

55TH ANNUAL MEETING

2024

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
BLACK POLITICAL SCIENTIST**

**TIPPING POINT: REEXAMINING AND
RECONCEPTUALIZING AN
INTERSECTIONAL BLACK POLITICS IN THE
ERA OF "RACIAL RECONCILIATION"**

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

March 13th - 17th



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NCOBPS President: Emmitt Y. Riley, III
NCOBPS Vice-President: Pearl K. Dowe
Executive Director: Kathie Stromile-Golden
Program Co-Chairs of the Annual Conference:
Elizabeth Craig-Walker, Jerome Hunt
Local Arrangements Committee Co-Chairs:
Boris Ricks, Menna Demessie



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THE CHARLES AND LOUISE TRAVERS DEPARTMENT OF
Political Science
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Tipping Point: Reexamining and Reconceptualizing an Intersectional Black Politics in the Era of “Racial Reconciliation”

Conference Program Chairs:

Elizabeth A. Craigg - Walker, PhD, College of the Desert

Jerome Hunt, Ph.D., Long Beach City College

Since President George Washington’s plea of being wary of political factions, the birth of a party system has taken shape across the United States of America’s political system. With the evolution of political parties, African Americans have been striving to find an alliance that has best served their diverse and intersectional interests in local, state, and national elections. With the election of Barack Obama, the Republican Party has become more visibly anti-progressive with the interest of African Americans; yet, it was the election of Donald Trump that had dismantled the Republican Party.

In the midst of an era of “racial reconciliation” and a broken two-party system, how can African Americans manage their political power to help accomplish their desired goals? This conference will explore the newest frontier of the need of a global coalition of the African diaspora to create political power to help achieve its desired goals throughout the globe.

NCOBPS STATEMENT ON DIVERSITY AND HARASSMENT

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

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

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

WELCOME TO THE 55TH ANNUAL MEETING OF NCOBPS

Message from the President



Dear Members of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists,

I am thrilled to extend a warm welcome to each and every one of you as we convene in the vibrant city of Los Angeles, California for the 55th Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. Countless hours of dedicated work and commitment have culminated in this gathering, and it is with great pleasure that we come together to engage in meaningful research, discourse, collaboration, and a renewed commitment to Black politics.

Allow me to express my deepest gratitude to our exceptional program chairs and the Local Arrangements Committee: Dr. Elizabeth Walker, Dr. Jerome Hunt, Dr. Andrea Slater, Dr. Menna Demessie, and Dr. Boris Ricks. Their tireless efforts and dedication have been instrumental in shaping this year's conference. If you encounter them during our time together, please take a moment to extend your appreciation for their hard work and dedication. I also wish to extend heartfelt thanks to the members of the Executive Council, Vice President Dr. Pearl K. Dowe, our Executive Director Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden, and Mrs. Margaret Clark for their invaluable contributions and support. It is through their leadership and guidance that we are able to convene for this important event. I want to take this opportunity to congratulate our new tenured and promoted members.

As we gather in Los Angeles, it is important to reflect on the vision that brought us here. Dr. Golden's suggestion to host our conference in this vibrant city reminds us of the rich legacy of Black politics and the esteemed individuals who have contributed to our field. We honor the memory of Dr. Robert C. Smith, Dr. Davis Covin, Dr. Alex Willingham, and Dr. Charles V. Hamilton, who have transitioned to join the ancestors. Let us carry their legacy forward in our mission, drive, and purpose.

In the days ahead, let us embrace the opportunity to engage in thoughtful discussions, forge new connections, and inspire one another to continue the important work of advancing Black political scholarship and activism. Our conference theme is "Tipping Point: Reexamining and Reconceptualizing an Intersectional Black Politics in the Era of Racial Reconciliation." We consider this very important historical moment, anti-Black racism, international crises, attacks on voting rights, Black scholars, and Black Scholarship. It is important that we as Black political scientists continue to remain faithful to our mission. As I think about the state of Black politics, it is one of the few things that give me hope. Our members are doing good work and work that seeks to be transformative. When I think about the NCOBPS Task Force for Political Engagement and Criminal Justice Reform, I am hopeful that our impact is real. When I think about the long-term sustainability of NCOBPS, I am reminded of the work

of the Campaign Development Committee, who has worked tirelessly to raise funds to ensure the long-term stability of the organization. I want to remind members to get involved in the organization, co-author a paper with a graduate student, cite each other's work, and collaborate.

Once again, welcome to the 55th Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. Let us make this gathering a resounding success and a renewed commitment to the missions of NCOBPS.

Warm regards,

Emmitt Y. Riley III, Ph.D.

42nd President, National Conference of Black Political Scientists

PRESIDENT-ELECT'S WELCOME



Dear Members of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists,

It is an honor to warmly welcome you to our 55th Annual Meeting. I would like to thank our program chairs and local arrangement committee members Dr. Elizabeth Walker, Dr. Jerome Hunt, Dr. Andrea Slater, Dr. Menna Demessie, and Dr. Boris Ricks for organizing and diligently preparing for our arrival. I am also grateful to our President Emmitt Y. Riley, Executive Director Kathie Stromile Golden and members of the Executive Council for providing committed leadership to our beloved organization.

This year's conference's theme "Tipping Point: Reexamining and Reconceptualizing an Intersectional Black Politics in the Era of 'Racial Reconciliation'" speaks to the urgency of this moment. As Black Political Scientists and leaders in higher education we find ourselves at a crossroads and for some a true "Tipping Point." Many of us are reflecting on the depth of our individual fortitude to stand against withering attacks against our scholarship and personhood while insisting our institutions and society renew their resolve to stand for the fact that higher education is a vital opportunity that should be provided to society for the greater good.

The timing of our annual conference could not be more perfect. During our time together we will not only engage in dynamic scholarship, but we will revive our resolve, strategize for a better future and connect with old and new friends. The reward of time spent will be that our discourse and fellowship will renew our spirits and minds while reaffirming our commitment to the excellence and mission of NCOBPS.

Again, welcome to the 55th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists.

With Joy and Hope,

Pearl K. Dowe, PhD
President-Elect

PROGRAM CHAIR'S WELCOME



Jerome Hunt, Ph.D.

jhunt@lbcc.edu

Elizabeth Walker, Ph.D.

ewalker@collegeofthedesert.edu

Welcome to Los Angeles! We are excited for you to witness the wonder that Southern California has to offer and take part in an amazing conference we have planned for you. Southern California is home to not only home to the stars, great

attractions, beautiful beaches and scenery, but many world class 2-and 4-year colleges and universities. We are so excited that some of the most premier universities in Southern California, Loyola Marymount University, Pepperdine University, and University of California Los Angeles along with other universities and colleges around California have made a significant contribution. **We are very grateful for everyone who donated their money and countless hours to make this conference successful! Thank you, Thank you, Thank you!**

This year's theme is ***Tipping Point: Reexamining and Reconceptualizing an Intersectional Black Politics in the Era of "Racial Reconciliation."*** With another presidential election happening that could once again alter the progress made for minoritized individuals while the Democratic Party struggles to meet the needs of the African American community and the Republican Party is trying to identify itself, the theme of this conference is more salient. Simply, African Americans and our multiple identities, are yet again no longer oblique; it is time for us to reexamine Black Politics and our overarching political power.

