, 2006; Kambon, 1998).

Guthrie (1976, 2004a) recounts the personal histories, education, and careers of other Black men and women who earned doctorate degrees in psychology between 1920 and 1950. Among those individuals discussed in the book, Guthrie cites Francis Cecil Sumner and Herman Canady, two of the first Black persons to receive Ph.D. degrees in psychology. He discusses Charles Henry Thompson, the first African-American man to receive a doctorate degree in educational psychology; Inez Beverly Prosser, the first African-American woman to earn a degree in educational psychology; and Ruth Winifred Howard, the first Black woman in the United States to receive a doctor of philosophy degree in psychology. Guthrie also presents the personal histories and careers of Drs. Mamie and Kenneth Clark, whose 1940s experiments using dolls to

study children's attitudes about race influenced the Supreme Courts 1954 decision in Brown v. Board of Education by demonstrating the harmful effects of segregation on Black children.

Guthrie's critical analysis of psychology and its history provided researchers with a culturally consistent model of data collection and information gathering that was central to the modern evolution of Black psychology. His work represented a great example of an ethnic model of qualitative research that was indigenous to the experiences of African Americans and other groups who focused on the importance of historical perspective (Mertens, 2005). His historical and narrative study of lives had presented a revision of history that represented oppressed individuals and groups who had been traditionally overlooked in the field.

Black People's Response to 18th and 19th Century Western Psychological Research

According to Banks (1999), the central challenge to African American psychologists during the African/Black psychology movement involved the degree to which they were able to further point out some of the invalidations of empirical Western science. Their responses involved two things: (a) the deconstruction of conventional empirical methodologies and studies that were racist and (b) the production of culturally appropriate theoretical constructs and paradigms (i.e., the use of spirituality, Ubuntu Therapy, NTU therapy) that contributed to study of African-Americans (Dyk & Nefale, 2005; Gregory & Harper, 2001; Grills & Rowe, 1998; Philips, 1990).

Deconstruction of conventional empirical methodologies and studies. In an

attempt to deconstruct racist conventional methodologies and studies, several African

American researchers (e.g., Azibo, 1999; Belgrave & Allison, 2006; Guthrie,2004a;

Holliday, 2009; Kambon, 1998) presented a critical analysis on the state of psychological

research conducted prior to the 20th century. These authors highlighted the ways in

which European training influenced the evaluation and assessment of African American

behavior and personality. They further purported that the behavioral and psychological

examination of African descendants within Western society had historically involved a

comparative analysis of racial physical characteristics, mental abilities, and personality

traits.

According to Guthrie (2004a), the marked increase in the awarding of doctoral

degrees to Black psychologists, in addition to the publication of scholarly works that

discussed psychological examination of African/Black culture, helped draw attention to

the need for establishing a psychology that was focused on the study of African-

Americans. This increase also led to more critical examination of existing European

frames, the opportunity for Black professional advancement, and freedom to explore

African American behavior from more culturally sensitive paradigms (Akbar, 1981;

Azibo, 1989; Grills, 2004; Karenga, 1999, 2002; Myers, 1993; Nobles, 1986).

Retrospectively speaking, it is important to note that Black psychologists were

practically nonexistent prior to the 1920s and advanced education of Black students was

primarily provided by Black colleges and universities in the southern parts of the United

States (Guthrie, 2004a). Their academic training and course work primarily focused on

the acquisition of knowledge needed for professions within education, ministry, and professional trades. Williams (1974) cited the Awkward Report of 1969 as reporting that out of the 9,914 doctorate degrees granted by 25 major universities between 1920 and 1966, a total of 93 doctorate degrees were awarded to Black Americans – representing less than 1% of earned doctorates at those institutions. Guthrie (2004a) cited The Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Psychology as reporting that a total of eight doctorate degrees in psychology were awarded to Black candidates between 1920 and 1966 out of the 3,767 Ph.D.s that were awarded Blacks from various other disciplines within the same period (.002%). Guthrie estimates that there were roughly 30 or so Black Ph.D.s awarded in the fields of psychology and educational psychology between 1920 and 1950. Although the exact number of Black psychologists awarded doctorate degrees in psychology during this period is unclear, the numbers do provide some context for understanding the limited amount of advanced educational training available to Blacks at the time.

Discourse and training in psychology became more of an applied science for Black professionals, and issues regarding difference in intelligence, race, and personality were explained in terms of observed environmental factors. Yet, culture specific theories that focused on understanding groups were generally ignored because they had not been substantiated by the scientific, laboratory-based experiments that were taught and valued by the larger White institutions (Kambon, 1998).

Production of culturally appropriate theoretical constructs and paradigms. The development of the African/ Black psychology movement involved several paradigm

shifts in how the Black psyche was studied and understood (Kambon, 1998). Black

psychologists, now through the reflective spaces of the Association of Black

Psychologists and other organizations in support of the Black-inspired socio-political

movement of the 1960s and 1970s, had the freedom and place to discuss, develop, and

test their own theories to explain the Black experience. This resulted in an explosion of

various literature and research on and for Black populations, and the development of

several conceptual theories or paradigms for African/Black Psychology.

According to Kambon (1998), different lines of intellectual and ideological

thought arose during the late 1960s early 1970s as Black psychologists struggled to

define their role within African/Black Psychology. Researchers were faced with the task

of determining whether African/Black Psychology should be defined as any and all

scholarly work in which Black psychologists engage, whether it should be defined as

psychological studies of the Black experience regardless of the author's race, or whether

it should have a more narrow scope that was centered in a core set of ancient African

principles and values.

W. Curtis Banks (1983; as cited in Nobles 1986) and Karenga (1982) were cited as

being two of the first to provide a conceptual paradigm that described the ideological

differences inherent in the modern African/Black Psychology movement (Nobles, 1986;

Kambon, 1998). Banks' paradigms were divided among three methods: Deconstruction,

Reconstruction, and Construction. The Deconstruction approach described methods

aimed at examining and highlighting the error of using conventional psychological

research to draw conclusions about the cognitive, social, and mental condition of Black

people. The work in this paradigm was described as empirical falsification of

Western/European theories. Research aimed at invalidating the use of intelligence tests

based on their methodological errors was provided as an example (Nobles, 1986). The

Reconstruction approach described attempts to correct the errors inherent in

conventional models of psychology and assist Black psychologists in developing more

accurate models that were culturally sensitive and accepting of the Black condition

(Karenga, 2002). Nobles (1986) reported that the work done within this paradigm

confronted the dilemma of mentalism (i.e., the use of subjective or intuitive process in

understanding behavior) versus operationalism (i.e., the use of objective scientific

measurements to understand behavior) and was aimed at redefining concepts and

theories used to explain Black behavior. Finally, the Construction method described an

attempt to create innovative paradigms grounded in the philosophical values, traditions

and customs of Africa. The assumption of the constructionists is that African cultural

values survived the brutality of enslavement and served as foundation to the

worldviews of persons of African descent (Asante, 1998; Nobles, 2004).

Karenga (1982) presented a similar tripartite model to describe the shift in

African/Black Psychology. The model was conceptually similar to Banks' framework, yet

identified the difference in thinking among Black psychologists to be Traditional,

Reformist, and Radical. The Traditional school of thought was said to be comprised of

researchers who attempted to change "concepts, models, methods and modalities of

knowledge," (Akbar, 2004, p. 686) that reaffirmed the superior status of Caucasian

males of European descent. According to Kambon (1998), the Traditionalist position was

both defensive and reactive because it involved critique of Western psychology's racial and ideological perspectives that embraced biological and genetic factors to explain difference between White and Blacks. However, the thinking or ideology of individuals in the traditional school of thought appeared to lack concern for the development of a Black psychology. Karenga stipulates that this school of thought, although defensive, continued to support Eurocentric models with minor changes. They were more concerned with changing white attitudes than offering corrective methods for addressing the issue. Examples of this approach can be found in the comparative studies of intelligence (I.Q) and academic achievement between Black and White children wherein researchers such as Brooks-Gunn, Klebanov, Smith, and Duncan (2003), Ford-Harris, Schuerger, and Harris (1991), and Hilliard (1981, 1983) denounce the idea of genetic difference and work to reinforce the idea that social, economic, and political factors had to be considered and included in measures that assessed Black intellectual and cognitive abilities to fully understand reported discrepancies.

The Reformist school of thought reflects a thinking or ideology that directly addresses politics, social oppression, economic inequality, and racist theories in the study of African Americans. The paradigm asserts that Black and Whites are distinct and represent different, but equally respected, cultural realities. Kambon (1998) reported that one of the goals of the Reformist school of thought was to correct the errors about African behavior in White/European psychological models and move towards creating models that would assist the masses in accepting and understanding the distinctiveness of Black culture. Researchers grounded in this type of thinking were also identified as

being reconstructive in their approach because they emphasize the need to develop

positive, socially constructed theories to understand the experience, meanings, and

knowledge of Blacks, rather than rely on the theories and ideals of European

researchers (Kambon, 1998; Karenga, 2002). An example of this is presented in Williams

(1974) Black Intelligence Test for Cultural Homogeneity (BITCH), one of the first culture

specific tests used to assess Black cognitive abilities. The BITCH consisted of 100

vocabulary items, characteristic of Black language and communication style (Matarazza

& Weins, 1977). It was administered to 100 Black and 100 White students between the

ages of 16-18 of various socioeconomic levels. The results of the study found that Blacks

scored 30-50 points higher than Whites. This provided evidence that Black children

demonstrated enhanced cognitive ability when presented with concepts consistent with

their culture.

     Karenga's last group, the Radical school of thought, represented the group of

thinkers who adopted a conceptual framework that was based in African centered

psychological theories. This group of people was reportedly less concerned with the

critique and reconstruction of White/European models to grasp the phenomenological

experience of Blacks in Western society. The group was more focused on examining

individuals within the context of African cultural principles to reflect the interdependent

nature of Blacks. Examples of this method include Kambon's (1996) development of the

African Self- Consciousness Scale, a 42-item personality questionnaire based on a theory

of Black personality.

Kambon (1998), in further examination of the fundamental ideological differences in the approach to African/Black psychology, posited that the primary issue separating African/Black psychologists was one of sociopolitical philosophy. It was his belief that the differences among African American psychologists were reflective of the emerging Black leadership and social activists groups that were prevalent during the 1960s and 70s. He further characterized those ideological differences as paralleling the historic Black liberation movements and labeled them The Racial Integrationists/Cultural Assimilationist Movement, The Black-American Nationalism Movement, and The Pan-African Cultural Nationalism Movement.

According to Nobles (1986), differences in the models can be attributed to the use of the critical method emphasized by Banks. Banks' primary use of criticism and refutation in exposing the fallacies inherent in European/Western paradigms is said to have helped to develop the field of Black psychology. Karenga's first two schools of thought were criticized by Kambon (1998) for being less concerned with refuting comparative studies that investigated differences between races. They appeared more committed to research that focused on developing work that incorporated traditional European frames in order to benefit Blacks and Whites (Kambon, 1998). Piper-Mandy and Rowe's (2010) re-analysis of these movements further support Nobles' position. The authors proposed that three dimensions should be considered when attempting to analyze differences between Banks' and Karenga's typologies. Those dimensions were (a) the thrust of the movement, (b) the focus of intervention (i.e., the researcher's aim or intent), and (c) the focus of scientific inquiry (i.e., proposed outcomes). It appeared

that the thrust of the two typologies (which was to challenge invalid assumptions of traditional Western/European psychology) and the focus of the scientific inquiry (i.e., develop more culturally appropriate models of psychological inquiry) were the same. The difference among the two models lay in the aim or intent of the thinkers within each typology and the level or manner at which they challenged those traditional Western psychological theories.

The following sections of this paper discuss some of the individual work that developed out of different schools of thought during the epoch of the African/Black Psychology. Although they may differ, in terms of their conceptual orientation, they are all equally important in providing context for the history of the African/Black Psychology movement.

Individual Responses to Eurocentric Thinking

The following sections present the work of eminent Black psychologists who have advanced the study of African/Black Psychology. These individuals have been collectively responsible for reconstructing mental health from African/Black psychological perspectives. Their work has assisted in redefining abnormal behavior and the reclassification of mental disease (Akbar, 2004; Azibo, 1992; Jones, 1999); provided more culturally appropriate theories on human development (Banks, 1999; Kambon, 1998); and influenced a plethora of research to reconstruct Black reality personality/identity, family, and education.

Joseph White. Joseph White's groundbreaking article, *Towards a Black Psychology,* originally published in 1970, is cited as being one of the first bodies of work

to present a comprehensive theory of Black Psychology (Jones, 2004; Karenga, 2002). According to Belgrave and Allison (2006), White's paper was seminal in that it contributed to the recognition of African/Black psychology as a field of study. His work reportedly began the transformation and deconstruction of arguments in favor of the use of oppressive Eurocentric paradigms as means to understand the Black/African-American individual (Belgrave & Allison, 2006). White opposed research assumptions that reported Blacks to be genetically inferior and culturally and psychologically deprived due to inadequate social environments. White (2004) also attempted to demonstrate how people failed to adequately understand the lifestyles of Black people by taking the reader on a hypothetical journey of a White researcher who goes into the Black home.   White (2004) writes:

> A simple journey with the White researcher into the Black home may
> provide us with some insight into how such important, but somewhat
> erroneous, conclusions are reached. During this visit to the Black home
> the researcher may not find familiar aspects of the White culture such as
> book-of-the-month selections, records of Broadway plays, classics,
> magazines such as *Harpers*, *the Atlantic Monthly*, or the *New York Review
> of Books*. He also might observe a high noise level, continuously
> reinforced by inputs from blues-and-rhythm radio stations, TV programs,
> and several sets of conversations going on at once. (p. 5)

It was White's position that this type of observation often led White researchers to conclude that the homes of Black children were confusing, uninteresting and weak in intellectual content. He posited that the researcher failed to recognize the role of Black newspapers, magazines, television, and music in stimulating Black children's cognitive

development. He also purported that further analysis of Black lifestyle would reveal that

Black children were able to adequately acquire and retrieve information that was vital

to their survival and essential in helping them to cope with somewhat complicated and

hostile environments.

