48th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists

Black Politics at an Intersection: Challenging Persistent Inequities

March 15-18, 2017
Crowne Plaza
2270 Hotel Circle North
San Diego, California 92108
Thursday, March 16, 2017

Celebration of Success @NCOBPS

6:30PM – 10:00PM
Old Town Tequila Factory Restaurant & Cantina
2467 Juan St, San Diego, CA 92110

Join the Conference Chairs and our sponsors as we celebrate the graduate, faculty, and professional successes of membership. After the business meeting, enjoy a private buffet of tacos, tostados, margaritas, and other Mexican flavors, while celebrating our professional success.

Hosted by Conference Chairs Christina Greer and Ravi Perry
Sponsored by the University of Delaware, College of Arts & Sciences (David Wilson and KC Morrison)

* Attendees should use the hotel shuttle service, ride share services, or taxis to get to Old Town.
Hello NCOBPS Family and Supporters:

Welcome to the 48th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS). We are very excited about this meeting that will further inform, empower, and energize us and many community partners. Our great thanks to all leaders who worked very hard to make this meeting possible; most especially our outstanding Program Co-Chairs, Dr. Christina Greer and Dr. Ravi Perry, as well as our beloved Executive Director, Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden, and Ms. Margaret Clark. They and many others have arranged an outstanding conference for you in this lovely city of San Diego, CA. Enjoy the sites but of course don’t miss all the plenary sessions, roundtables, paper panels, receptions, and special presentations on this year’s program. We will engage the community while providing analysis consistent with this year’s theme, “Black Politics at the Intersection: Challenging Persistent Inequalities.”

Among the highlights of this year’s conference is our Annual Awards dinner and a keynote address by Black LGBTQ activist, author, and former White House official, Keith Boykin. Another important highlight is the Founders Student Symposium dedicated to the memory of our beloved sister, graduate student representative, and outstanding Executive Councilmember, Dr. Savannah Carroll. You will see that great care has been taken with this year’s program to draw upon elder, scholarly knowledge while embracing new and cutting-edge questions and methods.

In times like these, we need to remain connected and energized. I have attempted during my NCOBPS presidency to reaffirm our foundations while moving forward to new growth possibilities. In short, I have attempted to lay the groundwork for the “Next NCOBPS.” At the end of this meeting, the brilliant and dynamic Dr. Shayla Nunnally will be installed as the 39th president of NCOBPS. It will be a very proud moment; but I am also contemplative. It has been my greatest honor to serve you. I hope I have served you well and given back to an association who has given me so much both personally and professionally. My thanks to all the brilliant NCOBPS leaders who have contributed to our progress.

I hope in the years to come you can continue to “give back.” Listen for the opportunity to pledge to our development campaign that in the next 5-years seeks to raise around $1 million. In 2019, this association will celebrate its 50th anniversary as the Global Black community commemorates the 400th anniversary of the 1619 North American landing of captive, indentured Africans by Europeans. We in NCOBPS join a multitude of other progressive scholar-activists to assert we will remember our history but we refuse to return to forms of oppression our ancestors valiantly fought to defeat. We refuse to return under President Donald Trump’s administration or anyone!

So, in a “Sankofa spirit” let us reflect on past lessons and recognize various important intersections as we energetically move forward to the many great things to come!

Yours in Solidarity,

Dr. Todd C. Shaw
38th NCOBPS President,
CAS Distinguished Associate Professor of
Political Science & African American Studies
University of South Carolina
Welcome from the 48th Annual Meeting Program Co-Chairs

Dear NCOBPS Members, Supporters, and Friends:

We genuinely welcome you to San Diego for the 48th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS). The Program Co-Chairs, Executive Council, and Section Chairs have worked tirelessly to coordinate scholars and activists at a conference that is intellectually stimulating, professionally rewarding, and a space and place for networking, fellowship, strategizing, and resource sharing. The theme for this year’s conference program is “Black Politics at an Intersection: Challenging Persistent Inequities.” The theme explores the inter- and intra-sections of movements, methodologies, demographics, and strategies within 21st century Black politics. Blackness has always been a contested political reality. For centuries, the state has long curtailed Black access to make justice a reality. In the last century, political candidates often sought to use Blacks’ nascent political opportunities – from voting to elected office and issue campaigns – for personal political expediency with limited tangible benefits for Black communities. The papers, panels, posters, and roundtables reflect heterogeneity within and external to Blackness and scholarship that recognizes Blackness as both a political and ascriptive identity as well as the diasporic racial politics, global struggles, and triumphs of Black movements internationally.

We would like to express our deepest gratitude and sincerest appreciation to our diligent Section Chairs, the NCOBPS Executive Council, Panel Chairs and Discussant Volunteers, and especially the tireless efforts of Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden. We are grateful to the talented Ms. Christina Hairston, a senior Communication Arts and Art History major at Virginia Commonwealth University, who designed the cover art for the program. We would also like to thank Kim Mealy and the American Political Science Association (APSA) for their financial assistance and overall support for the program and the NCOBPS organization. Moreover, we would like to thank the University of Delaware College of Arts and Sciences (David Wilson and KC Morrison), the Association of the Study of Black Women in Politics (ASPWP), and the Politics, Groups, and Identities journal for providing additional support for various aspects of the conference.

Our collaborations with the San Diego NAACP, the Voice & Viewpoint newspaper, and the Central San Diego Black Chamber of Commerce provided much valuable information as we endeavored to plan this year’s program. Hence, in addition to the robust panels assembled, we encourage you to take advantage of the sights (and weather) in San Diego. Please be sure to venture just ten minutes away to Old Towne in San Diego, where you can see the rich history of Mexican Americans and African Americans in this region.

Welcome to San Diego and the 48th Annual NCOBPS Conference. We look forward to (re)connecting and expanding the conversation of Blacks Politics at an Intersection within and beyond the boundaries of the U.S. polity.

In Solidarity,

Ravi K. Perry, Ph.D.
Co-Chair, 48th Annual Conference

Christina Greer, Ph.D.
Co-Chair, 48th Annual Conference
KEVIN L. FAULCONER
Mayor

WELCOME TO THE

48th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists

March 15-18, 2017

On behalf of the citizens of San Diego, it is my pleasure to welcome you to the 48th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists.

We are delighted that you chose to host your 48th annual meeting in our beautiful city. I am certain you will find San Diego to be the perfect location for your conference and I invite you to explore America’s Finest City during your stay here.

We are pleased to celebrate and share this experience with you. Please accept my warmest wishes for an enjoyable event in San Diego.

Best personal regards,

Kevin L. Faulconer
Mayor
NCOBPS Statement on Diversity and Harassment

The National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) is a professional organization committed to upholding the principles of our history and mission as governed by our Constitution and By-Laws. Annual Meetings are conducted in a scholarly and professional manner where NCOBPS strives to foster and sustain a professional environment of inclusiveness that empowers all to participate without fear of prejudice or bias.

Each year, NCOBPS is dedicated to providing an exemplary educational conference that offers a nurturing and challenging intellectual climate, a respect for the spectrum of human diversity, and a genuine understanding of the many differences that enrich our vibrant organization, such as race, ethnicity, gender, gender identity/expression, sexual orientation, age, socioeconomic status, disability, religion, national origin or military status.

We expect every member of our NCOBPS family to embrace these underlying values and to demonstrate a strong commitment to attracting, retaining and supporting individuals who feel welcome and free to participate in any NCOBPS-sponsored events. Thus, all forms of unlawful and illegal discrimination, including sexual harassment, other verbal or physical conducts, and/or unprofessional behavior, including extreme or severe use of epithets, slurs, negative stereotyping due to differences in expressed ideology or opinions, are unacceptable and will not be tolerated.
Past Presidents of NCOBPS

Mack H. Jones  
1970-71

Lois B. Hollis  
1986-87

Melissa Nobles  
2005-07

William P. Robinson  
1971-72

Michael Combs  
1987-88

Desiree Selma  
Pedesceleaux  
2007-09

William Daniels  
1972-73

Dianne Pinderhughes  
1988-89

James Taylor  
2009-11

Robert "Bob" Holmes  
1973-74

Paula L. McClain  
1989-90

Tyson King-Meadows  
2011-2013

Tandy Tollerson  
1974-75

Joseph "Pete" Silver  
1990-92

Wendy Smooth  
2013-2015

Leslie B. McLemore  
1975-76

Franklin D. Jones  
1992-93

Todd C. Shaw  
2015-Present

Jewel Limar Prestage  
1976-77

Mamie E. Locke  
1993-94

C. Vernon Gray  
1977-78

William H. Boone  
1994-95

Larry Moss  
1978-79

Minion K.C. Morrison  
1998-99

William E. Nelson  
1979-80

Lenneal J. Henderson  
1995-96

Elsie Scott  
1980-81

Kathie Stromile Golden  
1996-97

Shelby F. Smith Lewis  
1981-82

Sheila Ards  
1997-98

Lorenzo Morris  
1982-83

Joseph P. McCormick  
1999-00

Lucius Barker  
1983-84

Brenda Jones  
2000-01

Huey L. Perry  
1984-85

Marvin Haire  
2001-03

Michael B. Preston  
1985-86

David Covin  
2003-05
NCOBPS Leadership and Council Members

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University of South Carolina