Many of us live and/or work in states or localities where our rights are constantly on the ballot. Our scholarship is constantly called into question because it does not fit the traditional white European centered teaching of political science. Obtaining tenure-track positions at the various educational institutions seems harder and harder to accomplish and maintain. In spite of all of this, we continue to persist and carve our own path with the help of our village, NCOBPS, and our annual meetings. NCOBPS continues to be a safe place where we can commune, discuss strategies, make connections, address some of the important issues impacting our field, advance our political power, and move closer to equity.

We hope that you not only enjoy the conference we have planned for you, but that you leave Los Angeles renewed and focused on creating a new path forward for the field of Black Politics with vital research and career connections that would enrich your friendships, publishing, teaching, and your overall personal and professional lives! Thank you for making the time to share your knowledge with the NCOBPS community.

Jerome Hunt, Ph.D.
Long Beach City College

Elizabeth A. Walker, Ph.D.
College of the Desert

WELCOME MESSAGE FROM THE 2024 LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE CO-CHAIRS

Welcome to Los Angeles, the City of Angels!



Menna Demessie, Ph.D.
University of Michigan & LifeTime
NCOBPS Member
mennademessie@gmail.com

Boris E. Ricks, Ph.D.
Associate Professor, Political Science
Department
Director, Center for Southern
California Studies
California State University,
Northridge
boris.ricks@csun.edu

Home to the Chumash and Tongva Native American tribes first, we hope you will indulge in the diverse and historic city sites, communities, and cultural vibes defining the unique mosaic that make up the people of this city! Dating back to the Native American, African and European settlers who migrated from present day northern Mexico in 1781 to establish a farming city, we encourage you to take a trip to visit the birthplace of Los Angeles and visit the El Pueblo de Los Angeles Monument to understand how the city of angels became one of the world's largest metropolitan, majority minority cities!

NCOBPS comes to Los Angeles at a historic time - the city is being led by its first black mayor in office, former Congresswoman, Karen Bass, and California celebrates its first Black and Asian Vice President of the United States, Kamala Harris. While we are proud of our "firsts," we also recognize collective empowerment and substantive representation of Black interests requires more than being the "first." The progressive policies that have shaped the socioeconomic opportunities of California's diverse populus include reproductive rights, Medicaid, LGBTQ rights, sanctuary cities, and reparations, to name a few. However, this city and state continue to wrestle with exorbitant costs of living, rampant homelessness, mental health crises, unemployment, and police brutality. Black folk make up 13 percent of the U.S. population, but approximately 40% of the homeless population and 37 percent of those in prison or jail nationwide. Mapping the aforementioned national statistics with the LA mayor's budget allocating \$1.3 billion to address housing and homelessness and over \$3 billion to one of the highest funded police departments in the country, we must interrogate the implications of public policies disparately resourced and ask why and how this will ultimately affect what Ron Walters reminds us to ask with regard to every policy decision and action, - "[and] what's this got to do with the liberation of Black People?"

As we collectively engage the conference theme around an understanding of intersectional Black Politics in the Era of "Racial Reconciliation," we must lean on decades of scholarship and serious analyses in Black politics and reckon with the realities of a post-Civil Rights Era still fraught with covert and overt racism and economic disparities that continue to be largely explained by race. How have our theories and analytical insights shifted, changed, or stayed the same when it comes to the liberation of our people?

As we welcome graduate students and faculty in the field of Black politics, we are reminded of the generations of Black and Brown folk being gentrified out of this dynamic city. In an LA Op-ed piece last November, a Black resident reflected on the forced migration of African Americans to the “exurbs across the county” where they are dealing with the effects of the climate crisis, urban sprawl and social isolation. And those of you who take a trip to visit the Kinsley African American Art & History Collection at So Fi Stadium in Inglewood, dare yourselves to climb 282 steps up the mountain hike in Black Baldwin Hills, or grab a coffee at Issa Rae’s Hill Top Café, you will find hope and resilience in the Black and Brown communities proactively investing in sustaining our communities and businesses in the heart of LA.

Finally, we would be remiss in not mentioning the vibrant music and entertainment scene, combined with impeccable weather and palm trees that makes this city dance! We hope you get a small taste of this on Saturday as you join us for an exciting film screening/talkback, recording studio tour, and trip to Santa Monica. And if time permits, check out Bruce Beach (currently known as Manhattan Beach) where a historic and unprecedented recent LA County decision returned the land to the Bruce Family over 100 years ago. More on this story here: <https://ceo.lacounty.gov/ardi/bruces-beach/>.

We hope the 55th NCOBPS Conference in Los Angeles brings you rigorous academic engagement, motivating insights for future scholarship, mentorship, and genuine connections with the brilliant scholars who believe in your success and want to help you get there, some fun in the sun, delicious ethnic foods, and radical Black joy that celebrates your humanity and inspires you to continue to fully embrace yourself and your ideas as emerging scholars, seasoned professors, and needed researchers. Cheers!

Menna Demessie and Boris Ricks, your 2024 NCOBPS Local Arrangements Committee

Resolution Honoring Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden for her Dedicated



Whereas, Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden has dedicated her career to advancing the field of political science, specializing in the politics of communist and post-communist societies, and

Whereas, Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden has served as a distinguished professor at several prestigious institutions including Mississippi Valley State University, Morris Brown College, and Clark Atlanta University, and

Whereas, Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden has demonstrated exceptional leadership as the Provost and Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs at Mississippi Valley State University, and

Whereas, Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden has been a pillar of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS), serving as the President (1996-97) and Executive Director, since then, and leading with dedication, expertise, ethics, compassion, candor, and uncompromising wit and grit, and

Whereas, Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden has been a confidante, an accomplice, an organizer, and a stalwart champion of NCOBPS as a volunteer organization where we all take ownership and have the obligation to sustain it,

Whereas, Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden has tirelessly worked to ensure the long-term sustainability of NCOBPS and has been instrumental in developing student leaders through the Lena Harris Stromile Student Leadership Award, and

Whereas, Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden has contributed significantly to international education and Russian Politics, further enriching the academic community,

Be it resolved, that the National Conference of Black Political Scientists expresses its deepest gratitude to Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden for her three decades of outstanding and dedicated service, leadership, and friendship.

Be it further resolved, that the National Conference of Black Political Scientists recognizes Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden for her expertise, sacrifices, and unwavering commitment to the organization and its mission.

Be it finally resolved, that this resolution be presented to Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden as a token of appreciation for her invaluable contributions to the National Conference of Black Political Scientists and the field of political science as a whole.

Honoring Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden's Years of Service

The National Conference of Black Political Scientists honors Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden for her exceptional contributions to the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS). Dr. Golden's tenure as a former president and current role as executive director has been marked by her unwavering dedication, leadership, and commitment to the advancement of Black Political Scientists.

A graduate of Southern University, she went on to earn a Master's degree in Social Science and a Doctorate in Political Science from the University of Kentucky. She is the first African American woman to earn a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Kentucky. Throughout her career, she has held teaching positions at institutions, such as the University of Illinois, the University of Colorado, the University of Kentucky, where she has shared her expertise in the politics of communist and post-communist societies.