White (2004) further suggested that the models which viewed the Black family

from a middle class frame of reference by stressing the importance of a two-parent

household, in addition to models that focused on the absence of Black males in the

Black family to explain deviant Black behavior, led the European/White observer to

erroneously label the Black family as deficient. He wrote:

> A closer look at the Black family might show that the matriarchal or one-
> parent view fails to take into consideration the extended nature of the
> Black family. Looking at the number of uncles, aunties, big mamas,
> boyfriends, older brothers and sisters, deacons, preachers, and others
> who operate in and out of the Black home, a more valid observation
> might be that a variety of adults and older children participate in the
> rearing of any one Black child. (p. 7)

White and Parham's (1990) work on the psychology of Blacks provided another

venue for addressing the inappropriate use of traditional White models in the analysis of

the Black family. The authors openly denounced the use of the inferiority and deficit

models for understanding the Black family. It was their position that these models had

attempted to paint the Black family as disorganized and pathological. Building from

White's work, Sudarkasa (2007a, 2007b) proposed that "class" and "culture" provide the

ultimate framework for discussing the structure and role relationships among Black

families. In terms of culture, it is her position that examination of contemporary African-

American families involves a deeper understanding of native African ideals regarding marriage, institutional arrangements, and decision-making processes. It also involves analyzing the impact of slavery on single-parent, female-headed households. With regard to class, Sudarkasa makes a point to emphasize that not all female-headed households are the same. It is her position that differences in a woman's living situation, education and financial standing could play a significant role in promoting positive child development.

Following White's work, psychologists began to deconstruct the stereotypical views of the Black family by providing the image of the Black family as strong, resilient, and diverse (Franklin, 2007; McAdoo, 1981, 1992; Thomas, 1971). Black child rearing and socialization practices were characterized by a strong sense of family, history, and belief in religion/spirituality. Participation of extended family, cooperation of Black fathers, and respect for elders within the Black family structure were also emphasized (Kambon, 1998).

Charles Thomas. Charles Thomas is another well-known and documented psychologist who has significantly contributed to the African/Black psychology movement. He is described as one of the founders and first co-chairpersons of the Association of Black Psychologists yet he is most known for his 1971 publication, *Boys No More*, his conceptual paradigm of *negromachy* and his proposed model of racial identity (Atwell & Azibo, 1992; Karenga, 2002; Thomas, 1971; Williams, 2008). In the article *Boys No More: Some Social-Psychological Aspects of the New Black Ethic*, Thomas (1971) lays the foundation for an identity development model within the Black

community. He suggested that the new Black ethic (i.e., the social movement of the 1960s) represented a vital model for social change wherein which Black people were able to become more assertive in rejecting dominant European social systems and committed to developing solutions to racial problems. Thomas wrote that:

> …[The] movement itself [was] significant as a corrosive operation against those harsh and oppressive elements of social structure that [had] either misinterpreted the humanness of Black people or compelled them to believe that psycho-socially they had infantile or animal-like motivational systems (p. 17)

He speculated that this new sense of pride and affiliation with one's blackness influenced the manner in which Black people were able to make use of, adapt to, and modify their environment. Dr. Thomas also believed that the movement provided Black people with model that would allow them to represent themselves as Black and American at the same time.

Negromachy was a term used to describe a state of confusion experienced by African Americans whose lives and self-worth were increasingly dependent on White society's rules regarding behavior (Cross, 1978; Thomas, 1971). It was characterized as a fixation on or need for White approval that is ultimately connected to guilt over exemptions from social responsibilities, fears of growth, self-defeating impulses, anxiety around prospects of safety, threats of survival and hateful constraints by others, and exaggerated concerns about trivia. Thomas proposed that the declaration of one's Blackness was necessary and vital for representation of self and other acceptance (Cross, 1978).

Thomas deemed this process the Negro-to-Black Conversion and it was reported to consist of five stages. The first stage is where an individual spends a significant amount of time "rapping" on the White dominant culture. A release of tension against the oppressor and deeper level of understanding regarding the dynamics of negromachy demarcate this stage. The second stage involves testifying about all the pain one has endured in denying his/her self, as well as expressed anxieties about becoming Black. The third stage involves obtaining information regarding one's African background and Black's contribution to the American culture. The fourth stage involves what Cross (1971) defined to be social activism. It is an activity-based stage that involves the individual working through a particular group to enhance her/his Black experience. The fifth stage involves transcendence beyond issues of race, age or sex and acceptance of self as a human being.

Thomas' Negro-to-Black conversion has both socio-political and psychological indicators. The process was intended to increase Black people's consciousness about the oppressive social systems within the Black community as well as assist them in developing more positive feelings regarding their "Blackness." Thomas sought to destruct the term "Negro" and help guide people through a process of redefinition and reaffirmation. He proposed that by "rapping" oneself of European ideals and immersing ones-self in the culture and tradition of African/Black values, the individual, and community at large, would gain a better understanding of who they are and this, in turn, would help them to develop interventions, policies, and social practices to better serve their needs.

Thomas believed that people's behavior would become more meaningful if there was value assigned to the situation or event. So by creating positive feelings or relationships in Black people with regard to their own identity, this would motivate them to take action against behaviors and policies that posed a threat to their being. This is reflected in the following quote by Thomas (1971): "Blackness does not merely denote a positive feeling about self around physical characteristics, but includes assertive behavior occurring within a social context" (p. 100). With all this being said, it is still important to note that the Negro-to-Black conversion helped reduce internalized perceptions of self as deficient, pathological, or maladaptive. Furthermore, it started the process of helping others to redefine Black identity.

William Cross. From Thomas' work, other psychologists such as William Cross (1971, 1978), Thomas Parham, and Janet Helms (1981, 1985) were able to develop the study of Black racial identity. This was important because the subsequent models of racial identity provided a powerful lens from which to view and understand Africans' experience in America (Parham & Parham, 2002). They also provide examples of African Americans' struggle to maintain their sense of cultural integrity in a world that did not support their standing as African people.

Cross' (1971) model of *Nigrescence* (i.e., the process of becoming Black) suggested that Black people, in a quest to become firmly rooted and secure in their "blackness," progressed through a series of five stages: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment. The pre-encounter stage resembled historical perspectives, in that it was characterized by a

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dependency on the larger White society for definition and approval. Blacks at the pre-encounter stage were said to only see the world as being anti-black which led them to behave in ways that devalued their black identity (Ponterreto & Wise, 1987). Cross (1978) characterized this stage as being dominated by a Euro-American worldview; a worldview that was focused on the social, political, cultural, and psychological degradation of the Black experience. Parham and Helms (1985) described Cross' encounter stage as being marked by feelings of confusion wherein one gets the desire to become more enmeshed with one's Black identity. It is in this stage that the individual is said to become aware and accepting of what it means to be Black (Ponterreto & Wise, 1987). Cross (1978) purported that it is during this stage that the individual becomes more comfortable with the Negro worldview and resistant to major components of the Euro-American frame of thinking. The immersion-emersion stage is reported to encompass the most sensational aspects of Black identity development in that it involves a complete immersion into everything considered to represent Blackness (Cross, 1978). During this stage, the individual challenges the ideals of White society and adapts this pro-Black, anti-White attitude, rejecting the former and absorbing the later. The internalization stage is where individual's attitude becomes respectful and tolerant of Whites, yet their Black experience is viewed as positive, important, and a valued aspect of oneself. The individual this stage is able to resolve conflicts of Black and Euro-American worldviews while still using the Black experience as their primary reference point. Internalization transcends the sensational aspects of the previous stage and involves a deeper understanding and acceptance of what it means to be Black. The final

stage, the internalization-commitment stage, is where the individual's behavioral style is

characterized by social activism.

Thomas Parham and Janet Helms (1981) development of the Racial Identity

Attitude Scale (RIAS) further explored Black self-concept and identity development

among children and adults. The RIAS was developed to measure the racial identity

stages proposed by Cross (1971). The original scale consisted of 30 self-report items that

assessed Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization attitudes

among Black students. Parham and Helms utilized it to examine Black preferences for

counselor race and self esteem among Black students (Parham & Helms, 1981, 1985).

More contemporary and traditional perspectives of racial identity have utilized Cross'

model to examine relationships between racial identity on Black counselor race

preferences (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1998; Ferguson, Leach, Levy, Nicholson, &

Johnson, 2008), help-seeking attitudes (Townes, Chavez-Korell, & Cunningham, 2009),

self esteem (Phelps, Taylor, & Gerard, 2001), and academic achievement (Anglin &

Wade, 2007; Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, & Jackson, 2009).

Cross' (1971) research has also been generalized to include the concept of ethnic

identity development (Cokley, 2005). Within this paradigm, the self is viewed from a

group perspective based on ethnicity rather than the biological or phenotypical

characteristics of race. Hence, models were developed to assess and compare Black

people's self-identity/concept within their own group. Research on racial identity has

further produced results that support the idea that self-concept/identity is normally

distributed. Some studies have identified the encounter attitudes to be positively

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related to self concept/identity development (Parham & Helms, 1985), whereas other studies have found that the immersion-emersion stage significantly predicted enculturation, i.e., the adoption of African American cultural beliefs and attitudes (Cokley & Helms, 2007). Other more contemporary indicators of identity/personality have included Black's expression of art, beliefs and attitudes about nature, and linguistic behavior (Kambon, 2006). Behavioral, spiritual, and emotional dimensions such as dance, perceptual reliance on psychokenisis (intuitiveness), and communicative patterns of worship have also been used to conceptualize Black identity.

Critics of Cross' model of Nigrescence have generally presented some of the same ideological issues that were addressed in the discussion regarding utilization of traditional psychological theories on Blacks in America. They view the model as a reactionary tool or buffer used to minimize theories that had looked to genetics and biology to explain individual identity rather than an individual and legitimate model of self-concept for African Americans (Cokley, 2002). They also criticize the use of the term Nigrescence; claiming that it is nonsensical and makes inappropriate inferences that such a people (i.e., Negroes) or place exists (Azibo, 1998). Other critics (e.g., Akbar, 1989; Kambon, 1998; Karenga, 2002; Nobles, 1989) have criticized Cross' model for being reformist in its approach and its failure to affirm African identity as the foundational core of the Black self.

Karenga believed that Cross' model demonstrated an over-reliance on the need for Blacks to have relations with Whites in order to establish high levels of racial identity, which ultimately reflected Eurocentric control or dominance over the group. In

response, Parham and Parham (2002) reported agreement with opponents that racial

identity served as a buffer to guard against racist and oppressive Eurocentric ideals;

however, they viewed the model as a positive tool for assisting Blacks in living within the

context of every day life. It was their position that the concept of identity further served

as a method for promoting Black attachment/unity with others who shared a common

cultural practice as well as a "means of code switching" which allowed each individual to

adapt to various environments and circumstances that may be more or less supportive

of their racial identity. Marks, Settles, Cooke, Morgan, and Sellers (2004) also reported

that Cross' later revised his model of Nigrescence to reflect a transformation from a pre-

existing non-African to an African-centered perspective because of findings that

demonstrated how one's self concept did not change as an individual moved through

each change; change was really reflected in their ideology, worldview and value system.

Reginald Jones. Reginald Jones is regarded as one of the most outstanding and

influential Black psychologists of the 20th century because of the volumes of work he has

published on Black/African Psychology (Williams, 1998). Jones produced and edited

numerous books and articles on topics related to African/Black Psychology from various

authors, perspectives, and viewpoints (Belgrave & Alison, 2006). His books, *Black*

Psychology (1972, 1980, 1991, 2004), *African American Identity Development* (1998),

Advances in African American Psychology (1999), *African American Mental Health*

(1998), *Handbook of Tests and Measurements Vol. 1 and 2* (1996), *Black Adolescents*

(1989), and *African American Youth and Parenting* (1998) have covered issues related to

Black personality, assessment, intelligence, counseling, racism, identity, personality, language, family, and cognition.

Through publication, Jones (2004) was able to capture the thinking and research of the most creative minds and communicate their broad range of ideas and research to the general public. His work was based upon a systematic search of individuals who were in the process of writing, developing theories, and conducting research on African Americans (Jones, 1998). His work was important because it focused on (a) deemphasizing deficiency-based explanations of Black behavior, (b) emphasizing the positive aspects of Black behavior, (c) rejecting European normative values for assessing and understanding Black behavior, and (d) providing explanations which demonstrate that Black behavior was related to social and economic factors in addition to psychological phenomena.

In providing both published and unpublished work of African American scholars and educators, Jones was able to increase awareness and visibility of African/Black psychology among Africans in America (Kambon, 1998). Jones work was also monumental, because it aided in the deconstruction of traditional European theories that had misrepresented to nature and reality of Black people.

Robert Williams. Robert Williams is one of the founders and second president of the Association of Black Psychologists who has conducted extensive work on the history and establishment of ABPsi, as well as constructed theories and terminology to advance the study of Black personality, intelligence testing, and language (Williams, 2008). According to Kambon (1998), Williams was one of the first Black psychologists to charge

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that cultural differences between Black and White Americans should be factored in when assessing for intelligence. It was his position that each group possessed their own unique social reality; a reality that reflected basic differences in values, language, communication, and lifestyle. Hence, through the publication of *Abuses and Misuses in Testing Black Children (1972)* and *The Testing Game (1980*), Williams was able to argue that ones' intelligence could not be examined outside the context of culture (Kambon, 1998; Williams, Williams, & Mitchell, 2004). Subsequently, Williams (1974) developed the *Black Intelligence Test for Cultural Homogeneity* (BITCH), one of the first culture specific tests used to assess Black cognitive abilities. This test provided evidence that Black children demonstrated enhanced cognitive ability when presented with concepts consistent with their culture. Yet, for Kambon (1998), its significance was best reflected in its ability to efficiently demonstrate the need for White/European psychologists to pay attention to the utilization and relevance of culturally relevant tests.

      Robert Guthrie. Robert Guthrie's original publication of *"Even the Rat was White"* in 1976 further illustrated how scientific racism contributed to the perception of Black people as inferior (Belgrave & Allison, 2006; Kambon, 1998; Karenga, 2002). Guthrie believed that the behavioral sciences' reliance on the quantification of data had created bias in predicting human behavior. Hence, he wrote a book that was devoted to discussing how scientific theories and data were used to support the racial stereotypes and negative perceptions of Black Americans (i.e., anthropometry).

      Guthrie (2004a) was critical of early anthropologists' use of scientific data as a basis for discrimination, e.g., the mulatto hypothesis (i.e., children of mixed race were

inferior to Whites, but superior to Blacks of unmixed backgrounds) and comparative

intelligence testing of Black and White children. He held the position that the study of

human behavior involved the examination of learned actions that were maintained and

affected by a myriad of social, environmental, and cultural conditions. It also involved

investigation and management of the social systems that effect individual and group

behaviors. His historical analysis on the psychology and education in Black universities

and colleges provides such an example, because it helped frame the development and

impact of higher education on Blacks.