**President-Elect**
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University of Connecticut

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Spelman College

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Emmitt Riley, III, Ph.D.
DePauw University

**48\textsuperscript{th} Annual Meeting Co-Chairs**
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Fordham University

Ravi K. Perry, Ph.D.
Virginia Commonwealth University

**Executive Director**
Kathie Stromile Golden, Ph.D.
Mississippi Valley State Univ.

**Undergraduate Representative**
Courtney Body
Jackson State University

**Graduate Representative**
Najja Baptist
Howard University

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University of Wisconsin-Lacrosse

Khalilah Brown-Dean, Ph.D.
Quinnipiac University

Keesha Middlemass, Ph.D.
Trinity University

Clarissa Peterson, Ph.D.
DePauw University

Terri Platt, Ph.D.
Clark Atlanta University

Christopher Whitt, Ph.D.
Augustana College
NCOBPS Appointed Leadership

President-Appointed Positions, Non-Voting Status

Khalilah Brown-Dean, Parliamentarian
Quinnipiac University

Sheila Harmon Martin, Historian
University of the District of Columbia

Newsletter Editor
Sherri Wallace, University of Louisville

NCOBPS Institute Director
Kurt Young, Clark Atlanta University

NCOBPS Council Appointed Positions, Non-Council Status

National Political Science Review
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Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, Managing Editor
University of California, Irvine

Julia Jordan-Zachery, Associate Managing Editor
Providence College

Duchess Harris
Macalester College

Angela K. Lewis
Univ. of Alabama, Birmingham

Sharon Wright Austin
The University of Florida

Keisha Blain, Book Review Editor
University of Iowa

Email: NPSREditors@gmail.com
Other NCOBPS Leadership

NCOBPS Independent Foundations
Graduate Assistantship Program, Inc. (G.A.P.)
Kathie Stromile Golden, President
Mississippi Valley State University

Jewel Limar Prestige Mentorship Award
Shiela Harmon Martin
University of the District of Columbia

Diane Pinderhughes Award Committee
Lorrie Frasure Yokely
U. of California, Los Angeles

Standing Committees/Task Forces
Executive Committee Chair
Todd C. Shaw, University of South Carolina

2017 Conference Program Co-Chairs
Christina Greer, Fordham University

Ravi K. Perry
Virginia Commonwealth University

Awards Committee Chair
Shayla Nunnally, University of Connecticut

Governance and Infrastructure Task Force Chair
Shayla Nunnally, University of Connecticut

LGBT Task Force Co-Chairs
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University of the District of Columbia

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Public Policy Center/Howard U., Vice-Chair

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Marion Orr, Brown University

Hanes Walton Jr. ICPSR Summer Fellowship
Tyson King-Meadows, Chair
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Assoc. for the Study of Black Women in Politics
Nikol Alexander-Floyd, Rutgers University
NCOBPS Awards Committee Chairs

W.E.B. Du Bois Distinguished Book Award Co-Chairs
Megan Ming Francis, University of Washington
Christopher Stout, Oregon State University

Rodney Higgins Best Faculty Paper Award
Randolph Burnside, University of Southern Illinois, Chair

Fannie Lou Hamer Outstanding Community Service Award
Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Chair

Bayard Rustin Best LGBT Student Paper Award
Brittney Lewis, University of Minnesota, Chair

Anna Julia Cooper Teacher of the Year Award
Walton Brown-Foster, Central Connecticut State University, Chair

Sammy Younge Best Student Paper Award
Monique L. Lyle, University of South Carolina, Chair

Alex Willingham Best Political Theory Paper Award
Shayla C. Nunnally, University of Connecticut, Chair
“For centuries, the state has long curtailed Black access to make justice a reality.”

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<th>SECTIONS</th>
<th>CO-CHAIR 1</th>
<th>CO-CHAIR 2</th>
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<td>I. African and Diaspora Politics</td>
<td>Dr. Kurt Young</td>
<td>Dr. Maziki Thame</td>
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<td>Clark Atlanta University</td>
<td>University of West Indies, Mona, Jamaica</td>
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<td>II. Politics, Inequality, and Social Justice</td>
<td>Dr. Natasha Christie</td>
<td>Dr. Lolita D. Gray</td>
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<td>University of North Florida</td>
<td>Jackson State University</td>
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<td>III. Comparative Politics, International Relations,</td>
<td>Dr. Michael Clemons</td>
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<tr>
<td>and Transnational Politics</td>
<td>Old Dominion University</td>
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<td>IV. Identity Politics:</td>
<td>Dr. Tonya Williams</td>
<td>Dr. James Taylor</td>
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<td>Gender, Class, Ethnicity, Sexuality, and Religion</td>
<td>Johnson C. Smith University</td>
<td>University of San Francisco</td>
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<td>V. Teaching, Scholarly Research, and Professional</td>
<td>Dr. Boris Ricks</td>
<td>Dr. Christopher Whitt</td>
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<td>Development</td>
<td>California State University, Northridge</td>
<td>Augustana College</td>
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<td>VI. Undergraduate Research</td>
<td>Dr. Khalilah Brown-Dean</td>
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<td>VII. Political Theory, Philosophy, and Methodology</td>
<td>Dr. Niambi Carter</td>
<td>Dr. Cory Gooding</td>
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<td>Howard University</td>
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<td>VIII. Political Institutions and Public Policy</td>
<td>Dr. Angela Lewis</td>
<td>Dr. Emmitt Riley</td>
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<td>University of Birmingham at Alabama</td>
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<td>IX. Politics and Popular Culture</td>
<td>Dr. Lakeyta Bonnette</td>
<td>Dr. H. Lavar Pope</td>
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<td>Georgia State University</td>
<td>Ohio University</td>
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<td>X. Public Opinion and Political Participation</td>
<td>Dr. Ray Block</td>
<td>Dr. Maruice Mangum</td>
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<td>University of Wisconsin, La Crosse</td>
<td>North Carolina A&amp;T State University</td>
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## SCHEDULE AT A GLANCE

### Wednesday, March 15
- **12-4pm**
  - Executive Council Meeting

### Thursday, March 16
- **8am-5pm**
  - Conference Registration

- **9am-10:15am**
  - Opening Plenary: Black Politics at an Intersection: Challenging Persistent Inequities

- **10:15-11:45am**
  - Concurrent Sessions I

- **12-1:00pm**
  - Professional Development Lunch with APSA Executive Director Steve Smith

- **1:15-2:30pm**
  - Concurrent Sessions II

- **2:45-4pm**
  - Concurrent Sessions III

### Friday, March 17
- **8am-5pm**
  - Conference Registration

- **9-10:15am**
  - Plenary Session 2: Black California Politics

- **10:30-11:45am**
  - Concurrent Sessions V

### Saturday, March 18
- **8-9am**
  - ASBWP Business Meeting and Mentoring Breakfast

### Additional Events
- **4:30-5:30pm**
  - A Conversation with David Lake and APSA’s Role Confronting Inequities in the Age of Trump

- **4:30-6:30pm**
  - Conference Registration

- **6pm-8pm**
  - Welcome Reception

- **8-9am**
  - PGI Coffee Break

- **9-10:15am**
  - Luiza Helena Bairros Special Session

- **10:30-11:45am**
  - Concurrent Sessions IX

- **12:30pm**
  - Closing Luncheon, Presidential Installation, Plenary Session #3 Action Steps and Moving Forward

- **2pm**
  - ASBWP After Chat
NCOBPS 48th Annual Conference

Call for Proposals

Black Politics at an Intersection: Challenging Persistent Inequities

The conference theme, Black Politics at an Intersection: Challenging Persistent Inequities, explores the inter- and intra-sections of movements, methodologies, demographics, and strategies within 21st century Black politics. Blackness has always been a contested political reality. For centuries, the state has long curtailed Black access to make justice a reality. In the last century, political candidates often sought to use Blacks’ nascent political opportunities – from voting to elected office and issue campaigns – for personal political expediency with limited tangible benefits for Black communities. More recently, prominent voices within Black political struggles have even implicated a narrow vision of Black politics – a view too often laced in one-dimensional understandings of protest and identity formation. Throughout each of these intersections, despite progress, persistent inequalities and dogged inequities have remained. Powerful voices within Black grassroots spaces of political engagement have argued a different narrative. These voices and their allies have served to engage a theory of Blackness and Black politics, centered on the multiplicity of strategies, visions, and activisms available to realize Black inclusion in politics.

