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Historical Chronology

EXAMINING PSYCHOLOGY'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BELIEF IN RACIAL HIERARCHY AND PERPETUATION OF INEQUALITY FOR PEOPLE OF COLOR IN U.S.

Developed for the American Psychological Association by the Cummings Center for the History of Psychology (CCHP) at the University of Akron. Learn more at apa.org/about/apa/addressing-racism.

Project background

Since the early months of 2020, COVID-19 has resulted in more than 4.6 million deaths worldwide (World Health Organization, 2021). People of color have been disproportionately affected by this pandemic, with some of these groups being twice as likely as White, non-Hispanic groups to become infected, three times as likely to be hospitalized, and twice as likely to die from COVID-19 (Centers for Disease Control, 2021). It is an understatement to say that this pandemic has laid bare serious racial health inequities in the United States, a situation that results not from simple variables such as health care access, but rather from a long history of structural racism (Khazanchi, Evans, & Marcelin, 2020).

During this devastating global health crisis, the country also witnessed the murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis police officers in May of 2020. Floyd's death was historically one of many, but it sparked protests across the country and internationally. COVID-19 also highlighted and reinforced existing systemic racism, xenophobia, blaming, and othering of Asian Americans throughout the pandemic (Starks, 2021). Racist ideologies, the glaring inequities highlighted by COVID-19, and a polarized political climate led many to describe the United States as simultaneously battling a "pandemic of racism" (American Psychological Association, 2020, May 29).

In 2020, APA launched a series of efforts aimed at dismantling racism in psychology, in APA, and in society more generally. As part of this effort, the Association sought a historical review of how psychology and APA have harmed people of color since the formal institutionalization of U.S. psychology in the late 1800s. The goal of the review was to document the long history of harm to these communities, and to provide a resource that could inform APA's work on an apology.

The Cummings Center for the History of Psychology (CCHP) at The University of Akron conducted the historical review. The CCHP is a research and humanities center that collects, preserves, and shares the history of psychology with a variety of audiences through the National Museum of Psychology and the Archives of the History of American Psychology. It is home to more than 3,000 linear feet of unpublished papers, artifacts, and media documenting psychology's history from the 1800s to the present.

Overview and approach

The review was conducted by a writing group and a working group with psychologists from across the country. The writing group is comprised of Cummings Center staff and faculty, including three historians of psychology and an archives assistant with a background in American history and archival theory and practice. We have relied on primary and secondary sources in the history of psychology and related human sciences.

The writing group has relied on feedback from and discussion with a working group comprised of seven academics, including historians of psychology and psychologists with long and valuable experience with the field and its historical and present relationship with people of color. This working group represents many communities of color and has lived and studied psychology's history in relation to race, culture, ethnicity, class, and social and political issues. They have worked to create, preserve, and advance psychologies that

emanate from, attend to, and serve communities of color.

The following review begins with a summary of our findings, followed by a chronology representing the historical data used to inform those findings. It is important to note that silences—moments when the field could have spoken or acted on behalf of communities of color but failed to do so—were difficult to demonstrate with historical actions, particularly in a timeline format. We fully acknowledge that silences, omissions, and failures to act are underrepresented in this account.

It is also important to note that the data in the chronology are necessarily incomplete. It is nearly impossible to document every instance of harm in one chronology. The historical data are comprised of examples of harm that we and other historians have deemed most salient and impactful based on our assessment of the extent to which they serve as exemplars of repeated and prominent trends in the field's history and their degree of direct connection with organized psychology. We stress, however, that these specific harms are part of a larger problematic culture in psychology, rooted in oppressive and exclusionary psychological science and practice.

In addition, it is important to note that this review does not constitute a complete history of psychology or of APA. We specifically focused on moments of harm and did not attend to actions that have promoted equity, advanced people of color within the field, and addressed the concerns of communities of color. This focus was necessary for the purpose of informing an apology. Psychology's history contains examples of both harm and help. Nonetheless, our review of the literatures suggests that moments of harm have been the dominant theme in psychology's history.

This review focuses broadly on harms done to racial and ethnic groups and does not fully attend to the unique experiences of each group or to the specific historical harms central for mixed-race, biracial, and multiethnic persons. Many individuals with intersectional identities have been harmed by psychologists through some of these same patterns of exclusion, othering, and pathologizing and some that are more unique to each group.

A note on language

In many places in this review, we have chosen to retain phrasing as it appears in the historical literature to demonstrate the ways in which people of color were in fact dehumanized through language used by psychology and other fields of inquiry. When using this language, we do so in quotations.

In all other cases, we use contemporary language, following APA's guidelines for writing about racial and ethnic identity (American Psychological Association, 2020).

Throughout this document, we use common socially referenced racial categories such as White, Black, Asian, and First Peoples. We acknowledge that this kind of categorization is artificial and does not account for the great diversity of history, experience, and ways of being within each category. In the context of this review, "White" refers to people of European ancestry, though we note that Southern and Eastern Europeans have been discriminated against and harmed by mainstream, Western-oriented psychology.

Executive summary

Psychologists have contributed directly and indirectly to the belief in human hierarchies through scientific racism, defined as "the use of scientific concepts and data to create and justify ideas of an enduring, biologically based hierarchy" (Winston, 2020, p. 2). Results from a century's worth of psychological studies of individual difference were interpreted as evidence of innate, hereditary difference in ability between racial and ethnic groups, an interpretation that runs counter to current findings from genetic research demonstrating significant variability within traditional racial groupings and considerable variability between different traditional racial groups (Baker, 2021). Historically, groups found to score differently on assessments designed by White psychologists and normalized on White populations were deemed inferior based on those results. These interpretations have created and upheld existing racial stereotypes and prejudices against people of color and reinforced the belief in White supremacy. Such beliefs found strong support in the early 20th century among psychologists and other social scientists, particularly those involved in the eugenics movement.