As Provost and Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs at Mississippi Valley State University, Dr. Golden has continued to excel in the academy opening pathways for students in the Mississippi Delta. As an expert specializing in the politics of communist and post-communist societies, she has also served as the Director of International Programs at Mississippi Valley State University, highlighting her commitment to global education and understanding. Dr. Golden has been a trailblazer in higher education having served as Associate VP for Academic Affairs, Director of International Program, Special Advisor to the President. While holding these positions, she has remained active in the profession

Dr. Golden's professional accomplishments are matched only by her commitment to the NCOBPS. As a former president and executive director, she has worked tirelessly to ensure the organization's long-term sustainability and success. Her leadership has been instrumental in shaping the NCOBPS into the thriving organization it is today.

Her extensive research has been focused on China, Russia, Poland, and Hungary, while also publishing in the areas of human resource management, curriculum development, budget development and management, and higher education program evaluation. She has traveled the world to lend her expertise in Eastern European Countries.

Dr. Golden's impact extends far beyond her professional achievements. She is a mentor, a friend, and a role model to many in the field of political science. Her dedication to her students and colleagues is truly inspiring, and her legacy will continue to shape the future of the NCOBPS for years to come.

In recognition of her years of outstanding service and dedication, we extend our heartfelt thanks to Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden. May her legacy continue to inspire us all.

NCOBPS Leadership

NCOBPS Executive Council Members

Executive Director, Kathie Stromile-Golden, Mississippi Valley State University
President, Emmitt Riley, University of the South, Sewanee
President-Elect, Pearl Dowe, Emory University
Secretary, Françoise Cromer, College of St. Elizabeth
Treasurer, Princess Williams, Amherst College
Nominations Committee, Jessica Lynn Stewart, Emory University
Historian, Shiela Harmon-Martin, University of the District of Columbia
Membership Committee, Dorian Brown Crosby, Spelman College
Parliamentarian, Periloux Peay, Georgia State University
Graduate Student Representative, Naomi Nubin, University of Houston
President's Council, Elsie Scott, Howard University
LGBTQ+ Caucus, Jerome Hunt, Long Beach City College
Media and Marketing Committee, Ashley Daniels, Georgetown University & Black Girls Vote

Regional Representatives on the Executive Council

Southern Regional Representative, Albert Samuels, Southern University
Southern Regional Representative, Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, Hood College
Midwestern Representative, Ray Block, Pennsylvania State University
Midwestern Representative, Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, North Carolina Central University
Western Representative, LaGina Gause, University of California, San Diego
Eastern Representative, Ayana Best, Howard University
At-Large Member, Najja Baptist, University of Arkansas
Nakey Unique, Emory University

Founding Editors *National Review of Black Politics* (formerly *National Political Science Review*)

Co-Editor, Pearl Dowe, Emory University
Co-Editor, Andra Gillespie, Emory University

2024 Conference Leadership

Program Co-Chairs, Elizabeth Craigg - Walker, College of the Desert
Program Co-Chairs, Jerome Hunt, Long Beach City College
Local Arrangements Committee Co-Chair, Boris Ricks, CSU, Northridge
Local Arrangements Committee Co-Chair, Menna Demessie, Independent Scholar
Awards Committee Chair, Pearl Dowe, Emory University
Founders Symposium Chair, Naomi Nubin, University of Arkansas

Conference Program 2024

Wednesday, March 13

Executive Council Meeting	12:00 to 4:00 PM	Board Room
NCOBPS Registration	4:00 to 6:00 PM	Lobby
Pepperdine University Welcome Reception	6:00 to 8:00 PM	Brasserie

Thursday, March 14: Conference Registration and Exhibit Viewing: 8:00 AM to 5:00 PM

Conference Registration and Exhibit Viewing

Thursday, March 14: Presidential Plenary: 9:00 - 10:15 AM

Presidential Taskforce for Political Engagement and Criminal Justice Reform

Room: Gateway Ballroom

Moderator: Keesha Middlemass, Howard University, keesha.middlemass@howard.edu

Panelists:

- Terri Platt, Clark Atlanta University, *Sick People Don't Vote*, tplatt@cau.edu
- Brandon Davis, Tulane University, *States Incarceration Policies*, bdavis21@tulane.edu
- Ayana Best, Howard University, *Black Women: Police, Violence, and Civic Engagement*, ayana.best@howard.edu
- Christina Rivers, DePaul University, *Civic Education and Restoring Voting Rights*, crivers@depaul.edu

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Heidelberg | London | Florence | Buenos Aires | Switzerland

Thursday, March 14: Concurrent Session 1: 11:00 AM - 12:15 PM

Panel: Structural Racism, Inequality, and Black Legislative Governance

Room: 201

Discussant: Anaya Wilson, Georgia State University, anaya192012@gmail.com

Papers:

- Kennedy Lighty, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, *Systematic Racism: How has Pharmaceutical Propaganda Negatively Impacted in the Black Community?*, klightly35@gmail.com
- Tamyah Johnson, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, *The Use of Corruption in Leadership to Inhibit the Societal Evolution of African Americans*, tajohnson3@aggies.ncat.edu
- Rebekah Jones, UC Berkeley, *Beyond National Trends: Unpacking the Local Dynamics of Crime Policy and Over-Incarceration*, rebekah_jones@berkeley.edu
- Elsie Scott, Howard University, elsie.scott@howard.edu and Erica Clinton, Howard University, erica.clinton@bison.howard.edu, *The Effectiveness of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) as a Group and its Members as Individuals*

Panel: Obstacles within Higher Education

Room: 203

Discussant: Anthony Onwuegbuzia

Papers:

- Elizabeth Walker, College of the Desert, *Teaching Against the Fire*, ewalker@collegeofthedesert.edu
- Tim Herd, UCLA, *Understanding Black UCLA Students Response to Proposition 209*, herdtimo@g.ucla.edu
- Donna Taylor, *Affirmative Action's Reversal: The Long-Term Effects on Higher Education for Black and Hispanic Americans*, donna.taylor@gmail.com
- Julie Gallagher, University of Arkansas, *Erased from the Beginning*, jg083@uark.edu

Panel : Race and Gender Politics in the Digital Age

Room: 205

Discussant: Linda Trautman, Ohio University, trautman@ohio.edu

Papers:

- Tiffany Williams, Clark Atlanta University, tiffany.williams5@students.cau.edu, *Black Women Politicians Effectiveness in Policymaking and Activism*
- Quentin Key, University of Arkansas, qkkey@uark.edu, *Decoding Digital Democracy: Examining the Political Activity of Tik-Tok*
- Jasmine Yarish, University of District of Columbia, jasmine.yarish@udc.edu, *#Digital Divide as Racial Interface and Political Tipping Point*,

Synia Taitt, Howard University, synia.taitt@gmail.com, #BLM from the Black Perspective: Protest to Police Legitimacy

Panel : Intersections of Black Emotions and Politics

Room: 210

Discussant: Jerome Hunt, Long Beach City College, jhunt@lbcc.edu

Papers:

- Ayana Best, Howard University, ayana.best@howard.edu; Claire Crawford, Wake Forest University, crawfoc@wfu.edu; Kendrick Robertson, Pepperdine University, kendrick.roberson@pepperdine.edu; and Tolu Babalola, University of Southern California, babalola@usc.edu, *Rooting for Everybody Black: Are there gender differences in racial group affection when Black people are exposed to negative public discourse*
- Monique Newton, Northwestern University, mnewton@u.northwestern.edu, *No Safety: An Exploration of the Meaning of Traumatic Events for Black Americans*
- Zoe Walker, University of Michigan, zcwalker@umich.edu, *No One is Coming to Save Us: Disillusionment and Black Americans’ Explanations for Racial Inequality*
- Madia Harris, North Carolina A & T State University, mrharris1@aggies.ncat.edu, *Effective Communication of Black Political Theory as a tool within “Racial Reconciliation”*

Film: APSA Oral History Video (Video 1)

Oral History Interview Video Featuring Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden, Mississippi Valley State University, kstromile@aol.com

Room: 212

Chair: Kimberly Mealy, APSA, kmealy@apsanet.org and India Simmons, APSA, isimmons@apsanet.org

Thursday, March 14: Presidential Luncheon 12:15 - 1:15 pm

Program

Call to Order.....Emmitt Y. Riley, III

Blessing of the Food..... Todd Shaw

Special Presentation.....Capital Campaign and Campaign Cabinet

**The Universal Power of Music and Film in the
Preservation of Ethiopian History**

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[Grandpa Was an Emperor](#)

Saturday, March 16, 2024
9:00AM – 1:00PM PT

The State of Black Politics, After 400 Years, Where are We?

Room: Brasserie

Panelists:

- Boris Ricks, CSU Northridge, boris.ricks@csun.edu
- Menna Demessie, University of Michigan, mennademessie@gmail.com
- Emmitt Y. Riley III, University of the South, eyriley@sewanee.edu
- Pearl K. Dowe, Emory University, pkdowe.ncobps@gmail.com

Adjournment

Thursday, March 14: Concurrent Session II: 1:30 - 2:45 PM

Roundtable: Democracy on the Brink: A Roundtable Discussion to Promote the Publication of a Special Edition of the Journal of Social Sciences for the 2023 NCOBPS Conference

Room: 201

Chair: Stephanie Williams, University of South Florida, swilliams@usf.edu;

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

Panelists:

- Najja Baptist, University of Arkansas, nbaptist@uark.edu, *Unmasking the Authoritarian Mob Boss: A Critical Analysis of Donald Trump's Political Leadership*
- Timothy E. Lewis, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, timlewi@siue.edu, *Does Overturning Roe v. Wade Bring Back the Black Codes?*
- Athena M. King, Old Dominion University, aking@odu.edu, *21st Century Conservative Policy Entrepreneurs and the Authoritarian Threat to US Democracy*
- Albert Samuels, Southern University, albert.samuels@sus.edu, *The Last Democratic Election?*
- Linda Trautman, Ohio University, trautman@ohio.edu, *Redistricting and Black Political Mobilization: Implications from the 2018 and 2022 Midterm Elections*

Panel: Systematic Inequality within the K-12 Educational System

Room: 203

Discussant: Elizabeth A. Walker, College of the Desert, ewalker@collegeofthedesert.edu

Papers:

- Jarret Landor, Independent Scholar, jarrett_landor@subr.edu, *Synchronous or Asynchronous Instruction: The Influence of Policy on Education in a Post COVID Learning Environment*
- Michael Mann, North Carolina A & T, mdmann@aggies.ncat.edu, *Risk and Stratification in The Wake County Public School System*

- Heaven Russell, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, heavenirussell@gmail.com, *The Racial Resegregation of Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools*
- Frederick Parham, Clark Atlanta University, frederick.parham@students.cau.edu, *The Politics of Education: What Impact has Charter School Played as an Intervention to African American Academic Achievement in Metro Atlanta Area from 2008 - 2018*
- Ayana Best, Howard University, ayana.best@howard.edu, *Protecting or Policing: Black Women's Perceptions of the Presence of Police on K-12 campuses*
- Claire Crawford, Wake Forest University, crawfoc@wfu.edu, *To Be Somebody: The Black Roots of American Citizenship*

Panel: Black Male Identity in American Politics

Room: 205

Discussant: Jerome Hunt, Long Beach City College, jhunt@lbcc.edu

Papers:

- Stephen Graves, Oklahoma State University, stephen.graves@okstate.edu, *The Future of Democracy: How Black Males are the Future of US Elections*
- Rhea Edwards, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, rdedwards@aggies.ncat.edu, *Trap Music to Prison Pipeline: A "Trap" for young Black Boys*
- Christine Slaughter, Boston University, csla@bu.edu; Chaya Crowder-Cook, Loyola Marymount University, chaya.crowder@lmu.edu; Christina Greer, Fordham University, cgreer@fordham.edu, *Bootstrap Blackness: Black Men, Conservatism, and Party Politics*

Panel: Examining the Complexity of Voting

Room: 210

Discussant: Byron D'Andra Orey, Jackson State University, byron.d.orey@jsums.edu

Papers:

- Ezra Snell, Jackson State University, snellezra5@gmail.com and Christian Mannery, Jackson State University, j00955512@students.jsums.edu, *The Interaction Between Race and Gender: The Case of Mississippi*
- Kennedy Pierce, Jackson State University, kennedy.pierce@students.jsums.edu, Naya Singleton, Jackson State University, naya.j.singleton@students.jsums.edu, Helayana Loggins, Jackson State University, helaynaloggins@gmail.com, Kennadie Boykins, Jackson State University, kennadie.l.boykin@students.jsums.edu, *Felony Disenfranchisement and the Effect on the Minority Vote*
- Bryon D'Andra Orey, Jackson State University, bryon.d.orey@jsums.edu, *What's in a Name? Black Racial Conservatism and Internalized Racism*

Film: APSA Oral History Video (Video 2)

Oral History Interview Video featuring Dr. Dianne Pinderhughes, University of Notre Dame

Room: 212

Chair: Kimberly Mealy, APSA, kmealy@apsanet.org and India Simmons, APSA, isimmons@apsanet.org

Thursday, March 14: Concurrent Session III: 3:00 – 4:15 PM

Roundtable: Flowers for the Founders - Measures and Concepts in Political Behavior

Room: 201

Chair: Periloux Peay, University of Maryland, College Park, peay@umd.edu

Participants:

- Christine Slaughter, Boston University, csla@bu.edu
- India Leneer, Rutgers University, india.s.leneer@rutgers.edu
- Michael Strawbridge, Rutgers University, m.strawbridge@rutgers.edu
- Marcus Board, Howard University, marcus.boardjr@howard.edu
- Najja Baptist, University of Arkansas, nbaptist@uark.edu

Panel : Moving Beyond Confines of Respectability

Room: 203

Discussant: Jerome Hunt, Long Beach City College, jhunt@lbcc.edu

Papers:

- Siida Webb, Howard University, *Karen: Where Did She Come From and Where is She Going?*
- Chaniah Brown, North Carolina A&T, crbrown5@aggies.ncat.edu, *Respectability Politics and the Rise of Sexxy Red*
- Christopher Saint Jean, Rutgers University - New Brunswick, christopher.saintjean@rutgers.edu, *Racial Politics of Containment: How Black Entertainers Moderate Their Activism*
- Ange-Marie Hancock, Ohio State University, hancock.39@osu.edu, *Delineating the Contours of African American Political Thought: Seven Key Questions*

