

RECONTEXTUALIZING KENNETH B. CLARK: An Afrocentric Perspective on the Paradoxical Legacy of a Model Psychologist–Activist

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Kenneth B. Clark, whose scientific and political legacy has been the subject of controversy over the years, is presented as an important model of Afrocentric scientific praxis. Key characteristics of the Afrocentric scholar are outlined. Using Clark's academic and nonacademic writings as evidence, it is argued that Clark, though complex, exemplifies these characteristics. Clark's profound yet at times obscure vision of integration and his views on the role of empathy and respect in education are presented in detail. Clark's life and work are then reexamined and recast through the lens of W. E. Cross's (1971, 1991) nigrescence model and the political–historical lens of the 2-phase Black social movement. It is concluded that academicians interested in promoting diversity, particularly within the social sciences, as well as psychologists looking for models of activist praxis, examine and learn from the life and work of Clark.

I look back and I shudder at how naive we all were in our belief in the steady progress racial minorities would make through programs of litigation and education, and while I very much hope for the emergence of a revived civil rights movement with innovative programs and dedicated leaders, I am forced to recognize that my life has, in fact, been a series of glorious defeats. (K. B. Clark, 1989, p. 18)

Kenneth B. Clark is a scientist with whose role in history I have long been fascinated.¹ Best known for his research on racial self-concept in Black children and also for his important contributions to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense Fund's (NAACP–LDF) battle for an end to legalized racial segregation in the United States in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), Clark was also the first and only Black president of the

Much earlier versions of this article were presented at the annual meetings of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, Atlanta, Georgia, and in the Department of Psychology, University of Georgia, both in October 1994. I thank Lee D. Baker and Roger K. Thomas for extremely helpful comments on prepublication drafts of this article, Josh C. Haskell for transcribing the interview I conducted with Kenneth B. Clark in October 1994, and Russia Hughes for her role in arranging the interview. I offer much thanks, of course, to Kenneth B. Clark for participating in the interview, which allowed me to fill in some of the gaps in the historical record and to obtain a first-person view of my biographical subject.

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¹ In keeping with the womanist scientific principle of locating oneself and one's perspective at the center of inquiry and acknowledging and highlighting one's own biases, I use the first-person voice in this article. Furthermore, in keeping with the womanist principle that people should be allowed to speak for themselves, Clark will be quoted rather than paraphrased whenever possible in this article.

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