Psychological data have been used by psychologists and others to justify social policies that harmed people of color, including racial segregation, diminished educational opportunities, restrictions on immigration, institutionalization, forced sterilization, and antimiscegenation laws. In the face of ongoing critiques of methods and practices that discriminate against people of color, psychologists have often failed to listen, speak up, or create change. This is difficult to document in a historical study, but psychology's history includes many critical moments of silence and in-

action at times when proactive acts or speaking out were warranted. Psychology has sustained and failed to challenge research, practice, and policy frameworks rooted in White normativity that support the continued belief in White superiority.

Finally, people of color have been marginalized and excluded in the field of psychology in a multitude of ways, from educational and employment opportunities to gatekeeping (e.g., journal editorships, student supervision) and governance roles. In addition, issues of central concern to these communities have not been adequately addressed. Throughout our work, we were repeatedly confronted by the fact that the entire narrative of psychology—from textbooks to histories to journal articles—often excludes people of color and their voices. This chronology fails in this same manner: in an attempt to document the harms done to people of color, we often gave too much voice to White psychologists.

Our analysis of the historical record suggests that one of the central issues for U.S. psychology, both past and present, is its strong ties to hegemonic science and practice. Such an approach privileges certain ways of knowing, being, and doing as natural, normative, and progressive (Adams, Kurtiș, Gómez, Molina, & Dobles, 2018). Historically, psychology has accepted Whiteness as a standard or norm and presented other modes of being as marginal, unnatural, or in some way straying from the norm. Recently, this has appeared in the psychological literature as a WEIRD (Western, educated, industrial, rich, democratic) approach (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), but people of color have noted versions of it in the literature since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Du Bois, 1903).

It is important to distinguish between our historical review and the legacies resulting from that history as reflected in contemporary policies and practices. History is dynamic and there are often prospective consequences of history. We were charged with conducting a retrospective review of the history of harm to people of color and have therefore not included the many ways in which this history has left a legacy in our present. We acknowledge that history is not simply a thing of the past: it is the very foundation for our current cultural mindset and our present modes of thinking, being, and doing as psychologists. There is a common notion that we should learn history so that we can avoid repeating past mistakes. We would argue, with historian Avner Segall (1999), that "it is not the repetitive past we ought to fear… but rather, the legacy of the past in our present" (p. 366). The harms identified in this review are part of our past, but they continue to provide the platform for contemporary psychology.

This chronology demonstrates ways in which research and practice have focused on White culture and used it as a global standard. This culture, evident from the very beginnings of the field, is inseparable from the social and political landscape of the United States at the end of the 19th century. Organized psychology grew up in these conditions, helped to create and sustain them, and continues to bear their indelible imprint.

In sum, our historical review of psychology's harms to people of color indicates that psychologists have, in both the past and present:

- Established and participated in scientific models and approaches rooted in scientific racism;
- Created, sustained, and promulgated ideas of human hierarchy through the construction, study, and interpretation of racial difference;
- Promoted the idea that racial difference is biologically based and fixed;
- Used psychological science and practice to support segregated and subpar education for people of color;
- Created and promoted widespread use of psychological tests and instruments that discriminated against people of color;
- Failed to take concerted action in response to calls for an end to testing and psychometric racism;
- Supported the widespread use of educational assessments and interventions that were lucrative for the field of psychology, but harmed people of color;
- Provided ideological support for and failed to speak out against the colonial framework of the boarding and day school systems for First Peoples of the Americas;
- Created, sustained, and promoted a view of people of color as deficient or damaged;
- Applied psychological science and practice to oppose "race-mixing" and to support segregation, sterilization, and antimarriage laws, using the ideas of early 20th century eugenics;
- Failed to represent the approaches, practices, voices, and concerns of people of color within the field of psychology and within society;
- Failed to respond or responded too slowly in the face of clear social harms to people of color

Psychology and the Belief in Racial Hierarchy: A Chronology

1850–1900

The formal institutionalization of U.S. psychology (as indicated by the creation of programs, departments, degrees, societies, and schools) occurred in the years surrounding the Civil War, centered on national debates about slavery; the passing of the Indian Appropriations Act, which removed First Peoples from their tribal lands to government reservations; the Chinese Exclusion Act, which suspended Chinese immigration; and the Supreme Court's *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, which held that segregation laws did not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The formalized psychology established at this time was led primarily by White men and leaned heavily on evolutionary theory, with its emphasis on survival and adaptation of the species. The field almost immediately lent its support to the notion of White superiority, with its focus on demonstrating individual differences among different racial groups.

1869: Francis Galton, who was recognized as an early leader in psychology (among other professions) publishes *Hereditary Genius*, a central early event in the study of individual differences and psychometrics in European and U.S. psychology. In this work, he ranked the "comparative worth of different races" and concluded that "the average intellectual standard of the negro race is some two grades below our own" (Galton, 1869, pp. 336–338). In 1883, Galton would introduce the word "eugenics," described as a science of improving "racial stock." This work was heavily cited and used by the first generation of psychologists who established APA, the first recognized psychology journals, and the most influential research programs.

1892: The American Psychological Association is founded, with G. Stanley Hall as president and 31 White males elected to membership.

1895: One of the earliest examples of scientific racism—defined as the use of scientific concepts and data to create and justify ideas of an enduring biologically based hierarchy (Winston, 2020)—is published in *Psychological Review*, one year after the journal is first established (Bache, 1895). First Peoples and Black participants were reported to have faster reaction times than White participants. The author argued that reaction time was a primitive reflex and that the superior, more evolved intelligence of White participants resulted in more contemplative thought and slower reaction times.

1897: In a study of Black and White children, Stetson (1897) found that Black children outperformed White children on a memory task. The author attributed this to the greater mnemonic ability of their "primitive brains." He further described Black children as being deficient in reasoning.

1897: APA funds a Committee on Physical and Mental Tests, its first financial commitment to an activity other than its own administration (Baldwin, Cattell, & Jastrow, 1898).