Panel: Welfare, Inequality, and Black Political Economy

Room: 205

Discussant: Ayana Best, Howard University, ayana.best@howard.edu

Papers:

- Naomi Nubin-Sellers, University of Houston, nnnubin@cougarnet.uh.edu, *Access then Denial: Welfare, Social Control and Access to the American Citizenry*
- Meghan Wilson, Michigan State University, mwilson@msu.edu, *Black Cities on Brownfields: Examining the Legacy Debt Tied to Building Black Cities*
- Damia Jones, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, dyjones1@aggies.ncat.edu, *The Financial Oppression of Southern African Americans*

Panel : Contemporary Challenges in Political Engagement

Room: 210

Discussant: Mzilikazi Koné, College of the Desert, mkone@collegeofthedesert.edu

Papers:

- God'swill Osa, University of Texas, Austin, godswillosa@utexas.edu, *Polarization, Rhetoric & Political Consciousness: Implications of Partisan Identity*

- Asha Jones, Rice University, aaj12@rice.edu, *Participatory Risk of Political Rallies*
- Alex Goodwin, Southwestern University, goodwina@southwestern.edu, Tony Carey, Jr, University of Pittsburgh, tony.carey@pitt.edu, *Moving Forward: Exploring the Relationship Between Respectability Politics and Racial Justice Activism*
- Todd Shaw, University of South Carolina shawtc@mailbox.sc.edu; Kirk Foster, University of Texas, Austin, kmfoster@mail.utexas.edu; and Barbra Combs, Kennesaw State University, bcombs2@kennesaw.edu, *The Diverse Homes of Black Politics: Neighborhoods, Organizations, and Social Media*

Film: APSA Oral History Video (Video 3)

Oral History Interview Video featuring Dr. Todd Shaw, University of South Carolina, shawtc@mailbox.sc.edu

Room: 212

Chair: Kimberly Mealy, APSA, kmealy@apsanet.org and India Simmons, APSA, isimmons@apsanet.org

Thursday, March 14: Network Reception at Loyola Marymount University: 4:30 - 7:00 PM

Location: Loyola Marymount University

Please meet in the hotel lobby; transportation will begin at 4:30 pm. This event is limited to 80 people.



The LMU Bellarmine College of Liberal Arts Welcomes The National Conference of Black Political Scientists

Our faculty are dedicated to scholarship and research that drives positive change, and prepares the next generation of political scientists to think critically, ethically, and globally.

Best wishes for a productive conference with many meaningful conversations and new connections.



bellarmine.lmu.edu

Thursday, March 14: Research Collaboration Event with Games & Snacks: 6:00 - 8:00 PM

Location: Brasserie

Friday, March 15: Conference Registration and Exhibit Viewing: 8:00 – 5:00 pm

Conference Registration and Exhibit Viewing

Friday, March 15: VP Plenary: 9:00 – 10:15 AM
The Future of Black Women Political Scientists in Higher Education Leadership

Pearl K. Dowe, Vice for Faculty Affairs, Emory University
Kim Mealy, Senior Director of Diversity, Equity & Inclusion and Strategic Initiatives, APSA
Evelyn Simien, Interim Director of the Africana Studies Institute, University of Connecticut
Tonya Williams, Dean of Social and Behavioral Sciences at Cosumnes River College

Room: Gateway Ballroom

Friday, March 15: Concurrent Session IV: 10:30 – 11:45 AM

Roundtable: The Fight for Black Rights and Resisting Stigma in Brazil

Room: 201

Chair: Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, North Carolina Central University, gmitch19@ncsu.edu

Panelists:

- Kat Cosby, CSU Channel Islands, katherine.cosby@csuci.edu
- Ollie Johnson, Wayne State University, ollieaj@mail.com
- Marcelo Paixao, University of Texas, Austin, marcelopaixao@utexas.edu

Roundtable: Author Meets Critic: Black Scare/Red Scare: Theorizing Capitalist Racism in the United States

Room: 203

Chair: Charisse Burden-Stelly, Wayne State University, dr.cbs@wayne.edu

Panelists:

- Jasmine Yarish, University of the District of Columbia, jasmine.yarish@udc.edu
- Ricky Jones, University of Louisville, ricky.jones@louisville.edu
- AJ Rice, UC Santa Barbara, riceaj@ucsb.edu
- Toussaint Lossier, University of Massachusetts, tlossier@umass.edu

Panel : Voting, Voter Suppression, and Black Public Opinion

Room: 205

Discussant: Brandon Davis, Tulane University, bdavis21@tulane.edu

Papers:

- Tye Rush, UC San Diego, tarush@ucsd.edu, *The Effect of Rapid Vote-By-Mail Transition on Communities of Color*
- Eugene Lee-Johnson, Southern University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, eugene.johnson@sus.edu, *Investigating the Psychological Impact of Voter Suppression in the American South*
- Chaniah Brown, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, crbrown5@aggies.ncat.edu, *The Suppression of Voters of Color*
- Ernest McGowen, University of Richmond, emcgowen@richmond.edu, *Black Public Opinion, Zip Code Racial Heterogeneity, and Nestled Nationalism*

Panel : The Post-Shelby Landscape in the Deep South

Room: 210

Chair: Emmitt Riley, Sewanee, The University of the South, eyriley@sewanee.edu

Participants:

- Bryon Orey, Jackson State University, bryon.d.orey@jsums.edu
- Christine Slaughter, Boston University, csla@bu.edu
- Stephanie Williams, University of South Florida, swilliams@usf.edu and Keesha Middlemass, Howard University, keesha.middlemass@howard.edu, *Florida! Florida! Florida! The Effort to Erase Black Voters from the Electorate*

Film: APSA Oral History Video (Video 4)

Oral History Interview Video featuring Dr. Elsie Scott, Howard University, elsie.scott@howard.edu

Room: 212

Chair: Kimberly Mealy, APSA, kmealy@apsanet.org and India Simmons, APSA, isimmons@apsanet.org

Friday, March 15: Lunch on Your Own 12 - 1:00 pm

Friday, March 15: Concurrent Session V: 1:15 PM – 2:30 PM

Roundtable: AP College Board

Room: 201

Panelists:

- Teresa Reed, Dean of the School of Music, University of Louisville; Inaugural Chief Reader for AP African American Studies
- Jane Gates, Provost and SVP for Academic and Student Affairs Emeritus, Connecticut State Colleges and Universities

Roundtable: Black Women Taught Us: An Intimate History of Black Feminism

Room: 203

Chair: Jenn Jackson, Syracuse University, jjacks37@maxwell.syr.edu, and Jordie Davies, UC Irvine drjennmjackson@gmail.com

Panelists:

- Pearl Dowe, Emory University, pearl.dowe@emory.edu
- Crystal Robertson, UCLA, crystalrob@g.ucla.edu
- Jamil Scott, Georgetown University, jamil.scott@georgetown.edu
- Jessica Stewart, Emory University, jessica.lynn.stewart@emory.edu

Panel : The Color of Disparity: Exploring the Depths of Racial Inequity

Room: 205

Discussant: Javier Rodriguez, Claremont Graduate University, javier.rodriguez@cgu.edu

Papers:

- Mark Smith, Claremont Graduate University, mark.smith@cgu.edu, *Federalism and the Politics of Juvenile Justice: The Practical Challenges of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act*
- Arham Limoochi, Claremont Graduate University, arham.limoochi@cgu.edu, *Preexisting Socioeconomic Factors and Racial Disparities in Electric Vehicle Adoption: An Analysis at the County Level in the United States*
- Ye Wei, Claremont Graduate University, ye.wei@cgu.edu, *Racial Differences in Daily-Life Discrimination by Education and Income*

Panel : CMPS Mini-Conference: Preferences Among and About Black Women

Room: 210

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

Papers:

- Jamil Scott, Georgetown University, jamil.scott@georgetown.edu; Nadia Brown, Sarah Hayes, *Trust in Government and Its Implications for Women's Attitudes.*
- India Leneer, Rutgers University, india.s.leneer@rutgers.edu, and Yalidy Matos, Rutgers University, yalidy.matos@rutgers.edu, *In Solidarity: Black Women's Immigration Attitudes*
- Kesicia Dickinson, University of Mississippi, kadickin@olemiss.edu, *Unpacking Voters' Preferences About Candidate Training Programs*

Panel: Contextual Effects of Shelby County v. Holder and Leal Theories

Room: 212

Chair: Emmitt Riley, Sewanee, The University of the South, eyriley@sewanee.edu

Participants:

- Andrea Gillespie, Emory University, angille@emory.edu
- Tyson King-Meadows, UMBC, tkingmea@umbc.edu
- Sekou Franklin, MTSU, sekou.franklin@mtsu.edu
- Albert Samuels, Southern University, albert_samuels@subr.edu
- Sherice Nelson, drsnelson@gmail.com

Friday, March 15: LMU Black Politics Undergraduate Student Poster Session 1:30 - 4:30 PM

Location: Salon 214

- Sojourner Franklin, Hume Fogg High School/Independent Scholar, sojournerfranklin@gmail.com
- Ibtihal Cheko, Hume Fogg High School/Independent Scholar, ibtcheko7337@icloud.com
Youth Political Polarization, Gun Reform in Tennessee
- Jacqueline Young Bowers, LMU
- Jeffery Sarpong, LMU
- Kalista Marandas, LMU
- Katelyn Moses, LMU
- Lauren Goode, LMU
- Khalefa Taifouni, LMU
- Letina Daniel, LMU
- Logan Paradies, LMU
- Maia Black, LMU
- Osarumwense Okunbo, LMU
- Sebastian Nothhaft, LMU
- Soleyana Shiferaw, LMU

**Friday, March 15: American Political Science Association
Professional Development Plenary:
2:30 - 3:30 PM**

APSA Professional Development Roundtable

This plenary will provide professional, career, and mentoring insights for graduate students and early career scholars, hosted and moderated by the American Political Science Association (APSA).

Room: Gateway Ballroom

Chair: Kimberly Mealy, APSA Senior Director of DEI and Strategic Initiatives, kmealy@apsanet.org

Panelists:

- Jessica Carew, Elon University, APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession Chair jcarew@elon.edu
- LaGina Gaus, UC San Diego, APSA Status of Blacks in the Profession Committee lgause@ucsd.edu
- Emmitt Riley, Sewanee, University of the South, eriley@sewanee.edu, NCOBPS President
- India Angelique Simmons, APSA Diversity and Inclusion Program Manager, isimmons@apsanet.org
- Steve Smith, APSA Executive Director, smithsr@apsanet.org
- Mark Warren, The University of British Columbia, APSA President, warrenme@mail.ubc.ca

Friday, March 15: Student Research 2:45 – 4:00 PM

**Panel: Insights on Racial Reconciliation from Student-Scholars Across Two US Capital Cities
Temple University & University of District of Columbia**

Room: 210

Chair & Discussant: Jasmine Yarish, University of the District of Columbia, jasmine.yarish@udc.edu

Participants:

- Daniela Tinajero Ortiz, University of the District of Columbia, daniela.tinajeroorti@udc.edu, *Our Shared Vision: A Youth Agenda for Mexico-US Relations*
- Christopher Ludd, Temple University, chrisludd84@gmail.com, *Alternative Facts: The Irrational Logic of Conspiracy Theory*
- James Lennox, University of the District of Columbia, james.lennox@udc.edu, *Reconsidering Rural Voters and the Trump Presidency*
- Corey Shaw, Dr, DC Legacy Project, corey@empoweredc.org, *Reparations from and beyond the Archives: Black Broad Branch Project*
- Abbie Ferguson, abferg22@gmail.com, *Fostering Belonging in the US Foreign Service of Tomorrow: DACOR-UDC Mentorship Program*

Roundtable: Sawyer Summer Institute Research Panel

Room: 212

Chair: Crystal Robertson, UCLA, crystalrob@g.ucla.edu

Participants:

- Tiffany Davis, Howard University, tiffany.davis@bison.howard.edu, *Black Support for LGBTQ Policies*
- Nyihaji Woods, Howard University, nyihajiw@gmail.com, *Maybe in My Backyard: Support for Affordable Housing Policies Across Racial Groups*
- Logan Ford, Howard University, logan.e.ford@gmail.com, *Black Women & Political Participation*
- Synia Taitt, Howard University, Synia.taitt@gmail.com, *Trust Issues: Race, Trust, & Police Legitimacy*

Friday, March 15: Conference Co-Chair Plenary 3:30 – 4:30 PM

The State of Affirmative Action: Importance of the Community College for African American Students & the Inequalities of African American faculty at Community Colleges

Room: Gateway Ballroom

Chair: Anthony Onwuegbuzia, CSU Dominguez Hills, aonwuegbuzia1@csudh.edu

Participants:

- Elizabeth A. Walker, College of the Desert, ewalker@collegeofthedesert.edu
- Jerome Hunt, Long Beach City College, jhunt@lbcc.edu
- Andrea Slater, UCLA, slater.am@gmail.com

Friday, March 15: Founders Symposium 4:45 – 5:45 PM

Founders Symposium Honorees:

Dr. David Covin

Dr. Robert C. Smith

Dr. Alex Willingham

Room: Gateway Ballroom

Panelists:

- Naomi Nubin-Sellerts, Ph.D. Candidate, nnnubin@central.uh.edu, University of Houston and *NCOBPS Graduate Student Representative*
- India Leneer, Ph.D. Candidate, Rutgers University, india.s.leneer@rutgers.edu
- Sekou Franklin, Middle Tennessee State University, *Former NCOBPS President*, sekou.franklin@mtsu.edu

Friday, March 15: Business Meeting 6:00 – 7:00 PM

Room: Gateway Ballroom

Friday, March 15: Graduate & President's Reception 7:15 – 8:15 PM

Sponsored by the College Board and Others

Room: Brasserie

Friday, March 15: Awards Banquet 8:30 – 10:00 PM

Room: Brasserie

Order of Program

Welcome	Pearl K. Dowe
Invocation	Reverend Nikol Alexander-Floyd
Welcome from the City of Los Angeles	Boris Ricks
Dinner	
Speaker Introduction	
Keynote Address	Kelly Burton Ph.D., CEO Black Innovation Alliance
Awards	Pearl K. Dowe
Closing Remarks	Emmitt Riley

The 2024 Awards Committee

Nikol Alexander-Floyd Rutgers University
Ray Block, Pennsylvania State University
Marcus Board, Howard University
Shenita Brazleton, Georgia State University
Jessica Carew, Elon University
Claire Crawford Wake Forest University
Ashley Daniels, University of the District of Columbia
Kathie Stromile Golden, Mississippi Valley State University
Isabel Feliz Gonzales University of Virginia
Desiree' Melonas University of California, Riverside
Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs Hood College
Carmen Walker Bowie State University



Kelly Burton, PhD is a political scientist, serial entrepreneur and change agent who leads with passion, purpose, and vision. Today, she is the CEO of Black Innovation Alliance, a national coalition of 175 Black led-organizations, which supports more than 500K innovators of color across the country.

