



**NCOBPS President: Sekou Franklin**

**NCOBPS Vice-President: Tiffany Willoughby-Herard**

**Executive Director: Kathie Stromile Golden**

**Co-Chairs of the Annual Conference:**

**Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, Donn Worgs, Ollie Johnson**

## **Black Politics and Black People as the Conscience of Nations**

Conference Co-Chairs:

Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Ollie Johnson, Wayne State University

Donn Worgs, Towson University

The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) will be celebrating its 50th anniversary in 2021. The CBC has been deemed the “Conscience of Congress” in recognition of its broader commitment to racial and economic justice for African Americans, Africa, and the Diaspora. In light of the CBC’s 50th anniversary, the National Conference of Black Political Science (NCOBPS) seeks papers, panels, and roundtables that examine how Black people in the United States and the African Diaspora are often viewed as the “Conscience” of their nation-states and the moral authority in social movements and institutional politics. This includes Black voters and candidates, as well as Black women who are often the moral compass that shapes the direction of Black politics and the nation-states. The Black Lives Matter-inspired protests in the Summer 2020 further exemplify the transformative impact of Black political agency. Even in Latin America Black women are leading constituents in elections and social movements, such as in Brazil, where they have been critical in shaping presidential and state elections. The conference theme—“Black Politics and Black People as the Conscience of Nations”—examines the multi-layered ways in which Black Politics, both domestic and abroad, continue to serve as moral anchors for advancing liberation, justice, and ameliorative policies. Accordingly, scholars are invited to submit papers, panels, and roundtables drawing from a range of methodological approaches that explore the “Conscience” of Black Politics, including the CBC and other legislative caucuses, social movements, the 2020 elections, Africa and the Diaspora, and public policies. We especially encourage graduate and undergraduate students to submit proposals.

## **NCOBPS STATEMENT ON DIVERSITY & 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.

# **WELCOME TO THE 52<sup>nd</sup> ANNUAL MEETING OF NCOBPS**

## **Message from the President**



Welcome to the 52nd Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS). The conference theme—“Black Politics and Black People as the Conscience of Nations”—examines the multi-layered ways in which Black Politics, both domestic and abroad, continue to serve as moral and political anchors for advancing liberation, justice, and ameliorative policies. Our conference co-chairs—Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, Donn Worgs, Ollie Johnson—developed an outstanding program comprised of 60 panels, plenary sessions, and dialogues with prominent social and political activists.

As part of NCOBPS’s No Student Left Behind Initiative, we are excited to have conference attendees from Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Ray Block is facilitating our pre-conference workshop on voting rights and redistricting analyses. NCOBPS Vice-President Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, along with Adom Getawchew, Robin Turner, Takiyah Harper-Shipman, and Kira Tait, are also hosting the inaugural transnational gathering of Black womxn scholars and activists.

We have experienced trials and tribulations this past year. The COVID-19 pandemic wrought immeasurable pain and suffering in our communities. Several NCOBPS members lost close family members and friends to the disease. Our prayers are with them. The murders of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, and others, as well as the uprisings in the Summer 2020, are reminders that we must remain vigilant and prophetic in our scholarship and various approaches to community engagement.

The presidential election of 2020 produced the first Black woman, Kamala Harris, on a major presidential ticket in U.S. history and subsequently the first ever elected as Vice-President. The Joe Biden/Kamala Harris victory was propelled by Black women, young people, and electoral justice activists. The Congressional Black Caucus is larger than ever with more than 50 members sworn into office on January 3, 2021. It is geographically diverse, intergenerational, and remains at the forefront of transformative legislative decision-making.

The conference theme underscores that Black political scientists, organizations, institutions, activists, and everyday people have been the conscience of the U.S., and their fates are interwoven with global justice movements and Pan-African struggles. NCOBPS must continue to be the conscience of the political science discipline—the freedom plow that removes the heavy clay soil of racism, injustice, and dispossession. Our members are leading voices in research areas such as elections, political institutions, polling methodology, voting behavior, political psychology, and legislative redistricting. The NCOBPS family has offered critical insights on the politics of subaltern communities including Black women and youth, LGBTQ+ politics and intersectionality, and low-wealth Black communities that have borne the brunt of COVID-19 infections and job dislocation.

As we move into our 52nd year, NCOBPS must continue to transform the political science discipline. We celebrate our incoming president, Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, and her steadfast commitment to Black political agency, mentorship, and scholarship. Please make effective use of the conference portal, peruse the exhibitor hall, view our HBCU and Membership Committee videos, and celebrate the best collection of academicians, graduate students, and scholar activists in the country.

# WELCOME TO THE 52<sup>nd</sup> ANNUAL MEETING OF NCOBPS

## Message from the Vice-President



In a February 12, 2021 webinar, Arizona State University professor and NCOBPS member

H. L.T. Quan asked, "What does it mean when 30 million people demand a reckoning with white minority rule and the response is the presidency saying the only votes that matter are those of white supremacists?" It means we have to think about power and its origins differently because we were among those millions.

So many of us have lost beloved family members and cherished friends. So many of us who live with deadly risks of all kinds all the time—anyway—were in position to help others in this country and across the world learn how to live with the daily grind of suffering. We were blessed to be able to demonstrate that our fierce autonomy and ways of nurturing the future and honoring the past as Black people literally changes the course of history, every day, all over the world. We are the conscience of nations.

We call each other family in the most positive sense of that term. We are kin. We struggle alongside each other. We learn from each other. We struggle with each other. We celebrate each other's work. And we find companionship and an enduring sense of home working and healing together. Together we have created what David Covin (2019) has called "social space, social narrative, and social memory," at our annual meetings but not just there. Our research and teaching and writing sings because of the time that we spend creating worlds inside each other's ideas, reading each other's work, and remembering conversations that upended the entire trajectory of a project or research plan. We write to and for each other but in this community of struggle we have the incredible opportunity of witnessing our research, teaching, and activism contribute to meaningful and significant change in community organizations and public policies in real time.

Some of us do our work as political scientists with exacting comments on our students' papers or with deftly crafted lectures, or by standing alongside grieving families at police commission meetings or through advocacy inside the African Union. But however we do all of those things, in the context of NCOBPS, we are seen, held, encouraged, chastened, corrected, smiled at, embraced, and welcomed.

NCOBPS is a site for intellectual family building, for studying the nature of political life in the world and across the landscape of education. It is a place where you can study the ways in which loyalty, dignity, compassion, and friendship make sacrifice easy, or at least easier. NCOBPS is tangible proof that studying power always matters and that there are people who will fight alongside you and who will be happy when you win. In unsettling times such as these, when our illusions of safety are shattered everyday by the reality of antiblackness in the world, the political education fostered in spaces like NCOBPS are where we can stand firm in knowing we can take refuge in each other.

Thank you for what you bring to NCOBPS. Thank you for your vision, your perseverance, and your excellence. Because iron strengthens iron, we know that when we build together, we are stronger. We are the conscience of nations.

# WELCOME TO THE 52<sup>nd</sup> ANNUAL MEETING OF NCOBPS

## Message from the Program Co-Chairs



It has been a difficult year. When NCOBPS met in Atlanta, GA from March 11 to 14, 2020, attendance declined practically each day of the meeting as Coronavirus made it unsafe for many colleagues to travel. Yet, we still had a great gathering!

We did not know that one year later, the Covid-19 global health crisis would still be in full affect. Zoom meetings, online teaching, and delayed travel have become the norm. And so, for the first time, we are meeting virtually. We have adapted, but we are no less committed to having an engaging, thought provoking and inspiring meeting. Since our conference in Atlanta, a lot has happened. In May 2020, George Floyd was killed by police on a street in Minneapolis. The summer was filled with protests for justice for Floyd and Black people. In November 2020, President Trump was defeated in his reelection bid. On January 6, 2021, insurrectionists invaded the U.S. Capitol to stop congressional recognition of Trump's electoral college defeat. Weeks later, Trump was impeached for a second time.

It is hard to imagine a more important time for us to be meeting as the year's events have served to remind anyone who may have doubted it that the War on Blackness remains. Yet, the Black struggle for freedom, justice, and equality marches on. NCOBPS members are committed to playing our role in this struggle through our effective teaching, timely research, selfless service and impactful political and community engagement. As our members have gained increased visibility as experts on all areas of politics, especially the ongoing problems of white supremacy, Black struggle, and racial inequality, public discourses have been enriched.

We recognize the 50th anniversary of the Congressional Black Caucus and other organizations committed to Black liberation. We acknowledge the passing of leaders such as Congressman John Lewis and more NCOBPS members, especially the recent transition of our brother Keith "Kamu" Jennings who continued their work until their last days.

NCOBPS is an organization whose members have faced struggles and persevered. We have been on the front line of the fight for equality in educational institutions, politics, communities, and in transnational struggles. It is our hope that coming together as a community we will engage and support each other at this virtual NCOBPS conference. We welcome everyone to this new virtual

world we are in and we hope you find renewed strength and commitment as we continue our efforts to contribute to the resolution of the many challenges that confront Black people in the US and around the world.

The struggle continues.

Conference Program Co-Chairs

Gladys Mitchell-Walthour  
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Donn Worgs  
Towson University