We encourage proposals that assess the heterogeneity within and external to Blackness and scholarship that recognizes Blackness as both a political and ascriptive identity. We also encourage posters, papers and panels that give further insight into diasporic racial politics and international struggles and triumphs of Black movements internationally. San Diego, California, a border town, is an ideal conference location that will assist conference attendees in broadening analyses of the role and place of Black identity and the inequitable outcomes that persist in Black communities across the United States. The geographic intersections of border politics and global Blackness contribute to the dialogue of Black Politics at an Intersection that extends beyond the boundaries of the U.S. polity.
# PROGRAM of ACTIVITIES

## Wednesday, March 15

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tr>
<td>Executive Council Meeting</td>
<td>12:00pm-4:00pm</td>
<td>Peacock 2</td>
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<td>ASBWP Black Feminist Theory Workshop</td>
<td>12:00pm-4:00pm</td>
<td>Tropic</td>
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<td>A Conversation with APSA President David Lake:</td>
<td>4:30-5:30pm</td>
<td>Coral Reef</td>
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<td>APSA’s Role Confronting Inequities in the Age of Trump</td>
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<tr>
<td>Welcome Reception</td>
<td>6:00pm-8:00pm</td>
<td>Grand Hanalei Foyer</td>
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Thursday, March 16 9:00-10:15am
Opening Plenary: Black Politics at an Intersection:
Challenging Persistent Inequities
Location: Coral Reef

Chairs:  Christina Greer, Fordham University
         Ravi Perry, Virginia Commonwealth University
         Kenyon Farrow, Treatment Action Group
         D’andra Orey, Jackson State University
         Keesha Middlemass, Trinity University
         K.C. Morrison, University of Delaware
         Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, University of California, Irvine

10:30-11:45am Concurrent Session I
Panel 1: Persistent Challenges & Emerging Perspectives on African & Diaspora Politics
Location: Tropic Room
Chair: David Wilson, University of Delaware

How Can Africa Grow Into the World as a Global Super Power, If Africa Were to Unite?
Kurt Young, Clark Atlanta University

The Tentacle Impact: A Case Study of Multinational Corporations Environmental
Effects in the African Diaspora
Zahari Peoples, Clark Atlanta University

The Development of Pan African Ideals, Political Values and Knowledge
Jarrod Grant, Clark Atlanta University
Noel Whelchel, Clark Atlanta University

Discussant: Emmanuel A. Balogun, University of Delaware
Panel 2: Special Panel on Cedric Robinson
Location: Surf Room
Chair and Discussant: Darryl Thomas

The Promise of Black Fugitivity
*Damien Sojoyner, University of California, Irvine*

Policing Third World Communities Inside/Outside of the United States:
The Militarization of Policing in the 21st Century
*Darryl Thomas, Pennsylvania State University*

Black Lives Matter & Authority of the Righteous
*H.L.T. Quan, School of Justice & Social Inquiry*

Grief is the Price We Pay for Love: Mourning, Loss, and Political Action
*Tiffany Willoughby-Heard, University of California, Irvine*

Riffing on Robey:
*Zachery Price, University of California, Los Angeles*

Panel 3: The Politics of Race and Place
Location: Kauai Room
Chair: Christopher Stout, Oregon State University

The Role of Race, Party Id, Metro Type, and Neighborhood Socio-Economic Context on Policy Preferences Among American Women
*Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, University of California Los Angeles*
*Jessica Stewart, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)*

Neighborhood Dissatisfaction and Contemporary Urban Unrest: Racial and Spatial Cleavages in Perceptions About Quality of Life in Baltimore, 2009-2014
*Tyson King-Meadows, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC)*

The Geography of Black Political Behavior: Time, Movement, and Political Culture
*Princess Williams, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor*

Discussant: Candis Watts-Smith, UNC – Chapel Hill
Thursday, March 16

10:30-11:45am Concurrent Session I Continued

Panel 4: Roundtable:
  Between Barack Obama and Alton Sterling: The Paradoxical State of Black America
Location: Maui Room
Chair: Albert Samuels, Southern University

Revathi Hines, Southern University
Melanie Johnson, Southern University
Leslie Grover, Southern University
Patricia Smith, Louisiana State University

Thursday, March 16th 12:00pm-1:00pm
Professional Development/Networking Lunch with Dr. Steve Smith
Sponsored by the American Political Science Association
Location: Coral Reef

1:15-2:30pm Concurrent Session II

Panel 5: Using Big Data to Address Political Inequalities in Black Politics
Location: Tropic Room
Chair: Jamil Scott, Michigan State University

Tweets as Protest: Understanding Black Political Expression on Social Media
Jamil Scott, Michigan State University

Who needs the Negro," Expanding Dr. Ron Walter's discussion on African Americans Unemployment in the 21st Century: Technology Solutions
Kimberly Harper, Howard University
Richmond Danso, Howard University

Discussant: Domingo Morel, Rutgers University - Newark

Panel 6: Politics of Affect and Community
Location: Surf Room
Chair: Cory Gooding, University of San Diego

The Exoneration of Black Rage
Debra Thompson, Northwestern University

Non-Western Philosophy and the Social Contract Theory: Exploring Theoretical Agency
Michelle Wilson, Clark Atlanta University

Pan-African Dimensions of National Liberation Theory
Kurt Young, Clark Atlanta University

Discussant: Niambi Carter, Howard University
**Thursday, March 16**

**1:15-2:30pm Concurrent Session II Continued**

### Panel 7: Politics and the Black Economy

- **Location:** Pacific Room
- **Chair:** Athena King

1. The Political Economy of Black Education: Detroit, Neoliberalism, and White Elites  
   *AJ Rice, Michigan State University*

2. The Economic Agenda of the Black Lives Matter Movement and the Significance of Racism, Historically and in the 21st Century  
   *Matthew Campbell, Mississippi State University*

3. The Politics of Payday Loans: Race, Inequality, and the Rise of the Fringe Economy  
   *Patricia Posey, University of Pennsylvania*

   **Discussant:** Athena King

### Panel 8: Queer Dreams Deferred: What does “Freedom” Have to Do With Black Queer Futures?

- **Location:** Kauai Room
- **Chair:** Tonya Williams, Johnson C. Smith University

1. Queer Dreams Deferred: Black Queer Futures, Freedom, and Black Politics  
   *Tommi Hayes, University of California, Santa Cruz*

   *Gabriela Corona Valencia, California State University, Dominguez Hills*

3. Intramural Politics in Film: Drawing the Connection Between Sakia Gunn and Fannie Lou Hamer through Zenzele Isoke’s *Theories on Black Women’s Positionality*  
   *Cheryl Flores, University of California, Irvine*

   *Kenyon Farrow, Treatment Action Group*

5. The Radical Inclusivity of the Black Lives Matter Movement  
   *Chaya Crowder, Princeton University*

   **Discussant:** Tonya Williams, Johnson C. Smith University
Thursday, March 16

1:15-2:30pm Concurrent Session II Continued

Panel 9: Political Participation
Location: Maui Room
Chair: Andra Gillespie, Emory University

The Efficacy of Participation When Public Schools Close
*Sally Nuamah, Northwestern University*

The Effect of Intergenerational Poverty on Political Participation
*Christina Slaughter, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)*

From Politics Back to Protest? Group Consciousness, Age Differences, and Black Political Mobilization in 2016 Presidential Election
*Jonathan Collins, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)*

The 2016 Presidential General Election Voter Protection Project
*Gabrielle Gray, Howard University*
*Naya Young, Howard University*

*Discussant: Judith Baer, Texas A&M University*

2:45-4:00pm Concurrent Session III

Panel 10: Democracy, Development & the Politics of the State
Location: Tropic Room

Chair: Kurt Young, Clark Atlanta University

Local Dynamics of Democratic Consolidation: Exploring Democracy-Promotion in Côte d'Ivoire
*Justine Davis, University of California, Berkeley*