Furthermore, it was through Guthrie's biographical sketches on the interests and

achievements of early Black psychologists that researchers were able to gain access to

limited information that was not readily available. Guthrie's book further provided

researchers with a culturally consistent model of data collection and information

gathering that was central to the modern evolution of Black psychology (Williams,

2008). It demonstrated to Black researchers and students of the field, alternative

examples for presenting history.

Asa Hilliard. Asa Hilliard is another notable psychologist whose work

successfully assisted in deconstructing Eurocentric definitions of intelligence and

intelligence testing/measurement in Black children. Hilliard continually raised concerns

about the psychometrics involved in intelligence (IQ) testing as well as the validity in

generalizing those findings to human behavior and future academic success for Black

people. For example, Hilliard (1983) in "IQ and the Courts: Larry P. vs. Wilson Riles and

PASE vs. Hannon" presented a brief history and comparative analysis of two major

federal court cases on standardized IQ testing and Black children. The cases represented

two examples of wrongful placement of Black children into classes for the educable

mentally retarded (EMR) based on results of standardized IQ tests. Hilliard reported that

it was the plaintiffs' position that the IQ tests were primarily responsible for the children

being placed in EMR classes and that the IQ tests were racially and culturally biased

against Black people, and therefore, inappropriate.

Hilliard's presentation of these court cases brought up many important issues

that psychologists were unwilling to face regarding the appropriateness of meaningful

assessment in Black children, the validity of IQ psychometry for education, the

credibility of psychologists, the validity of special education pedagogy (which focused

primarily on the acquisition of physical, communication and daily living skills, rather

than education), and the genetic capacity of Black people.

It was this and other cases that led Hilliard to believe that social, economic, and

political factors needed to be considered and included in measures that assess Black

intellect. Hilliard and Amankwaita (2004) in "Intelligence: What Good Is It and Why

Bother to Measure It" further addressed the question of intelligence as a by-product of

genetics or environment by proposing that two points be considered when determining

if children benefit from the use of psychological testing, as it pertains to IQ. The first

point was whether children, in schools that are socially and economically challenged,

benefit from good teaching. The second point was whether or not mental measurement

in the schools determined success of academic achievement or the design of program

curricula. It was Hilliard's position that IQ testing was unwarranted if children with low

IQ scores were able to demonstrate high levels of academic achievement. It was also his position that the use of IQ tests in school settings was not valuable if that information was not utilized to improve school curricula or determine academic success. According to Gould (1996), support for Hilliard's position can also be found in the original documents of Alfred Binet who warned against the misuse, misinterpretation and overgeneralization of IQ data to classify children as special needs or unteachable.

The crux of Hilliard's work focused on improving classroom instruction to prevent placement of Black children in special education. He suggested that: (a) psychology had yet to demonstrate its ability to measure the capacity of any children, especially children who are products of different culture and low socioeconomic classes; (b) psychometrics could not be used to quantify things that are not quantifiable; (c) IQ psychometry could not validate the measurement categories that classify children as mentally retarded or learning disabled; and (d) there is no evidence that mental measurement of intelligence determines school success. Hence he proposed creating valid instruments that were relevant and useful for instruction. Furthermore, he called for a paradigm shift wherein intelligence testing would be used to improve how we build curricula in instructing our children rather than categorization or classification of children as mentally retarded.

Hilliard's (1981, 1986) work in highlighting the cultural bias found in IQ testing influenced his decision to examine the use of African based concepts and practices in education. It also led others to search for intelligence tests that were designed to be "culture-free" or non-biased against Black communities. Researchers recognized a need:

(a) for tests or systems of mental measurement that accurately provided valid

information regarding the expected educational outcome for children; (b) to change the

goal of mental measurement/testing to reflect on that is geared towards improving

instruction and education for children; (c) to identify valid links between psychometry

and pedagogy, (d) to redefine competency of psychometricians; and (e) to make drastic

changes in the role of psychometrics (Hilliard, 1983).

Harriette Pipes McAdoo. Harriette Pipes McAdoo (1981, 1992) is another

prominent Black psychologist most known for the significant amount of work she

conducted on the nature and structure of Black families. Her work is important to the

development of African/Black Psychology because it challenged Western/ European

literature and media outlets that portrayed images of the Black family as single parent,

female-headed, low-income, unemployed, and uneducated. It was McAdoo's position

that a diversity of experience existed among Black families within the African American

community and it was important that this message be communicated to Western

society. It was also her position that racism and economic inequality had contributed

the social decline of the Black family.

As a result, McAdoo (1981, 2007) provided research that demonstrated that

Blacks, like Whites, were similarly interested in intellectual and economic advancement,

dual parent involvement, and socialization of children for academic achievement.

She helped develop data that showed that factors specific to the Black community (i.e.,

extended family support, religion) positively impacted the mental health and economic

stability of single-parent families. McAdoo also provided an extensive amount of

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literature on the rising social and economic status of African American families by focusing on upward social mobility and parenting patterns among the Black middle-class.

   Wade Nobles. Wade Nobles is said to be one of the most important African-centered theorists who has significantly contributed to the field of African/Black psychology (Karenga, 1999). He is well-regarded for his contributions in exploring the dimensions of African/Black psychology and his African-centered model of Black personality (Kambon, 1998; Nobles, 1986, 2004). Nobles' introductory article "African Philosophy: Foundation for Black Psychology", originally published in 1972, presents one of first models of Black psychology that was based upon a basic set of African communal ethos (i.e., guiding principles or beliefs). He identified these dimensions to be religion and philosophy, the notion of unity, the concept of time, death and immortality, and kinship. The principle of religion and philosophy basically stipulated that religion and philosophy are viewed as the same phenomenon among people of African descent. There is no distinction made between the two; hence examination of an individual would require assessment of their religion, proverbs, oral traditions, ethics, and morals. The notion of unity represented the idea of connectedness among human beings and nature. The principle related to time proposed that African philosophical traditions tend to be more concerned with two dimensions: past and present. The principle of death and immortality stipulated that death is viewed as a rhythmic process and persons are perceived to exist immortally beyond death. Finally kinship was said to represent strong relationships among people and relationships between people and nature.

With regard to personality, Nobles purported that understanding the basic core

of Black personality and/or identity would involve exploring the extended self. (Early

editions of his work were presented in Khatib, McGee, Nobles, and Akbar's (1975)

Voodoo or IQ: An Introduction to African Psychology.) He wrote that:

> In recognizing that in terms of self-conception, the relationship of
> interdependence and oneness translates to an extended definition, we
> note again that the African feels himself as part of all African people in his
> tribe… In effect, the people definition transcends the individual definition
> of self and the individual conception of self extends to include one's self
> and kind. This transcendent relationship between self and kind is the
> extended self. (Nobles, 2006, p. 128)

He defined extended self to be an expanded definition of the self wherein which one

adopts the African ethos of "we" instead of "I." It was his position that European

philosophical notions regarding individuality/separateness and scientific colonialism had

presented an invalid picture of Black reality and ultimately the Negro self-concept

because they approached assessment/evaluation of Africans from a worldview that

valued "survival of the fittest" or "control over nature" principles rather than an African

stance which stressed "survival of the tribe" and "one with nature."

Nobles (2006) later adopted the position that the field of psychology should

focus less on compartmentalizing aspects of Black culture/behavior (i.e., intelligence,

identity, family, etc.) and should rather be based in the study of human spirit and

understanding. Nobles criticized Western psychology as a science because of the way

human behavior was quantified and assessed. He found it to be reductionist in its

approach and intent on proving the inferiority of African people. Nobles (2006) deemed

that African/Black psychology should be governed by a deep and profound study, search, and mastery of illuminating the human spirit. He labeled this process *Sakhu Sheti,* and classified his personal journey for African truth and humanness as Being, Becoming, and Belonging.

Nobles' work was important because it helped to reconstruct understanding of the African/Black self concept. Through the use of African philosophy, he was able to identify a model that better resembled the values, customs, attitudes, and behavior of Black people. This would result in fewer conclusions that characterized Black's cognitive performance, family structure, and behavior as deviant. It would also invalidate previous claims which purported Black people to be pathological.

Na'im Akbar. Na'im Akbar, like Nobles, is another notable African-centered psychologist most known for his classification/description system of mental disorders as well as his work on the emerging stages of African/Black psychology (Akbar, 1981, 1990). Akbar presented ideas and constructs that were similar in conceptualization and definition to Nobles' (1986, 2006) work on African/Black psychology, yet he proposed that that deficits in an African-American's functioning were a result of their inability to liberate themselves from the oppression of Euro-American ideals regarding what constituted mental health and competency. Akbar did not agree with the notion that Black peoples' behavior could be examined from a conceptual paradigm that was incongruent with their nature (which was essentially African). Hence, in *Mental Disorder of African Americans*, he outlined a classification and description of African American mental health according to an African orientation.

He purported that examination of mental disturbance in African Americans was

mostly environmental and required that people address the importance of: (a) the

historical antecedents and determinants; and (b) the effects of a functionally inhumane

environment and conditions on the human being. His model was one of the first to

provide an Africentric frame that suggested that distress experienced by Blacks in an

oppressive society led to psychological disturbance. The four classifications included: (a)

the alien-self disorder; (b) the anti-self disorder; (c) the self-destructive disorder; and (d)

the organic disorder. With the exception of the organic disorders (i.e., conditions of

mental retardation, dementia, and schizophrenia, that are a primary result of

physiology, neurological, or biochemical malfunction), Akbar's classifications reflected

states where the individual rejected their African identity and chose to adopt values that

promoted Eurocentric ideals.

Akbar's work was critical because it challenged traditional psychology's use of

the European orientation to establish pathology. The four classifications represented

threats to the survival and intellectual growth of Black people. They also emphasized the

pressing need to preserve the community.

Joseph Baldwin. Joseph Baldwin (1981, 1985), a.k.a. Kobi K. K. Kambon,

presented a similar approach to conceptualizing African/Black psychology. From his

perspective, African/Black psychology represented the adoption of a different

worldview, or system of knowledge that was consistent with principles of African

spirituality.   He proposed that understanding the worldview orientation of African

psychology was critical because it sheds light upon the continued struggle among

African/Black psychologists to utilize White European perspective as the primary frame

of reference for defining self. According to Belgrave and Allison (2006), Kambon's work

on the African personality has been a major contribution to African/Black psychology. It

has been critical in providing a different framework conceptualizing African American

mental health (Kambon, 1998).

Kambon's 1976 article, *"*Black Psychology and Black Personality: Some Issues for

Consideration", marked his first attempt at addressing Western European views

regarding Black psychology and Black personality. In the article, Kambon attempted to

address some of the confusion regarding the distinction between Black Psychology and

Black personality. He also pointed out some of the critical issues inherent in assessing

Black personality from non-African frames. According to Kambon, Black Psychology

involved a system of knowledge concerned with the nature of the social universe from a

Black (African) psychological perspective. It involved broadening the context of African

American mental health to encompass more sociopolitical and environmental behavior

patterns. It also involved utilizing theories of African personality development to assess

human experience (Kambon, 1998).

Black personality was defined as a configuration of cognitive, emotional, and

behavioral traits that were characteristic of Black people. Kambon's (1998) approach to

examining human personality functioning is illustrated in the concepts of cultural

misorientation and the African Self Extension Orientation. According to Kambon,

cultural misorientation represents an incorrect and distorted orientation among African

people to what was described as their natural "African cultural reality" (p. 341). It is a

label used to denote the adoption of European worldview, self-consciousness and behavior patterns by Africans in America. It was reported that people with this "disorder" did not typically present with any overt symptoms such as anxiety or psychological distress. The phenomenon was more characterized as "a grossly psychopathological condition" (p. 344), in which African Americans masqueraded as functionally normal or in optimal mental health.

It was Kambon's position that cultural misorientation produced abnormal psychological functioning because it created conflict between the unconscious African self and the conscious Eurocentric being. He believed that Africans in America were forced to reject and destroy their traditional African cultural values as a result of external socio-cultural forces such as slavery and political, social, and economic oppression. However, they were unable to completely rid themselves of a spiritually ingrained sense of themselves as African because their race (defined as one's biogenetic structure) was African in nature; and it was race that influenced one's social alliance or group identification that ultimately influenced the individual's worldview.

The core components of Kambon's model of personality are called the African Self Extension Orientation (ASEO) and African Self Consciousness (ASC). The development of African Self Consciousness and the ultimate adoption of an African Self-Extension Orientation is said to define personality, assist with socialization and Black psychological development; whereas lack of socialization into the ASC is said to result in pathology, which is defined by the adoption of European social reality and the internalization cultural oppression of African/Black people. ASEO, according to Kambon

(2006), is defined as a "biogenetically defined psychological disposition" that is characteristic of all Black people. It is deemed an unconscious phenomenon and is said to represent more of a "felt experience" grounded in "spirituality." African Self Consciousness is reportedly a conscious level of processing that is influenced by social and environmental factors. It includes: (a) the individual recognizing of one self as "African" (biologically, psychologically, and culturally) and what it means to be "African"; (b) involvement in activities that promote African survival, liberation and development ; and (c) respect for all things African and active opposition to all things (life, institutions) that are anti-African. People were considered to have cultural misorientation if their African Self Consciousness was weak.

To test this theory, Kambon (1985) developed the African Self- Consciousness Scale (ASCS). The instrument was a culturally-based personality measure wherein the concept of "self" was based on the philosophy and principles inherent in African cosmology (world view) that promotes survival of the group and interdependence with the environment.   The measurement was a 42-item questionnaire that asked persons to rate their beliefs, opinions, and attitudes about Black people on an 8-point likert-type scale (1= *strongly disagree*, 8 = *strongly agree*). Some examples of the statements include: "Black children should be taught that they are African at an early age"; "Blacks born in the United States are Black or African first, rather than American or just plain people"; "Racial consciousness, and cultural awareness based on traditional African values are necessary to the development of Black marriages and families that can contribute to the liberation and enhancement of Black people in America". Results of

Kambon's study found that there was a positive relationship between high levels of self-consciousness and positive personality functioning. Other researchers (e.g., Dixon & Azibo, 1998; Pierre & Mahalik, 2005; Richards, 1997; Thompson & Chambers, 2000; Witherspoon & Speight, 2009) have utilized the African Self-Consciousness Scale to evaluate drug abuse, career decisions, racial identity, stress, and health promotion among African Americans. The results have been mixed, but nonetheless insightful about the mediating role of adopting an African Self Consciousness. Certain dimensions of African Self Consciousness have been found to be a better predictor of psychological wellbeing. People with high African Self Consciousness were found to be engaged in more health promoting behaviors, identify more attractive qualities in Black people, and have better academic success (Chambers, Clark, Danztler, & Baldwin, 2004). However, positive identification of one's self as African was found to be inconsistent across some drug populations; one explanation being that drug users often possess a distorted sense of self (Dixon & Azibo, 1998).