Ollie Johnson  
Wayne State University



**I. African and Diaspora Politics**

Robin Turner, Butler University

Takiya Harper-Shipman, Davidson College

**II. Politics, Inequality, and Social Justice**

Nyron Crawford, Temple University

Albert Samuels, Southern University

**III. Comparative Politics, International Relations, and Transnational Politics**

Mai Hassan, University of Michigan

Adryan Wallace, Stony Brook University

**IV. Identity Politics: Gender, Class, Ethnicity, LGBTQ+, Sexuality, Religion & Queer Politics**

Lakeyta Bonnette, Georgia State University

Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, Hood College

**V. Teaching & Professional Development**

K.C. Morrison, University of Delaware

**VI. Undergraduate Research**

Teri Platt, Clark Atlanta University

**VII. Political Theory & Political Philosophy**

Justin Rose, Hobart and William Smith Colleges

Charisse Burden-Stelley, University of Chicago

**VIII. Public Policy & Political Institutions**

Natasha Christie, University of North Florida

K. Jurée Capers, Georgia State University

**IX. Public Opinion and Political Participation**

Davin Phoenix, University of California, Irvine

Brianna Nicole Mack, Ohio Wesleyan University

**X. Afro-Latino Politics**

Danielle Pilar Clealand, Florida International University

Fernando Termos-Aponte, University of Maryland Baltimore County

# **NCOBPS LEADERSHIP**

## **Executive Council**

**Sekou Franklin, Ph.D.**

**President**

Middle Tennessee State University

**Dorian Brown Crosby, Ph.D.**

**Chair, Membership Committee**

Spelman College

**Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, Ph.D.**

**Vice-President**

University of California, Irvine

**Shiela Harmon Martin, Ph.D.**

**Historian & Archivist**

University of the District of Columbia

**Kathie Stromile Golden, Ph.D.**

**Executive Director**

Mississippi Valley State University

**Todd Shaw, Ph.D.**

**Co-Chair, Development Committee**

University of South Carolina

**Margaret Clark**

**Executive Assistant**

Mississippi Valley State University

**Elsie Scott, Ph.D.**

**Co-Chair, Development Committee**

Howard University

**Emmitt Riley, III, Ph.D.**

**Secretary**

Depauw University

**Jerome Hunt, Ph.D.**

**Chair, LGBTQ+ Caucus**

Long Beach City College

**Nikol Alexander-Floyd, Ph.D.**

**Treasurer**

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

**Graduate Student Representative**

**Kesicia Dickinson**

Michigan State University

**Pearl Ford Dowe, Ph.D.**

**Parliamentarian**

Emory University

**Undergraduate Student Representative**

**Aaron Hooker**

University of Connecticut

## **Members At-Large**

**Ray Block, Ph.D.**

Pennsylvania State University

**Tiffany Howard, Ph.D.**

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

**Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, Ph.D.**

Hood College

**Jerome Hunt, Ph.D.**

Long Beach City College

**Cory Gooding, Ph.D.**

University of San Diego

**Stephanie Williams, Ph.D.**

University of South Florida

## **National Review of Black Politics**

**Andra Gillespie, Ph.D.**

**Co-Editor**

Emory University

**Pearl Ford Dowe, Ph.D.**

**Co-Editor**

Emory University

**Shenita Brazelton, Ph.D.**

**Book Review Editor**

Tuskegee University

## **Black Rural Project**

**Sekou Franklin, Ph.D.**

Middle Tennessee State University

Co-principal Investigator

**Dara Gaines**

Northwestern University

Co-principal investigator

**Camille Burge, Ph.D.**

Villanova University

Co-principal investigator

**Princess Williams**

University of Michigan

Co-principal investigator

**The Annual Awards are given in the following areas:**

- [W.E.B. Du Bois Distinguished Book Award](#)
- [Rodney Higgins Best Faculty Paper Award](#)
- [Fannie Lou Hamer Outstanding Community Service Award](#)
- [Anna Julia Cooper Teacher of the Year Award](#)
- [Bayard Rustin Best LGBTQ+ Student Paper Award](#)
- [Sammy Younge Best Student Paper Award](#)
- [Alex Willingham Best Political Theory Paper Award](#)
- [Lena Harris Stromile Student Leadership Award](#)

Three additional awards, established by separate foundations or institutions, are also presented.

**The Jewel Limar Prestage Mentorship Award**

Sheila Harmon Martin, President  
University of the District of Columbia

**Graduate Assistantship Program, Inc. (GAP) Scholarship**

Kathie Stromile Golden, Chair  
Mississippi Valley State University

**The Dianne M. Pinderhughes Mentorship Legacy Award**

Lorrie Frasure, Chair  
University of California, Los Angeles

## 2021 PROGRAM SCHEDULE

### MONDAY, MARCH 8, 2021

Voting Rights Cases, Expert Preparation, and Ecological Inference: Using the R Data Program for Racially Polarized Voting Analysis Pre-Conference Workshop

### TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 2021

Transnational Black Womxn Scholars of African Politics Network Pre-Conference Meeting

### WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 2021

Congressional Black Caucus Tribute 11:00-12:30PM (Pre-recorded and available on demand)

NCOBPS Executive Council Meeting 1:00-3:00PM

LGBTQ+ Caucus Business Meeting 5:00PM

### THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 2021

### Open Plenary: How Did We Get Here? The 2020 Presidential Election

**11:00-12:15PM**

Concurrent Sessions 12:45-2:00PM

Frontline Activists Battling for Racial Justice 2:15-3:30PM

Concurrent Sessions 3:45-5:00

Concurrent Sessions 5:15-6:30

NCOBPS General Business Meeting 7:00-8:00PM

Association for the Study of Black Women in Politics 8:00-9:30PM

## **FRIDAY MARCH 12, 2021**

Concurrent Sessions 11:00-12:15PM

Concurrent Sessions 12:30-1:45

Undergraduate and Graduate Lunch with APSA 2:00-3:15PM

Roundtable on Covid-19 and Black Communities 2:00-3:15PM

Concurrent Sessions 3:45-5:00PM

Concurrent Sessions 5:15-6:30PM

NCOBPS Founders' Symposium 6:30-7:15PM

NCOBPS President's Reception and Awards Event 7:30-9:00PM

## **SATURDAY MARCH 13, 2021**

Concurrent Sessions 11:15-12:30PM

President's Inauguration 12:45-1:15PM

**CLOSING PLENARY: Where Do We Go from Here?  
Possibilities and Challenges for Black Politics**

**1:30-3:00PM**

## **Pre-Recorded**

### **1 New Research on Latin America and the Caribbean**

**Chair:** Ollie Johnson, Wayne State University, [ojohnson@wayne.edu](mailto:ojohnson@wayne.edu)

Race Matters in Latino Communities: Voting and Positionality Among Black Cubans in the US

Danielle Clealand, University of Texas at Austin, [danielle.clealand@austin.utexas.edu](mailto:danielle.clealand@austin.utexas.edu)

Afro-Brazilian Women in Politics

Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, [mitchelg@uwm.edu](mailto:mitchelg@uwm.edu)

Black Politics in Peru and Ecuador

John Thomas III, University of Chicago, [jthomas3@uchicago.edu](mailto:jthomas3@uchicago.edu)

Recognition, Reparations and Political Autonomy

Bernd Reiter, Texas Tech University, [berndreiter@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:berndreiter@fas.harvard.edu)

**Discussant:** Ollie Johnson, Wayne State University, [ojohnson@wayne.edu](mailto:ojohnson@wayne.edu)

### **2 Roundtable—The Meaning and Significance of the 2020 Elections in Georgia**

**Organizer:** Keith Jennings†

Defending Democracy in Georgia,

Jasmine Young, Executive Director, Georgia NAACP

Standing Up for the Promises of Democracy in Georgia's 2020 Elections,

Helen Butler, Executive Director, Georgia Coalition on the People's Agenda

We Got the Power: Grassroots Organizing and the 2020 Elections in Georgia

LaTosha Brown, Co-Director, Black Voters Matter

Applying International Standards to Georgia's 2020 Elections

African American Center for Global Politics and Human Rights

### **3 African Americans and Human Rights in the 21st Century**

**Organizer:** Keith Jennings †

Kerry Mclean

Salimah Hankins, US Human Rights Network

Ejim Dike, US Human Rights Network

Tamill Harris

**Discussant:** TBA

### **4 The Role of Black Women in Political Behavior**

**Chair:** Jamil Scott, Georgetown University

Choosing Amongst our own in the City of New Orleans: Public Policy Perspectives of Black Women Democratic Voters



Sojourner A Abdullah Gibbs, Southern University and A&M College,  
sojourner.gibbs@gmail.com  
Beyond Descriptive Representation - Understanding Support for Joe Biden Among Black Southern  
Voters Across Age and Gender  
Shakari Byerly, UCLA, sbyerly@ucla.edu  
The Centrality of Black Women's Standpoint and Intersectionality to African American Political  
Attitudes  
Monique L. Lyle, University of South Carolina, lyleml@email.sc.edu  
Todd C. Shaw, University of South Carolina, shawtc@mailbox.sc.edu

**Discussant:** Jamil Scott, Georgetown University

## **5 Roundtable—The 2020 Elections in the New South: A Black Perspective**

**Chair:**

Reflections on the Challenges of Coalition Building and Multiracial Organizing in Texas: A Black  
Perspective

Brianna Brown, Co-Director, Texas Organizing Project  
Understanding the Role of Christian Nationalism in the 2020 Elections: The Case of North Carolina  
Rev. Nelson Johnson, Co-Director, The Beloved Community  
Supporting Grassroots Organizations in the South,  
Attorney Nancy Abudu, Vote and Voice Director, Southern Poverty Law Center

**Discussant:**

**6 Chair:** Monique Gamble, University of the District of Columbia, dr.magamble@gmail.com

## **Poster Black Identity, Black Activism, and Freedom of Expression**

First In, First Out

Lauren Richards, Governors State University, lrichards2@student.govst.edu  
Consciousness in Blackness

Leslie DeJesus, University of the District of Columbia  
Sourcing and Solving the D.C.'s Maternal Mortality Crisis  
Benjamin Hoffschneider, University of the District of Columbia,  
benjamin.hoffschneid@udc.edu

**Discussant:** Monique Gamble, University of the District of Columbia, dr.magamble@gmail.com

**Thursday, MARCH 11**  
**12:45-2:00 pm**

**Panel 1: Black Women and Girls: Discrimination, Punishment and Representation**

**Chair:** Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, Hood College, tuckerworgs@hood.edu

The Punishment of Black Women and Girls and its Political Consequences

Sally Nuamah, Northwestern University, sally.nuamah@northwestern.com

Race and Gender Discrimination and its Lasting Effects on Black Women in Public Administration

Kaylin Oliver, University of Arkansas, kdoliver@uark.edu

**Discussant:** Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, Hood College, tuckerworgs@hood.edu

**Panel 2: Author Meets Critics: Nikol Alexander-Floyd's Re-Imagining Black Women: A Critique of Post-Feminist and Post-Racial Melodrama in Culture and Politics**

**Chair:** Niambi Carter, Howard University, niambi.carter@howard.edu

Albert Samuels, Southern University and A&M College, albert\_samuels@subr.edu

Emmitt Riley, III, DePauw University, emmittriley@depauw.edu

Wendy Smooth, Ohio State University, smooth.1@osu.edu

Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, University of California, Irvine, twilloug@uci.edu

**Discussant:** Niambi Carter, Howard University, niambi.carter@howard.edu

**Panel 3: Building Diverse Campus and Student Learning Experiences**

**Chair:** Sherri Wallace, University of Louisville, slwall08@louisville.edu;

Virtual Voices: An Analysis of Student Perspectives on the 2020 Elections

Dorian Brown Crosby, Spelman College, dcrosby1@spelman.edu

An Anti-Racist Campus?

Elizabeth Walker, Cal State Northridge, elizabeth.walker@csun.edu

Studying Community and Development in The Gambia and Senegal: A Case Study

Donn Worgs, Towson University, dworgs@gmail.com

Amina Sillah, Towson University, asillah@towson.edu

Teaching Racial and Ethnic Politics in a Pandemic

Dianne Pinderhughes, University of Notre Dame, dpinderh@nd.edu

**Discussant:** Sherri Wallace, University of Louisville, slwall08@louisville.edu

#### **Panel 4: Interrogating Errol Henderson's The Revolution Will Not Be Theorized**

**Chair:** James Taylor, University of San Francisco, [taylorj@usfca.edu](mailto:taylorj@usfca.edu)

On Errol Henderson's Malcolm X

James Taylor, University of San Francisco, [taylorj@usfca.edu](mailto:taylorj@usfca.edu)

Human Rights and Black Power in Henderson's "The Revolution will not be Theorized"

Kathy Powers, University of New Mexico, [kpowers1@unm.edu](mailto:kpowers1@unm.edu)

On the theses of Reverse Civilizationism

Robert Smith, San Francisco State University, [rsc@sfsu.edu](mailto:rsc@sfsu.edu)

On Errol Henderson's Political Science

Lester Spence, Johns Hopkins University, [unbowed@gmail.com](mailto:unbowed@gmail.com)

**Discussant:** Errol Henderson, Penn State University, [eah13@psu.edu](mailto:eah13@psu.edu)

#### **Panel 5: Origins and Impacts of Racial Attitudes, Ideologies and Movements**

**Chair:** Matthew Platt, Morehouse College, [matthew.platt@morehouse.edu](mailto:matthew.platt@morehouse.edu)

Hope Springs Eternal? Examining the Roots of Black Optimism in Politics

Anthony Lindsay, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, [anthony9@ad.unc.edu](mailto:anthony9@ad.unc.edu)

Trump Country? Determinants of Rural African American Political Support

Dara Gaines, Northwestern University, [DaraGaines2022@u.northwestern.edu](mailto:DaraGaines2022@u.northwestern.edu)