1900–1925

As U.S. psychology established itself in the early 1900s, the U.S. experienced the First World War, massive growth, and unprecedented immigration. More than 15 million new immigrants, the majority of whom arrived from southern and eastern Europe, came to the U.S. in the first quarter of the century. Antiimmigration sentiment increased, fueling the eugenics movement, which sought to "improve the human race" using principles of heredity. Scholars and lawmakers debated the "Negro Question," which often focused on schooling and curriculum for people of color. Education was also a question at the forefront with First Peoples of the Americas, as more than 6,000 students were enrolled in federal boarding schools that attempted to replace First Peoples culture with an education that fit Anglo-American standards. Many psychologists continued to focus on individual differences among races and became actively involved in the eugenics movement, using their science to support eugenical aims.

1904: APA forms an ad hoc committee on testing standards, forming the Association's first committee on standards for apparatus, procedures, and results of group and individual tests. The resulting Committee on Measurement consists of early psychologists who frequently supported ideas of racial hierarchy and/or eugenics, including James R. Angell, Charles H. Judd, Walter B. Pillsbury, and Carl E. Seashore.

1904: G. Stanley Hall, founding president of APA, publishes the highly influential text, *Adolescence.* In it, he described First Peoples as childlike, with adults from this group being more similar to White children or adolescents in their development. Hall supported the development of "civilizing programs" tailored to what he deemed to be the needs of First Peoples (Hall, 1904; 1905; Richards, 1997). These programs, once enacted, were attempted to eradicate First Peoples' culture, language, and spiritual life. Hall's views were echoed by other psychologists during this period (e.g., Chamberlain, 1909).

1910: The Eugenics Record Office is established as a department of the Carnegie Institution of Washington's Station for Experimental Evolution. It became the center for eugenics advocacy, research, and publication in the U.S. Leaders of organized psychology, including Edward Thorndike, Robert Yerkes, Arthur Estabrook, Paul Achilles, and Lewis Terman were founders and active members of this office. They also led and contributed to other eugenics-based organizations in this period, including the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, the Galton Society, and the American Eugenics Society (Zenderland, 2001). Through these groups, they promoted sterilization initiatives for "unfit and inferior races" and supported race-based immigration policies and negative heredity laws (Brigham, 1923; Engs, 2005). Psychological tests were regularly used in the work of these organizations. Between 1892 and 1947, 31 presidents of APA acted in leadership positions in eugenics organizations, during their time as president, but also in the years surrounding their presidencies (Yakushko, 2019).

1913: A 70-page psychological monograph reports inferiority of school performance among Black children in integrated schools in New York, a finding the author attributes to "race heredity" (Mayo, 1913). Early papers like this set the tone and pattern for later work on difference and were used to argue against improved schooling opportunities for Black children (Richards, 1997).

1914: Psychologist William McDougall, writing in the *Eugenical Review*, lays out a plan for how experimental psychology can serve the goals of eugenics, focusing on the study of the hereditary basis of mental qualities (McDougall, 1914). McDougall, chair of psychology at Harvard, argued in favor of restrictions on interracial marriage, claiming that mixed race individuals are mentally defective and that such mixing would produce a "race of submen" (McDougall, 1921, p. 132). He further argued for the creation of a separate territory for Black Americans to prevent "race amalgamation" (McDougall, 1925, p. 162).

1914: Psychological research, tests, and instruments are used at some boarding schools with First Peoples during this period. For example, a teacher at the Phoenix Indian School described psychological testing and research in education in the *Indian School Journal*, noting use of the early Binet scales and citing the work of psychologists J. Wallace Wallin and Stuart Appleton Courtis (Scott, 1914).

1914: Psychologist Henry Goddard, a pioneer of the U.S. testing movement, serves as the psychology representative on the *Committee to Study and Report on the Best Practical Means of Cutting Off the Defective Germ-Plasm in the American Population.* The Committee, established by the Research Committees of the Eugenics Section of the American Breeders Association, recommended segregation, and sterilization as the best methods of preserving "the blood of the American people" (Laughlin, 1914, p. 6). The Committee called on psychology to help determine standards and tests for identifying "mental degenerates and defectives proposed for sterilization" (p. 7). By 35,000 ,1930 people in the U.S. had been sterilized, mostly individuals who had been deemed "feebleminded" or socially or mentally unfit (Greenwood, 2017). Many of these individuals were immigrants, Black people, First Peoples of the Americas, poor White people, and people with disabilities (Kevles, 1998).

1915: Psychologists leading the California Bureau of Juvenile Research at Whittier State School oversee some of the earliest eugenics fieldwork projects, examining the family trees and conducting psychological testing of boys confined at the institution. Psychologist J. Harold Williams, a student of Lewis Terman, directed the project and presented results on "White, Mexican, and Colored children." Historians have documented the biased procedures and results of this project that harmed hundreds or perhaps thousands of youths incarcerated in California by increasing the incarceration rate of these youth and promoting sterilization (Chávez-García, 2015).

1916: Lewis Terman creates the Stanford-Binet Scale. He used differences on this scale as a justification for a segregated system of education geared toward building Black, Mexican, and First Peoples children into "efficient workers" (Terman, 1916), a proposal supported by other psychologists in the early 20th century (Young, 1922). This model was adopted in predominantly Mexican American schools throughout the American Southwest (Gonzalez, 2013, p. 82).

1916: G. O. Ferguson (1916) publishes "The psychology of the Negro," considered to be a classic example in the history of scientific racism (Guthrie, 1998). Ferguson linked performance (including reasoning, association, memory, and intelligence) with skin color and argued that Black people are more emotionally volatile, unstable, and less capable of abstract thought. Ferguson also espoused the prominent "mulatto hypothesis," the idea that the mental characteristics of Black people were greater among those who had a higher proportion of "White blood."