Kelly's work has been featured by numerous media outlets, including TechCrunch, Inc., Forbes, Fast Company, Essence Magazine, NBC News, and Marketplace (NPR). She was recently added to the Executive Board of Fast Company. In addition to her entrepreneurial endeavors, Kelly serves on the board of directors for the Center for Action and Contemplation, founded by Franciscan friar and spiritual teacher, Father Richard Rohr.

An active voice on social media, Kelly maintains approximately 80K followers on LinkedIn alone. She holds a BA from Clark Atlanta University and a PhD from Emory University, both in Political Science, as well as a certificate in Executive Education from Harvard University.

Saturday, March 16: Conference Registration and Exhibit Viewing: 8:00 – 5:00 PM

Saturday, March 16: ASBWP Mentoring Breakfast: 8:00 – 9:00 AM

Room: 201

March 16: Movie Breakfast Screening/Studio Tour: 8:00 – 1:00 pm

Location: Universal Headquarters in Santa Monica

Logistics to be sent to RSVP guests. RSVP ASAP. Limited Capacity



**The Universal Power of Music and Film in the Preservation of
Ethiopian History**

VIP Invite Only Breakfast Screening

[Grandpa Was an Emperor](#)

Saturday, March 16, 2024

9:00AM – 1:00PM PT

(Followed by an Exclusive Recording Studio Tour)



Talkback Session with Members of the H.I.M Emperor Haile Selassie's
Royal Family & Special Guests

***Prince Ermias Sahle Selassie, grandson of the Emperor and President of the Crown Council
of Ethiopia, will be in attendance!***

In partnership with the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS), Universal Music Group's Task Force for Meaningful Change is thrilled to invite you to an exclusive screening of [Grandpa was an Emperor](#) followed by a talkback session on the power of music and film in preserving, culture, identity, and history.

We are honored to be joined by Yeshe Kassa featured in the film, the great granddaughter of His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie, and distinguished guests. You don't want to miss this!

Location & Free Parking Information to Be Shared with RSVP Guests

**You must be officially registered for the NCOBPS Conference or UMG affiliated.
ID and registration required upon entry.**

**RSVP: Limited Capacity for the Event, RSVP ASAP with Full Name, Title, & Affiliation to
Shade.Fakoya@umusic.com**



Saturday, March 16: Student Poster Session: 9:00 – 12:00 PM

- Quinette Rogers, University of Arkansas, qarogers@uark.edu, *Attacking Care: Transgender Affirming Care Discrimination in Public Education*
- Aidan Harty, Vanderbilt University, aidanharty12@gmail.com, *Support for Black Reparations: The Impacts of Political and Racial Attitudes Between Group Identities*
- Olivia Noell Baker, Pepperdine University, olivia.noellbaker@pepperdine.edu, *Black Voting Patterns: Do Voters Vote for Black Women?*
- Chaniah Brown, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, crbrown5@aggies.ncat.edu, *The Importance of Developing Black Feminist Ideology and Black Feminist Thought*

Saturday, March 16: Concurrent Session VI: 9:00 – 10:15 AM

Roundtable: Flowers for the Founders - Public Policy and Political Economy

Room: 201

Chair: Periloux Peay, University of Maryland, College Park, peay@umd.edu

Participants:

- Jared Clemens, Temple University, jared.clemons@temple.edu
- Keesha Middlemass, Howard University, keesha.middlemass@howard.edu, *The Politics of Oppression and Power: Applying the Works of Dr. Mae King to the Criminal Legal System*
- Justin Zimmerman, University of New York at Albany, jzimmerman4@albany.edu
- Reginald Pulley, University of Maryland, dpulley1@umd.edu
- Jessica Lynn Stewart, Emory University, jessica.lynn.stewart@howard.edu

Panel : The 2024 Presidential Election

Room: 203

Chair: Elsie Scott, Howard University, elsie.scott@howard.edu

- Weslyn Harmon, Howard University, weslyn.harmon@bison.howard.edu, *Critical Issues in the 2014 Presidential Election for Generation Z Black Voters*
- Ellison Richardson, Howard University, ellison.richardson@bison.howard.edu, *The Bitter Necessity of Voting for the Lesser Evil*

Panel : Black Politics, The Black Family, and Justice

Room: 205

Discussant: Kathie Stromile Golden, Mississippi Valley State University, kstromile@aol.com

Papers:

- Rhea Edwards, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, rdedwards@aggies.ncat.edu, *The Impact of Slavery on Patriarchy and Black Families Since the Abolition*
- Kuleema Kuteh, North Carolina A&T State University, kkuteh@aggies.ncat.edu, *The Affects of Parental Incarceration of Children*
- Carlina Lominy, Northwestern University, carlinalominy2022@u.northwestern.edu, *Unveiling the Layers: A Qualitative Exploration of Black Maternal Health in the United States*
- Greg Santori, CSU Los Angeles, gsantor2@calstatela.edu, *What Exactly is Wrong with the Basic Structure of Society? Problems with Structure in Shelby, Rawls, and the Study of the Ghettos*

Panel : Pan-African Solidarity and Economic Intersections

Room: 210

Discussant: Stephen Graves, Oklahoma State University, stephen.graves@okstate.edu

Papers:

- Ransford Edwards, Nova Southeastern University, redwards@nova.edu, *Globalists vs. Nationalists: Crisis, Conflict, and the Re-emergence of Economic Protectionism*
- Saidat Ilo, University of Houston-Victoria, ilos@uhv.edu, *Afrofuturism and the Untapped Political Power of African Americans and Africans*
- Jarrod Grant, Clark Atlanta University, jgrant@cau.edu, *Pan-Africanism at the Crossroads: A Study of Contemporary Pan-African Solidarity in the International System*
- Murrell Brooks, Soka University of America, dr.murrellbrooks@gmail.com, *Pathways to Synthesizing African and Latin American Political Economy: The Cases of the Tanzania and Colombian Coffee Industries*

Panel : CMPS Mini-Conference: Capturing the Underpinnings of Black Political Engagement

Room: 212

Discussant: Tony Carey, University of Pittsburgh, tony.carey@pitt.edu

Papers:

- Davin Phoenix, UC Irvine, dphoenix@uci.edu, *Color of Pride: Disentangling Dimensions of Pride on Racialized Behavior and Attitudes*

- Eden Melles, Northwestern University, edenmelles2026@u.northwestern.edu, *Exploring How Religious Identity Reinforces Racial Identity: The Case of Black Muslims & Christians in America*
- Kesicia Dickinson, University of Mississippi, kadickin@olemiss.edu, and Byron D'Andra Orey, Jackson State University, bryon.d.orey@jsums.edu, *Protest, Plague, and Politics: The Role of Emotions and Trauma in Explaining Political Participation*
- Kevin Russell, Emory University, kevin.russell@emory.edu, *From Protest to Pocketbooks: Political Donations by Racial Identity and Motivations for Black Giving*