The Message has Meaning: Affective Cues in Black Radical Discourses of Resistance and Solidarity,

Davin Phoenix, University of California at Irvine, [dphoenix@uci.edu](mailto:dphoenix@uci.edu)

**Discussant:** Matthew Platt, Morehouse College, [matthew.platt@morehouse.edu](mailto:matthew.platt@morehouse.edu)

#### **Panel 6: Comparative Race and Identity in Africa, Brazil, and Beyond**

**Chair:** Adryan Wallace, Stony Brook University, [Adryan.Wallace@stonybrook.edu](mailto:Adryan.Wallace@stonybrook.edu)

Brazilian Politics: Race, Gender, and Political Inequality

Andrew Janusz, University of Florida, [ajanusz@ufl.edu](mailto:ajanusz@ufl.edu)

Idealism or Realism? The Nature of the Intergovernmental Organization BRICS in Africa

Constance Pruitt, Howard University, [cmtrower@gmail.com](mailto:cmtrower@gmail.com)

**Discussant:** Adryan Wallace, Stony Brook University, [Adryan.Wallace@stonybrook.edu](mailto:Adryan.Wallace@stonybrook.edu)

#### **Panel 7: Roundtable: Racial Social Democracy: Alva and Gunnar Myrdal in Dialogue with Contemporaneous Political Economic Thinkers**

Maribel Morey, Miami Institute for the Social Sciences, [maribelmorey@gmail.com](mailto:maribelmorey@gmail.com)

Gerald Jaynes, Yale University, [gerald.jaynes@yale.edu](mailto:gerald.jaynes@yale.edu)

Michael McEachrane, University College London, [mceachrane@gmail.com](mailto:mceachrane@gmail.com)

### **Panel 8: Undergraduate Student Panel**

**Chair:** Sherice Nelson, Southern University and A&M College, sherice\_nelson@subr.edu

The Evolution of Blacks and the Democratic Party

Makira Burns, Florida A&M University, makira1.burns@famu.edu

An Investigation of Race and Ethnicity and Household Income as factors in whether Los Angeles Residents Feel Perceived as a Threat by the LAPD

Bethlehem Gebeyebu, Loyola Marymount University, bgebeyeh@lion.lmu.edu

History Repeats Itself: Colin Kaepernick and the Legacy of the Black Athlete as an Activist

Tariq Edwards, Chaflin University, telijahedwards@gmail.com

The Consistency of Voting Habits among College Students

Mychala Walker, Virginia State University (undergrad student), walkermel19@gmail.com

Discussant: Sherice Nelson, Southern University and A&M College, sherice\_nelson@subr.edu

**Thursday, March 11**

**2:15-3:30 pm**

### **Lunch Panel: Activists Battling for Racial Justice**

Dayvon Love, Leaders of a Beautiful Struggle

Minister Gregg Lewis, Souls to the Polls

Anielle Franco, Marielle Franco Institute

Nakia Wallace, Detroit Will Breathe

**Thursday, MARCH 11**

**3:45-5:00**

### **Panel 9: Black Women Lead: Congressional Representation, Advocacy and Platforms**

**Chair:** Emmitt Riley, DePauw University, emmittriley@depauw.edu

A Pandemic Within a Pandemic: Gendered Differences in the Congressional Black Caucus' Advocacy for Black Communities During COVID-19

Nadia E. Brown, Purdue University, brown957@purdue.edu

Jasmine C. Jackson, Purdue University, jacks604@purdue.edu

Michael Strawbridge, Purdue University, mstrawbr@purdue.edu

Black Women as Bridges between Identity-Based Congressional Caucuses

Nadia Brown, Purdue University, brown957@purdue.edu  
Reclaiming My Time: The Rise of Black Congresswomen as Committee Chairs  
Cody Dorsey, Morgan State University, Cdorsey@smcm.edu

**Discussant:** Emmitt Riley, DePauw University, emmittriley@depauw.edu

### **Panel 10: Strategies and Strengths for African Development**

**Chair:** Takiyah Harper-Shipman, Davidson College, taharpershipman@davidson.edu

How Relevant is Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism in the Twenty-First Century?

Saidat Ilo, University of Houston-Victoria, saidatilo@gmail.com

The Gendered Economics of Political Empowerment: Lessons from Nigeria, Africa's Largest Economy

Pamela Nwakanma, Harvard University, pnwakanma@g.harvard.edu

African Union, Sustainable Political Stability and Economic Growth: The Prospect and Impediments

Victor Fakoya, University of Nevada Las Vegas, victor.fakoya@unlv.edu

**Discussant:** Maribel Morey, Miami Institute for the Social Sciences, maribelmorrey@gmail.com

### **Panel 11: Confronting Systemic Racism in Housing and Education**

**Chair:** LaGina Gause, University of California-San Diego, lgause@ucsd.edu

Fair Housing as Anti-Gentrification: Case of Boston, Massachusetts

James Jennings, Tufts University, james\_jennings@tufts.edu

Knowledge Economy Incarnate: Gentrification in a New York City Neighborhood

Isabelle Sofer, University of California-Irvine, isoifer@uci.edu

Housing Activism

Andrea Slater, slater\_am@gmail.com

Theorizing California as a Genteel Apartheid: Displacement as Gendered Racial Violence

Stephanie Jones, University of California-Irvine, jonessd@uci.edu

Retrofitting Racism: Antiracist Pronouncements and Egalitarian Policies in Higher Education,

Timothy Lewis, Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville, timlew@siue.edu

**Discussant:** LaGina Gause, University of California- San Diego, lgause@ucsd.edu

### **Panel 12: Social Movements: Resisting Racial, Gendered and Economic Injustices Through Community Organizing**

**Chair:** Errol Anthony Henderson, Pennsylvania State University, eah13@psu.edu

A Chorus of Voices: Tarana Burke and Healing the Collective Trauma of Sexual Violence

Shamya Hutchinson, Lincoln University of Pennsylvania,

shamya.hutchinson@lions.lincoln.edu

Worker Cooperatives as Challenges to Racial Hierarchy in the US

Alison Boehmer, University of California San Diego, [apboehme@ucsd.edu](mailto:apboehme@ucsd.edu)

As Quiet as It's Kept: Save Our Sons and Daughters (SOSAD) and Black Women's Roots of the Million Man March'

Errol Anthony Henderson, Pennsylvania State University, [eah13@psu.edu](mailto:eah13@psu.edu)

We'll Never Turn Back: The Albany Movement and Sounds of Freedom

Claire Crawford [clairecr@usc.edu](mailto:clairecr@usc.edu), University of Southern California

**Discussant:** Errol Anthony Henderson, Pennsylvania State University, [eah13@psu.edu](mailto:eah13@psu.edu)

### **Panel 13: Race, Critical Pedagogy, and Education Policy**

**Chair:** K. Juree Capers, Georgia State University, [kcapers@gsu.edu](mailto:kcapers@gsu.edu)

Social Media's Influence on the HBCU College Choice Process of Blacks in the South

Aayana Ingram, Purdue University

An Analysis of Common Core State Standards Policy and Its Effect on Elementary Test Scores

Mary Bruce, Governors State University

Karen Washington

**Discussant:** K. Juree Capers, Georgia State University, [kcapers@gsu.edu](mailto:kcapers@gsu.edu)

### **Panel 14: Theorizing Oppression and Resistance**

**Chair:** Jerome Hunt, Long Beach City College, [jhunt@lbcc.edu](mailto:jhunt@lbcc.edu)

A Critical Analysis of the Theoretical Typologies Black Women Use to Elicit Political and Social Change

Christina Jones, Howard University, [Christina.jones1@bison.howard.edu](mailto:Christina.jones1@bison.howard.edu)

Talking About Race: James Baldwin and Margaret Mead Then and Now

Terri Jett, Butler University, Faculty [tjett@butler.edu](mailto:tjett@butler.edu)

Break the Binary: Blake Brockington, Transmedicalism, and the 'Antagonistic Differences' of Racial Capitalism

Isabel Gonzalez, University of California, Irvine, [isabelfg@uci.edu](mailto:isabelfg@uci.edu)

**Discussant:** Donn C. Worgs, Towson University [dworgs@towson.edu](mailto:dworgs@towson.edu)

### **Panel 15: The Multiplicity of Conscience & Black Queer Political Praxis through Literature, Film, and Urban Planning**

**Chair:** Jasmine Noelle Yarish, University of the District of Columbia, [jasmine.yarish@udc.edu](mailto:jasmine.yarish@udc.edu)

Soul Talk and Abolitionist Conversion: Alice Walker, James Baldwin, and Stanley Cavell

Felicity Stone-Richards , University of California Santa Barbara, [fstone-richards@ucsb.edu](mailto:fstone-richards@ucsb.edu)  
Toward a Black Feminist Politics

Monique A. Gamble, University of the District of Columbia, [mgamble@udc.edu](mailto:mgamble@udc.edu)  
A Refusal to Be Cool: James Baldwin and the Theodicy of Flames

Desiree Melonas, Birmingham-Southern College, [desiree.craig07@gmail.com](mailto:desiree.craig07@gmail.com)  
'Because It's On': June Jordan and the Black Radical Tradition

Jasmine Noelle Yarish, University of the District of Columbia, [jasmine.yarish@udc.edu](mailto:jasmine.yarish@udc.edu)  
'In the Service of Human Pleasure and Health': June Jordan on Mutuality and Flexible Environments  
Lisa Beard, Western Washington University, [bearde@wwu.edu](mailto:bearde@wwu.edu)

**Discussant:** Shoniqua Roach, Brandeis University, [shoniquaroach@brandeis.edu](mailto:shoniquaroach@brandeis.edu)

## **Thursday, MARCH 11**

### **5:15-6:30 pm**

#### **Panel 16: Through the Looking Glass: Politics, Imagery and Sports**

**Chair:** Sekou Franklin, Middle Tennessee State University, [sekou.franklin@mtsu.edu](mailto:sekou.franklin@mtsu.edu)

Bearing Witness to Who We Are: Bev Ditsie and the (Visual) Art of Activism

Cienna Benn, Howard University, [cici.benn@gmail.com](mailto:cici.benn@gmail.com)

More Than a Color: The Marginalization of African American

Karen Anderson, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, [Kander17@saic.edu](mailto:Kander17@saic.edu)

Black Nationalism and Sport: Redefining Black Male Perceptions

Kiyadh Burt, Hope Policy Institute, [kiyadh.burt@hope-ec.org](mailto:kiyadh.burt@hope-ec.org)

Tariq Edwards, Claflin University, [telijahedwards@gmail.com](mailto:telijahedwards@gmail.com)

**Discussant:** Sekou Franklin, Middle Tennessee State University, [sekou.franklin@mtsu.edu](mailto:sekou.franklin@mtsu.edu)

#### **Panel 17: (Inter)National Feminist Thought, Practice, and Political Subjectivity**

**Chair:** Takiyah Harper-Shipman, Davidson College [taharpershipman@davidson.edu](mailto:taharpershipman@davidson.edu)

Afro-Japanese Feminist Practice

Felicity Stone-Richards, UC Santa Barbara, [Fstone-richards@ucsb.edu](mailto:Fstone-richards@ucsb.edu)

Amy Bailey, Black Jamaican Ladyhood, and the Politics of Development

Keisha Lindsay, University of Wisconsin-Madison, [keishanjeri@gmail.com](mailto:keishanjeri@gmail.com)