1917: APA president Robert Yerkes launches the Committee on the Psychological Examination of Recruits during the First World War. The Committee was created under the auspices of the National Research Council and headed by Yerkes, reporting to the Office of the Surgeon General. Yerkes and a team of psychologists recommended mental examination of every soldier, and by the end of the War, they had administered psychological tests to nearly 2 million men. Culturally biased test questions and examination procedures, along with an assumption of White, American normativity, led to results that established a clear racial hierarchy of performance with White, American-born recruits scoring highest on IQ tests and Black recruits, particularly those from the American south, scoring the lowest. 89% of Black recruits were labelled by the Committee as "morons" (Kevles, 1968; Rury, 1988; Yerkes, 1921). These tests are the forerunners of the National Intelligence Test and the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). Concerns about large racial gaps in SAT scores continue in the present (see Brookings Institution, 2017)

1917: During this time, APA president Robert Yerkes served as chairman of the Committee on the Inheritance of Mental Traits at Cold Spring Harbor. He also served on the Committee on Eugenics of the National Commission on Prisons and the Board of Directors for the Human Betterment Foundation under eugenicist Paul Popenoe (Engs, 2005; Paul, 1965). In the years after the War, APA's work in supporting the war effort and in "segregating the incompetent" was praised (Riley, 1919, p. 2).

1921: Many psychologists continue to examine racial difference and a formal definition of "racial psychology" appears in the *Journal of Applied Psychology.* Work contrasting "mixed" and "full blood" First Peoples on a battery of psychological tests concluded that those with "White blood" outperform those without (Garth, 1921). Though Garth would later become a critic of scientific racism, his early work contributed significantly to its prevalence.

1921: At the Second International Congress of Eugenics in New York City, APA president-elect Knight Dunlap hosts an exhibit on using psychology to better the human race both physically and mentally. The exhibit presented racial differences between White, Black, and First Peoples. Psychology journals like the *Journal of Applied Psychology* are exhibited alongside eugenics publications (Doyle, 2014).

1922: Many psychologists continue to support the idea of White superiority in both public and academic outlets. Psychologist James Rowland Angell, president of Yale University, delivered a series of addresses describing the hierarchy of the races, espousing White superiority, and discussing the low intelligence of "savages lowest in the human scale" (Angell, 1922, p. 115). This same year, the *Journal of Comparative Psychology* published research linking the degree of "White blood" in First Peoples to higher intelligence test scores (Hunter & Sommermeier, 1922). Five years later, an additional study on intelligence and "White blood" among First Peoples was published in the same journal (Fitzgerald & Ludeman, 1927). In 1933, further research was published arguing that First Peoples children demonstrate more dishonesty than White children and describing the entire Navajo Nation as "notoriously dishonest" (Pressey & Pressey, 1933, p. 129).

1923: Lewis Terman, widely known for his promotion of eugenics and his belief in racial hierarchy, becomes president of APA.

1924: The Johnson-Reed Act passes, limiting immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe and favoring immigrants from Northern and Western Europe. The goal of the Act, as stated, was to preserve American homogeneity. Italians, Greeks, and Eastern European Jews were heavily impacted and Syrian immigration was limited to 100 people per year. It further extended a ban on Asian immigration. Psychological research was cited by eugenics leaders in congressional testimony leading up to passage of the Act. It was argued that immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were endowed with inherently poor genetic material and that restriction was needed to preserve American racial stock (Doyle, 2014; Laughlin, 1923; Tucker, 1994; Gelb, Allen, Futterman, & Mehler, 1986).

1925–1950

The U.S. exited one war, contended with the Great Depression, and then entered another global conflict. Under Executive Order 9066, more than 120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry were forced from their homes into internment camps around the United States. During this time, communities of color around the United States began challenging the racist and exclusionary structure of the country. There were several challenges to segregated schooling, with cases arising regarding schooling for Black and Latinx children. First Peoples of the Americas continued to organize and dispute government control of lands and education, forming the National Congress of American Indians in 1944. Similarly, the Congress of Spanish Speaking People formed in 1939. The second World War resulted in massive growth in psychology across a wide variety of areas, including assessment and treatment of war-related trauma, as well as occupational classification, leading to close ties between psychology and the military. More people of color begin receiving PhDs in psychology, and psychologists of color begin challenging the findings and practices of predominantly White mainstream psychology (Guthrie, 1998). Psychology grew and changed in unprecedented ways during this time and many psychologists began a public retreat from their explicitly stated views of White supremacy in the years following World War II. The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues was established in 1936, with the intention of directly addressing social issues and issuing public statements, including statements on racism. Nonetheless, leaders of psychological science and practice continued to support the idea of a natural human hierarchy to a greater extent than other social and behavioral sciences.

1926: Psychologists Stanley Porteus and Marjorie Babcock publish *Temperament and Race,* reporting on studies of Chinese, Hawaiian, Portuguese, Filipino, and Puerto Rican people in Hawaii. While some of these individuals were born in Hawaii, some were immigrants. The results reinforced stereotypes of these groups, and the authors argued that racial hierarchy and racial differences are rooted in genetics. Porteus continued to publish on this topic, and his work inspired further research in this area. In 1929, for example, Pratt compared the school achievement of Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian, and Part-Hawaiian school children using achievement tests and reports that Hawaiians have lower achievement scores. The author concludes that Hawaiians are "by native abilities and interests, completely unfitted" to education (Pratt, 1929, p. 667).

1927: Research on racial differences continues. An article in the *Journal of Experimental Psychology,* a journal then edited by eugenicist psychologist Madison Bentley, compared First Peoples to White people and describes them as slower at decision making, less confident, and having poorer coordination of impulses (Downey, 1927). This is one of many examples of this kind of research during this time (see Garth & Barnard, 1927; Jamieson & Sandiford, 1928).

1927: The College Entrance Examination Board's Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) is first administered. The test was developed by Carl Brigham, rooted in the work of military psychologists in the World War I testing program.

1932: George I. Sanchez, known as the founder of Chicano psychology, challenges biased research literature on the intelligence of Mexican American children in a *Journal of Applied Psychology* article, "Group differences in Spanish-speaking children: A critical review."

1933: Inez Beverly Prosser completes her doctorate in psychology from the College of Education at the University of Cincinnati, becoming on the first African American women to earn the degree.