The inconsistent results of Kambon's scale of African Self Consciousness could also be attributed to the model's requirement of biogenetic, cultural and psychological alignment with self as an African. The problem is that there is no clear consensus on how to differentiate between race and culture within our society. Furthermore we have communities of people of mixed race and segments of the population who are still sensitive to the historical issues surrounding slavery and oppression. This has impacted their desire to identify with the group or accept themselves as truly African. Hence researchers such as Asante (1998) have found it necessary to take the position that it is

culture not race that influences the individual's identification and worldview. Lyubansky

and Eidelson's (2005) work on DuBois's concept of double consciousness further

supports this position. From this perspective, the Black experience is one of a dual

identity. It is multidimensional and inclusive of both African and American values. It is

the social construction of racial groups rather than race itself that determines how the

individual understands and sees themselves in relation to others and the world.

Linda James Myers. Linda James Myers' contributions to the field of

African/Black psychology begin with her extensive work on optimal psychology (Myers,

1985, 1987, 1993, 1999), which is the promotion of optimal psychological health and

well-being through exploration of higher and broader states of African consciousness

and cultural beliefs. It is Myers position that the historical experiences of slavery, racism

and oppression has contributed to suboptimal development of African Americans in this

country and further impacted their ability to develop a deep and positive appreciation

for their culture and respect for others.

Through optimal psychology, Myers helped to develop a theory that would

endorse social change and an adoption of an African-centered worldview that

encouraged people to look beyond Western assumptions about the nature of reality,

knowledge, and human identity; and move to embrace ideals that promoted spiritual

transcendence. Optimal psychology emphasized that human purpose was to "realize

union with Supreme Being, a holistic, integrative optimal conceptual system and

worldview, valuing peace, harmony, justice, truth, reciprocity, righteousness, and

natural order" (Myers & Speight, 2010, p.74). This was important because it provided

African Americans with an increased knowledge of self as well as provided Western

Europeans with an alternate frame for understanding the reality of Black people.

Chapter III. Methods

Through discussion of the different conceptual paradigms that erupted in response to culturally inappropriate psychological models for people of African descent, in addition to presenting some of the individual work that came out of the modern African/Black psychology period, this researcher has hopefully laid the foundation for how Black people responded to the of 18th and 19th century psychological theories. The next task involves examination of the personal and contextual factors that may have influenced Black psychologists' work and decision to take part in the African/Black Psychology movement.

Sample

The data for this study were acquired from the biographies of distinguished Black psychologists published in the book, *History of the Association of Black Psychologists: Profiles of Outstanding Black Psychologists* (Williams, 2008). This volume contained the narratives of 45 Black psychologists whose contributions to the field span from the 1960s to 2000. Dr. Williams granted his permission to use and reproduce his material for the purposes of the proposed study (see Appendix A). From the 45 psychologists in Williams' book, the researcher, in consultation with her dissertation chair, selected 13 of the biographies based on the following criteria: (a) The psychologist's scholarship were referenced multiple times in journal articles and books devoted specifically to the study of African/Black psychology, and (b) The psychologist made a substantial contribution to theory development and the psychological conceptualization of the African/Black experience.

The biographies contained in Williams (2008) book include the following information: (a) family history; (b) educational history; (c) early childhood experiences that may have influenced the decision to become a psychologist; (d) peer relationships and avoiding potential negative influences; (e) adolescent and early adulthood experiences, including positive and negative experiences in high school and college; (f) professional life and employment experiences; g) experiences with racism; h) relationship with ABPsi and leadership roles in the organization; and (i) influential role models.

Data Analysis

Upon receiving the approval of the Graduate and Professional Schools Institutional Review Board, the published biographies of the Black psychologists who had contributed to the modern evolution of African/Black psychology were analyzed. The researcher and another graduate student independently coded and identified thematic content under the training and supervision of the dissertation chairperson. The data was analyzed using Spradley's (1979) model of analysis.

Spradley's approach to content analysis. The information from the biographies underwent several stages of content analysis to identify common themes. In the first stage, the researcher conducted a line-by-line analysis to identify key descriptors, quotes, and emergent themes that were relevant to the purpose of the study. Table 1 provides a sample of the first stage of theme analysis for several participants in the study.

Table 1

Key Descriptors, Quotes and Emergent Themes

J. White	R. Jones	L J. Myers	Robert Williams	Anna Jackson	Kobi Kambon
Role of music

Connected to historical people Like Malcolm X

Books are everywhere

Considered self to be a progressive reformist

Described as having a career that had a potent blend of scholarship and social activism

Crossed paths with Robert F. Kennedy, Eldridge Cleaver and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. | Born in Clearwater Florida

Mother a home maker

Father a professional musician

Parents never married (non traditional family?)

Maternal grandfather was a gardener to prominent White residents

Maternal grandmother was a domestic worker | " America's breadbasket" word used to describe western Kansas

Family history of slaves who moved westward in search of better life

Intermixed family lines of Native Americans

Mention of grandparents and extended family

Grandfather a janitor; grandmother a piano teacher and laundry cleaner | Deep South

Parents have limited formal education

Father worked as a millwright

Mother did domestic work for white people

Having to walk two miles to and from school through grades 1-6

Married at age 18

Expressed being proud of family

No previous plan of enrolling in college- "through a fluke" | Loving home- word used to describe home environment

Fond is a word used to describe childhood and family experiences

Warmth and Closeness are used to describe family

Mother as a source of inspiration, encouragement, strength

Sense of Community responsibility and involvement | Born in the South

Positive Perception of Mother

View of mother as a hard worker

Experience of seeing mother do domestic work for whites- sacrifice

One of many siblings

Schooled in Church

Excelled in academic performance

Negative response to being embarrassed |

In the second stage, the researcher conducted a domain analysis. This involved
categorizing these data under cover terms (domains) that contain included terms (i.e.,
key descriptors, quotes and emergent themes to support the existence of cover terms)
that were linked semantically (i.e., strict inclusion, spatial, cause-effect, rationale,

location-for-action, function, means-end, sequence, and attribution). Table 2 provides a

sample of the domain analysis for the participants in the study.

Table 2

Domain Analysis for Dr. Harriette McAdoo

Included Terms	Semantic Relationship	Cover Terms (Domains)
Sense of being proud/pride in family and their history	Is an attribute of	Positive family support
Father Educated- Master's Degree	Is an example of	Father as a Positive Role Model
Education Importance or Emphasized through demonstration at an early age	Is a example of	Value Placed on education
Loss of children due to RH factor	Is a result of	Institutional Racism
Sacrifice for family	Is an attribute of	Family Highly Regarded
Segregated South	Is an example of	Racism
Secure and Supportive Family	Is an attribute of	Supportive Family
Family provided insulation / protection from segregated south	Is a characteristic of	Supportive Family

Note: It should also be noted that several cover terms could have more than one domain.

In the third stage the researcher conducted a taxonomic analysis of the data for

each case. This involved taking the cover terms (each having its respective semantically

linked included terms) and grouping them into more inclusive cover terms. In essence,

the researcher created master domain composed of lesser cover terms or domains.

Appendix C provides a copy of the domains that developed out of the initial taxonomic

analysis.

The fourth stage involved a componential analysis wherein the researcher, utilizing the domains from the initial taxonomic analysis, conducted a systematic search for contrast to determine whether each participant had reported the event or experience. If it was determined that the event or experience (domain) was not reported by a majority of the participants, it was excluded. If the event or experience (domain) was found to have been reported by a majority of the participants it was included and identified as a master domain. See Appendix D for the componential analysis conducted on the participants in the study.

The final stage involved a thematic analysis that examined for cultural themes and unidentified domains. The researcher, using the seven principles of the Nguzo Saba (i.e., umoja (unity), ujima (collective work and responsibility) kujichagulia (self-determination), ujamaa (cooperative economic), nia (purpose), kuumba (creativity), and imani (faith)), conducted a systematic search for the presence of these constructs from the taxonomic analysis. The decision to utilize the Nguzo Saba as a frame for examining cultural themes among the participant narratives was based on literature which purported that the Nguzo Saba was one of the most developed and utilized value systems for assessing African American family, community and culture (Constantine, Alleyne, Wallace, & Franklin-Jackson, 2006; Karenga & Karenga, 2007; Thomas, Davidson, & McAdoo, 2008) . It was also based on the fact that the Saba provides basic values of African culture that could be easily understood and assessed. Table 3 provides a description of each principle and how each principle was assessed for within each domain. It was adapted from the table developed by Thomas, Davidson and McAdoo

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(2008) to assess for effects of culturally relevant school-based interventions on the

cultural values of adolescent African-American girls in addition to the model utilized by

Karenga and Karenga (2007) to examine the Black family.

Table 3

Cultural Theme Analysis: Nguzo Saba

Nguzo Saba (The Seven Principles)	Description	Areas Assessed
Umoja (Unity)	Represents a human need to relate, belong and be connected to ones family, culture, history, and ultimately the world.	Domain(s) represents ones relational experience; ones ability and desire to remain connected to others; ones respect for human rights, the human condition, equality and reciprocity
Kujichagulia (Self-Determination)	Represents ones ability to create and determine ones own destiny. It reaffirms ones right and responsibility to obtain purpose and self understanding of who they are as an individual as well as who they are in context of family and community.	Domain(s) represents ones quest for self discovery and identity. Domain represents ones examination of the history and experience of African people and how that has impacted their life.
Ujima (Collective Work and Responsibility)	Represents ones reaffirmation of relationship and responsibility to each other. Represents working collectively as a group to achieve a common goal.	Domain(s) provides examples of people working collectively to correct assumptions that the African is inferior, socially deviant, or pathological.

(continued)

Nguzo Saba (The Seven Principles)	Description	Areas Assessed
Ujamaa (Cooperative Economics)	Represents the sharing of wealth, work within the community.	Domain(s) provide examples of Africans working together to develop business or increase economic standing of community
Nia (Purpose)	Represents a collective attempt to rebuild the community and restore African people from historical barriers of oppression and discrimination	Domain(s) represents a personal and social purpose to reaffirm the African place and contribution to society
Kuumba (Creativity)	Represents a commitment to improving the aesthetic quality of the community	Domain(s) represents attention to and promotion of music and the arts as an essential aspect of the community
Imani (Faith)	Represents a deep belief and commitment to faith or spirituality.	Domain(s) place emphasis on spirituality, religion and/or African American cultural traditions such as church, spirituals

Methodological Limitations

The field of African/Black Psychology is vastly different from that of traditional Western psychology. It requires a different approach for examining and understanding human development because it places emphasis on the subjective human experience and requires examination of cultural content. It also acknowledges the relationship that exists between the participant data and the researcher's views. Hence, Spradley's (1979) method of analysis provided the best fit for examining the content presented in this dissertation.

However, given criticism regarding the subjectivity associated with the use of qualitative method, specific strategies for addressing credibility and dependability concerns were introduced in the study method to minimize concern. First, the researcher openly discussed her assumptions and biases with the committee to account for how they could influence her interpretation of the data. Furthermore, peer debriefing was included to offer an external check of the researcher's conclusions and provide her with an opportunity to have her assumptions challenged, i.e., engage in the process of progressive subjectivity (Mertens, 2005). Finally, the data was reviewed by two independent coders (the researcher and another graduate student) to identify themes for which there is agreement as well as differences, the latter requiring further analysis to resolve the disagreement (Creswell, 2007).

Chapter IV. Results

The overall analysis detailed several recurrent themes that are helpful in determining what contextual factors may have influenced the participants' decision to become involved in the African/Black Psychology movement. Here I present four major themes that emerged from analysis of the data. Those themes are: (a) direct exposure/awareness of oppressive social, political and environmental practices; (b) supportive role of family in providing a sense of direction, structure, and safety; (c) early childhood education emphasis; and (d) collective work and responsibility.

Direct Exposure/Awareness of Oppressive Social, Political, and Environmental Practices

This theme includes several sub-categories. It includes the participant's early experience of witnessing the impact of race on employment, education, and housing opportunities for Blacks; and the participant's experience of how racism was perceived or handled in the Black community. It also includes discussion about the social and political climate of the late 1960s, as this marked one of the most significant events that contributed to the development of African/Black psychology.

Early experience of witnessing the impact of race on employment, education, and housing opportunities. The impact of race on the employment opportunities for African Americans were discussed several times throughout the participants' narratives. Review of the data revealed that some participants, at an early age, had the experience of witnessing their parents and grandparents work "menial" jobs as domestic workers janitors, and gardeners for prominent White people as means to support their family.

Although there were rare occasions when a Black individual could own their own

business, it was a "very unusual accomplishment" for a Black man in the 1920s through

40s, according to Dr. Reginald Jones, whose paternal grandfather owned his own

hattery.