Dreams From His Younger Self: Barack Obama As a Proto-Feminist and Race Man

Andra Gillespie, Emory University, [angille@emory.edu](mailto:angille@emory.edu)

**Discussant:** Takiyah Harper-Shipman, Davidson College [taharpershipman@davidson.edu](mailto:taharpershipman@davidson.edu)

## **Panel 18: Black Women, Liberation and Politics in Brazil and Jamaica**

**Chair:** Danielle Clealand, University of Texas at Austin, [danielle.clealand@austin.utexas.edu](mailto:danielle.clealand@austin.utexas.edu)

Purchasing Integration: Black Women, Populism, and the Politics of Beauty Pageants in São Paulo, Brazil, 1960 – 1964

Cassandra A. Osei, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, [cosei2@illinois.edu](mailto:cosei2@illinois.edu)

Black Music and Resistance

Cassandra A. Osei, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, [cosei2@illinois.edu](mailto:cosei2@illinois.edu)

Black Womanhood and Motherhood in the Afterlife of Slavery, 1871-1930

Kat Cosby, University of California, Irvine [cosbyk@uci.edu](mailto:cosbyk@uci.edu)

**Discussant:** Ollie Johnson, Wayne State University, [ollie.johnson@wayne.edu](mailto:ollie.johnson@wayne.edu)

## **Panel 19: Blackness and the Politics of Race Beyond Borders**

**Chair:** Charisse Burden-Stelly, University of Chicago, [cburden@uchicago.edu](mailto:cburden@uchicago.edu)

The Congressional Black Caucus, Charles Diggs and the Anti-Apartheid Movement

Marion Orr, Brown University, [marion\\_orr@brown.edu](mailto:marion_orr@brown.edu)

Egypt in the Political Imagination of Shirley Graham DuBois

Hoda Zaki, Hood College, [hzaki@hood.edu](mailto:hzaki@hood.edu)

The Paradox of Location and Belonging: Black Africans and Black American Consciousness of Belonging and Location – Looking at the Gambia as a Case Study

Amina Sillah, Towson University, [asillah@towson.edu](mailto:asillah@towson.edu)

Racial Discrimination and Jurisdiction in Status of Forces Agreements

Bianca Freeman, University of California San Diego, [bfreeman@ucsd.edu](mailto:bfreeman@ucsd.edu)

**Discussant:** Tony Affigne, Providence College, [affigne@providence.edu](mailto:affigne@providence.edu)

## **Panel 20: Assessing Contours & Limitations of Black Turnout**

**Chair:** Andra Gillespie, Emory University, [angille@emory.edu](mailto:angille@emory.edu)

Polling and Black Voter Turnout, 2016 and 2020

Lorenzo Morris, Howard University (Faculty Emeritus)

The Shifting Politics of Georgia

Tammy Greer, Clark Atlanta University, [tgreer@cau.edu](mailto:tgreer@cau.edu)

Voices on the Frontline: Federal Success and Local Failure

Jayme Beasley, Clark Atlanta University

Provisional Democracy; An Analysis of North Carolina Provisional Ballots in the 2020 Elections

**Discussant:**



### **Panel 21: Student Reflections on the 2020 Election (Pre-recorded)**

**Chair:** Elsie Scott, Howard University, [elsie.scott@howard.edu](mailto:elsie.scott@howard.edu)

Kayla York, Howard University, [kayla.york05@outlook.com](mailto:kayla.york05@outlook.com)

Rainee Wilson, Howard University, [rainee.wilson@bison.howard.edu](mailto:rainee.wilson@bison.howard.edu)

Noemia Baptista, University of the District of Columbia, [noemia.baptista@udc.edu](mailto:noemia.baptista@udc.edu)

Taneshia Dublin, University of the District of Columbia, [taneshia.dublin@udc.edu](mailto:taneshia.dublin@udc.edu)

David (Tre) Edgerton, Howard University

JaLynn Davis, Howard University

**Discussant:** Sidney Johnson, Howard University, [Sidney.johnson@bison.howard.edu](mailto:Sidney.johnson@bison.howard.edu)

### **Panel 22: Roundtable—Black Female Mayors and COVID-19 Responses**

**Chair:** Valerie Johnson, DePaul University, [valerie.c.johnson@depaul.edu](mailto:valerie.c.johnson@depaul.edu)

Shiela Harmon-Martin, University of the District of Columbia, [smartin@udc.edu](mailto:smartin@udc.edu)

Valerie C. Johnson, DePaul University, [valerie.c.johnson@depaul.edu](mailto:valerie.c.johnson@depaul.edu)

Emmitt Y. Riley, DePaul University, [emmitttriley@depauw.edu](mailto:emmitttriley@depauw.edu)

James L. Taylor, University of San Francisco, [taylorj@usfca.edu](mailto:taylorj@usfca.edu)

Linda M. Trautman, Ohio University, [trautman@ohio.edu](mailto:trautman@ohio.edu)

**Discussant:** Andrea Benjamin, University of Oklahoma, [andrea.benjamin@ou.edu](mailto:andrea.benjamin@ou.edu)

### **Panel 23: The Impact of Covid-19 in the HBCU Community**

**Chair:** Elsie Scott, Howard University

Kenneth Taylor, Howard University

Dana McCalla, Howard University

Brittney Venter, Howard University

Christina Jones, Howard University, [christina.jones0808@gmail.com](mailto:christina.jones0808@gmail.com)

## **Friday, MARCH 12, 2020**

**11:00 am – 12:15 pm**

### **Panel 24: ‘That the Mothers May Soar and the Daughters May Know Their Names’: Black Women in Politics Oral History Project, Part Two**

**Chair:** Nadia Brown, Purdue University, [brown957@purdue.edu](mailto:brown957@purdue.edu)

Despite the Risks Involved: The Scholarship of Gladys Mitchell-Walthour

Kat Cosby, University of California, Irvine, [cosbyk@uci.edu](mailto:cosbyk@uci.edu)

These Interventions Were Not Easily Made: The Scholarship of Tiffany Willoughby-Herard

Annie Hikido, Colby College, ahikido@colby.edu

I'm a Social Scientist! That's the Hat I Wear: An Intellectual Biography of Political Scientist Evelyn M. Simien

LaShonda R. Carter, University of California, Irvine lrcarter@uci.edu

Actually, She Already Told Us to Pay Attention to This: Black Conservatives, the 2020 Election, and the Scholarship of Angela Lewis

Jordan Lynton, Indiana University, Bloomington jylynton@indiana.edu

A moral and deeply personal obligation: The Scholarship of Kathryn Sophia Belle

Lisa Beard, Western Washington University, bearde@wwu.edu

Be Our Full Selves: An Intellectual Biography of Womanist Scholar Activist Dr. Melina R. Abdullah

Onyekachi Ekeogu, Arizona State University, Onyekachi.Ekeogu@asu.edu

**Discussants:** Angela Lewis, University of Alabama, Birmingham, [dralewis@uab.edu](mailto:dralewis@uab.edu)  
Tommi Hayes, University of California, Santa Cruz & Trans Lifeline,  
[tommi.d.hayes@gmail.com](mailto:tommi.d.hayes@gmail.com)

## **Panel 25: Abolish, Defund, or Reform the Police: Evaluation of Attitudes and Perceptions of the LAPD**

**Chair:** Boris Ricks, California State University, Northridge, [boris.ricks@csun.edu](mailto:boris.ricks@csun.edu)

Police Reform: Identity Politics and the Call to Action

Mikayla Gingrey, Loyola Marymount University

Police and Community Relations in Los Angeles

Miriam Admasu, Loyola Marymount University

Defund the Police: Public Opinion on Threat Perception and Community Investment

Bethlehem Gebeyehu and Denay Aren Smith, Loyola Marymount University,

[bgebeyeh@lion.lmu.edu](mailto:bgebeyeh@lion.lmu.edu) and [dsmit126@lion.lmu.edu](mailto:dsmit126@lion.lmu.edu)

**Discussant:** Boris Ricks, California State University, Northridge, [boris.ricks@csun.edu](mailto:boris.ricks@csun.edu)

## **Panel 26: Community Activism and Black Cultural Capital**

**Chair:** Revathi Hines, Southern University and A&M College, [revathi\\_hines@subr.edu](mailto:revathi_hines@subr.edu)

Rooted Activism: The Influence of Culturally Rooted Practices on BIPOC Social Justice Organizing

Zahra Ahmed, St. Mary's College, [zga1@stmarys-ca.edu](mailto:zga1@stmarys-ca.edu)

Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Laboratories for Social and Political Activism,

Regina Moorer, Alabama State University, [rmoorer@alasu.edu](mailto:rmoorer@alasu.edu)

'For Such a Time as This': Black Churches and the COVID-19 Crisis,

Donn Worgs, Towson University, [dworgs@towson.edu](mailto:dworgs@towson.edu)

Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, [tuckerworgs@hood.edu](mailto:tuckerworgs@hood.edu)

The Effects of DC and Marvel Comic Books on the Racial Polarization of the Silent Generation and Baby Boomers

Alora Young, Independent Scholar, [alorayoung2003@gmail.com](mailto:alorayoung2003@gmail.com)

**Discussant:** Revathi Hines, Southern University and A&M College

**Panel 27: The Movement Resonated Deep in My Soul: Pathways to International Research in The Anti-Apartheid Struggle**

**Chair:** Kira Tait, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, [ktait@umass.edu](mailto:ktait@umass.edu)

Thinking Anti-Apartheid from the Frontline

Yousuf al Bulushi, University of California, Irvine, [yalbulus@uci.edu](mailto:yalbulus@uci.edu)

Dawn Breaks: ANC Women's Section Radio in Exile

Martin Boston, DePaul University, [mboston@depaul.edu](mailto:mboston@depaul.edu)

Azanian Politics in Exile: Building Anti-Apartheid in the European Left

Amanda Joyce Hall, Yale University and University of California, Santa Barbara, [amanda.j.hall@yale.edu](mailto:amanda.j.hall@yale.edu)

Phyllis Ntantala and the Making of Anti-Apartheid Detroit: Exile Educator

Tiffany Caesar, Johnston Hopkins Elementary School, [tiffanycasear@gmail.com](mailto:tiffanycasear@gmail.com)

And Their Voices Were Everywhere: Pan-African Feminist Radio Poetics

Natalia Molebatsi, [nataliamolebatsi2025@u.northwestern.edu](mailto:nataliamolebatsi2025@u.northwestern.edu)

**Discussants:** David Covin, Sacramento State University, [covindl@csus.edu](mailto:covindl@csus.edu)

Elizabeth Robinson, KCSB Radio, [Elizabeth.robinson@kcsb.org](mailto:Elizabeth.robinson@kcsb.org)

**Panel 28: Roundtable—Politics and the African Diaspora in Europe and the USA: Comparative Cross-Atlantic Europe/US Conversation around Michael McEachrane's Afro-Nordic Landscapes**

**Chair:** Maribel Morey, Miami Institute for the Social Sciences, [maribelmorey@gmail.com](mailto:maribelmorey@gmail.com)

Dianne Pinderhughes, University of Notre Dame, [dianne.m.pinderhughes.1@nd.edu](mailto:dianne.m.pinderhughes.1@nd.edu)

Pearl T. Robinson, Tufts University, [Pearl.Robinson@tufts.edu](mailto:Pearl.Robinson@tufts.edu)

Michael McEachrane, Lund University, [michael.mc\\_eachrane@rwi.lu.se](mailto:michael.mc_eachrane@rwi.lu.se)