1933: Psychologist Raymond Cattell argues against the "mixture of blood between racial groups" (Cattell, 1933, p. 155). A few years later, he declared that Black individuals have "contributed practically nothing to social progress and culture" and argued against their full citizenship (Cattell, 1937, p. 56). Cattell argued that these individuals should "be brought to euthanasia" for this inferiority. In 1972, he again argued that such "race mixing" would result in "the intelligent maintainers of the culture being completely replaced by lower intelligences" (Cattell, 1972, p. 154). He continued to maintain the dangers of race-mixing through the early 1990s.

1933: Black psychologists publish a number of studies countering the findings of White psychologists. Albert Beckham published a study of 1,100 schoolchildren, presenting results that suggest environment plays a central role in shaping intelligence scores (Beckham, 1933). Similar research was published by Howard Hale Long in 1935. In 1936, Herman Canady outlined the impact White examiners have on the test scores of Black test takers. Studies like these, conducted by leading Black psychologists, were often dismissed, and testing continued to be used to support ideas regarding innate racial hierarchy (see Guthrie, 1998; Richards, 1997).

1934: A survey indicates that 25% of psychologists believe that data supports the inherent mental inferiority of Black people (Thompson, 1934). This is compared to 24% of those working in education and 5% of sociologists and anthropologists.

1939: Mamie Phipps Clark and Kenneth Clark conduct experiments on children's perception of race, finding that children become aware of race at a very young age and are attuned to positive and negative attributes associated with racial categories (Clark & Clark, 1939).

1943: A chapter on "The Hopi Child" describes delayed age of walking among the Hopi children compared to White children. This study is just one of many examples of social and behavioral scientists comparing people of color to White populations and using Whiteness as a cultural, racial, and normative standard (Dennis, 1943).

1945: Alexander H. Leighton publishes *The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp*. Navy psychiatrist Alexander H. Leighton applied the tools of social psychological theory and human management to the administration of the Poston Relocation Center for Japanese Americans. Psychological science strengthened eugenic ideologies of mental inferiority which contributed to the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. (Herman, 2020, Tyner, 1998)

1950: Despite continuous concerns regarding cultural and racial bias in psychological testing (Canady, 1943), APA establishes the Committee on Test Standards, which issues technical recommendations for test administration and design that some believed did not adequately address race, ethnicity, and culture (Holliday & Holmes, 2003; Jackson, 1975; Simpkins & Raphael, 1970). The same year, the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) was published (Holliday & Holmes, 2003). One year later, anthropologist Allison Davis examined the effects of race and social class on test performance and reiterated ongoing critiques centered on the cultural bias inherent in common psychological tests. Davis noted few differences between groups when controlling for social class (Eels et al., 1951).

1950: From the 1950s on, psychologists received money from the Pioneer Fund, created in the 1930s to promote racial homogeneity, "repatriation" of Black Americans to Africa, and segregation. Money was funneled to White Citizens Councils for "massive resistance" to the *Brown* decision, and later funded nearly all major scientific racist projects (Tucker, 2002). From the 1960s on, psychologists gave explicit assistance to and participated in racial extremist, White nationalist, and neo-Nazi groups, including organizations promoting Holocaust denial (Jackson, 2005; Jackson & Winston 2021; Tucker, 2009 ,2002 ,1994).

1951–1975

The Civil Rights movement, played out against the backdrop of the Vietnam War, gained traction in the U.S., culminating in legislation such as the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The famous 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision rendered segregated schooling unconstitutional. Despite these gains, people of color continued to experience direct harm. The U.S. Congress continued to abolish tribal lands and relocate First Peoples of the Americas. However, continued organization and resistance among First Peoples during the Civil Rights era resulted in the McCarran-Walter Act that reinstituted basic rights and returned some power to tribes. Asian Americans, though given citizenship through the 1952 Act, experienced hostility and xenophobia and came under suspicion during the McCarthy era. In the 1960s, the myth of Asian Americans as a "model minority" in comparison to other communities of color publicly emerges in popular print. The Watts Uprising occurred in 1965, when 14,000 members of the National Guard were deployed to a primarily Black and impoverished neighborhood in Los Angeles to respond to the largest urban rebellion of the Civil Rights era. The 1960s also saw the development and expansion of nationwide community mental health programs, many of which were beginning to seek out ways of serving diverse communities. Throughout this period, some leading psychologists continue to support eugenics and explore racial inferiority in their work. Research, including cross-cultural research, done in this period sometimes fails to acknowledge culture, context, and tradition in different communities, positing instead universal human traits and universal patterns of development. APA begins to grapple with the lack of diversity in the field, which continued to be dominated by White men. Many psychologists of color begin forming associations and societies of their own, expressing dissatisfaction with APA's attention to the concerns of communities of color.

1951: Efrain Sanchez-Hidalgo is the first Puerto Rican to be awarded a PhD in psychology, by Columbia University. In 1954, he becomes the founding president of the Puerto Rican Psychological Association.

1952: Carolyn Lewis Attneave becomes the first American Indian to earn a doctorate in psychology, from Stanford University.

1952: Former APA president Henry E. Garrett provides judicial testimony in support of segregation in *Davis v. County School Board,* a precursor to *Brown v. Board of Education* (Winston, 1998). He argued that segregation would not harm Black or White students if school facilities were equal. This idea was later echoed by the three judges who ruled in favor of continued segregation. Garrett's own writings promoted the idea of an innate racial hierarchy until his death in 1973 (Garrett, 1973; Tucker, 1994). During this period, Garrett worked with racial extremist and neo-Nazi groups (Tucker, 2002; Winston, 1998).

1954: *Brown v. Board of Education* is decided, ending legal segregation in the United States. The work and testimony of psychologists Mamie Phipps Clark and Kenneth Clark, along with other social science research, was used to support desegregation and cited in the final decision (Kluger, 1975, Jackson, 2001). Some psychologists opposed desegregation. In 1963, psychologists testified in support of segregation in *Stell v. Savannah Board of Education*, a case brought to challenge the 1954 Brown decision (Jackson, 2005).