Race was also found to be a factor when examining employment/career

opportunities for professional and educated Black people. Dr. Guthrie's experience of

his father working on the railways provides one example:

> During summer months during the 1940s, my father worked as a dining car
>
> waiter for the New York Central Railways. Many black professional men worked
>
> part-time. College students who worked when not in class were able to finance
>
> their education. Educated men worked for the railroad systems even though
>
> they were not salaried - they did make good tips - because the pay and
>
> retirement systems excelled any other types of employment that was available
>
> to them. Usually this talented labor force worked as Pullman car workers or
>
> either as employees in the dining cars. With the southern black colleges
>
> graduating Black students the level of literacy in the South for blacks rose to an
>
> all-time high. Living less than 100 miles from Cincinnati, Ohio where
>
> opportunities to experience the freedom of movement regardless of one's race
>
> existed also complicated one's existence. (Williams, 2008, p. 225)

Dr. Harriette Pipes- McAdoo writes that "even though her mother had a master's

degree and had taught at the college level for 3 years, because of discrimination she was

forced to do domestic work for Whites because there were no other jobs for Blacks

(Williams, 2008, p. 341)

Within this group of educated and professional Black people, it was also found

that psychology was not a profession in which many participants had expressed an

initial interest. Several participants reported that they had initially chosen other

interests (i.e., music, science, mathematics, architecture) outside of the psychology

profession because the field was not encouraged within the Black community and

alternate careers in other fields such as teaching and school guidance were perceived as

some of the most prominent professions made available for Black people during this

era. In fact, Dr. Robert Guthrie writes:

> I was always expected to attend college and to later excel in whatever field or
>
> endeavor that was available to Black people. The types of jobs available for
>
> Blacks were limited in the South. Psychology was not a well-known profession
>
> and I knew of no one who was employed in the profession. Furthermore,
>
> psychology was not especially popular in the "Colored" neighborhood due to its
>
> stance on intellectual capabilities of various races. Since I was not aware of any
>
> person in the behavioral sciences, I had no inkling that one day I would become a
>
> psychologist. (Williams, 2008, p. 222)

Further analysis also revealed that many Black professionals were forced to work in the

"all-Black" or segregated parts of the community because these were the only positions

being made available to them at the time. This presented a challenge to several

participants such as Dr. Robert Williams and Dr. Harriette Pipes McAdoo. For them,

working in this type of limited setting was "strange" because it invoked a sense of jealousy and resentment among colleagues.

For example, Robert Williams writes:

> In Mound Bayou, I taught algebra to the veterans in the afternoon afterschool. One day, Alvin Telley, one of the teachers who I found out later was very jealous of me since I was the only one on the faculty with a Master's degree, invited me out for a drink before my evening class. I had not eaten any food all day and went to have one drink I thought, but that turned out to be "moonshine liquor mixed with Kool-Aid." I sipped and sipped until I got drunk. Instead of Alvin and the others taking me home, they drove me to the school to teach my class. Here I am drunk as a skunk, lying on top of the desk and could hardly stand up… Then they went and got the Superintendent, Mr. Jones, who brought a preacher with him to my classroom. - We were fired. (Williams, 2008, p. 73)

For Dr. Harriette Pipes McAdoo:

> The McAdoo's came at the time that the University was hiring Black PhD's from all over the country to replace the White teachers who were driven away by the student riots in 1968 and 1969. Many of the newly hired black faculty took over leadership positions at Howard. The older faculty who were left behind was trained at IVY League schools while the younger faculty had degrees from Black schools or non-IVY League white schools. This caused much in-house fighting at faculty meeting, with the older over 50-group feeling threatened by the younger age group. (Williams, 2008, p. 339)

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Dr. Joseph White writes, "even though I spent almost 18 months in the South as a solider, I didn't know how deep racism was in America till I got that Ph.D." and "I had been trained all my life to believe in the performance aspect, I thought if you had enough [academic] tickets, that was all you had to do" (Williams, 2008, p. 134). But for the most part, many participants, such as Dr. Reginald Jones, embraced these types of situations and perceived them as positive:

> Public schools were segregated and I never attended school with a White person until I enrolled in classes at Wayne University in September 1952. I believe there were advantages to attending public schools where all teachers and students were Black. We had teachers who believed in our abilities and held high expectations for our performance. Because of discrimination and limited opportunities in most professions, many highly talented Blacks entered the teaching profession. Students benefitted because some of our most talented Blacks taught in the public schools. In addition, black subject matter was introduced into the curriculum. Thus, we were exposed to black literature and black history and we sang the black national anthem, Lift Every Voice and Sing, instead of the Star Spangled Banner, I suspect we were able to have a Black focus because white school administrators had little interest in what was being taught in our schools. (Williams, 2008, p. 104)

With regards to education and race, the majority of the participants discuss being schooled in segregated or predominantly Black communities during their elementary, secondary, high school, and undergraduate years. Yet, as previously

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mentioned, this did not present a significant challenge because for the most part they had access to educated teachers who provided them with a diverse educational experience. In fact, several participants discussed how they experienced these teachers as supportive and encouraging, often times referring to these individuals as one of their most significant role models.

The limiting role of race on education comes into effect when examining participant narratives regarding their graduate experiences. Dr. Robert Williams states it best when he writes, "in those days because of racial segregation there were no graduate schools that African Americans could attend in the South" (Williams, 2008, p. 72).

Hence, many Black students were forced to pursue graduate studies in the north and this presented a challenge in of itself. The first challenge was gaining acceptance into a school. This is illustrated in the following narratives of Dr. Joseph White:

The problem, White realized would be to find a graduate school in psychology that would accept a black. Rather than go through the laborious process and expense of formally applying to colleges, White wrote brief letters to several programs. He asked whether there were openings for a student who had graduated with honors and who also happened to be black. -

"Most schools sent me nasty replies, but worded diplomatically, saying things like, "Psychology is only for brilliant people. Maybe you should think about being a recreation director or social worker." (Williams, 2008, p. 133)

The second challenge was adapting to the integrated, isolating and often unfair environment of graduate school. Dr. Na'im Akbar writes:

> There were only a few of us in graduate school in psychology at the University of Michigan and I was the only student in the clinical area until my final year. Prior to my presence in Michigan's clinical program, there had been one other Black graduate that had preceded me by about a decade. (Williams, 2008, p. 409)

Dr. Reginald Jones writes:

> I was a good student at Wayne but intimidated by the atmosphere. I had never attended a school with Whites and I grossly overestimated their abilities in relation to mine. -The students were discussing concepts that were unfamiliar to me and were responding to the reading and lectures with observations that were often very different from my understanding of the material. In this atmosphere I never uttered a single word during the first semester, either to ask a question, to participate in a class discussion or even after class, to meet with the professor to discuss my unease. (Williams, 2008, p. 94)

For Dr. Kobi Kambon his experience of graduate school provided him with a sound lesson in institutional racism:

> I strongly suspect that the same thing happened (racially biased grading) once in graduate school (in my Master's Degree program at Roosevelt University) when White (Jewish) classmate and I were the top performers in class, but only she received an A grade (from our Jewish professor) which he announced was the

only A grade he awarded in the course. (He had a standing reputation for rarely

awarding A grades. (Williams, 2008, p. 462)

In terms of housing, many of the participants in the study can recount their

experience of being raised in poor and segregated areas where obvious disparities in the

availability and accessibility of resources existed. Dr. Reginald Jones writes:

BTW (Booker T. Washington High School) was located in the section of

Miami known as "Overtown" a crowded ghetto of small single family and row

houses and apartments. I knew only a handful of individuals who owned their

own homes. During the six years of my high school matriculation we lived in a

one-bedroom one-bath row house (my mother, stepfather and me initially and

later my half-brother and half-sister). I slept on the couch in the living room, and

my brother and sister in the bedroom with our parents, when they were

younger. To be generous, the quarters were small and cramped. At one point,

five of us lived in this one-bedroom row house. The kitchen had room for only a

small table and the bathroom that was adjacent to the kitchen, had a bathtub

and toilet. There was no sink in the bathroom, only in the adjacent kitchen."

(Williams, 2008, p. 91)

Even years later, Dr. Jones writes:

Discrimination followed me to Columbus, Ohio in 1956 where as an Ohio State

graduate near-campus housing opportunities were limited due to discrimination.

I also had difficulty at Miami University of Oxford, Ohio where as a faculty

member I was unable to secure suitable housing through real estate agencies.-

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When I returned to Columbus, Ohio (1966) to assume an Associate Professorship

in the Department of Psychology, the housing situation had not improved and it

was only through the benevolence of a Christian-minded White professor of

physics that I was able to rent a house he owned near campus. Later, through a

friend and psychology department colleague, the late Harold Pepinsky, I was

able to rent a house in Rush Creek, an upscale neighborhood in Worthington, a

city adjacent to Columbus. I believe, without question, that my educational

opportunities, employment opportunities and housing possibilities were all

affected by racism. (Williams, 2008, p. 105)

Joseph White had a similar experience. He writes:

I ran a classified ad in the Long Beach paper saying "Black couple with three

small children seek large apartment." We got a few threatening phone calls. But

then a guy called, here's what he did: We drove around till we found a house we

both liked. Then bought it and leased it to us. We were the only black family in

the Lake Wood area at that time, I made a public statement and somebody came

through. (Williams, 2008, p. 134)

For others, such as Dr. Harriette Pipes McAdoo, the limiting role of race permeated

beyond the walls of education, housing and employment. Race affected her parent's

ability to have children. Her narrative states that:

Instances of medical, educational and employment institutional racism have

touched Dr. McAdoo's life. Her parents lost 3 children because of the RH-

negative factor. Dr. McAdoo feels that her parents did not get the proper

diagnosis and care that she needed. Her parents were living in the Deep South where racist attitudes were prevalent. (Williams, 2008, p. 341)

Perception of racism within the Black community. Analysis of the data found that there were several participants who were able to recount personal encounters of individual racism. Dr. Linda James Myers writes:

One of my earliest memories of a blatant personal racist attack occurred when I was in kindergarten. One of the little white girls in my class called me the N-Word. I did not know what that was, but I knew by the way that she said it; it must be something bad and it was intended to offend. I went home and told my mother what had happened. She told me that when people were unhappy with themselves they often tried to make others as unhappy as they by calling them names. She told me not to let such unhappy people worry me or make me unhappy by what they said. My mother's analysis made sense to me, so early on I learned not to internalize racism. (Williams, 2008, p. 448)

Dr. Wade Nobles discusses his 3rd grade experience as a student crossing guard:

The White boy didn't take his job very seriously and he kept playing around. He would start playing tag and hit me then run out of retaliatory reach. As a result of his playing and teasing me all the while claiming friendship, I saluted him as I had with other friends and called him the N-Word. No sooner than the word came out of my mouth, the white boy stopped in his tracks, turned on his heels looked coldly in my eyes and corrected me. He matter-of-factly told me that I was the N-word not him. (Williams, 2008, p. 140)

Dr. Kobi Kambon a.k.a. Joseph Baldwin discusses his experience of being arrested once for mistaken identity at the age of 16:

> They sought a boy named "Joe Boykin: (a similar sounding name to my own) from my home town who had committed an offense earlier that evening. Two friends and I were riding in a car when the police stopped us. They also arrested a friend of mine who tried to verbally intercede on my behalf while I was trying to convince the policemen that I was not the guy they were after. He had a very light complexion and straight hair, so I think they may have resented him intruding on their interaction with me perhaps thinking that he thought he was better or equal to them because of his looks, etc. The setting was a dark side road around 9:00pm. One of the two large white policemen who arrested us punched my friend in the mouth once when they ordered him out of the car (from the back seat where he was riding) before I even got out of the car (the front passenger seat). Although we were both afraid and angry at the same time, I got out of the car and stood at the open car door. (Williams, 2008, p. 461)

However, the general consensus among the participants was that racism was all encompassing and seemed to infuse every aspect of their being. For example, Dr. Robert Guthrie writes that early on:

> It was impossible for [him] to single out a racist experience during [his] young life because [his] entire world was racist. Every breadth of air in the white world was with racial prejudice and discrimination and it would not be until [his] adult years

[he] would experience integration i.e., a White teacher or classmate. (Williams, 2008, p. 223)

Yet, despite this, the participants were raised in communities where they were able to externalize these racist encounters. Racism was perceived as the norm. It was almost unconsciously accepted. For participants like Dr. Robert Guthrie, the term "racism" did not exist at the time. At a young age he saw himself and family as "victims of legalized separatism," which provided "defined places to live, racial etiquette and rule for public accommodation." Dr. Reginald Jones had a similar experience. He discusses how his grandparents "accommodated to segregation and discrimination without complaining." He recalls that there was "no discussion of race or racism in my grandparents' home." He writes:

Segregation and discrimination were apart of the Landscape of Miami, Florida in the 1940s. Public transportation was segregated, as were restaurants, golf courses, swimming pools, hotels, bathrooms, water fountains and the beaches (in Miami, Blacks were limited to visits on Mondays only, the day when the beaches were being cleaned from weekend use by Whites). During high school I worked in a flower shop on Miami Beach and was required to have an identification pass, obtained from the Miami Beach police department after fingerprinting, because any presence there after 6:00 p.m. was certain to invite the attention of the police. (Williams, 2008, p. 104)

In essence, racism was a way of life. It was a forcibly accepted part of the culture. There was an obvious distinction between Black and White relationships. Yet, for the most

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part, Blacks accepted their position in it. This is illustrated in the following analogy

discussed by Dr. Robert Guthrie:

> The porter, always a colored man, wore black jackets and pants. They too wore
> the kepi type caps with the word "Porter" stamped on the gold, metallic emblem
> in front. The conductor wore a better fitting jacket adorned with brass buttons,
> kepi type cap, and a white shirt. You could always tell he was approaching by the
> clicking sounds his ticket puncher would make. In an obsequious and
> condescending mannerism the porter who was his assistant handed him strips of
> light cardboard paper that would be used as seat markers with destinations. I
> could never understand why someone would have to hand the conductor those
> slips of paper except to position the Conductor in a superior role. The porter
> never said anything; he just followed orders. Again it was the etiquette of black-
> white relationships that were represented by a paternalistic relationship.
> (Williams, 2008, p. 227)

However, the role of race in determining the individual's way of life became less

accepted with the uprising social movement of the 1960s.

The effects of the social and political climate during the late 1960s. The late

1960s were described as "years of crisis" for individuals like Joseph White. It was a

period of reform rife with protests, the Vietnam War, and the assassinations of Robert F.

Kennedy and Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. The events that occurred during this

period elicited strong emotional reactions of hurt, anger, disappointment, and guilt.

Yet, for many, it instilled a sense of pride, belonging, and self-transformation.