Jessica Lauren Elizabeth Taylor, Goldsmiths University of London, [jessicalaurenelizabethtaylor@gmail.com](mailto:jessicalaurenelizabethtaylor@gmail.com)

Maribel Morey, Miami Institute for the Social Sciences, [maribelmorey@gmail.com](mailto:maribelmorey@gmail.com)

**Panel 29: Questioning Who? How Public Opinion Surveys Inform Public Discourse, Public Resource and Identity Formation**

**Chair:** Wendy Smooth, Ohio State University, [smooth.1@osu.edu](mailto:smooth.1@osu.edu)

Why are you surprised? The Ideological Contours of Black and Latinx Opinion

Tony Affigne, Providence College, [affigne@providence.edu](mailto:affigne@providence.edu)

Valerie Martinez-Ebers, University of North Texas, Valerie.Martinez-Ebers@unt.edu  
You Voted for Who? Explaining Support for Trump among Women and Minorities  
Mandi Bates-Bailey, Valdosta State University, mbbailey@valdosta.edu  
Amiya Miles, Valdosta State University  
Dustin Magilligan, Valdosta State University  
Griffin Petty, Valdosta State University

**Discussant:** Wendy Smooth, Ohio State University, smooth.1@osu.edu

### **Panel 30: A Guide to Publishing Journal Articles and Books**

**Chair:** Sharon Austin, University of Florida polssdw@ufl.edu

Aaron Javicas, Temple University Press  
Sharon Austin and Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, American Political Science Review  
Nadia Brown, Politics, Groups and Identities  
Andra Gillespie and Pearl Ford Dowe, National Review of Black Politics

### **Panel 31: Roundtable on Black Women Scholars and the Academy: Location, Identities, and Transnational Research**

**Chair:** Robin Turner, Butler University, [rturne1@butler.edu](mailto:rturne1@butler.edu)

Yolande Boutka, yolande.boutka@queensu.ca  
Tiffany Caesar, Johnston Hopkins Elementary School, tiffanycasear@gmail.com  
Akasemi Newsome, University of California, Berkeley, akasemi@berkeley.edu

**Friday, March 12<sup>th</sup>**  
**12:30 to 1:45**

### **Panel 32: Black Girl Magic: Policy Considerations and Evaluations of Black Women Leaders**

**Chair:** Amy Bailey

Death in DC: Mayor Muriel Bowser's Efforts to Eliminate Black Maternal Mortality  
Natasha McNeely, University of Texas, Rio Grande Valley, natasha.altema@utrgv.edu  
The Right to Bare Arms: Television News Coverage of Michelle Obama  
Sydney Carr, University of Michigan, slcarr@umich.edu

**Discussant:** Amy Bailey

**Panel 33: Race, Trust, and Police Legitimacy: Analysis of Perceptions and Experiences with the Police**

**Chair:** Nyron Crawford, Temple University, [nyron.crawford@temple.edu](mailto:nyron.crawford@temple.edu)

Impact of Race and Ethnicity on Experiences with the LAPD

Jillian Porter, Loyola Marymount University

Analysis of Black Angelenos and their Perceptions of the LAPD

Malia Thorton, Loyola Marymount University

Police Mistrust Across Race, Class, and Generation

Simone Butler, Loyola Marymount University

**Discussant:** Nyron Crawford, Temple University, [nyron.crawford@temple.edu](mailto:nyron.crawford@temple.edu)

**Panel 34: The Contours, Contradictions and Contributions of Creating a Black Social Science: NCOBPS and The Atlanta School in shaping approaches to Africana Knowledge for Liberation**

**Chair:** Afia Zakiya, [afiazakiya@gmail.com](mailto:afiazakiya@gmail.com)

Kelly Harris

“I am a Son of Mack Jones: The Atlanta School and the Institutionalization of Africana Political Thought.”

Kwasi Densu, Florida A & M University, [kwasi.densu@famu.edu](mailto:kwasi.densu@famu.edu)

Systems of ‘Repression and Underdevelopment Abroad’ Mack H. Jones and the Pan-African Synthesis.”

Kurt Young, Clark Atlanta University, [kurtbyoung@yahoo.com](mailto:kurtbyoung@yahoo.com)

The Atlanta School: A Pedagogical Exploration in Contextualizing Epistemology and Methodology.

Jarrold Grant, Clark Atlanta University, [jarroldgrant@yahoo.com](mailto:jarroldgrant@yahoo.com)

Free Yo Mind! The Atlanta School and Mack Jones’ Decolonized Knowledge, Worldview and Liberatory Black Power Politics.

Afia Zakiya, Independent Scholar/AIDIKI, [afiazakiya@gmail.com](mailto:afiazakiya@gmail.com)

**Discussant:** Hashim Gibrill, Clark Atlanta University, [hgibrill@cau.edu](mailto:hgibrill@cau.edu)

**Panel 35: Impacts of Neoliberal Policy Reforms: Addressing Reproductive Care, Criminal Justice Systems, and Wealth Gaps**

**Chair:** Regina Moorer, Alabama State University, [moorer@alasu.edu](mailto:moorer@alasu.edu)

The New Hustle: The (In)justice System, the Ideology it Profits From, and the Voices Against It

Zipporah Davis, York University

Dollar Fueled Disparity: A State Analysis of Wealth Gap

Kaylon Day, Valdosta State University

**Discussant:** Regina Moorer, Alabama State University, [moorer@alasu.edu](mailto:moorer@alasu.edu)

### **Panel 36: Historic Firsts in US Elections**

**Chair:** Evelyn M. Simien, University of Connecticut, [evelyn.simien@uconn.edu](mailto:evelyn.simien@uconn.edu)

Andrew Gillum's Quest to Become Florida's First Black Governor

Sharon Wright Austin, University of Florida, [polssdw@ufl.edu](mailto:polssdw@ufl.edu)

Mayor London Breed and the Limits of Governing while Black and Female in San Francisco

Chelsea Jones, University of California, Los Angeles

Lorrie Frasure, University of California, Los Angeles, [lfrasure@polisci.ucla.edu](mailto:lfrasure@polisci.ucla.edu)

Crystal Robertson, University of California, Los Angeles

Ilhan Omar: Breaking Barriers for Muslim, Somali American, and Immigrant Women

Stefanie Chambers, Trinity College, [stefanie.chambers@trincoll.edu](mailto:stefanie.chambers@trincoll.edu)

Laurel Elder, Hartwick College

Rashida Tlaib: A Symbol and Champion for Detroit

Michael Minta, University of Minnesota, [mdminta@umn.edu](mailto:mdminta@umn.edu)

**Discussant:** Evelyn M. Simien, University of Connecticut, [evelyn.simien@uconn.edu](mailto:evelyn.simien@uconn.edu)

### **Panel 37: Library of Congress: Resources and Opportunities for Scholars of Black Politics**

**Chair:** Janna Deitz, Library of Congress The John W. Kluge Center, [jdeitz@loc.gov](mailto:jdeitz@loc.gov)

Janna Deitz, Kluge Center- Outreach and Partnerships, [jdeitz@loc.gov](mailto:jdeitz@loc.gov)

Leroy Bell, Jr., Library of Congress- Reference Librarian, [lbell@loc.gov](mailto:lbell@loc.gov)

Jesse Holland, Kluge Distinguished Visiting Scholar, George Washington University, [jesseholland@gwu.edu](mailto:jesseholland@gwu.edu)

**Discussant:** Cory Gooding, [cgooding@sandiego.edu](mailto:cgooding@sandiego.edu)

### **Panel 38: Empowering and Engaging Targeted Groups**

**Chair:** Christopher Stout, Oregon State University, [Christopher.Stout@oregonstate.edu](mailto:Christopher.Stout@oregonstate.edu)

Moving from Protest to Policy: Five Methods to Empower Interest Groups to Effectively Impact Public Policy

Tammy Greer, Clark Atlanta University, [tgreer@cau.edu](mailto:tgreer@cau.edu)

An Evaluation of Physical Activity and Political Engagement in African-American Men with a History of Prostate Cancer

Teri Platt, Clark Atlanta University, [tplatt@cau.edu](mailto:tplatt@cau.edu)

Shock and Awe: The Use Of YouTube to Cultivate Meaningful Critical Conversations on Diversity Issues

Camara Silver, University of South Florida, [csilver@usf.edu](mailto:csilver@usf.edu)

2020 Presidential Contest and the Black Vote in Florida

Abdul Sharif, Florida A & M University, [abdul.sharif@famuedu](mailto:abdul.sharif@famuedu)

Brandon Armstrong, Florida A&M University, [brandon.armstrong@fam.u.edu](mailto:brandon.armstrong@fam.u.edu)

**Discussant:** Christopher Stout, Oregon State University, [Christopher.Stout@oregonstate.edu](mailto:Christopher.Stout@oregonstate.edu)

**Friday, March 12<sup>th</sup>**

**2:00 - 3:15 pm**

**Panel 39: Roundtable on COVID-19 and Black Communities**

**Chair:** Julia Jordan-Zachary, University of North Carolina, Charlotte, [jjordanx@uncc.edu](mailto:jjordanx@uncc.edu)

Lester Spence, Johns Hopkins University, [unbowed@gmail.com](mailto:unbowed@gmail.com)

Khalila Brown-Dean, Quinnipiac University, [klbrowndean@quinnipiac.edu](mailto:klbrowndean@quinnipiac.edu)

Keisha Pollack Porter, Johns Hopkins University, [kpollac1@jhu.edu](mailto:kpollac1@jhu.edu)

Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, Hood College, [tuckerworgs@hood.edu](mailto:tuckerworgs@hood.edu)

**Friday, March 12<sup>th</sup>**

**3:45-5:00 pm**

**Panel 40: Black Women as the Conscience in Business and Society: Understanding Collective Power in a Comparative Perspective**

**Chair:** Caroline Shenaz Hossein, York University, [chossein@yorku.ca](mailto:chossein@yorku.ca)

Black Women's Political Participation as Survival

Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, [mitchelg@uwm.edu](mailto:mitchelg@uwm.edu)

Black Women's Effect on Public Opinion Through Value Formation from Slavery to Black Lives Matter

Sherice Nelson, Southern University and A&M College, [sherice\\_nelson@subr.edu](mailto:sherice_nelson@subr.edu)

Race, Reproduction, and the Economy: Ghana and the U.S.

Takiyah D. Harper-Shipman, Davidson College, [taharpershipman@davidson.edu](mailto:taharpershipman@davidson.edu)

The Black Social Economy: Black American Women Using Susus and Cooperatives as Resistance

Tatianna Benjamin

Sharon Wright Austin, University of Florida, [polssdw@ufl.edu](mailto:polssdw@ufl.edu)

Beyond Rochdale: The African Diaspora's Contributions to the Cooperative Movement

Caroline Shenaz Hossein, [chossein@yorku.ca](mailto:chossein@yorku.ca)

**Discussant:** Sharon Wright Austin, University of Florida, [polssdw@ufl.edu](mailto:polssdw@ufl.edu)

**Panel 41: Public Policy and Political Institutions at the Forefront of Social and Policy Change**

**Chair:** Natasha Christie, University of North Florida, [n.christie@unf.edu](mailto:n.christie@unf.edu)

The Poor, The Partisan, and the Diverse: How do Political Institutions and Racial Diversity Affect Welfare Generosity in the American States?