Trends in West African Drug Policy
*Felix Kumah-Abiwu, Kent State University*

Pan-Africanism & the Belizean State: Some Preliminary Notes
*Kurt Young, Clark Atlanta University*

*Discussant: Kurt Young, Clark Atlanta University*
**Thursday, March 16th, 2:45-4:00pm Concurrent Session III Continued**

**Panel 11: Health, Education, and Housing Policy in the Black Community**
Location: Surf Room  
*Chair: Lolita Gray, Jackson State University*

The Fact of Blackness: Incorrigible Sexual Deviance and HIV Criminalization  
*Marcus Lee, Independent Scholar*

The Last Stages of Gentrification: Mayoral Elections in Washington, Dc  
*Lorenzo Morris, Howard University*

An Ethical Approach to Public Policy Creation and the Impact on Health Disparities within Minority Communities  
*Lolita Gray, Jackson State University*  
*Lemaul Barney, Jackson State University*  

*Discussant: Ray Block, University of Wisconsin at a Crosse*

**Panel 12: Environmental (In)Justice**
Location: Pacific Room  
*Chair: Sheila Harmon Martin, University of the District of Columbia*

Does Response Matter? Environmental (In)Justice in Two American Cities:  
Eight Mile, Alabama, and Aliso Canyon, California  
*Boris Ricks, California State University, Northridge*  
*Brianna Scott, California State University, Northridge*

Environmental Justice Policy, Intersectionality and Racial Context  
*Athena King, Jackson State University*  
*Byron D’Andra Orey, Jackson State University*

Beyond Protest  
*Kimberly Fields, Independent Scholar*

*Discussant: Sheila Harmon Martin, University of the District of Columbia*
Thursday, March 16th, 2:45-4:00pm Concurrent Session III Continued

Panel 13: Interrogating the Politics of Identity: Ideology, Elites and Institutions of Social Control

Location: Kauai Room

Chair: Shayla C. Nunnally, University of Connecticut

When the Giant Sleeps: Theorizing the Absence of African American Women in Traditional Leadership Roles in the Power Politics of National Education Reform”
Maisha Leek, Howard University

The Paradox of Spanking: Ideology, Context, and Framing Effects on Attitudes Toward Corporal Punishment
David Wilson, University of Delaware

Black Women and the Criminal Justice System:
The Politics of Processing Sexual Assault Cases
Chanell M. Fitch, Clark Atlanta University
Teri Platt, Clark Atlanta University

Winning with Consequences:
The Role of White Identity Politics on Black Political Frameworks
Brent Clark Jr., California State University: Sacramento

Discussant: Shayla C. Nunnally, University of Connecticut

4:15-5:30pm Concurrent Session IV

Panel 14: Global Dimensions of Black Politics

Location: Tropic Room

Chair: Sheila Flemming-Hunter, Clark Atlanta University

Black and Red: African Americans and the Soviet Union
Crystal Brown, University of Oregon

The Clintons, and American “Development” of Haiti After the 2010 Earthquake
Russell Benjamin, Northeastern Illinois University

Reparations to Black Americans: A Brief Review of the Literature and Challenges Past and Future
Rongal Nikora, Beloit College

Discussant: Sheila Flemming-Hunter, Clark Atlanta University
Thursday, March 16th 4:15-5:30pm Concurrent Session IV Continued

Panel 15:  #Hashtag Social Justice
Location: Surf Room
Chair and Discussant: Keesha Middlemass, Trinity University

2016 Presidential Election: Hashtags, Social Justice, and the 'Black Vote'
Fredrick Wilson, Howard University

#Blacklivesmatter: Congress and Symbolic Representation Through Twitter
Guillermo Cabellero, Purdue University
Michael Simrak, Purdue University

Reshaping the Shield: The Institutional Development of Law Enforcement in the US, 1945-2016
Andrew McCall, University of California, Berkeley

Panel 16:  Black Politics in Latin America & the Caribbean
Location: Pacific Room
Chair: Danielle P. Clealand

Lifting the Silence: Black Political Attitudes and Racism in Puerto Rico
Danielle Clealand, Florida International University

Black Republicanism: Race and Independence in the Americas
Mark Sawyer, UCLA

Black Politics in Brazil
Ollie Johnson, Wayne State University

Discussant: Dianne Pinderhughes, University of Notre Dame

Panel 17:  Co-Organized by NCOBPS & ASBWP: Roundtable: Navigating the Parent Track:
Achieving Personal and Professional Success in Academe
Location: Kauai Room
Chair: Nikol Alexander-Floyd

Nikol Alexander-Floyd
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Tiffany Willoughby-Herard
University of California, Irvine

Discussant: Nikol Alexander-Floyd
Thursday, March 16th 4:15-5:30pm Student Poster Session

Black Lives Matter: A Poster Session Exploring the Varied Political Experiences of Black Communities

Location: Grand Hanalei Foyer
Chair: B. D'Andra Orey, Jackson State University

An Early Analysis of Black Millennials' Political Participation during the Trump Era
Karmen Townsend, Clark Atlanta University

Black Enough? Shifting Considerations for Affirmative Action
Xavier Loudon, Santa Monica College

Black Girls Matter Too:
Examining the Differential Exclusionary Discipline Practices among Black Girls Attending Public Schools
Sasha Spruill, Virginia Commonwealth University

Does Response Matter? Environmental (In)Justice in Two American Cities: Eight Mile, Alabama, and Aliso Canyon, California
Briana Scott, California State University, Northridge

Voting Rights and Electioneering in 2016: A Case Study of the Tennessee Election Protection Network
Agnes Porter, Middle Tennessee State University

Jesus' Black Life Still Matters: Comparing the Black Church’s Role in the Black Lives Matter Movement
Kelly Richardson, Middle Tennessee State University

Discussant: Melynda Price, University of Kentucky

Thursday, March 15th 4:30pm
APSA’s Committee Meeting on the Status of Blacks in the Profession
Location: Coral Reef

Thursday, March 15th 5:30pm
NCOBPS Business Meeting
Location: Coral Reef

Thursday, March 15th 6:30pm-10pm
Celebration of Success Reception
Location: Old Town Tequila Factory Restaurant and Cantina
2467 Juan St., San Diego, CA 92110
**Friday March 17, 2017 8-9am**  
PGI Coffee Break  
Location: Lagoon

**Friday March 17, 2017 8-9am**  
NCOBPS Development Committee Meeting  
Location: Check Registration Table

**Friday March 17, 2017 9:00-10:15am**  
Plenary: California Black Politics: Challenges and Triumphs  
Location: Coral Reef

*Chair: Mark Sawyer, UCLA*

*Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, University of California Los Angeles*  
*Melina Abdullah, CSU Los Angeles*  
*James Taylor, University of San Francisco*  
*Boris Ricks, California State University, Northridge*  
*Shirley Weber, Democratic Assemblymember for the 79th District in California*  
*John Warren, Publisher and CEO of Voice and Viewpoint*

**Friday, March 17, 10:30-11:45am Concurrent Session V**

**Panel 18: Political Orientation and Political Behavior**  
Location: Tropic Room  
*Chair: Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, University of California Los Angeles*

*Why Aren't More African-Americans Republicans?*  
*Erinn Wilcots, University of Texas at Dallas*

*African American Republican Congressional Candidates: A Typology*  
*Michael Fauntroy, Howard University*

*Explaining Support for Donald Trump:*  
*Economic Anxiety, Racial Resentment, or Old Fashion Racism*  
*Emmitt Riley, DePauw University*  
*Clarissa Peterson, DePauw University*

*Rethinking Race and Class in the Age of Advanced Marginality*  
*Charisse Burden-Stelly, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign*

*Discussant: Tyson King-Meadows, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC)*
Friday, March 17, 10:30-11:45am Concurrent Session V Continued

Panel 19: Black Politics, Black Culture and the Criminalization Effect
Location: Surf Room
Chair: Kathie Stromile Golden, Mississippi Valley State University

Excluded from Protection, Criminalized for Their Existence
Keesha Middlemass, Trinity University

White Privilege in the Criminal Justice System:
Examining the Shift in Media Approach to the War on Drugs
Chanell Fitch, Clark Atlanta University

The Crucible of Reaction:
The Nullification Controversy and the Antebellum Origins of the Southern Strategy
Albert Samuels, Southern University and A & M College

Linguistic Imperialism: Black Politics at an Intersection - Challenging Persistent Inequities
Denise Rosier, Howard University