1958: Psychologist Audrey Shuey, former student of Henry Garrett, publishes *The Testing of Negro Intelligence,* summarizing existing work on racial differences and concluding that White people are innately superior to other races (Shuey, 1958).

1958: The Indian Adoption Project begins, allowing U.S. government officials and others to remove First Peoples children from their parents and communities to be adopted by White families. Transracial adoption practices also impacted children of all racial backgrounds and continue to the present day. Lee (2003) demonstrates that psychological research on transracial adoption has failed to directly attend to the well-being of adoptees. Peters et al. (2015) argue that all such cases must take cultural considerations into account to protect a child's best interests. Further, the Society of Indian Psychologists has outlined the need for any expert testifying in such cases to be an expert in a tribe's culture and customs.

1959: The International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics is founded. The group promoted race science, lobbied to overturn the *Brown* decision, and fought to preserve segregation. The Board and editors include noted academics and neo-Nazi activists. The group actively assisted White Citizens Councils during Southern "massive resistance" to integration (Winston, 1998; Tucker, 2002). Throughout its history, several psychologists (including Henry Garrett, Stanley Porteus, Frank McGurk, Audrey Shuey, and Raymond Cattell) were involved in its leadership and led and contributed to its journal, *Mankind Quarterly* (Winston, 2020).

1962: Martha Bernal is the first Mexican American woman awarded a PhD in psychology, from Indiana University. In 1979, she helped to establish the National Hispanic Psychological Association. In 1979, she examined how APA-accredited clinical psychology programs prepare for treating multicultural populations and she finds the curricula inadequate.

1963: The APA Ad Hoc Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Psychology is established to review challenges in training and employment in psychology in relation to race. They found that there are few opportunities for training Black students, few opportunities for employment for Black psychologists, and little representation within APA governance and Central Office (Pickren & Tomes, 2002; Wispe et al., 1969).

1966: Psychologist Kenneth Clark becomes the first Black president of APA, 74 years after the organization was established.

1966: APA's Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests and Manuals are published. The standards addressed test bias primarily through a focus on test validity. These standards were used by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in establishing guidelines for test use, centered primarily on test validity. However, concerns regarding discriminatory use of tests that nonetheless met these validity guidelines continued to be voiced (Plotkin, 1972).

1966: Arthur McDonald becomes the first American Indian man to earn a doctorate in psychology, from the University of South Dakota.

1967: Psychological research continues to be used to justify "acculturation" in residential, boarding, and day school systems in hearings before the U. S. Senate's Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public and Public Welfare (Indian Education, 1967). Psychologists were also employed at the schools into the 1970s ("Presentation of Navajo," 1975).

1967: Cross-cultural research, rooted in tests and hypotheses that are developed with urban U.S. samples and then transferred to other cultural contexts, concludes that key aspects of development are transcultural. This work continued into the early 2000s and was extended from race and ethnicity to gender (see Gutmann, 1964, 1967).

1967: Psychologist Henry E. Garrett testifies in opposition to the passage of the Civil Rights Act. Garrett argued that Black people cannot reach the intelligence levels or abilities of White people. He further argues that equal rights will only confuse and frustrate the Black community. Garrett, listed in the Congressional Senate hearing record as "past President, American Psychological Association," had served as APA president in 1946 and was the only psychologist on record to testify (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

1967: Head Start is launched by an interdisciplinary team and included psychologist Edward Zigler among its architects and early leaders. Some psychologists voiced opposition to the program, using SAT scores and other standardized test results to argue that compensatory education programs make no difference for people of color (Jensen, 1985).

1967: The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, along with Kenneth Clark, invites Martin Luther King Jr. to give an invited address at the annual APA convention (Pickren & Tomes, 2002).

1967: Psychologist Arthur Jensen delivers an address, "Social class, race and genetics: Implications for education," to the American Educational Research Association's annual meeting. The address, and much of Jensen's ensuing work, emphasized the genetic roots of group differences in the educability in children of color. The address, delivered in the social context of the Coleman Report exploring educational equality, fueled considerable debate regarding group differences in IQ and ability (Jensen, 1967).

1968: The Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi) is formed when 75 Black psychologists leave APA, charging that APA had failed to address poverty, racism, and social concerns. (Holliday, 2009; Nelson, 1968). The group asks that APA help increase representation of Black psychologists in the field. ABPsi also called for a moratorium on testing, charging that such tests were culturally biased, racist, and unfair (Williams & Mitchell, 1978). In response, APA formed the *APA Ad Hoc Committee on Educational Uses of Tests with Disadvantaged Students*. The Committee issued a report acknowledging the problems with testing but claimed that the central problem was the misuse and misinterpretation of tests, not the tests themselves.

1969: Psychologist Arthur Jensen revives arguments of hereditary influence on racial differences in IQ scores in the *Harvard Educational Review*, claiming that compensatory education programs have failed (Jensen, 1969). His work is widely used by racist and neo-Nazi groups.

1969: The Black Student Psychology Association (BSPA) raises a series of demands from APA, emphasizing the need for recruitment, retention, and training of Black students and Black faculty. (Holliday & Holmes, 2003; Simpkins & Raphael, 1970). A resolution was submitted to the APA Council of Representatives calling for proportional representation of "minority" groups at all job levels in firms working with APA. A substitute resolution passed, specifying that APA would adopt a strategy of supplier diversity, aiming to work with firms that are actively trying to increase representation of minority groups in their organizations (Sawyer & Senn, 1973).

1970: The Association of Psychologists Por La Raza is founded at the annual APA convention.

1971: APA members Jack Sawyer and David J. Senn (1971) accuse APA of institutional racism, stating that APA had ignored systemic racism in the organizations with which it affiliates. They note that APA's largest printer, Lancaster Press, employed only a single Black employee, a man who served as the washup man in the pressroom (see also Pickren & Tomes, 2002).

1971: Psychologist Anderson J. Franklin publishes an article in *The Counseling Psychologist*, arguing that counseling research and training, along with psychology education more generally, fails to prepare students for understanding and working with Black clients (Franklin, 1971).