Naomi Nubin, University of Houston, [naomi\\_nubin@yahoo.com](mailto:naomi_nubin@yahoo.com)

Impacts of Louisiana Public Policy on Employment: An Econometric Analysis

Russell Frazier, Xavier University of Louisiana, [rfrazier@xula.edu](mailto:rfrazier@xula.edu)

Private Sector in Public Policy: An Analysis of Private Sector Involvement in Corona Virus Testing  
Gbenga Ayodeji, Walden University

**Discussant:** Natasha Christie, University of North Florida, [n.christie@unf.edu](mailto:n.christie@unf.edu)

## **Panel 42: Race, Police Violence, and Mass Incarceration**

**Chair:** Albert L. Samuels, Southern University and A&M College, [albert\\_samuels@subr.edu](mailto:albert_samuels@subr.edu)

Poverty and Police Shootings: Examining the Link between Income Inequality and Officer Involved Shootings

Alexander Goodwin, University of North Texas, [alex.goodwin@yahoo.com](mailto:alex.goodwin@yahoo.com)

Sociopolitical Bifurcation: The Unconscious Conflict Driving Disproportionate Black Imprisonment

Anthony Lindsey, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, [anthony9@ad.unc.edu](mailto:anthony9@ad.unc.edu)

Voices Unheard, Stories Untold: Black Women, Police Violence and Political Participation  
Ayana Best, University of Southern California, [ayanabes@usc.edu](mailto:ayanabes@usc.edu)

**Discussant:** Melanie Johnson, Southern University and A&M College, [melanie\\_johnson@subr.edu](mailto:melanie_johnson@subr.edu)

## **Panel 43: Between Political Life and Social Death**

**Chair:** Charisse Burden-Stelly, University of Chicago, [cburden@carleton.edu](mailto:cburden@carleton.edu)

Abolishing the 13th Amendment's Prison-Slave Clause, (As) A Matter of National Consciousness and Conscience Raising

Tommi D. Hayes, [tommi.d.hayes@gmail.com](mailto:tommi.d.hayes@gmail.com)

Enemies of the State: The Black Panther Party's Phenomenological Approach to Solidarity

Brooks Kirchgassner, [brooks.kirchgassner@uconn.edu](mailto:brooks.kirchgassner@uconn.edu)

Against Social Death

Lester Spence, John Hopkins University, [unbowed@gmail.com](mailto:unbowed@gmail.com)

**Discussant:** Charisse Burden-Stelly, University of Chicago, [cburden@carleton.edu](mailto:cburden@carleton.edu)

## **Panel 44: Afro-Latino Politics between the US and the Caribbean**

**Chair:** Ollie Johnson, Wayne State University, [ojohnson@wayne.edu](mailto:ojohnson@wayne.edu)

Political Party Support and Social Vulnerability Shape Government Responsiveness to Disasters

Fernando Tormos-Aponte, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, [ft@umbc.edu](mailto:ft@umbc.edu)

Conceptualizing Transnational Racial Ideology: Black Lives Matter from the U.S. to the Dominican Republic



Michelle Bueno Vasquez, Northwestern University,  
michellebuenovasquez2024@u.northwestern.edu

Black Consciousness in Puerto Rico

Leslie DeJesus, University of the District of Columbia  
Anti-Blackness, Xenophobia and Afro-Caribbean Political Engagement  
Cory Gooding, University of San Diego, cgooding@sandiego.edu

**Discussant:** Danielle Clealand, University of Texas at Austin, danielle.clealand@austin.utexas.edu

#### **Panel 45: NCOBPS Presidential History Series**

**Chair:** Sheila Harmon-Martin, University of the District of Columbia, smartin@udc.edu

William Daniels, Rochester Institute of Technology  
Leslie McLemore, Jackson State University  
Elsie Scott, Director, Ronald Walters Leadership & Public Policy Center, Howard University,  
elsie.scott@howard.edu  
Shelby Lewis, Retired, United Negro College Fund

#### **Friday, March 12, 5:15 - 6:30 pm**

#### **Panel 46: Giants in the Field: The Impact of Drs. Lucius Barker and Michael Combs**

Mandi Bates-Bailey, mbbailey@valdosta.edu  
D'Andra Orey, byron.d.orey@jsums.edu  
Katherine Tate, Brown University, Katherine\_Tate@brown.edu  
Dianne Pinderhughes, University of Notre Dame, dpinderh@nd.edu  
Christine Pappas  
Congressman Joaquin Castro (D-TX)

#### **Panel 47: Roundtable – Saving the World for Everyone: Women of Color Organizing in Environmental Justice and Climate Justice (Roundtable)**

**Chair:** Chaz Briscoe, University of California-Irvine, cbriscoe@uci.edu

Fatima Shafiei, Spelman College, fshafiei@spelman.edu  
TBA

#### **Panel 48: Black Evaluations of Political Elites**

**Chair:** Brianna Mack, Ohio Wesleyan University, bnmack@owu.edu

Sorting Through the Effects of Race, Partisanship, and Policy on Congressional Approval.

Matthew Platt Morehouse College, matthew.platt@morehouse.edu

All for One and One for All? Exploring Black Voter Candidate Preferences in the State of Florida

Abdul Sharif, Florida A & M University, abdul.sharif@famu.edu

Brandon Armstrong, Florida A&M University, brandon.armstrong@famu.edu

**Discussant:** Brianna Mack, Ohio Wesleyan University, bnmack@owu.edu

#### **Panel 49: Race-Relevant Messaging & Black Attitudes & Ideologies**

**Chair:** Sherice Nelson, Southern University and A&M College, sherice\_nelson@subr.edu

Countering Racialized Attacks: How Black and White Candidates Can Address Claims of Racial Conservatism

Christopher Stout, Oregon State University, Christopher.Stout@oregonstate.edu

The Tradeoff Between Racial Cues and Ideological Congruence

Kevin Sparrow, Emory University, ksparr2@emory.edu

Crime News and Racial Stereotype Priming

Warrington Seabee, University of Arkansas, weseabee@uark.edu

**Discussant:** Sherice Nelson, Southern University and A&M College, sherice\_nelson@subr.edu

#### **Panel 50: Protest and Change: The Black Lives Matter Movement**

**Chair:** Donn Worgs, Towson University, dworgs@towson.edu

Black Lives Matter Protests Amidst a Global Pandemic

LaGina Gause, University of California—San Diego, lgause@ucsd.edu

BLM Power in California

Elizabeth Walker, California State University- Northridge, elizabeth.walker@csun.edu

After the Storm: Black Lives Matter Protests and the Spatial Variation of Policing in Chicago

Monique Newton, Northwestern University, mnewton@northwestern.edu

**Discussant:** Donn Worgs, Towson University, dworgs@towson.edu

#### **Panel 51: Black Women as the Conscience of Nations**

**Chair:** Nikol Alexander-Floyd, Rutgers University, ngaf@rutgerspolisci.edu

Congresswoman Maxine Waters and C. Delores Tucker Reclaiming our Time: Black Women taking back the Narrative from Politicians and ‘Gangsta Rappers’

Artemesia Stanberry, North Carolina Central University, artiestan@yahoo.com

India Dancy, North Carolina Central University,

‘Because It’s On’: June Jordan as Abolitionist Socialist Feminist,  
Jasmine Noelle Yarish, University of District of Columbia, [jasmine.yarish@udc.edu](mailto:jasmine.yarish@udc.edu)  
The Power of the Sister(hood) Vote: Exploring the Political Thoughts and Opinions of Black Women  
of the Divine 9 Towards Black Women Candidates  
Ashley Daniels, Howard University,

**Discussant:** Nikol Alexander-Floyd, Rutgers University, [ngaf@rutgerspolisci.edu](mailto:ngaf@rutgerspolisci.edu)

**Panel 52: Political Friendship Across Race**

**Chair:** Hoda Zaki, Hood College, [hzaki@hood.edu](mailto:hzaki@hood.edu)

Lindsey Smith, Green River College, [lsmith065@gmail.com](mailto:lsmith065@gmail.com)  
Jennifer Joines, University of California, Los Angeles,  
Amanda Bennett, Duke University, [amanda.bennett803@duke.edu](mailto:amanda.bennett803@duke.edu)

**Discussant:** Hoda Zaki, Hood College, [hzaki@hood.edu](mailto:hzaki@hood.edu)

**Panel 53: Reflections on Student Voter Engagement and Voter Mobilization for the 2020 Election**

**Chair:** Teri Platt, Clark Atlanta University, [tplatt@cau.edu](mailto:tplatt@cau.edu)

**Participants**

Democracy Fellows for the Clark Atlanta University Votes Initiative  
Ambassadors for the Andrew Goodman Foundation  
Democracy Fellows for the Campus Vote Project

**Discussant:** Monique Gamble, University of the District of Columbia, [mgamble@udc.edu](mailto:mgamble@udc.edu)

**Saturday, March 13, 11:15 am-12:30 pm**

**Panel 54: New Directions in Black Women in Politics: A Panel in Honor of the 30th Anniversary of Jewel Prestage's “African American Political Woman”**

**Chair:** Nikol Alexander-Floyd, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, [ngaf@polisci.rutgers.edu](mailto:ngaf@polisci.rutgers.edu)

All Eyes on Us: African American Women and the 2020 Election Cycle  
Pearl Ford Dowe, Oxford College and Emory University, [pearl.dowe@emory.edu](mailto:pearl.dowe@emory.edu)  
Black Women in the State Level Context: Where Do They Run and Where Are They Successful?  
Jamil Scott, Georgetown University, [jamil.scott@georgetown.edu](mailto:jamil.scott@georgetown.edu)  
Gender and Black Conservatism in the New Millennium  
Nikol Alexander-Floyd, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, [ngaf@polisci.rutgers.edu](mailto:ngaf@polisci.rutgers.edu)

**Discussant:** Duchess Harris, Macalester College, [harris@macalester.edu](mailto:harris@macalester.edu)

### **Panel 55: Race and Democracy in Post-Trump America**

**Chair:** Emmitt Riley III, DePauw University, [emmittriley@depauw.edu](mailto:emmittriley@depauw.edu)

The Role and Responsibility of the ‘Never Trump’ Movement and the Restoration of Voting Rights to African Americans and Communities of Color in Post-Trump America

Stephanie Williams, University of South Florida, [stephanielynnwilliams@msn.com](mailto:stephanielynnwilliams@msn.com)

Not Unprecedented: Trump’s Assault on Democracy and the Second American Civil War

Albert Samuels, Southern University and A&M College, [albert\\_samuels@subr.edu](mailto:albert_samuels@subr.edu)

**Discussant:** Emmitt Riley III, DePauw University, [emmittriley@depauw.edu](mailto:emmittriley@depauw.edu)

### **Panel 56: Examining Institutions through Textual Analysis**

**Chair:** Christopher Stout, Oregon State University, [Christopher.Stout@oregonstate.edu](mailto:Christopher.Stout@oregonstate.edu)

Back There: Finding Polity in New Jack City

Fallen Matthews, Dalhousie University

Mourners-in-chief: An Analysis of Presidential Responses to the killing George Floyd

Natasha Christie, University of North Florida, [n.christie@unf.edu](mailto:n.christie@unf.edu)

Brazilian Supreme Court and SS Policies: An Analysis of the Amendment’s Judicial Review

Tassiana De Oliveira, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco

**Discussant:** Christopher Stout, Oregon State University, [Christopher.Stout@oregonstate.edu](mailto:Christopher.Stout@oregonstate.edu)

### **Panel 57: Roundtable - Unlocking Democracy: Reclaiming Political Representation for Those Directly Impacted by the Criminal Legal System**