Discussant: Kathie Stromile Golden, Mississippi Valley State University

Panel 20: Media, Popular Culture and Politics
Location: Pacific Room
Chair: James Taylor, University of San Francisco

African American Political Themes and Issues in Caribbean Popular Music
David Hinds, Arizona State University

Express Yourself: Black Women’s Use of Art as a Form of Self-Articulation and Political Expression
Regina Moorer, Auburn University

Radical Rhetoric: The Mainstream Print Media’s Framing of Black Lives Matter
Andrew Thompson, Independent

What Kind of Mother Is She? From Margaret Garner to Rosa Lee Ingram to the Murder of Korryn Gaines
Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, University of California, Irvine
LaShonda Carter, University of California, Irvine

Discussant: James Taylor, University of San Francisco
Friday, March 17, 10:30-11:45am Concurrent Session V Continued


Location: Kauai Room
Chair: Melanye Price, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Ricky K. Green, California State University, Sacramento
Andrea Moore, California State University, Sacramento
Valarie Williams, California State University, Sacramento
Roy Buchanan, California State University, Sacramento
Kendra Jackson, California State University, Sacramento
Whitney Buckner, California State University, Sacramento
Sabrina Harrell, California State University, Sacramento

Discussant: Melina Abdullah, CSU Los Angeles

Friday, March 17, Noon-1pm
NCOBPS Council of Presidents Luncheon Meeting
Location: Check Registration Table

Friday, March 17, 1:15-2:30pm Concurrent Session VI

Panel 22: Plenary Film Screening of Dreams Deferred: The Sakia Gunn Project (Sponsored by the LGBTQ Caucus)
Location: Tropic Room

Sharonda Woodford, Purdue University
Tommi Hayes, University of California, Santa Cruz
Cheryl Flores, University of California, Irvine

Panel 23: Institutions, Society and the Language of Race
Location: Kauai Room
Chair: Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, UCLA

Prognosis of Race: The Neoliberal Practice of Medicine
Lindsey Smith, University of Alabama

Race and institutions: The Social Construction of Race and the Need for Black Institutions
Stephen C.W. Graves, University of Missouri

Reading Baldwin Now: James Baldwin’s Political Thought and the Contemporary Movement for Black Lives
Lisa A. Beard, University of California – Riverside

Discussant: Cory Gooding, University of San Diego
Panel 24: Black Politics in State and Local Political Institutions
Location: Surf Room
Chair: Lorenzo Morris, Howard University

The Boundaries of Racial Politics in the Tennessee General Assembly:
The Legislative Behavior of Tennessee's Black Lawmakers from 2003-2012
Sekou Franklin, Middle Tennessee State University
Ray Block, University of Wisconsin at La Crosse

Race in the American City: Vestiges of the Old Racial Order in the [New] Urban City
Meghan Wilson, Brown University

Sitting by Designation:
The Strategic Appointment of Federal District Court Judges in Voting Rights Cases
Shenita Brazelton, Old Dominion University

An Examination of Disaster Preparedness Websites in the United States
Mary Bruce, Governors State University

Discussant: Clarence Lusane, Howard University

Panel 25: Congress, the Presidency, and the Boundaries of Black Politics
Location: Pacific Room
Chair: Valeria Sinclair Chapman, Purdue University

The CBC PAC Support Outcomes: Non-Black Candidates
Kenneth Cooper, Howard University

The Effect of Race on Presidential Leadership and Polarization
Matthew Platt, Morehouse College

An Assessment of African-American and 'Have Not' Congressional Representation in the Post-VRA South
Terry William, University of Oregon

The Racial Politics of Congressional Cafeterias
James Jones, Columbia University

Discussant: Valeria Sinclair Chapman, Purdue University
Friday, March 17, 2:45-4:00pm Concurrent Session VII

Panel 26: Teaching While Black: Issues, Pedagogy, and Techniques
Location: Kauai Room
Chair: Christopher Whitt

African Americans and Access to Higher Education:
An Examination of Historically Black Colleges and Universities
Donna Taylor, University College London

The Pedagogy of Political Mobilization:
Practicing Politics in an Intro to American Government Course
Zahra Ahmed, Independent Scholar

Affirmative Action and Refugees of Color: Starting the Conversation
Dorian Crosby, Spellman College

Democratic Authority in the Rulemaking Process
Russell M. Frazier, Xavier University of Louisiana

Discussant: Boris Ricks

Panel 27: Race and Politics
Location: Maui Room
Chair: Michael A. Fauntroy, Howard University

The Affects of Ideology on Views of Race
Diamond McDonald, Independent Scholar

Reverse Racial Favoritism:
How Blacks and Whites View Deracialized and Racialized Conservative Black and White Candidates
Christopher Stout, Oregon State University
Leslie Gregory, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)
Naomi Tolbert, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Moment-to-Moment Tracking of Participant Responses to Race-Based Campaign Messages
Stephen Caliendo, North Central College
Charlton McIlwain, New York University (NYU)

Past Is Prologue: Collective Memory and African American Voting Across Generations
Shakari Byerly, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)

Discussant: Emmitt Y. Riley
Friday, March 17, 2:45-4:00pm Concurrent Session VII Continued

Panel 28: Intra-Group and Interracial Conflict, Coalition Building and Electoral Politics
Location: Oahu Room
Chair: Niambi Carter, Howard University

Afro-Latinos and the Black-Hispanic Identity: The Politics of Intra-Group Conflict and Cohesion
Tiffany Howard, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Mixed Race Activism:
A Challenge to Black Identity and Black Single Race Political Strategies
Darryl Freeman, California State University, Sacramento

African Americans and Immigration Politics in Tennessee
Sekou Franklin, Middle Tennessee State University
Ray Block, University of Wisconsin at La Crosse

Making Coalitions. Picking Winners: How Political Organizations Influence Local Elections
Andrea Benjamin, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Ethnicity, Inequality, and Space: Comparing Socioeconomic Well Being Across Black Ethnic Groups and Location
K.J. Capers, Georgia State University
Candis Smith, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Discussant: Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, Purdue University

Friday, March 17, 4:15-5:30pm Concurrent Session VIII

Panel 29: Public Opinion
Location: Tropic Room
Chair: Jonathan Collins, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)

Uncovering Rashomon Effects in Media Coverage of Protesters and Subsequent Influence on Public Opinion and Political Behavior
Steven Moore, University of Michigan
LaGina Gause, Independent

Personal Respectability and Public Opinion of Police Shootings:
Findings from a Survey Experiment
Andra Gillespie, Emory University
Chelsea Jackson, Emory University

The Influence of Black Lives Matter on Mainstreaming Intersectional Black Politics
Candis Smith, University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill
Tehama Lopez Bunyasi, George Mason University

Discussant: Ebony Baylor, Howard University
**Friday, March 17, 4:15-5:30pm Concurrent Session VIII Continued**

**Panel 30: Mobilizing Millennials: Cultivating Political Engagement and Participation on an HBCU Campus**

Location: Surf Room

Chair: Maruice Mangum, North Carolina A&T State University

Fostering Political Interest through Visual Imagery
*Darius McDuffie, North Carolina A&T State University*
*John Lionetti, North Carolina A&T State University*

The Efficacy of Social Media
*Zena Jeffers, North Carolina A&T State University*
*Kaijah Allen, North Carolina A&T State University*

The Lure of Presidential Debates
*Rayelle Wells, North Carolina A&T State University*
*Micheala Baptiste, North Carolina A&T State University*

Race and the Limitations of Hip Hop
*Roman Hatcher, North Carolina A&T State University*
*Shaymel Dow, North Carolina A&T State University*

*Discussant: Maruice Mangum, North Carolina A&T State University*

**Panel 31: Freedom on the Ballot: Black Politics and the Status of Black Queer and LGBTQ**

Location: Pacific Room

Chair: Ravi K. Perry, Virginia Commonwealth University

Linking Shepard and Byrd: The 2009 Hate Crimes Prevention Act and Questions of Race, Sexual Identity, and Legislative Expediency
*Amanda Mixon, University of California - Irvine*

Knowledge and Attitudes About Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis (Prep):
How the HIV Prevention Pill Will Expand Health Disparities for Black Gay & Bisexual Men,
Comprehensive AIDS Resource and Education CARE
*Ace Robinson, Dignity Health*

The Archetypal Drama of Transformation in the Lives of Black Gay Men:
A Re-interpretation of the E. Lynn Harris Trilogy
*Eric S. King, Virginia Commonwealth University*