1972: The Asian American Psychological Association is founded, inspired by the civil rights movement and the founding of ABPsi (Alvarez, Singh, & Wu, 2012).

1973: A national survey finds only 15 Chicano psychology faculty in a total of 1,335 psychology faculty. The survey also found only 51 Latino graduate students enrolled in master's programs in psychology and 37 in PhD programs (Ramirez, 2004).

1974: APA sponsors the Vail Conference, leading to recommendations that any psychologist counseling persons of culturally diverse backgrounds must be trained and competent to work with such groups. This led to the establishment of several boards and committees, along with guidelines and further recommendations. However, few institutions offered training in this skill, and in 1977, fewer than 1% of psychologist counselor educators required students to study diverse cultures. Practitioners representing these groups called for specific ethical requirements and reflection of those requirements in accreditation and licensing (Casas, Ponterotto, & Gutierrez, 1986).

1974: APA announces a Minority Fellowship Program, funded with a $1 million grant from the National Institute of Mental Health Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs.

1975: Psychological testing continues to be the subject of legal arguments. In *Albemarle Paper Co v. Moody* (1975), the Supreme Court ruled that intelligence tests used in employment testing discriminated against Black employees, and those tests must be proven to be reasonable measures of job performance (see also Holliday & Holmes, 2003).

1975: The Society of Indian Psychologists (SIP) is formed independently of APA, merging the American Indian Interest Group and the Network of Indian Psychologists. The group was concerned with the lack of representation of First Peoples within APA (Gray, 2012).

1975–2020

Over the past 50 years, critics contend that U.S. psychology has failed to fully represent people of color and the concerns of communities of color. Furthermore, it has failed to address ongoing concerns about White normativity in psychology and the use of instruments and practices that discriminate against people of color. Between 1975 and the present, several guidelines and recommendations were issued, which do not have the force of professional ethics codes, and compliance remains voluntary. Separate associations and societies continued to be formed during this time to create space for psychologists of color and the issues that are central for communities of color.

1978: The first report from the President's Commission on Mental Health is issued, documenting overrepresentation of people of color in mental health statistics and the lack of effective services for these communities. Subpanels attending to individual ethnic and racial groups stressed the presence of discriminatory barriers for people of color seeking services and the need for policies that accounted for the needs and experiences of each group (Grob, 2005).

1978: Thirty representatives of the Ethnic Minority Psychology Associations (EMPAs) convene with APA leadership to urge APA to provide a strong presence for ethnic minority concerns in the organization (Jones, 1999; Smith & Pickren, 2018; Sue, 1983). They recommended the formation of a Board of Ethnic Minority Affairs (BEMA). Council rejected this proposal, and APA formed the Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs. The following year, the APA Board proposed creating a standing bylaws committee instead of BEMA, but Council rejected this and put the issue to the membership (Conger, 1980). It passed, and APA established the Board of Ethnic Minority Affairs in 1980. In 1990, BEMA was sunset, and the Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs took its place.

1979: Several organizations coalesce to form the National Hispanic Psychological Association, which later became the National Latinx Psychological Association.

1979: Congressional hearings for the Truth in Testing Act are held. White psychologists testified regarding the utility of ability-based scoring and the generalizability of testing. Black psychologists reiterated that standardized testing is problematic and discriminatory (US Government Printing Office, 1980). This same year, the Federal District Court of Northern California rules in favor of five Black students who had been placed in special education classes due to their performance on psychological tests. The case centered on the use of psychological tests and their role in blocking educational and economic opportunities for Black youth in California (*Larry P. v. Riles,* 1979).

1980: Chicano Studies professors James Vásquez and Clotilde Gold publish *Counseling and Minorities: A Bibliography*. They noted that limited amount of work had been done on counseling with communities of color and that the work that did exist often went unnoticed by practitioners, professors, and students. Less than 4% of the articles in the bibliography were from psychology journals and only three were from either the flagship or mainstream journals of APA.

1983: Rogler (1983) provides data demonstrating Puerto Rican and Black people are more frequently diagnosed with mental illness and more frequently admitted to community mental health centers.

1985: APA, along with the American Educational Research Association and the National Council on Measurement in Education, issues a new set of *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing.* This is the fifth set of standards spanning a -30year period. The new edition highlights rights and privileges of test takers and includes attention to nonnative English speakers, along with race, ethnicity, and culture (Wagner, 1987)

1985: In *Personality and Individual Differences*, psychologist J. Philippe Rushton publishes the first of more than 150 articles claiming that compared to Whites, Africans evolved to have lower intelligence, have more children and care for them poorly, and have a greater tendency to commit crime.

1986: Logan Wright becomes the first American Indian to serve as president of APA, 93 years after the Association's founding (Gray, 2012).

1986: Division 45, the Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues, was established to draw attention to issues related to ethnic minority psychology (Holliday & Holmes, 2003; Morales, Lau, & Ballesteros, 2012).

1988: Ponteretto (1988) reviews articles published in the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* between 1976 and 1986 and finds that %5.7 of the articles focus on people of color. Furthermore, people of color made up only 6.5 to %11.1 of regular editorial board reviewers.

1990: Psychologist Arthur Jensen is invited as keynote speaker for the Society for General Psychology at the annual APA convention. At this time, Jensen was continuing to assert the importance of heredity in explaining the social position of Black Americans and continued to speak publicly of the dangers of compensatory social programs until his death in 2012.

1990: Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, people of color are grossly underrepresented in APA and in the field more generally due to historical marginalization and exclusion (Bernal & Castro, 1994). They represented only 17% of members of boards and committees (primarily serving on public interest boards and committees) and only 6% of the Council of Representatives (Hall, 1997). During this time, people of color represented 26.3% of the U.S. population. In 2000, racial/ethnic minority psychologists represented 5.8% of APA's total membership. This includes .3% American Indian, 1.7% Asian, 2.1% Hispanic, 1.7% Black, and <.1% Multiracial/Multiethnic. Numbers in the U. S. workforce were similar in 2000: 90% White, 2% Asian, 5% Hispanic, and 2% Black (American Psychological Association, 2020b). In a 2007 report, Division 45 summarized the number of awards given to people of color, demonstrating that members of these groups have been historically marginalized and excluded within APA. They also note disparities in governance and Council participation, Fellow status, and distribution of NIH funding (Division 45 Science Committee, 2007).