**Chair:** Christina Rivers, Depaul University, [crivers@depaul.edu](mailto:crivers@depaul.edu)

Nasir Blackwell, Inner City Muslim Action Network, [nasir@imancentral.org](mailto:nasir@imancentral.org)

Shamiah Byrd, S.O.U.L., Chicago, [smyabyrd921@gmail.com](mailto:smyabyrd921@gmail.com)

Ami Gandhi, Chicago Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, [agandhi@clccrul.org](mailto:agandhi@clccrul.org)

Stevie Valles, Chicago Votes, [stevie@chicagovotes.com](mailto:stevie@chicagovotes.com)

### **Panel 58: Make Some Noise: The Politics of Self-Care for Individual, Community, and Societal Transformation (The Association for the Study of Black Women in Politics)**

**Chair:** Françoise Cromer, Saint Elizabeth University, [fcromer@steu.edu](mailto:fcromer@steu.edu)

Diaspora Visions of Wellness: Inner Peace and Joy, Self-Love, and Lemonade

Francoise Cromer, Saint Elizabeth University, [fcromer@steu.edu](mailto:fcromer@steu.edu)

Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, University of California-Irvine, twillough@uci.edu

Desiree Melonas, Birmingham-Southern College, drmelona@bsc.edu

Zahra Ahmed, Saint Mary's College, zgal@stmarys-ca.edu

"Calling Out," "Calling In," and "Calling To": Revisiting Black Feminist Thought in a Time of Normalizing Fascism

Jasmine N. Yarish, University of the District of Columbia, jasmine.yarish@udc.edu

**Discussant:** Mzilikazi Koné, University of Los Angeles, California, Mkone@ucla.edu

### **Panel 59: Engagement of Black Issues by Political Elites**

**Chair:** Davin Phoenix, University of California, Irvine, dphoenix@uci.edu

Call and Response: Elite Responsiveness to BLM

Najja K. Baptist, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, nkbaptis@yahoo.com

Jamil Scott, Georgetown University, jamil.scott@georgetown.edu

Voting Rights and the Changing Landscape of the Federal Judiciary

Shenita Brazelton, Tuskegee University, sbrazelton@tuskegee.edu

Punitiveness and Mass Incarceration

Tolulope Babalola, University of Southern California, babalola@usc.edu

**Discussant:** Davin Phoenix, University of California, Irvine, dphoenix@uci.edu

### **Panel 60: Progress, Affect and Political Choice**

**Chair:** Justin Rose, Rhodes Colleges, jrose@rhodes.edu

Modern Black Conservatism and the Black Community

Kennedy Hill, University of Arkansas, klh038@uark.edu

Making Progress While Maintaining Black Joy and Mental Health: An Exploration of the Weariness of being a Conscience for a Nation

Travis Reginal, George Washington University, travisreginal@gwu.edu

The Affective Turn in Black Political Attitudes (or: F\*ck Hope)

Lester Spence, John Hopkins University, unbowed@gmail.com

**Discussant:** Justin Rose, Rhodes College, jrose@rhodes.edu

## **Saturday, March 13, 1:30 pm**

### **Closing Plenary: Where do we go from here? Possibilities and Challenges for Black Politics**

Chryl Laird, Bowdoin College, claird@bowdoin.edu

KC Morrison, University of Delaware, minion@udel.edu

Lorrie Frasure, University of California-Los Angeles, [lfrasure@polisci.ucla.edu](mailto:lfrasure@polisci.ucla.edu)  
Adolphus Belk, Jr., Winthrop University, [belka@winthrop.edu](mailto:belka@winthrop.edu)

**To Our Dearly Departed and Courageous**

**African Ancestors**

**&**

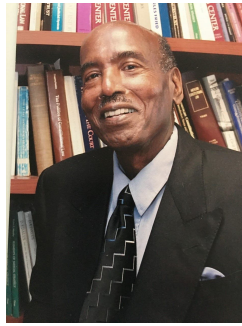
**NCOBPS Founders**

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**Dedicated Members**

**(1969-2021)**



**In Memoriam**  
**Dr. Lucius J. Barker, 1928-2020**

It is with deep sadness that we report the death of Dr. Lucius J. Barker. He died on June 21st at the age of 92. He was preceded in death by his wife, Maude Barker, who passed away in May. He had an illustrious career, spent mostly at Stanford University and Washington University in St. Louis, where he served as chairs of the political science departments.

Throughout his career he teamed with his brother, Twiley Barker, to author several studies on constitutional law and judicial decision-making. The Barker brothers belonged to a Louisiana-based lineage of Black political scientists with strong ties to Southern University and A & M College. Dr. Rodney Higgins, who mentored the brothers at Southern, introduced them to the field of constitutional law. They returned to teach at the university in the mid-1950s after receiving their doctorates.

Dr. Barker had an extensive research catalogue. His major works include *African Americans and the American Political System* (co-authored with Mack Jones and Katherine Tate), *Civil Liberties and the Constitution: Cases and Commentaries* (co-authored with Michael Combs, Kevin Lyles, H.W. Perry Jr., and Twiley Barker), and *Freedom, Courts, Politics: Studies in Civil Liberties* (co-authored with Twiley Barker).

His leadership in the political science discipline was just as impressive as his scholarship. He was elected President of the Midwest Political Science Association in the mid-1980s. He was President of NCOBPS from 1983-1984. He served from 1989-1993 as the inaugural editor of the organization's long-lasting journal, the *National Political Science Review* (now the *National Review of Black Politics*). He was the second African American to serve as President of the American Political Science Association (APSA) from 1992-1993.

During his tenure as NCOBPS president, the organization engaged in an energetic debate about the viability of Jesse Jackson's presidential campaigns. Emerging from these debates were numerous publications on Black presidential politics. Barker was instrumental in this research trajectory. He co-edited (with Ronald Walters) *Jesse Jackson's 1984 Presidential Campaign: Challenge and Change in America*. He wrote about his involvement in Jackson's first presidential campaign in *Our Time Has Come: A Delegate's Diary of Jesse Jackson's 1984 Presidential Campaign*.

Barker's experiences growing up in the Jim Crow South shaped his broader perspectives about pluralism and political institutions. His 1994 essay in the *American Political Science Review* titled, "Limits of Political Strategy: A Systemic View of the African American Experience," examined the range of political strategies used by African Americans, e.g. litigation, electoral politics, interest group pressures, party politics, and direct action. Each strategy, he argued, was limited in its ability to



sustain racial justice. This was of no fault of African Americans, but due to the failings of American democracy. Still undeterred, he insisted that creating a fair and equitable society requires “extraordinary leadership” and persistent advocacy.

Expanding the boundaries of the political science discipline was another theme of Barker’s research and advocacy. In 2005, *Perspectives of Politics* assembled 12 APSA presidents to reflect on the state of the discipline. In his commentary, Barker criticized the “gatekeepers” of the discipline for doing little to remedy the marginalization of African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans. The exclusion of these voices from the flagship journals also reflected the political science discipline’s inattention to racial equality. He urged political scientists to “act with courage and without fear”—to “express outrage” about the injustices in the political science discipline and the broader society.

NCOBPS celebrates Barker’s life work, mentorship, and scholarship. His death comes at an inflection point in the twenty-first century. As street protests continue to highlight racial injustices, Black political scientists and others are pushing society, their institutions, and the discipline to address systemic inequalities. The collective writings and leadership of Barker suggest that righteous outrage, along with the push for systemic change and disciplinary transformation, are essential to addressing the failings of the U.S. pluralist design. We hope that his death brings forth a new call to action to develop generations of political scientists who will commit themselves to racial justice.



In Memoriam  
Elijah Wally Miles, 1934-2020

It is with deep sadness that we report the passing of Dr. Elijah Wally Miles. He was 86 years-old. His family has asked us to share this abbreviated obituary with NCOBPS.

Dr. Miles, who was known by many as “Wally Miles,” “E.W. Miles,” E. Walter Miles,” and “E. Wally Miles,” was part of a small group of the first African Americans to obtain a doctorate degree in political science/government. This group included Ralph Bunche, Jewel Prestage, and Lucius Barker. Dr. Jewel Prestage was one of the early mentors and teachers of Dr. Miles. She considered him to be an excellent student and an “outstanding” professor. Scholars, including Dr. Maurice Woodard, who have studied the earliest “trailblazing” African-American political scientists, include Dr. Miles on a list of notable African-American political scientists who followed Dr. Ralph Bunche.

Dr. Miles was born on May 4, 1934, in Hearne, Texas. He attended Prairie View A&M University, where he became a leader of the varsity debate team and assumed leadership roles in national honor societies. After graduation, he was appointed as a commissioned officer in the United States Army. He served overseas in the Korea for about two years and then returned to the United States to resume his academic career. He briefly taught at Prairie View A&M University before enrolling at Indiana University to attend graduate school, where he earned both master’s and doctorate degrees in government.

After earning his graduate degrees, Dr. Miles held teaching and research positions at Indiana University, Prairie View A&M University, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In 1966, he accepted a faculty position with the Department of Political Science at San Diego State University, where he worked for more than thirty years. At SDSU, he served on the Executive Council of the Study Commission on Black Affairs and as chair of the political science department.

Dr. Miles worked tirelessly at eradicating barriers that prevented African Americans from entering the field of political science. For decades, he was affiliated with the American Political Science Association’s Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession. Less than ten years after this committee was founded, he served as its chairperson.

During his tenure as a professor, Dr. Miles co-authored *Vital Issues of the Constitution* and was a contributing author of *Great Cases of the Supreme Court*. He served on the editorial boards of the *Western Political Science Quarterly*, *National Political Science Review*, *American Review of Politics*,

and Journal of Politics. He also served on various APSA committees and was a member of its Executive Council. APSA recognized Dr. Miles's "excellence in scholarship and service to the profession" by awarding him a distinguished scholar award.

Dr. Miles was committed to scholar activism. In the 1950s and 1960s, he was involved in a campaign to desegregate public facilities in Bloomington, Indiana. He also helped organize a boycott against businesses that practiced racial discrimination in Hempstead, Texas, and he fought to improve housing conditions in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

In the 1980s, Dr. Miles served as Chairperson of the Board for the San Diego Urban League. From the mid-1980s to the early 2000s, he was actively involved in the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). He was President of the ACLU for San Diego and Imperial Counties. He was a member of the ACLU's national board for more than ten years.

Dr. Miles received numerous awards and accolades for his community service. He was the recipient of the Western Political Science Association's "Scholar Teacher Activist" award; he was recognized for his contributions by the San Diego City Schools Board of Education; he received a special commendation from San Diego City Council; and he received the NCOBPS Fannie Lou Hamer Community Service Award. In 2017, he was recognized by the Urban League of San Diego County as an "Art of Change Honoree" for his civil rights advocacy.

Dr. Miles is survived by his wife of sixty-two years, Frances Miles, and his two sons, Christopher and Tony Miles.



In Memoriam  
Keith Jennings

#### NCOBPS Statement on the passing of Dr. Keith “Kamu” Jennings

On February 13, 2021, Dr. Keith “Kamu” Jennings made his transition to join the ancestors. His unexpected passing sent shock waves of grief across the United States and around the globe. Dr. Jennings was an activist-teacher whose decades-long efforts on behalf of social justice, human rights, and democracy development impacted innumerable communities. In his capacity as a political science professor at Clark Atlanta University, American University, Howard University, Georgia Tech, and elsewhere, he provided career guidance, historical analysis, and unparalleled domestic and international experience to undergraduate students, graduate students, and faculty who sought to get beyond the classroom.