*Discussant: Kenyon Farrow, Treatment Action Group*
Friday, March 17, 4:15-5:30pm Concurrent Session VIII Continued

Panel 32: Roundtable: Moving Beyond the Classroom and Beyond Tenure:
Discussion of Mid-Career Moves Into Administrative Duties

Location: Kauai Room
*Chair: Christopher Whitt & Boris Ricks*

Christopher Whitt, Augustana College
Boris E. Ricks, California State University, Northridge

*Discussant: Sherri L. Wallace, University of Louisville*

Panel 33: Roundtable: Black Millennial Women and the 2016 Presidential Election

Location: Maui Room
*Chair: Melanie Campbell, President and CEO, National Coalition on Black Civic Participation*

Ebony Baylor, Howard University
Gabrielle Gray, Howard University
Sheena Foster, *The National Community Reinvestment Coalition*
Phaedra Jackson, *Working America AFL-CIO*

*Discussant: Melanie Campbell, President and CEO, National Coalition on Black Civic Participation*

Panel 34: Roundtable: Black Politics in the Age of Trump

Location: Oahu Room
*Chair: Georgia Persons, Georgia Institute of Technology*

Georgia Persons, Georgia Institute of Technology
James Taylor, University of San Francisco
Clarence Lusane, Howard University

5:30-6:30pm Founders Symposium
Honoring the Memory of Dr. Savannah Carroll
Location: Tropic Room

*Chair: K. Young, Clark Atlanta University*

Sharonda Woodford, Purdue University
Jaimee Swiftt, Howard University
Jamel Love, Rutgers University
Ashley Daniels, Howard University

6:30-7:30pm President’s Reception
Location: Harbor Lagoon
Friday, March 17
7:30-9:30pm Awards Banquet
Location: Coral Reef

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Keith Boykin is a *New York Times* best-selling author, assistant adjunct professor of political science at Columbia University, CNN political commentator, journalist, actor and public speaker. Each of Keith’s four books has been nominated for a Lambda Literary Award, including his most recent book, *For Colored Boys Who Have Considered Suicide When The Rainbow Is Still Not Enough*, which won the American Library Association Stonewall Award for Nonfiction in 2013.

Educated at Dartmouth and Harvard, Keith attended law school with President Barack Obama and served in the White House as a special assistant to President Bill Clinton, where he was once the highest-ranking openly gay person in the Clinton White House. He also helped organize and participated in the nation’s first ever meeting between a sitting president and leaders of the LGBT community. Keith has been actively involved in progressive causes since he worked on his first congressional campaign while still a student in high school. He is a veteran of six political campaigns, including two presidential campaigns, and he was named one of the top instructors when he taught political science at American University in Washington. He starred on the 2004 Showtime television series *American Candidate*, and then became a co-host of the BET J TV series, *My Two Cents*, where he interviewed celebrities, politicians, and public figures. A former CNBC contributor, MSNBC commentator and BET columnist, Keith is also the former editor of the online news site, The Daily Voice. He has appeared on numerous national media programs, including *Anderson Cooper 360*, *The O’Reilly Factor*, *The Tyra Banks Show*, and *The Tom Joyner Morning Show*. A founder and first board president of the National Black Justice Coalition, Keith has spoken to audiences, large and small, all across the world. He delivered a landmark speech to 200,000 people at the Millennium March on Washington and he gave a stirring speech about the AIDS epidemic in front of 40,000 people in Chicago’s Soldier Field in July 2006. Keith was an associate producer of the 2007 feature film, *Dirty Laundry*, and appeared in the 2014 BET drama series, *Being Mary Jane*. His third book, *Beyond the Down Low: Sex, Lies and Denial in Black America*, spent four weeks on the *New York Times* bestseller list. Keith won the Lambda Literary Award for his second book, *Respecting The Soul*, and his first book, *One More River to Cross*, is taught in colleges and universities throughout the country. Keith has lived in 12 cities, visited 48 of the 50 U.S. states, and traveled across four continents. In 1997 President Clinton appointed him, along with Coretta Scott King and Rev. Jesse Jackson, to the U.S. presidential trade delegation to Zimbabwe. Born and raised in St. Louis, Missouri, Keith currently lives in New York.
Saturday, March 18, 8:00-9:00am
ASBWP Business Meeting and Mentoring Breakfast
Location: Coral Reef

Saturday, March 18, 9:00-10:15am Special Session
Location: Coral Reef

Panel 35: Roundtable: Luiza Helena Bairros: Scholar, Activist, Public Official
Chair: David Covin, Sacramento State University

Ollie Johnson, Wayne State U.
K.C. Morrison, University of Delaware
Gladys Mitchell Walthour, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Dianne Pinderhughes, Notre Dame University
James Steele, North Carolina A & T, University

Saturday, March 18, 10:30-11:45 Concurrent Session IX
Panel 36: Co-Organized by NCOBPS & ASBWP: That the mothers may soar and the daughters may know their names: Black Women in Politics Oral History Project
Location: Maui Room
Chair: Nikol Alexander-Floyd, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

The Scholarship of Nadia Brown
Christine Slaughter, University of California, Los Angeles

The Scholarship of Wendy Smooth
Latoya Williams, Claremont Colleges - Claremont Graduate University

The Scholarship of Kimala Price
Mzilikazi Kone, College of the Desert

Dr. Valeria Sinclair-Chapman: Understanding the Significance of True Representation
Armand Demirchyan, University of California, Irvine

The Scholarship of Duchess Harris: Inspiration, Communication, and Disputations from Baby Boomers to Gen Alpha (and everyone in between)
Gina M. Newton, Claremont Graduate University

Dr. LaTonya Williams: Excavating the Intersection of Reproductive Justice and the Political Labor of Black Women
Rachel R. Lane, University of California, Irvine

Discussant: Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, University of California, Irvine
**Saturday, March 18, 10:30-11:45 Concurrent Session IX Continued**

**Panel 37: Gender, Race/Ethnicity, Sexuality, Hip Hop and Reproductive Politics**  
Location: Surf Room  
*Chair: Kimala Price, San Diego State University*

- Black Reproductive Politics, a Research Agenda in Search of a Home in Political Science: A Literature Review Examining Intersectional Marginalization, State Regulation and Reproductive Politics  
  *Tonya M. Williams, Johnson C. Smith University*

- The Biopolitics of Black Women’s Reproductive Health: An Examination of Anti-Abortion Campaigns in the US South  
  *Venus Green, Vanderbilt University*

- 'Keep It Coochie': Reimagining the Boundaries of Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Dominant Hip-Hop Culture through Raunch Aesthetics  
  *Aja Johnson, CSU Sacramento*

- Hypermasculinity, Hypersexuality and Homophobia: Hip Hop Culture's Kryptonite  
  *April Jackson, Claremont School of Theology*

*Discussant: Melina Abdullah, CSU Los Angeles*

**Panel 38: Examining the Intersection between Race, Gender, Faith and Politics**  
Location: Pacific Room  
*Chair: James L. Taylor, University of San Francisco*

- Politicking Pastors: Experimenting with Womanist Theological Messages: 'I'm with Her'  
  *Dilara Uskup, University of Chicago*

- Race, Religion, and Redistribution  
  *Tony E. Carey, University of North Texas*

- Understanding Civic Engagement from the Black Minister's Point of View  
  *Omar J. Safir, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge*

*Discussant: Todd Shaw, University of South Carolina*
Saturday, March 18, 10:30-11:45 Concurrent Session IX Continued

Panel 39: Author Meets Critics Panel for Melanye Price’s The Race Whisperer: Barack Obama and the Political Uses of Race (NYU Press, 2016)
Location: Kauai Room

Megan M. Francis, University of Washington
Robert Smith, San Francisco State University
Melanye Price, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Camden
James Taylor, University of San Francisco

Panel 40: Race, Politics, and Society in Afro-Latin America
Location: Maui Room

Chair: Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Afro-Brazilian Woman and Bolsa Familia
Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Afro-Brazilian Political Underrepresentation
Andrew Janusz, University of California San Diego

The Evolution of hip hop feminism in Cuba
Tanya Saunders, University of Florida

Afro-descendants and the pursuit of Happiness
Rubia Valente, The University of Texas at Dallas

Discussant: Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Saturday, March 18th - 12:30pm
Closing Luncheon & Plenary Session: Black Political Activism in the Trump Era: Action Steps and Moving Forward
Installation of Dr. Shayla C. Nunnally as President of NCOBPS
Location: Coral Reef

Chair: Christina Greer, Fordham University

Niambi Carter, Howard University
Sekou Franklin, Middle Tennessee State University
Megan M. Francis, University of Washington