1990: Sue and Sue report that 50% of people identified as minority group members terminate counseling after the first session. This is compared to 30% of White people. Further research suggested this was related to negative experiences and lack of cultural sensitivity on the part of therapists (Fukuyama, 1990).

1992: Reviews of APA's Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct find little mention of race and ethnicity (Hall, 1997). The following year, APA issues Guidelines for Providers of Psychological Services to Ethnic, Linguistic, and Culturally Diverse Populations (American Psychological Association, 1993).

1992: Graham (1992) reviews literature in six top APA journals and finds that, between 1970 and 1989, 3.6% of published articles are focused on African Americans, a number that showed a steady decrease. She further finds that most of the published work is focused on complexities of using standardized instruments with Black people and notes that while it is important to attend to these complexities, it means that little to no work is published addressing healthy personality development and competent intellectual functioning.

1994: Alice Chang becomes the first person of color to serve on APA's Board of Directors.

1997: Raymond Cattell is selected the winner of the APA Gold Medal Award for Life Achievement in Psychological Science. A small group of psychologists protested the award, charging that Cattell's work was racist, promoted White supremacy, and supported eugenics and neo-Nazi activists. APA delayed the award in order to form a committee to investigate the charges. A larger group of APA members protested its postponement. The following year, Cattell withdrew his name from consideration. Cattell died in 1998 but remains one of the few psychologists (along with Arthur Jensen, Linda Gottfredson, and Richard Lynn) listed on the Southern Poverty Law Center's Extremist Files (Southern Poverty, n.d.; Tucker, 2009).

1998: Psychologist Glayde Whitney writes the foreword to *My Awakening,* the autobiography of racial extremist and former Klansman David Duke. Whitney blames "organized Jewry" for suppressing the "truth" about racial differences.

1999: Psychologist Richard Suinn is elected the first Asian American president of APA, more than a century after the Association's founding.

2001: The U.S. Surgeon General report on Mental health: Culture, race, and ethnicity—A supplement to mental health showed evidence and reported concerns that the gap between research and practice is particularly wide for racial and ethnic minorities. (Sue & Zane, 2006)

2003: The President's New Freedom Commission on Mental Health finds racial and ethnic differences in rates of psychopathology and points to continued inaccessibility and ineffectiveness of treatment options. Echoing previous reports, the Commission found that clients of color often saw psychotherapists or received treatments that did not consider the clients' experiences, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and race-based life circumstances. (Sue & Zane, 2006)

2003: APA files an amicus brief in support of the University of Michigan's right to consider race in admissions procedures in order to achieve a diverse student body. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the University.

2005: Representatives of the EMPAs begin attending APA Council of Representatives meetings as observers. Council requests that APA Boards and Committees begin exploring bylaw changes to provide voting seats for EMPA representatives on Council. The issue went in front of Council, Boards and Committees, and the membership three times over 15 years, failing to pass. The bylaw change was finally approved by the membership in 2020. (American Psychological Association, 2012; 2020a).

2005: Jessica Henderson Daniels becomes the first Black woman elected to the APA Board of Directors

2006–2015: Psychologist Richard Lynn's books on racial differences are published by Washington Summit Publishers, designated a hate group by the SPLC.

2007: Research shows that Black clients' experiences of microaggressions from White therapists have a significant impact on therapeutic alliances and their ratings of satisfaction with both the counselor and counseling in general. Constantine notes that "in the face of perceived racial microaggressions in counseling, African American clients, in fact, might feel much worse after their counseling experiences than before." (Constantine, 2007, p. 13; see also Helms & Cook, 1999).

2011: Melba J. T. Vasquez is elected the first Latina president of APA.

2013: Members of racial/ethnic minority groups account for 16.4%of the psychology workforce, compared to 39.6% of the overall workforce and 25.8% of the doctoral/professional workforce (American Psychological Association, 2015).

2014: APA, along with the American Educational Research Association and the National Council on Measurement in Education, issues a new set of Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing. This is the sixth set of standards spanning a 30-year period. The new edition elevates considerations of fairness alongside considerations of reliability and validity in educational and psychological testing (Worrell & Roberson, 2016).

2017: APA membership data provides the following demographics of APA members in 2017: American Indian, .2%; Hispanic, 1.7%; Black, 2.0%; White, 60.1%; Pacific Islander, 0%; Multiracial/multi-ethnic, 0.7%; Other, 0.2%; Not specified, 32.6% (American Psychological Association, 2017).

2017: The American Arab, Middle Eastern, and North African Psychological Association (AMENAPsy) is established.

2018: Jessica Henderson Daniel elected first Black woman president of APA.

2018: Examining the editorship of six top-tier psychology journals from 1974 to 2018, researchers find that only 5% of editors were people of color (Roberts et al., 2020). The authors chose these journals based on their strong reputation as top journals in social, cognitive, and developmental psychology.

2019: The APA Center for Workforce Studies reports the following demographic statistics for the field of psychology: Asian, 4% (4,887); Black/AA, 3% (3,733); Hispanic, 7% (8,203); Other, 2% (2,145); White 83% (91,302). According to the report, "Other includes American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander, other race and those with two or more." Population data in the United States from this same period provides the following demographics: Asian, 5.9%; Black/AA, 13.4%; Hispanic, 18.5%; Other, 4.3%; and White, 60.1%. While all groups (other than non-Hispanic Whites) represented approximately 42% of the general population, they represented only 16% of psychologists. (American Psychological Association, 2020b; U.S. Census Bureau, 2021).

2021: The APA Council of Representatives votes to adopt the APA Resolution on Racism: *Harnessing Psychology to Combat Racism: Adopting a Uniform Definition and Understanding.*

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