Dr. Jennings received his doctorate in Political Science in 2001 from Clark-Atlanta University. His dissertation was titled, “Promoting Democracy in Africa? A Critical Assessment of the Impact of the United States Democracy Assistance Program.” The title would presage not only his research, but what would become a central focus of his career.

And what a career he forged. Internationally, he was best known for his work around human rights and democracy promotion. He worked in various capacities for Amnesty International (AI) in Atlanta and elsewhere including as Deputy Director of the Southern Regional Office, Mid-Atlantic Regional Director, and National Coordinator of the Cultural Diversification Program. Upon his passing, AI called Dr. Jennings a “champion of democracy” and someone who “shaped the lives and careers of countless people all over the world.”

Upon leaving AI, he held leadership positions at the National Democratic Institute (NDI) for more than two decades from 1994 to 2018. That work took him and his passion for democracy and justice to dozens of nations as a regional director for Southern and East Africa as well as resident director in

Indonesia, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, the Philippines, South Africa and Zambia. He was particularly at home in multiple nations in Africa where he knew the best places to eat, the most critical historic sites to visit, and most important, the key players to advance the cause of democratic growth and participation whether it was local or national policy-makers, political party leaders, trade unionists, feminist activists, or grassroots campaigners. NDI correctly noted, in its statement on his death, that he was a “larger than life personality” who was “revered by political leaders, activists and officials alike.”

He built productive relationships with the Africa Union, World Council of Churches, European Union, the Carter Center, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, NAACP, and an incalculable number of civil society organizations.

Outside of his official capacity with NDI, he worked with activists on racial justice concerns going back decades in Brazil, Germany, France, Cuba, the UK, and numerous other venues. He sought to bridge the struggles for racial equality in the United States with those efforts around the world.

He also provided critical thought about strategies to expanding the progressive movement in the United States, especially in the South. Keith was a child of the region where he was born on the Fourth of July in 1959 in Norfolk, Virginia, and completed his undergraduate studies at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he was active in the anti-Apartheid and voting rights movements. He founded and led the Progressive Black Student that worked in coalition with other student groups to bring needed transformative politics.

He was committed to advancing the social justice cause in the southern zone of the nation that was often overlooked by many progressives. He and writer-activist Linda Burnham created the “Count Every Vote” project in 2004 to build grassroots voting power in many southern states.

He understood the difficulty of that challenge of reforming the South. In an article assessing the significance of Obama’s win in some southern areas, co-authored with Clark Atlanta University political science Professor William H. Boone, they write, “Without implementation of a focused progressive strategy, the political gains won by the Obama will evaporate, the old Southern Strategy will reemerge and the national win will not translate.”

In the 1990s, he was one of the editors of the newsletter *Black Political Agenda*, along with political scientist Clarence Lusane, copy editor Carline Windall, political strategist James Steele, voting rights activist Gregory Moore, and youth leader Lisa Sullivan. Among the writers who were published in the newsletter were political scientists Avis Alexandra Jones and Ronald Walters; historians Manning Marable, Matthew Countryman, and Jelani Cobb; labor leader Bill Lucy; economist Julianne Malveaux; and American studies scholar Farah Jasmine Griffin among others.

Dr. Jennings was a member of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) since his days as an undergraduate and then graduate student. He presented papers, sat on panels, and helped

to bring young people to conferences and other NCOBPS events. He truly embodied the ethos of scholar-activism.

He sought to take his aspirations to another level in 2018. He relocated to Atlanta to launch and build the African American Center on Global Politics and Human Rights (CHR), where he served as President and CEO. CHR combined his domestic and global concerns and passions. Through that vehicle, he saw links and unity among struggles that others missed. In the 2021 effort to transform the U.S. Senate from a pro-Trump garbage heap to an environment where progressive legislation would have a chance of passing, he jumped into the campaign to elect two Democratic senators from Georgia. In addition to working with the other voter turnout efforts being undertaken, he organized a special webinar to mobilized citizens of recent African immigrants to vote.

Dr. Jennings viewed CHR as having a number of functions including as a think tank and campaign clearing house on global political issues, democracy promotion, and human rights concerns for the African American community. In an article he published in 1994, “Human Rights Crisis in the U.S.,” he wrote, “For African Americans, the human rights crisis in the United States has produced an appalling misery index which has affected the possibility of continuing social development, led to levels of poverty and unemployment not seen since the Great Depression ... Black progressives concerned with the crisis of leadership and vision must start to use human rights as a rallying cry for the right to live in dignity.”

Finally, it would be criminal not to note the extraordinary human side of Dr. Jennings. The tsunami of tributes since his passing reflect not simply his stellar activism and searing wisdom, but also his superior capacity to connect with individuals at the most personal level. Many have remarked that they considered him their best friend. And they were right. When you were with Keith, you were his best friend, his primary concern, his focus and attention. He knew and cared about your political views, but also what your children were doing in school, how your parents were faring, and how your day was going. Gravity and humor existed side-by-side and serve to further his goal of a life of service.

NCOBPS sends love and blessings to Dr. Jennings’ family, friends, colleagues, and countless supporters in the United States and around the world. We are all thankful that he graced us with his elegance, enthusiasm, and commitment, and may he forever rest in peace.

- Statement by Dr. Clarence Lusane, Professor and Director of the International Affairs Program Major, Howard University



In Memoriam  
Lolita D. Gray

Dr. Lolita Gray, Associate Professor of Political Science, was one of the most valuable and respected faculty members at Jackson State University (JSU). She taught American Government, the American Presidency, Introduction to Political Science, the American Legislative Process, Urbanization, Social Change, and Political Power. She believed in students and had a natural talent for making students feel that they could excel in whatever areas they were focusing on. She believed in the importance of motivating students to do their very best in the classroom and beyond. Dr. Gray received her B.P.S. from the University of Memphis in Professional Studies, her M.P.A. from Troy University, and Ph.D. in Political Science from Clark Atlanta University. Her research focused on overlooked interstices between race, class, public policy, and the healthcare system in America. Some of her publications focused critical attention on the ongoing challenges of securing environmental justice in America and the need to do more work in the area of alleviating health care disparities, with particular regard to the needs of minority populations. Dr. Gray was the advisor of the Political Science Club and Pi Sigma Alpha at JSU. She was a mother, grandmother, activist, and humanitarian. - Statement by Dr. Bessie House-Soremekun, the Chair of the Department of Political Science at Jackson State University.



In Memoriam  
Erika L. Gordon

Dr. Erika L. Gordon passed away Monday, February 22, 2021 in Baltimore, Maryland at 49 years old. Dr. Gordon was a colleague and friend to many. She spent her career working on important issues like food security, hurricane recovery, and health disparities, and used her expertise in qualitative research methods to make the world a better place. At the time of her passing, she was employed as a Senior Program Evaluation Specialist at 2M Research. She was also a professor at Towson University, where she had been teaching "African American Feminist Thought" for five years. Dr. Gordon was a proud member of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc and was initiated at her beloved Spelman College, where she also served as Basileus of the Mu Pi Chapter during her senior year. After earning an undergraduate degree in political science at Spelman, she went on to earn her Ph.D. in political science and a graduate certificate in women's studies at the University of Maryland, College Park, where was a student of the late Dr. Linda Faye Williams and the late Dr. Ronald Walters. As an undergraduate, she participated in the Ralph Bunche Summer Institute. She was awarded the Ford Foundation fellowship to complete her dissertation, "A Laying on of Hands: Contemporary African American Women's Community Work, Social Capital, and Micromobilization." Dr. Gordon was a dynamic, generous, and dedicated worker in her church and community and would do anything for her family and friends. She was a talented artist. She loved music. She was a loving friend, godmother, sister, and daughter. She will be missed. – Statement by Dr. Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, Associate Professor of Political Science Department Chair, Hood College



**National Conference of Black Political Scientists**

**Annual Meeting, March 9-12, 2022 (Tentative Date)**

**Location: TBA**

**Conference Co-Chairs**

**Cory Gooding, [cgooding@sandiego.edu](mailto:cgooding@sandiego.edu)**

**Davin Phoenix, [dphoenix@uci.edu](mailto:dphoenix@uci.edu)**

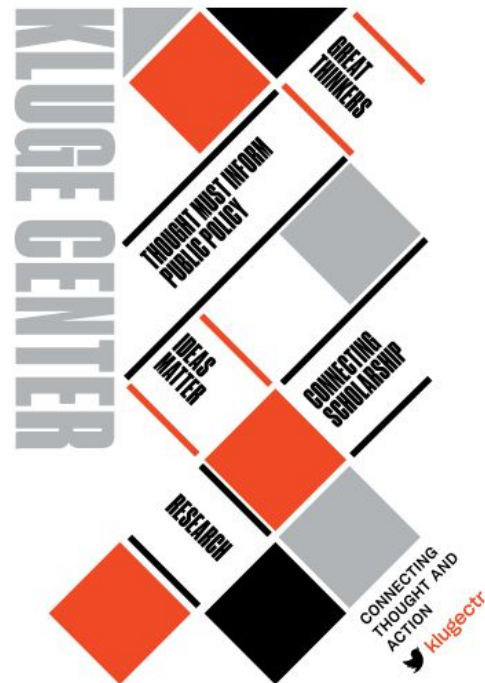
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Our present times offer varying visions of the possible futures for Black people engaged in the struggle for liberation in the U.S. and beyond. These visions and the strategies deployed to affect their outcome are inspired and informed by generations of freedom fighters who came before, even as they are reconceptualized by Black women organizers in Georgia offering a model of how to leverage an energized Black electorate; massive global protests for racial justice that demand reckoning from political and non-political actors alike; and, multifaceted representation of Black narratives, Black history and Black future across multiple media platforms. As Black people utilize new platforms to mobilize en masse in physical and virtual spaces to call out injustice and enact Black visions, people seeking to uphold White supremacy and continue the subjugation of Black people attempt to overturn elections and overthrow governments, demonstrating that the realization of these possible futures will not come without continued conflict and confrontation.

The 2022 conference examines the collective visions of Black future being cultivated by Black individuals and groups engaged in what we broadly define as political work. We welcome panels, posters and roundtables that advance understandings of how Black future visions (past and current) are articulated and contested, and how these future visions engender new meanings of state and global citizenship, establish new modalities of political engagement, and articulate new policy agendas, norms and practices. We seek to highlight research from a broad range of theoretical and methodological traditions, to spark conversations that transcend disciplinary and epistemological bounds. We especially encourage graduate and undergraduate students to submit proposals.

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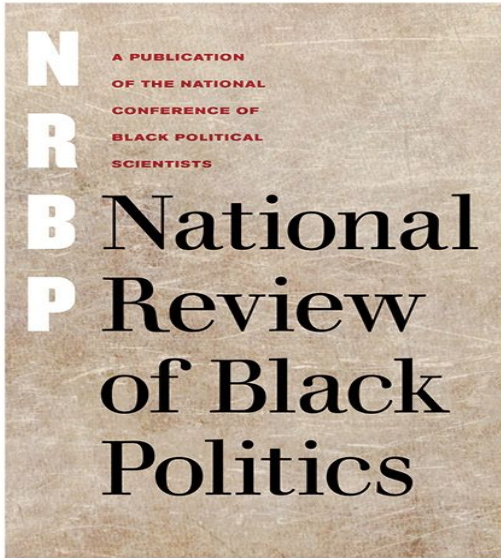
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