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Whether directly or indirectly involved, the majority of the participants discuss being deeply affected by the events that occurred during this period. For some, the late 1960s marked the beginning of an identity conversion. For example, the following excerpt from Dr. William's Cross narrative reads:

At the time of the Viet Nam War and the continuation of the Black Movement Dr. Cross began to feel a sense of guilt in that he was not out in the fight. He felt isolated from the Vietnam War and the Black Power Movements, both of which were not shown validly in southern, rural Illinois. - He conducted various interviews with very notable people in the Black community. The interviewees recommended Dr. Cross certain articles and books that shed light of sustained identity commitment. This became his conversion to "Blackness". The Death of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968 had triggered a rage and anger in Dr. Cross and made him unable to continue to function in an all-white world in the insurance company. Eventually he was terminated due to too many outbursts. (Williams, 2008, p. 542)

Dr. Robert Williams writes:

Many factors led to my developing feelings of racial pride and Black consciousness. Although I had not been too active in the Civil Rights movement, Dr. King's death had an enormous impact on me that transformed me from a Negro to a Black Man. San Francisco was one of the hotbeds of protest in the 60's. I was deeply affected by this surge of Black consciousness and Black Pride in America. I was caught up in it; I began to experience conflicts in my role as a

Clinical Psychologist, my position with the National Institute of Mental Health

and my identity as a Black man. (Williams, 2008, p. 75)

Dr. Na'im Akbar writes:

My undergraduate and graduate years were in the 1960s, a time of tremendous

social upheaval and particularly important transformations in Black

consciousness. Much of the activism of this era took place on college campuses

and even though I was at a predominantly white university with rather small

numbers of African Americans, we were profoundly impacted by the activities of

this era. We responded to the artistic, political, and social activism of this period

by actively seeking a greater consciousness of ourselves as African people. There

was a major shift in the identity of young Black people as we transitioned from

Negroes to Black people with a considerable amount of pride in who we were.

(Williams, 2008, p. 409)

In addition to this newfound sense of identity, the Black Conscious movement of

the late 1960's had a tremendous impact of the future and direction of higher education

for Black students. Participants such as Dr. Harriette Pipes-McAdoo and Dr. Joseph

White discuss how they protested the lack of black enrollment and hiring practices. The

following extract from Dr. Joseph White reads:

A few months after Kennedy was assassinated, the political turmoil continued for

White when he found himself in the middle of the student strike at San Francisco

State. "It shut down the campus 4 1/2 months. I was dean of undergraduate

studies and as the highest-ranking black, I was recruited into it and became a

spokesman," he said. "I had known the president of the university when I was an undergraduate, so I had a line to both him and the students." Eldridge Clever and other members of the Black Panthers, who lived in the same neighborhood as many of the striking students made speeches and lent support during the strike, White said. "The black students struck, and some white students and faculty struck with them. The kids wanted a full black studies department as an approved major. The protest to establish the legitimacy of the black studies was solid; I endorsed it all they way. They were successful, and from there on came the ethnic studies at all campuses. But there came a point in time when the strike became an entity on its own rather than a means to an end. (Williams, 2008, p. 135)

And for others, like Dr. Wade Nobles, the events that occurred during the 1960s had an indirect impact on his decision to enter into the field of psychology. His narrative reads:

My father [Dr. Wade Nobles] participated in the student strike that shut the university [San Francisco State] down. At a time when the Black population on campus was minimal, the Black leadership stepped forward in support of the students. Other community leaders, such as Dr. Carlton Goodlett, editor of the Sun Reporter, came out in support as well. My father clearly remembers the words of advice received from Dr. Goodlett. He told him that instead of making bombs, he should pursue his doctoral degree because he would be more

powerful teaching Black people than by blowing up buildings. (Williams, 2008, p.

142)

Supportive Role of Family in Providing a Sense of Direction, Structure, and Safety

There are several subcategories that developed in analysis of the participants'

narratives. The first includes the role of family (with mother being the most dominant)

as source of inspiration, strength, and encouragement. The second is the participants'

perception of their father as a teacher and role model. The third is the presence and

importance of extended family. The fourth subcategory is the overall role of family as a

buffer against negative life experiences.

Analysis of the data revealed that the majority of the participants identified their

mother as the most influential and dominant figure in their lives. The following extracts

provide information regarding the participants' experience and perception of their

mother as someone who was inspiring, nurturing, and attentive to their needs.

Dr. Anna Jackson writes:

Born in rural Alabama on April 10, 1934, during a turbulent economic time in this

nation's history, I began my life with great promise and a loving home. My

mother, Alice Mae Jones, was a great inspiration to what would become a long

career of improving the mental health of African Americans. A pillar of strength,

stability and poise, my mother sacrificed, as many parents did at the time, in

order to pave the way for a better life for me and the African-American

community at large. The most valuable lesson in life I learned from her was to

seek out opportunity and to believe in myself, a trait that I later found to be

commonplace among the community, despite many obstacles that would change

the face of a nation for all eternity. (Williams, 2008, p. 121)

Dr. Reginald Jones writes:

My mother was closely observant of her children's behavior, requiring that we

explain why we engaged in any behavior she perceived as aberrant, disrespectful

or problematic. I can recall, during my adolescence, in a pique of frustration, I

lashed out, "I have to explain why I am breathing!" There was no physical

punishment. Rather, discipline consisted of her expression of deep

disappointment that was guilt inducing and generally sufficient to change the

undesired behavior. Surprisingly, after returning from my first semester of

college in 1948 and until her death in 1994, my mother never offered advice or

gave her opinion on any of my behaviors, choices or activities. I believe she

concluded that she had done her work and since I had left home, my behavior

was outside of her control. (Williams, 2008, pp. 91-92)

With regards to their father, several of the participants' experience of their father was

complex. Many participants discuss being raised in "nontraditional" families where their

parents were divorced, separated, or never married. Despite this, their father remained

present in their lives. He functioned as a great role model; one to be admired and

respected. Their fathers were also able to provide a great sense of knowledge about life

through their experience.

Dr. Reginald Jones writes:

> In my preteen and adolescent years, my father made a special effort to educate me in the "ways of the world," so he introduced me to all kinds of people he knew, --lesbians, those who smoked "reefers" (marijuana), musicians, bartenders, pimps, prostitutes, as well as ordinary people. Before or after the introduction he would tell me something about the person that was the object of the lesson. I can recall, for example, his suggestion that I observe the nonverbal reaction to him of a certain woman as he engaged her lesbian lover in conversation, or that I closely observe the behavior of the piano player who smoked "reefers". - Most of the educational sessions occurred in bars, nightclubs and house parties to which he was invited and to which he brought me along as his son. (Williams, 2008, pp. 86-87)

Dr. Kobi Kambon writes:

> I developed a strong animosity toward my Father during my adolescent years because of his overall "Old School"/ "Tough Love" approach to discipline and childrearing, especially his sons from me upward, and his frugal economic style. It seemed at the time that he had rules against all fun and enjoyment. Nevertheless, we broke his rules frequently whenever we could (and thought that we could get away with it). Although he had stopped whipping my brother and me around age 13, I had already developed a strong resentment toward him at the time. It was not until I became a man myself that I came to understand my

father and appreciate the many positive aspects that he represented in my life.

(Williams, 2008, p. 455)

The narrative of Dr. Wade Nobles reads that:

His father would give him and his brother, Henry, some household chores to do

and say, "I'm going out, and when I get back this house better be clean or you

better not be here and you better not be gone." - Later with some maturity

[Nobles] says he figured out that his father understood the most important

psychological key to good parenting, which is not to kill the spirit of a child but to

give them structure that allows them to grow and develop. (Williams, 2008, p.

151)

Analysis of the data also revealed that the role of extended family was important

and essential to the participant's development. Dr. Asa Hilliard writes:

From both families, I had without exception, aunts and uncles who were like

mothers and fathers to me. They constantly inquired about how I was doing.

They were always teaching and they provided for the children in the family in

material and spiritual ways. They did these things even when they had children

of their own. My cousins, were, and still are, like brothers and sisters. (Williams,

2008, p. 291)

He goes on to write:

My brother Rooney and I spent every summer with our father and mother in Bay

City. We were anxious to see Clyde, Tom, and Gale, as their big brothers. We

spent part of the summer with Aunt Maude on a ranch and farm in Van Vleck,

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Texas, a rural area nine miles from Bay City. The visits with Aunt Maude and

Uncle Herman were some of the most memorable in my life. We experienced all

parts of the ranch and farm work. I fed pigs. I picked cotton, and I was very

proud that I could take my earnings and buy my own cowboy boots. (Williams,

2008, p. 292)

Dr. Reginald Jones writes:

My aunt (father's sister) lived in Detroit and I wrote to ask her if I could live with

her while I attended Wayne for one and one half years. She agreed, but

misunderstood my communication and assumed I was asking for transportation

to Ann Arbor to attend the University of Michigan! She and her husband and son

arrived at the train station in Detroit prepared to transport me to Ann Arbor.

Learning of the misunderstanding (I informed them of my request to live with

them), they were agreeable but there was no additional bedroom in their three-

bedroom home for me (they were caring for an elderly aunt) but they

resourcefully made room for me in the attic where I resided during my

matriculation ay Wayne. (Williams, 2008, p. 94)

Dr. Ana Jackson writes of "fond memories of family and experiences" on her

grandfather's Alabama farm. She reports that the "the warmth and closeness there

served as the relationship model for ensuing years" (Williams, 2008, p. 122)

The fourth subcategory within this domain, relates to the participant's overall

perception of their family as a buffer against negative experiences. Analysis of the data

showed that the majority of the participants in the study did not experience negative

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peer influences or engage in deviant type behaviors (i.e., alcohol, drugs, theft, violence) during their childhood and adolescent periods, despite being raised in communities where these types of behaviors were prevalent.

Dr. Reginald Jones writes:

Our row house was one of about 10 connected units. Walls were "paper-thin" and we could hear the conversations of our adjacent neighbors. We were also privy to alcohol induced fights and domestic violence, especially on weekends. There was prostitution and on occasion shootings and murders. In the midst of these negative activities, our family lived in a cocoon. (Williams, 2008, p. 91)

Dr. Na'im Akbar writes:

My childhood experiences exposed me to the full gamut of the Black community. There was a strong ethic of morality and achievement within that community and certainly in the educational community where I attended school. Even though we knew that crime, alcohol, school drop out was possible, it was clearly accepted as deviant and the major force of community was a force of upward mobility, industriousness, dignity, cleanliness, and achievement. (Williams, 2008, p. 408)

The narrative from Dr. Wade Nobles reads:

As a young boy, my father had older family members who were involved in gangs. He never actually joined, but he hung around a lot with his cousins in the gang circle. Well this was a good affiliation for my father because the gangs did not bother him or try to recruit him. It also taught him about everyday

psychological influences, pressures, and loyalties, and courage. (Williams, 2008, p. 141)

Most of the participants discuss having positive childhood experiences. Their families were the most influential characters in their lives. Dr. Asa Hilliard wrote that his family was very much a part of his identity. Hence, his and other participant narratives often reflect a sense of pride in the history and accomplishments of their family members and ancestors. For example, the narrative of Dr. Harriette Pipes McAdoo reads:

> Dr. Harriette Pipes McAdoo grew up in a family that has valued advanced education with every family member in the last four generations obtaining at least a Master's degree. She is proud of the accomplishments of her family which she traces back four generations to the period of slavery. She knew members of her family who had lived around people who had been slaves or whose parents were slaves. (Williams, 2008, p. 335)

Linda James Myers begins:

> My ancestors were among those people of African descent who moved west after "emancipation" from European American chattel enslavement in search of their own land, the opportunity for self-determination, and the desire to raise their families in peace. Both of my family lines were intermixed with Native Americans. (Williams, 2008, p. 445)

Dr. Asa Hilliard writes:

> My family roots are in Mississippi and Georgia. The Mississippi story is told
> frequently in our family on my mother's side. Sometime around the 1850's, my
> maternal great, great grandmother and father were separated, when my great,
> great grandmother Winnie was sold to a Texas plantation owner. Her abrupt
> removal left her husband, Jim, alone on the Mississippi plantation. Jim escaped
> from the plantation with a friend and survived many challenges. He managed to
> avoid search dogs and guarded bridges to arrive at the Mississippi River.
> (Williams, 2008, p. 290)

The narrative of Wade Nobles reads:

> The family story is that John Cotton and his wife, Seth Lee Baston lived in Macon,
> Georgia, and had eight children (six boys and 2 girls). My father says that one day
> one of his mother's brothers (his uncle) was accused of disrespecting a white
> person. My father remembers the story being that while in town, his uncle
> looked too long at a white woman or showed some other sigh of not keeping in
> his place so the local branch of the KKK decided to go out to the Cotton's place
> and teach "that boy" a lesson. As my father recalls; "That night they rode onto
> my great granddaddy's land and proceeded to terrorize the family by drinking,
> firing their weapons into the sky, and shouting all sorts of threats and
> obscenities. My grandfather was, however ready. He had all his family "loaded
> and cocked" and at his pre-arranged signal, they were to start firing at the
> terrorists... From that night on, my father was told no one messed with John

Cotton or his family. Around those parts, John Cotton was considered a "crazy N

and even the babies could shoot." (Williams, 2008, p. 150)

Early Childhood Education Emphasis

Data analysis showed that education was highly valued among these

participants. In fact, the majority of the participants in the study can trace their

academic excellence to early elementary school. Further analysis revealed that

education was the unspoken standard. The participant's parents positively reinforced it,

many of whom were formally educated. The narrative of Dr. Harriette Pipes McAdoo

reads:

> When she was three years old, and after her father finished his doctorate
>
> degree, he became head of the English Department for 2 years at Southern
>
> University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. When she was five years old, her father
>
> became president of Alcorn University for four years. Her mother taught English
>
> and literature at southern University. When she was eight years old, her father
>
> became President of Philander Smith College in Little Rock, Arkansas and her
>
> mother was on the English faculty. (Williams, 2008, p. 336)

Education was also reinforced by their teachers and the community at large.

Dr. Na'im Akbar writes:

> I attended Florida A. & M. University Laboratory school from K-12, graduating in
>
> June 1961. This Lab in the 1950s was a model of intellectual and social
>
> prominence in our small-insulated Black community. Even during this period
>
> when Black people all lived in economically and socially oppressed segregated

communities of the South, academic excellence was the unquestioned

standard… This community actually provided a kind of insulation from many of

the negative experiences that were attributed to our communities during the

time of segregation. Even though we had internalized the idea that we "weren't

as good as white folks, we were comfortable that we were outstanding

Negroes". (Williams, 2008, p. 408)

Dr. Reginald Jones writes:

My elementary school years were filled with joy, and good support from family,

friends, relatives and friends. I attended elementary schools that had supportive

teachers who held high expectations for our performance and did not hesitate to

inform our parents of our misdeeds or poor performances. (Williams, 2008, p.