Incoming President’s Address, Dr. Shayla C. Nunnally

Saturday, March 18th - 2:00pm ASBWP After Chat
Location: Tropic Room
## Plenary Speaker Bios

**Opening Plenary: Black Politics at an Intersection:**

**Challenging Persistent Inequities**

**Thursday, March 16**

9:00-10:15am

Location: Coral Reef

### Kenyon Farrow, Treatment Action Group

Kenyon Farrow is the US & Global Health Policy Director for Treatment Action Group, an independent AIDS research and policy think tank fighting for better treatment, a vaccine, and a cure for AIDS, TB and Hep C. Kenyon is also the former executive director of Queers for Economic Justice, and has a long track record of community organizing work on criminalization, mass imprisonment, homelessness and HIV. Kenyon is the co-editor of the book *Letters from Young Activists: Today's Rebels Speak Out*. His work has also appeared in the anthologies *Spirited: Affirming the Soul of Black Lesbian and Gay Identity, Against Equality: Queer Critiques of Same-Sex Marriage, For Colored Boys Who Have Considered Suicide When The Rainbow Is Still Not Enough, We Have Not Been Moved: Resisting Racism and Militarism in 21st Century America, and Black Gay Genius: Answering Joseph Beam's Call*. Kenyon was named one of Out magazine’s Out 100 for 2008, the Advocate magazine’s “40 Under 40” LGBT Leaders in the U.S. for 2010, one of Black Entertainment Television’s “Modern Black History Heroes” for 2011, received the Community Activist Award at Chicago Black Pride’s Esteem Awards in 2013, and given the 2016 Sexual Freedom Award by the Woodhull Institute.

### D'andra Orey, Jackson State University

Dr. Byron D’Andra Orey is Professor of Political Science at Jackson State University. He has published over thirty scholarly articles and book chapters and participated in over 100 scholarly conferences. He has received approximately $500,000 in grants for his research and has been awarded the Anna Julia Cooper Teacher of the Year in 2008 and the Jewel Limar Prestage Mentor of the year in 2011 by the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. D’Andra currently serves on the Executive Committees for the American Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association and Pi Sigma Alpha and is also a past member of the Executive Committee for the National Conference of Black Political Scientists and has also served on the Committee for the Status of Blacks in the Profession (APSA). He currently serves on the editorial boards for State Politics & Policy Quarterly, the Journal of Race and Policy and the Pi Sigma Alpha undergraduate journal. He holds a B.S., in Business Administration from Mississippi Valley State University, a MPA from the University of Mississippi, an M.A. of Political Science from the State University of New York at Stony Brook and a PhD from the University of New Orleans in Political Science.
**Opening Plenary: Black Politics at an Intersection:**

**Challenging Persistent Inequities**

**Thursday, March 16**

9:00-10:15am

**Location: Coral Reef**

**Keesha Middlemass, Trinity University**

Dr. Keesha M. Middlemass is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Trinity University (San Antonio, Texas) where she teaches courses in American Politics, Public Policy and Urban Politics. Middlemass’ research examines issues at the intersection of race, prisoner reentry, institutions and public policy. Her scholarship is published in *Aggressive Behavior, Criminal Justice & Behavior* and *Social Science Quarterly*. Her co-edited book, *Racializing Justice, Disenfranchising Lives*, explores the systemic crisis of mass imprisonment and disenfranchisement in African American communities. Her single authored book, *Convicted & Condemned: The Politics and Policies of Prisoner Reentry*, will be published by New York University Press (June 2017). Through the application of social disability theory, Middlemass has written an interdisciplinary and ethnographic account that links race to public policies and individual experiences to demonstrate that a felony conviction is a social disability, which makes it extremely difficult for former prisoners to successfully reenter. Prior to joining the faculty at Trinity University, Middlemass was an Andrew Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellow on Race, Crime and Justice at the Vera Institute of Justice in New York City and an American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow.

**K.C. Morrison, University of Delaware**

Dr. Minion Kenneth Chauncey "KC" Morrison is Professor of Public Policy and Administration at the University of Delaware. He previously headed the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at Mississippi State University. From 1989-2009 he was Professor of Political Science at the University of Missouri-Columbia, and held the Frederick Middlebush Professorship. He served there as a Vice Provost from 1989 to 1997. Prior to Missouri, Morrison was at Syracuse University, where he served as the Chair of Afro-American Studies for five years. He has a BA. (cum laude) from Tougaloo College (1968), and MA (1969) and PhD (1977) in Political Science and African Studies from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. His publications include several books: *Aaron Henry of Mississippi: Inside Agitator*, (2015); *African Americans and Political Participation* (2003); *Black Political Mobilization, Leadership and Power* (1987); *Housing and Urban Poor in Africa* (1982), edited with Peter Gutkind; and *Ethnicity and Political Integration* (1982). Many articles and reviews have appeared in such journals as *Polity, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Publius, Comparative Politics, Political Science Quarterly, International Political Science Review, National Political Science Review, Politics and Religion, American Political Science Review, International Studies Perspectives, and Journal of Modern African Studies.*
**Opening Plenary: Black Politics at an Intersection: Challenging Persistent Inequities**

**Thursday, March 16**

9:00-10:15am  
Location: Coral Reef

**Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, University of California, Irvine**


**Friday March 17, 2017**

**Plenary: California Black Politics: Challenges and Triumphs**

9-10:15am  
Location: Coral Reef

**Chair: Mark Sawyer, UCLA**

**Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, University of California Los Angeles**

Dr. Lorrie Frasure-Yokley is an Associate Professor of Political Science at UCLA. Professor Frasure-Yokley’s research interests include racial and ethnic politics, political behavior, state and local governance and the political economy of metropolitan areas. Her book, *Racial and Ethnic Politics in American Suburbs* (Cambridge University Press, 2015) is the 2016 Winner of the Best Book Award by the Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (REP) Section and the Dennis Judd Best Book Award by the Urban and Local Politics Section of the American Political Science Association (APSA). She is the co-Principal Investigator of the 2008, 2012 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Study (CMPS). Professor Frasure-Yokley is the recipient of several local and national awards including the Ford Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship from the National Research Council of the National Academies, and the Clarence Stone Young Scholars Award of the American Political Science Association’s Urban Politics Section.
Melina Abdullah, CSU Los Angeles
Dr. Melina Abdullah is a womanist scholar-activist and Professor and Chair of Pan-African Studies at California State University, Los Angeles. Dr. Abdullah earned her Ph.D. from the University of Southern California in Political Science and her B.A. from Howard University in African-American Studies. Abdullah is the author of numerous articles and book chapters, with subjects ranging from political coalition building to womanist mothering. Professor Abdullah is a leader in the fight for Ethnic Studies in the K-12 and university systems. She was among the original group of organizers that convened to form Black Lives Matter and continues to serve as a Los Angeles chapter lead and contributes to the global leadership. She is co-host and co-producer of the weekly radio program Beautiful Struggle which airs on KPFK, part of the Pacifica radio network. Dr. Abdullah serves on several commissions and boards, including the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission. She is the recipient of many awards including NCOBPS’ 2016 “Fannie Lou Hamer Award.” Melina often appears in media and film, most notably the acclaimed documentary 13th. She is originally from Oakland, California and currently resides in Los Angeles where she is a single “soccer mama” of three children.