90)

Collective Work and Responsibility. This wording of the final theme, collective work

and responsibility (ujima), arose out of the final stage of the analysis (the cultural theme

analysis). It reflects in the participant's discussion regarding their active participation in

the Black Conscious movement of the late 1960s as well as their role in destructing

ideologies and practices that were detrimental to the Black community prior to the late

1960s. Beginning with intelligence testing, the participants began to deconstruct some

of the traditional theories regarding the Black family structure and roles, racial attitudes,

self-concept in children. Dr. Reginald Jones writes "because of my interest in racial

matters even then, my 1953 master's thesis was on ethnocentrism in institutionalized

and non-institutionalized White persons" (Williams, 2008, p. 95).

Dr. Robert Williams writes:

> I earned a Master's degree in Educational Psychology in 1955. It was there at
> Wayne that I conducted my first piece of research on intelligence testing. My
> Masters research paper was entitled "A Comparison of IQ Test scores Between
> White and Black Fourth Grade Students on Traditional and Culturally Fair Tests.
> The results showed that Black students performed as well as white children on
> culturally fair tests, but not as well on the traditional tests. (Williams, 2008, p.
> 72)

The narrative of Dr. Harriette Pipes McAdoo reads:

> Dr. McAdoo's dissertation involved studying variables to racial attitude and self-
> concept in Children. She wanted to see whether growing up in an integrated
> environment had a different impact on children who grew up in all-Black
> community. She studied children from Mound Bayou, Mississippi (all black city)
> where her father grew up and Dearborn Heights, Michigan (where schools were
> integrated). Her results showed that self-concept was normal in both groups
> (Blacks and Whites) refuting the idea that Black children had deficient self-
> esteem. (Williams, 2008, p. 338)

> In addition to research, these participants became involved in organizations

(such as the Association of Black Psychologists). They also transitioned in careers and

sought positions at Historically Black Colleges and community organizations that

promoted the advancement of Black people.

The narrative of Charles Thomas reads:

> In 1966, after the riots in the Watts district of Los Angeles, Charles accepted an
> appointment in community medicine at the University of Southern California,
> the academic component of the Watts Health Center. There he took a primary
> role in development of a comprehensive healthcare facility for the residents of
> Watts. Charles involvement in the needs of African Americans caused him to
> evaluate traditional psychological perspective for this population. He became
> not only a spokesperson but also a rallying point for students aspiring to careers
> in the behavioral sciences. (Williams, 2008, p. 46)

Chapter V. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the contextual factors that may have influenced participant's decision to become involved in African/Black psychology. The content examined in this study included the participant's early childhood, college, and employment experiences. This study also explored cultural themes in the participants' narratives that may have reflected the presence of an African Worldview construct. Additional analysis was carried out to determine if those constructs might have contributed to the participants' decision to engage in the field of African/Black psychology.

This chapter includes discussion and review of the main themes (or domains) that were identified in the study as well as how those themes relate to Traditional/Western assumptions regarding the reality of Black people.

Overall, findings from this study suggest that the participant's early childhood and adolescent experience of being raised in segregated Southern communities during the 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s may have been the most influential factor that determined their future decision to become involved in African/Black Psychology. There has been a lot of research that discusses the negative psychological and physiological effects of racism on young African American men and women. Racial discrimination has been linked to depression, stress, problems with identity, aggressive behavior, and substance abuse (Boen-Reid, 2002; Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, Schmeelk-Cone, Chavous, & Zimmerman, 2004; Gibbons, Gerrard, Cleveland, Wills, & Brody, 2004; Harrell, 2000; Odom & Vernon-Feagans, 2010; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003).

There is also research that suggests that race related stress in combination with poverty related risk factors affect the subjective well being of young African Americans (Utsey & Constantine, 2008).

At the same time, there has been research that reflects adaptive coping to aversive life experience such as racism. Bynum, Burton, and Best (2007) report that racial socialization (i.e., the messages parents communicate to their children about racial discrimination) has had significant implications for the psychological functioning of Black people. It is believed that teaching children about race, expected roles, and positive aspects of their culture, provides them with the skills necessary to appropriately synthesize their thoughts and feelings associated with encountered racist events. Messages that promote racial or cultural pride have also been inversely related to symptoms of depression (Davis & Stevenson, 2006) and seem to protect Black people against academic underachievement, aggressive behavior, and negative peer influences.

Relevant to this discussion regarding race and environment are two articles published by Walker (2001) and van Wormer, Sudduth, and Jackson (2011) of African American women who worked, respectively, as teachers and maids in the Deep South during 1940-1960 period. The articles document stories of personal trauma, discrimination and segregation, but they also speak to systemic issues regarding poverty, inadequate housing, unfair educational practices, and limited employment opportunities. The stories presented in the articles also address resiliency. This is reflected in the women's refusal to become psychologically victimized by their environments.

Resiliency also holds true for the majority of participants in this study. It is a resiliency not characteristic of traditional definitions or assumptions which place success or failure to overcome unjust obstacles on the individual. It is a resilience that reflects the communal ethos of African people. It can be referred to as a "collective resilience" where in which people are empowered to seek out the guidance and direction of others when faced with inequitable circumstances such as race and oppression.

Hence, the remaining chapter will discuss research that reflects "collective resilience" as it relates to the primary themes that emerged from this dissertation study. Those themes include: (a) direct exposure/awareness of oppressive social, political, and environmental practices; (b) supportive role of family in providing a sense of direction, structure and safety; (c) early childhood education emphasis, and (d) collective work and responsibility.

Collective Responses to Direct Exposure/Awareness of Oppressive Social, Political, and Environmental Practices

During the 1940s and 1960s, many of the participants were exposed to various adverse situations and practices that affected their lives, family, and community. Their stories spoke to the level of difficulty involved in obtaining employment, adequate housing, or acceptance into graduate school. They discussed the experience of witnessing their parents work menial or multiple jobs because the income for Black people was significantly less than that of their White counterparts. Some participants even discuss their challenges with identity and struggle to find purpose within the institution of racism.

Seemingly, the institution of racism as it relates to education, housing, healthcare, and employment have been broadly studied among the African American population (McKenzie & Kwame, 2007; O'Grady, et al., 2005; Seaton, 2010); so much so that researchers have developed the term racism-related stress when discussing racism as a chronic stressor (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Harrell, 2000; Pieterse & Carter, 2007; Utsey & Constantine, 2008). Racism-related stress is said to affect the general life course of African Americans. It reduces academic motivation among Black students (Reynolds, Sneva, & Beehler, 2010); affects the psychological health of working, middle and upper class Black men (Pieterse & Carter, 2007); and has potential negative effects on the self-esteem of young African American children (Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000).

To understand the role of collective resilience in helping the study participants to overcome such obstacles, one must turn to the work done on Africultural coping (Constantine, Donnelly, & Myers, 2002; Lewis-Coles & Constantine, 2006; Utsey, Adams, & Bolden, 2000) and community poverty (Guerra, Huesmann, Tolan, Van Acker, & Eron, 1995; Wickrama, Noh, & Bryant, 2005). Africultural coping is defined as culture-specific coping strategies specific to African Americans. It reflects how African-Americans assign meaning or behave when presented with stressful situations. It involves coping behaviors that are centered in the use of spirituality, community/family involvement, or rituals. It also involves the belief that things will change or get better (also referred to as cognitive/emotional debriefing); a strategy often utilized to deal with community poverty. Evidence of Africultural coping is reflected in the general tone of the

participants' experiences. A case example is provided in a previous quote from Dr.

Reginald Jones which discusses how the family, specifically his mother, provided a

"cocoon" to help adjust to the fights, domestic violence shootings, prostitution, and

murder that occurred in the neighborhood (Williams, 2008, p. 91). Another example is

provided in a previous narrative of Dr. Na'im Akbar which discusses how his educational

community provided "a strong ethic of morality and achievement" rise above the crime,

alcohol, and high school drop rates that were prevalent in his community (Williams,

2008, p. 408).

Analysis of the data demonstrates that the presence of family, education, and

community helped protect these individuals from internalizing the negative effects of

their environment.

Supportive Role of Family in Promoting Collective Resilience

Prior to the establishment of the Association of Black Psychologists, most of the

literature and social consensus related to the Black family were negative. Young African

American mothers were conceptualized as poor, uneducated, promiscuous and

neglectful parents (Jackson, 2000); the African American father was portrayed as an

aggressive, pathological, unemployed criminal who was invisible to his children (Lowe,

2000; Reynolds, 2009; Roisman, 2008; Walker & Reid, 2010). This led to various studies

which sought to examine the deleterious effects of these factors on the overall

development of Black children and multiple conclusions regarding aggressive behavior,

substance use, and teenage pregnancy (Paschall, Ringwalt, & Flewelling, 2003).

The problem with the literature cited above is that this was not the experience

of many of the participants in this study. Several participants had come from two-parent

households where one, if not both, parents were educated. In situations where the

parents were either separated or divorced, participants' narratives told stories of

fathers that were present and actively involved in their lives. Participant narratives also

told stories of mothers who were loving, intelligent, caring, attentive, and supportive. In

fact, it was Anna Jackson who described her mother as a "pillar of strength, stability and

poise," a woman who had "sacrificed, as many parents did at the time, in order to pave

the way for a better life for me and the African American community at large" (Williams,

2008, p. 121).

The participants' narratives of their parents also speak to the presence of racial

socialization. Through the passing on of historical family narratives, and open

discussions about race the participants were instilled with a sense of racial and cultural

pride.

Another important variable that should be mentioned when discussing the

supportive role of family in promoting collective resilience is that of the extended

family. Over the past 30 years, research has shown that extended family networks

provide additional support to maternal parents and the overall adjustment of African

American youth (Hamilton, 2005; Jones, Zalot, Foster, Sterrott, & Chester, 2007; Wilson,

1989). Extended families provide the added boundaries and structure needed to

maintain single parent-female headed households (Johnson-Garner & Meyers, 2003),

they help in mediating the level of depression experienced by mothers and they protect

against deviant behaviors performed by children (Jones, Zalot, Foster, Sterrott, & Chester, 2007; McMahon, Felix, & Nagarajan, 2011) by providing increased financial, emotional, and parental assistance. One case example of extended family support in promoting collective resilience is presented in the narrative of Dr. Reginald Jones. He writes:

> During my thirty-three year postdoctoral career I have been employed as a professor in nine institutions of higher education. One morning, my late grandmother, who often visited the various cities where I was employed, requested a talk with me about a matter, for her, that was very serious. The gist of her inquiry was whether I had difficulty keeping a job! This was a very insightful question! Since she had already concluded I had a problem with job security, she indicated her willingness to intervene with the local high school principal in Clearwater, Florida, her home, to secure a teaching position that would ensure some permanence for my family and me. She also agreed to give me her home. This was yet another example of family support. (Williams, 2008, p. 100)

Early Childhood Education Emphasis in Promoting Collective Resilience

The value placed on education, both inside and outside the home, was a common factor for most participants in this study. Analysis of the data, found that many of the participants performed well above standards at the early, middle, high school, college, and graduate years. This was accomplished despite comparative studies that purported (a) Black children performed below that of their White counterparts, (b) Black

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children of economically disadvantaged neighborhoods demonstrated poor cognitive abilities, and (c) Black children demonstrated low academic performance due to their mother's lack of investment in education (Banks-Wallace & Parks, 2001; Jackson, Choi & Bentler, 2009; Rowley, Helaire, & Banerjee, 2010).

Analysis of the data showed that the participants in the study encountered many challenges with regard to education. They encountered rejection, alienation, and isolation. They were taken for granted. They were given limited information and resources about ways to assess and treat Black people. They were forced to abandon studies that sought to challenge Eurocentric theories. Yet, despite it all, they were able to succeed.

This brings us back to issue of collective resilience or communal support. It could be that the experience of supportive Black teachers who demonstrated the importance of higher education during the participant's early school years helped to moderate the oppressive effects of higher education. The participants experienced what it was like to have teachers who were invested in their students, teachers who were great mentors, and to some reminded them of family. They had teachers who insisted on racial pride. They also had teachers who supported their desires to challenge Eurocentric views. Although there is not a lot of literature to support the theory that supportive Black teachers help moderate the effects of negative life events experienced by Black students, there is literature that suggests that children's positive perception regarding their teacher's academic involvement does assist in the development of greater academic success (Regner, Loose, & Dumas, 2009).

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Collective Work and Responsibility

It is the researcher's opinion that one of the most significant findings of this study is related to the theme of collective work and responsibility. In addition to this concept of ujima, cultural theme analysis revealed that the participants' early life experience were embedded with of African cultural values that primarily stressed the importance of family, others, self-determination, communal responsibility and a general purpose that was greater than the individual.

Evidence of this is presented in examining the specific areas of work each participant became involved in prior to, during and after the reascension of African/Black psychology. Several of the participants discuss their involvement in the military and later the decision to provide continued services to those in need through the Veterans Administration. Participants such as Charles Thomas and Robert Williams discuss their decision to work in community based clinics and school settings that were plagued with various social, political and financial challenges. But what is even more of an attestation to the value placed on community is the effort the participants put into developing theories and engage in research to negate traditional assumptions regarding intelligence testing among Black children, the social structure of the Black family, violence among young African American youth, and African/Black personality development.

Chapter VI. Conclusion

With regard to the participants of this study, it appears that the African/Black

psychology movement marked a period of great change. It was personally

transformative for some. It influenced the direction of work for others. It increased

attention to and focus on the empowerment of Black communities; it contributed to the

expansion and reconstruction of knowledge sets used to promote the advancement of

the ethnic and culturally diverse; it also expanded the educational opportunities of Black

students. Concluding reasons for why the participants became involved in African Black

Psychology can best be understood in the narrative of Dr. Wade Nobles:

> my father believes that his early childhood experiences both good and bad are
>
> indicators that he was bred to search for an understanding of the human
>
> condition of Black people. His path from childhood has been seeking an
>
> understanding of the human spirit and in so doing assist in the re-ascension of
>
> African Psychology (Williams, 2008, p. 140)

Consequently, examination of critical consciousness theory helps to frame the

participants' decision to become involved in African/Black psychology within the context

of their early life experiences. The theory stipulates that through an in-depth

understanding of one's life experiences, people are able to process aversive and

oppressive events in a way that allows them to develop new forms of consciousness in

themselves and their ability to deal with those circumstances (Wheeler-Brooks, 2009;

Mustakova-Possardt, 1998). It is in this new form of consciousness that people are able

to transform how they define themselves in relation to others and their community.

From this perspective, one can conclude that the social-political movement of the 1960s helped bring attention to the social plight of African Americans in Western society; yet it was the participants' ability and willingness to acknowledge and synthesize the positive and negatives aspects of their early life experiences, within the context of the community at large, that contributed to their increased sense of conscious awareness of themselves as African. This, in turn, influenced their desire to develop work that would transform or create critical consciousness in others.

Methodological Assumptions and Limitations

Most of the psychological research related to examination of African based values and ideal calls for an increase in the use of qualitative measures. In fact Stanfield (1994) reported that the identification of elements for qualitative research central to indigenous ethnic models are consistent with African-centered models for personality development because it is based in oral communication; grounded in holistic notions of human beings; and incorporates the use of historical documentation, participant observation, and oral history.

According to Creswell (1998) the use of qualitative data to gather historical information is customary to African Americans and other communities of color. Many researchers within the field of African/Black psychology have proposed that the use of qualitative methods offer an opportunity for researchers to gather more in-depth information on the lives and experiences of African Americans and frame those experiences within a cultural context (Caldwell, Jackson, Tucker, & Bowman, 1999). It is believed that Western/European claims that were dependent on observation of

material evidence or the scientific exploration of behavior and mental processes were inappropriate for populations whose cultural perspective and historical experience may not be fully understood through empirical methods of verification (Banks, 1999; Grills, 2002). The use of qualitative methodology, allows the researcher to interpret and make sense of the African psychology movement from a phenomenological understanding, historical perspective, and narrative experience specific to that culture.

With that being said, the following section discusses several limitations of this study to address concerns regarding qualitative methodology and the purposed findings. One limitation of this study was utilizing the biographical sketches presented in Williams' (2008) book to examine the participant's life stories. One could argue that the use of semi-structured interviews would have been a better approach because it would have allowed the researcher access to a rich source of raw and unedited material. The semi-structured interview could have allowed for follow-up and clarifications of statements or events that where vaguely mentioned or not discussed because of inability to recall or unconscious awareness (i.e., the presence of African based values or orientation during childhood). The researcher may have also been able to pick up on or address any non-verbal cues that would allow for further inquiry.

Other limits associated with the use of the biographical sketches were related to narrative variability, objectivity, and transparency. The first limit, variability, is meant to address the differences found in the narratives' length and amount of information. There were some biographies, such as the ones reported by Reginald Jones and Robert Williams that were very detailed in that they were full of examples and subjective

accounts of various personal experiences and struggles. Then there were other

biographies, such as the ones presented by Ana Jackson and Asa Hilliard that were brief

and factually based.

The second limit, objectivity, is meant to address the differences in point of view.

Review of the data will show that the majority of narratives included in the study were

written from the first-person perspective. However, there were a few stories, such as

the ones presented on William Cross, Charles Thomas and Wade Nobles, that were

written from a third-person perspective. And within these third-person narratives,

variability existed: personal acquaintances and family members of the participant wrote

some narratives, which meant that they included more affective and subjective

accounts of the participant experience. Other narratives were limited and written or

extrapolated from previous new articles or interviews, which could lead to concerns

regarding credibility.

The third limit, transparency, is meant to address the fact that several of the

participants included in the study had passed or were in failing health. Prior to and

throughout the time it had taken the researcher to conduct this study, several of the

participants who were identified to be critical to the development of African/Black

psychology had or were in the stage of transition (death). Despite these factors, the

narratives utilized in the study did provide detailed and valuable information that was

sufficient to draw reasonable and valid conclusions regarding events that were critical to

the participants' life experiences.

Overall, Williams' text provided a rich source of material that can serve to illuminate the works of many of the first generation of African American psychologists in the United States. As more African American students enter the field of psychology, Williams' text can serve to highlight the unique challenges that confronted this first generation, and subsequently serve as a beacon of light and hope to those following in their footsteps.

Implications

The themes identified in the participants' narratives have several clinical, personal, and educational implications for current and future psychologists in the field. Yet, before discussion of the implications, it should be mentioned that there are some critics and opponents of African/Black psychology, who have expressed concern regarding the use and legitimacy of utilizing African-based paradigms to understand African Americans (Adeleke, 2001, 2005; Lefkowitz, 1997; Walker, 2001). Many researchers still question the validity of using African-centered theories to explain Black behavior. It is their belief that Afro-centered Psychology is just as oppressive and ethnocentric as the traditional Western psychology because they are ignorant to the bi-cultural experience of the African in America (Laubscher, 2005). Furthermore, researchers such as Moll (2002) argue that African psychology (more specifically South African psychology) is both a myth and a reality among African psychologists. From his perspective, "there is no such thing as psychology which is essentially African, rather a psychology that is engaged in the issues and problems of Africans" (Moll, p. 9). Similar to Laubscher (2005), Moll suggests that the nature of the African-American is

psychologically distinct from European and African ideologies. Hence, the study of

African/Black psychology should focus on the combination of both rather than one. It is

not the researcher's intention to dispute or agree with the aforementioned claims

presented however, she did find it necessary to discuss the alternative views that

existed because it was important to the discussion regarding the clinical implications for

utilizing African/Black Psychology to treat people of African descent.

Clinical Implications. One of the most significant and obvious clinical

implications that developed from this study, is the identification and use of culture-

specific coping strategies, such as africultural coping, to promote collective resiliency in

people who are faced with aversive circumstances.

This study demonstrated that issues related to racism and oppression

characterized the early life experience of most of the participants in the study. Through

their narratives, the participants processed those experiences and ultimately identified

factors that helped them to cope with those situations. Hence, it may be critical for

psychologists to emphasize the importance of sharing experiences related to racism and

oppression among the African-American and other segmented communities of color.

Discussion of family history, child hood experiences and education might be a good way

to identify major issues and determine treatment focus (Akinyela, 2005; Parks, 2003;

Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2003).

Further clinical implications target the therapist's role in developing

interventions that include the client's family (mother, father, and extended), teachers,

and community ,as these intervention have been effective in providing environments

that create people, such as the participants, who became committed to the positive

advancement and of self and others (collective work and responsibility).

Personal Implications. This study also has important implications for Black

psychology students and future Black psychologists. There is research that suggests that

the role of Black psychologists is inseparable from that of the community (Jordan,

Bogot, & Smith, 2001). Black psychologists are expected to provide a mentoring role

that is supportive of the emotional, physical, mental, and psychological development of

Black people (Daniel, 2009; Roberts & Miller, 2004). Black psychologists are expected to

design interventions that are respectful of the history, cultural traditions, and norms of

the Black community (Jordan, Bogot, & Smith, 2001). They are to be mindful of the way

data are collected, analyzed, interpreted, and utilized. They are to be inclusive of

community members who, for historical reasons, may be cautious of research. Black

psychologists are also expected to help improve the training of other community

therapists and psychologists.

With all that being said, the personal implications provided in this study call for a

collective purpose. This implies that Black psychology students and future psychologists

should become centered in work that is focused on strengthening the Black community

and culture.

Educational Implications. With regard to educational implications, it is my hope

that this study promotes continued research on topics related to the African American

experience because it speaks to the need to incorporate African/Black Psychology into

the general psychology curriculum. It should encourage students to demand for classes

that are focused on culturally relevant paradigms for conceptualizing human behavior. It should also encourage for increased availability and access to African/Black Psychology research.

This study also has implications for the role of teachers in promoting future success. This seems crucial given that education of Black children has been one of the central issues pertinent to the development of African/Black Psychology and African/Black Psychologists for that matter.

Direction of future Study

Given the effect of the late 1960s Black Conscious movement on the identity and career path of the participants, it would be interesting to examine the role of social activism/ participation plays in promoting collective resilience. It could be that identification with a social group provides people with the support and strength needed to deal with the reality of an unjust situation. It could also be that social activism reduces psychological phenomena such as depression or aggression by advocating against, rather than promoting, continued acceptance and avoidance of the issues.

In sum, it could be determined that social activism played a role in influencing Black psychologists decision to enter into the field of African/Black psychology because it provided validation for their experience as well as provided a mechanism at which to impart change.

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Electronic Communication from Robert Williams Granting Access to Data

From:
   To:
Subject: Re: Copyright Permission Request
   Date: Thu, Dec 2, 2010 11:48 am

Dear Nichole
I will BE INDEED honored to have you use my book, The History of the Association of Black Psychologists: Profiles of Outstanding Black Psychologists as part of your doctoral dissertation. I am further honored to know that Dr. Daryl Rowe is your Chairperson. I have known him for many years and have a great deal of respect and appreciation for the contributions he has made in the field of psychology.
if you feed further permission, just let me know.
My telephone # is --- --- ----
IF YOU NEED ANY FURTHER ASSISTANCE, JUST LET ME KNOW.

Dr. Robert L. Williams

In a message dated 12/2/2010 12:32:33 A.M. Central Standard Time, _____ writes:

Hello Dr. Williams,

I hope this email finds you well. My name is Nichole McKenzie. I am a doctoral student in the Clinical Psychology program at Pepperdine University (Los Angeles, CA) under the supervision of Daryl Rowe, Ph.D. I am writing to request your permission to reproduce and analyze the contents of your book entitled, *History of the Association of Black Psychologists: Profiles of Outstanding Black Psychologists* for my dissertation study. This is, in fact, a preliminary request for approval. Following my preliminary examination, I will contact you to formally request official approval/ permissions to utilize the contents of your book.

The overall objective of my dissertation is to further expand upon the history of the African/Black psychology movement.   I aim to conduct a secondary analysis of your work to identify both personal and contextual factors that may have influenced certain psychologists' decision to take part in the African/Black Psychology movement. The ultimate goal is to identify themes in their narratives that might help in understanding what factors influenced their work and why they became part of African/Black Psychology.   I think a secondary analysis may be invaluable to future students and their immersion into the study of African/Black psychology, because they may gain more insight into the specific motivations of the generation of Black psychologists that you have surveyed.

A copyright compliance statement and full source citation will be included in the dissertation study. I hope that you see the potential benefits of my proposed work and hope that you give my request your strongest consideration. If you have any questions or need further clarification about this study, please contact me at --- --- ---- during evening hours. My dissertation chair, Daryl Rowe, Ph.D., can also be reached at --- --- ----

I will patiently and graciously await your response. An outline of my proposed study is forthcoming. Thank you in advance.
Nichole J. McKenzie

APPENIX B

List of Domains

Importance of Education	Negative Experiences with White People
Value of Family	Institutional Racism
Sense of Community	Racial Identity
Responsibility/Dedication	Racial socialization
Being Born in Deep South	Development of ABPsi
Mother work for white People	Positive Role of Music
Accomplishment	Mistrust
Restricted Education in the South	Competition among races
Educational Sacrifices	Emphasis of Higher Education
Strive for Higher Education	Military Involvement
Role of Extended Family	Kennedy Assassination
Involved Fathers	School Protests
Father as a Role Model	Positive Peer Influences
Nontraditional Family Life	Positive Childhood Memories
Sense of Pride in Family History	Challenges to Intelligence Testing
Early Lessons re: race	Challenged traditional theories
Nontraditional ways of education	Church Influence
Street Knowledge	limited graduate schools in the South for Blacks
Spirituality	Supportive Teachers
Obstacles	Limited Housing Opportunities
Positive Childhood Experiences	Negative Peer Influences
Emphasis of Extended Family	Identity Transformation
Racial Segregation	Alternative Lifestyles
Sense of Confinement	
Assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.	
Legalized Separatism	
Unconscious Acceptance of Racism	
Initial Indifference to Psychology	
Community Resistance to Psychology	
Limited Employment	
Indirect Experiences with Racism	
Direct Experiences with Racism	
Unfair Educational Practices	
Domestic Work	
Graduate School in the North	
Nurturing Families	
Presence of Both Parents	
Formally Educated Parents	
Mother as a Great Source of Strength	
Value of Reading in the household	
Positive Early Educational Experiences	
Oppression	
Historical Events	
Positive Experiences with White People	

Taxonomic Analysis

I. Education Experience
   A. Early desire to strive for Higher Education
   B. Formally Educated Parents

II. Positive Perception of Family
   A. Sense of Pride in Family History
   B. Positive perception of Fathers
       a. Father as a Role Model
   C. Involvement of Extended Family
       a. Traditional
       b. Nontraditional Family Life
   D. Teaching Role of Family
       a. Nontraditional ways of education
       b. Early Lessons re: race
       c. Street Knowledge
       d. Emphasis placed on reading in the home
       e. Humor

   E. Emphasis placed on positive perception of Mother nurturing and the most dominant/significant figure
       a. Mother as a Great Source of Strength

III. Sense of Community Responsibility/Dedication
   A. Emphasis on Social Involvement/ activism

IV. Institutional Racism (as a result of being raised in South)
   A. Limited Employment Opportunities
       a. Mother work for white People
       b. Domestic Work/ Menial Jobs for Previous generations
   B. Limited Housing Opportunities
   C. Educational Challenges
       a. Initial Indifference to Psychology
       b. Community Resistance to Psychology
       c. Limited Graduate Schools in the South
       d. Challenge of Traditional Psychological Theories

   D. Oppression
   E. Racial Segregation
       a. Legalized Separatism
   F. Indirect Experiences with Racism

   G. Direct Experiences with Racism
       a. Positive Experiences with White People

b. Negative experiences with White People

V. Emphasis on Spirituality

VI. Emphasis on Music

VII. Transformative Experiences
    A. Assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.
    B. School Strikes (San Francisco)
    C. Protests/Riots
    D. Military (Vietnam)

VIII. Positive Childhood Experiences

APPENDIX D

Componential Analysis

Name	Early Childhood Educational Emphasis	Supportive Family	Sense of Community Responsibility/ Work	Direct Exposure to Institutional Racism	Emphasis on spirituality	Emphasis on Music	Transformative Experiences	Positive Childhood Experiences
Charles W. Thomas II	N/A	N/A	YES	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	N/A
Robert L. Williams	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	N/A
Reginald L. Jones	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES
Anna M. Jackson	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES
Joseph L. White	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Wade W. Nobles	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
Robert V. Guthrie	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Asa Grant Hillard III	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
Harriette McAdoo	YES	N/A	N/A	YES	NO	NO	YES	N/A
Na'im Akbar	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
Linda James Myers	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES
Kobi K. K. Kambon	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
William Cross	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	N/A

Note: N/A indicates that the theme was not addressed in the participant narrative.