James Taylor, University of San Francisco
Dr. James Taylor is a full-rank professor of Political Science in the Department of Politics at the University of San Francisco. He is current Director of the African American Studies program and teaches regularly in the African American and African Diaspora Studies Department at the University of California, Berkeley. Taylor is the author of the book Black Nationalism in the United States: From Malcolm X to Barack Obama, which earned "Outstanding Academic Title" - Choice: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries (January 2012). Taylor is co-editor and an author with Katherine Tate (Brown University) and Mark Sawyer (UCLA) (eds.), Something's in the Air: Race and the Legalization of Marijuana (Routledge, 2013), focusing on controversies concerning race and marijuana legalization in the state of California. He is former President of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS), an important organization of African American, African, and Afro Caribbean political scientists in the United States. His undergraduate degree is from Pepperdine University and his graduate degrees were earned at the University of Southern California (USC) with distinction. He has taught previously as a Visiting Associate Professor of political science at Saint Louis University in Madrid, Spain, and Political Science and African American Studies at University of California, Berkeley. His teaching and research scholarly interests are in religion and politics in the United States, race and ethnic politics, African American political history, political and social movements, political ideology, law and public policy, and the U.S. Presidency.
Friday March 17, 2017

Plenary: California Black Politics: Challenges and Triumphs
9:00-10:15am
Location: Coral Reef

Boris Ricks, California State University, Northridge

Dr. Boris E. Ricks is a broadly trained Political Scientist with specializations in Racial Politics, Urban Affairs, State & Local Government, and Public Policy/Administration. He draws upon an interdisciplinary approach to the investigation (and intersection) of race, politics, disparities research and public policy. His program of research utilizes a mixed methodological approach (ethnography, case study, surveys, interviews and applied research) which emphasize systematic observation(s). At present, he is currently investigating/examining: (a) the role race plays in legislative committee chair assignments (State Legislatures); (b) race associated differences in health outcomes (well-documented, yet poorly explained); and (c) the impact of minority candidates de-emphasizing race to increase their chances for electoral success (deracialization thesis). Professor Ricks has also served as a consultant to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Los Angeles, American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Weingart YMCA, and National Forum for Black Public Administrators. He has held leadership positions and membership in various professional organizations such as the American Political Science Association, Western Political Science Association, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, American Society of Public Administration, and National Conference of Minority Public Administrators. Ricks is a member of the Pi Sigma Alpha National Political Science Honor Fraternity. Dr. Ricks holds a Ph.D. (University of Southern California); MPA (University of Mississippi); and BA (Mississippi Valley State University).
Plenary: California Black Politics: Challenges and Triumphs
9:00-10:15am
Location: Coral Reef

**Shirley Weber, Democratic Assemblymember for the 79th District in California**

Assembly Member Shirley Nash Weber was elected in November of 2012 to represent California's 79th Assembly District, which includes the cities of Chula Vista, La Mesa, Lemon Grove, National City and San Diego. Assemblymember Weber was recently appointed by Assembly Speaker Rendon to chair the Assembly Committee on Elections and Redistricting. She also chairs the Assembly Select Committee on Higher Education in San Diego County and the Assembly Select Committee on Campus Climate, and serves on the Assembly Standing Committees on Education, Higher Education, Appropriations, and Banking and Finance. She is also past Chair of the Assembly Committee on the Budget. Born to sharecroppers from Hope, Arkansas, Shirley Weber has lived in California since the age of 3. She attended UCLA, where she received her BA, MA and PhD by the age of 26. Dr. Weber also taught at California State University at Los Angeles and Los Angeles City College before coming to San Diego State University. Weber has lived in the 79th Assembly District for over 30 years. Deeply committed to community service, she served on the boards of the NAACP, the YWCA, the YMCA Scholarship Committee, Battered Women Services, United Way and the San Diego Consortium. As an Assemblymember, Weber has translated her commitment to education and social justice into her ambitious legislative agenda. She is also outspoken on the importance of investing in early childhood education as a means of preventing drop-out rates, dependence on social services, incarceration and unemployment. Assembly Member Weber is the mother of a daughter and son, and has two grandchildren. She is the widow of the late Honorable Daniel Weber, a California state judge.

**Rev. Dr. John Warren, Publisher and CEO of Voice and Viewpoint**

Dr. John Warren is President of Warren Communications, Inc., an African American owned media group with community newspapers on the East and West Coast. He serves as Publisher of the 57 year old San Diego Voice & Viewpoint Community Newspaper covering 87 zip codes in San Diego County as a legal paid weekly publication, and Co Publisher of the Florida Tribune Community Newspaper which served three counties in South Central Florida for over 15 years. He is a noted journalist in the San Diego community where he was a weekly commentator on the local NPR PBS station for almost a decade; he is a member and past Director of the National Newspaper Publishers Association and a member of the California Newspaper Publisher Association; a past member of the National Bar Association, past member of the American Society for Public Administration and the original Conference of Minority Public Administrators. He is a past Vice President of the National Institute of Public Management, a non-profit think group which provided public policy assistance to the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors in the late 1970's He is an ordained minister, co-founder and senior pastor of the Eagles Nest Christian Worship Center, San Diego, California.
**Closing Brunch Plenary Session: Black Political Activism in the Trump Era: Action Steps and Moving Forward**

**Saturday, March 18th - 12:30pm**

**Location: Coral Reef**

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**Niambi Carter, Howard University**

Dr. Niambi Carter is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Howard University. A proud Temple University alum earning her BA in African American studies with a minor in Political Science. She received her Ph.D. in Political Science from Duke University (2007) working primarily in the area of American politics with a specific focus on race and ethnic politics. Her book manuscript examines African American public opinion with respect to immigration. Her work has appeared in numerous publications, such as the Journal of Politics, Political Psychology, Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy, Journal of African American Studies, and other outlets. Prof. Carter’s other work examines majority-Black cities as immigrant sanctuaries; Black Lives Matter protests and congressional legislation; and the politics of lynching and the meaning of citizenship for African Americans.

**Sekou Franklin, Middle Tennessee State University**

Dr. Sekou Franklin is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Middle Tennessee State University (MTSU) and is the Coordinator of Urban Studies Minor Program at MTSU. He is the author of *After the Rebellion: Black Youth, Social Movement Activism, and the Post-Civil Rights Generation* (NYU Press, 2014) and edited the *State of Blacks in Middle Tennessee*. In November 2016, he coordinated the Tennessee Election Protection hotline in collaboration with the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. He also serves on the Tennessee NAACP State Conference and coordinates its legislative alert system, and he serves on the Tennessee Advisory Committee for the US Commission on Civil Rights. In addition, he has worked closely with the Urban EpiCenter, Tennessee Alliance for Progress, Tennessee Citizen Action, Jobs with Justice of Middle Tennessee, Democracy Nashville, and the Nonviolent Resistance and Social Justice Committee.

**Megan M. Francis, University of Washington**

Dr. Megan Ming Francis is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Washington and is also the Field Director for History and Political Development at the Washington Institute for the Study of Inequality and Race (WISIR). Francis specializes in the study of American politics, race, and the development of constitutional law. She is particularly interested in the construction of rights and citizenship, black political activism, and the post-civil war South. She is the author of the multiple-award winning book, *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State* (2014). This book tells the story of how the early campaign against state sanctioned racial violence of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) shaped the modern civil rights movement.
In Memoriam

Dr. Savannah N. Carroll

Born February 3, 1986 to Brenda R. Carroll and Brandon L. Carroll in San Antonio, TX, Dr. Carroll departed this life on April 7, 2016. Dr. Carroll was Edison High School’s (San Antonio, TX) first African American drum major, where she also graduated in the top 10 of her class. She attained two bachelor’s degrees in political science and African American Studies from Arizona State University. She also earned a Master’s degree and doctoral degree in Afro-American Studies from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. Dr. Carroll was a devoted member of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS), having been a member as a graduate student and professional. She was a former Graduate Student Representative (2012-2014) on the NCOBPS Executive Council, and she organized the inaugural Founders Symposium, which highlights critical, scholarly discussions and research in the discipline in honor of our organization’s Founders, ancestors, and other important contributors to NCOBPS.

In May 2015, just weeks after successfully defending her Ph.D. dissertation on the Afro-Mexican presence in Mexico (Creating the Ideal Mexican: 20th and 21st Century Racial and National Identity Discourses in Oaxaca) from the Department of Afro-American Studies (History and Politics Track; Certificate in Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies) at the University of Massachusetts, Dr. Carroll was diagnosed with breast cancer, and she valiantly fought the disease for almost a year, before succumbing to her illness. Amid, chemotherapy, radiation, and several surgeries, she completed academic job and post-doctoral fellowship applications. From her hospital bed, she helped plan the 2016 Founders Symposium, and she served “on-call” to assist with handling organizational matters, as the 2016 NCOBPS Annual Meeting convened and as she was unable to attend, due to her medical condition. She lost her battle with cancer, just weeks before her Ph.D. graduation, and thus, received her degree posthumously. Her research has been published in the International Journal of Interdisciplinary Civic & Political Studies and the Journal of Pan African Studies. Dr. Carroll’s will to beat her cancer, striving to enjoy life to its fullest, fierce desire to encourage others to reach for their highest limits, and persistence to give unselfishly to NCOBPS, all contribute to the budding scholar, who NCOBPS acknowledges she was and who it grieves in passing too soon.

It is because of her spirit and tenacious drive to serve NCOBPS that President Todd C. Shaw honorably dedicated NCOBPS’ 2017 Founders Symposium to commemorate the service, dedication, and memory of Dr. Savannah N. Carroll.
Congratulations NCOBPS 48th Annual Conference
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