<p>Saturday, March 16: Concurrent Session VII: 10:30 – 11:45 AM</p>
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Roundtable: Life and Work of David Covin

Room: 201

Chair: K C Morrison, University of Delaware, kcmorrison2@gmail.com and Kathie Stromile Golden, Mississippi Valley State University, kstromile@aol.com

Panelists:

- Dianne Pinderhughes, University of Notre Dame, pinderhughes.1@nd.edu
- Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, North Carolina Central University, gmitch19@ncsu.edu
- Cloves Luiz-Oliveira, Universidade Federal Da Bahia cloves.luiz@uol.com.br
- Tonya Williams, tonyamwilliams@gmail.com, California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office

Panel: African States, Policies, and Unity

Room: 203

Discussant: Mahder H. Serekberhan, Syracuse University, mhserekb@syr.edu

Papers:

- Eslam Omar, Kentucky State University, eslam.omar@kysu.edu, *Development Challenges in Egypt: Constraints, Practices, and Opportunities*
- Antionette Keith, Clark Atlanta University, antionette.keith@students.cau.edu, *An Empirical Analysis of the African Union's Efficacy and Effective Implementation of Structural and Institutional Reforms*
- Bonfas Owinga, Clark Atlanta University, bowinga@cau.edu, *The Shrinking Civic Space and its Implication for Democratic Consolidation in Kenya*

Panel: CMPS Mini-Conference: New Approaches of Black Political Behavior

Room: 205

Discussant: Davin Phoenix, UC Irvine, dphoenix@uci.edu

Papers:

- Donn Worgs, Towson University, dworgs@towson.edu; Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, Hood College, tuckerworgs@hood.edu, *Black Jesus, Black Prosperity, and Black Political Activism: Exploring the Relationships Between Theology and Black Political Attitudes and Behavior*
- Emmitt Riley, Sewanee, University of the South, eyriley@sewanee.edu, and Clarissa Peterson, Sewanee, University of the South, , *Racial Attitudes and the Complexity of Black Descriptive Representation: An Examination of Asian Americans Evaluations of Mixed-Race Candidates*
- Christine Slaughter, Boston University csla@bu.edu and Alexandra Davis, UCLA, ajdavis29@g.ucla.edu, *There Goes the Neighborhood: Gentrification, Political Attitudes, and Political Behavior in Black Suburban Neighborhood*
- Tolulope Babalola, University of Southern California, babalola@usc.edu, *Black Ethnic Groups' Political Attitudes via Punitiveness*

Roundtable: Mothership Connection: Sites of Contention

Room: 210

Chair: Stephanie Jones, UC Riverside, stephanie.jones@ucr.edu

Panelists:

- Janelle Levy, UC Irvine, jolevy@uci.edu
- Chaz Briscoe, Hunters College, cb6172@hunter.cuny.edu
- Brianna Simmons, UC Riverside, brianna.simmons@ucr.edu
- Isabel Gonzales, University of Virginia, xtb2pr@virginia.edu

Panel: Beyond Representation: Considering the Role of Narrative and Place in Shaping/Influencing Outcomes for African American Political Changes

Room: 212

Discussant: Boris Ricks, CSU Northridge, boris.ricks@csun.edu

Papers:

- Tamyah Johnson, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, tajohnson3@aggies.ncat.edu, *The Indoctrination of Black Minds in Amerikkka: An Impact of Corruption in Leadership*
- Chaya Crowder, Loyola Marymount University, chaya.crowder@lmu.edu, *From Black Wall Street to Reparations: Racial Justice Museums and Political Change*
- Matthew Platt, Morehouse College, matthew.platt@morehouse.edu, and Teri Platt, Clark Atlanta University, tplatt@cau.edu, *Bystanders or Black Empowerment: Representation and the Political Determinants of Health*

UCLA Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies



Dear NCOBPS Family,

The Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA congratulates NCOBPS on your 55th Annual Meeting.

This year, the Bunche Center also celebrates 55 years of excellence in pioneering academic research and community-centered projects with broad impact for Black communities across California, the United States, and internationally.

Lorrie Frasure

Director and Ralph J. Bunche Endowed Chair
Professor of Political Science and African American Studies
<https://bunchecenter.ucla.edu/>



Dr. Lorrie Frasure
Director
Ralph J. Bunche Center
for African American Studies

Saturday, March 16: Lunch On Your Own 12:00 – 1:00 PM

Sack Lunch Discussion on Running for Local Elections

Room: Brasserie

Program

Discussion on Los Angeles Governance Reform Project (LAGRP)

Boris Ricks, boris.ricks@csun.edu

Featured Speaker George A. Turner, Jr.



George A. Turner, Jr. is a son of Inglewood. He was born at Centinela Hospital and attended Inglewood Unified School District Schools from pre-school through high school.

Upon graduating valedictorian from Morningside High School, he attended UCLA where he graduated with a BA in Political Science. His emphasis was on the study of race and its impact on society. He became a member of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Incorporated, Gamma Xi Chapter, and was named Brother of the Year. He graduated Summa Cum Laude and Phi Beta Kappa, then he continued his education at UCLA Law School where he

graduated with a concentration in Critical Race Studies.

For the past 15 years, he has worked as a trial attorney at the Law Offices of the Los Angeles County Public Defender, defending community members accused of criminal activity. He has worked in various courthouses including Inglewood, Compton, Airport, and Clara Shortridge Foltz Criminal Justice Center. He has handled a variety of cases including traffic, misdemeanors, juvenile, and felonies. Currently, he is the Deputy in Charge of the Homeless Mobile Unit, which is a small team, funded through Measure H, to clear the criminal records of our unhoused neighbors.

For the March 5th California Primary Election, George is a candidate for Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Seat #39. The decision to run for Superior Court Judge did not come without careful consideration. He was born during, and suffered through, the peak of mass incarceration from the War on Drugs campaign focused within inner city communities. Many of his friends, family, and community members have been caught in the system, especially during the mandatory minimum laws instituted. Part of the reason he chose a career as a public defender was to fight for the rights of his community through community partnerships. Over the last five years, thanks to the work of the community, the law has changed. With legislation like SB 731, Mental Health Diversion, Judicial Diversion, Measure H, and Measure J, there is a desire from voters to end the era of mass incarceration. However, when you enter the average courtroom, nothing has changed. Mr. Turner's decision to run is inspired by the need to make the changes in the law real *inside* the courtroom.

George is a devoted husband and father. His wife is a therapist who works for the Department of Mental Health for over a decade before venturing off into her own practice. He has three sons, each of whom he named after African American heroes who inspired him: Nat Turner, Malcolm Turner, Frederick Turner. A driving force in his life is to fight to ensure that his children do not grow up in the same mass incarceration regime that he did.

Saturday, March 16: Concurrent Session VIII 1:15 – 2:30 PM

Roundtable: Democracy Needs Everyone

Co-Sponsored by the Presidential Taskforce for Political Engagement and Criminal Justice Reform

Room: 201

Chair: Clarissa Peterson, The University of the South

Participants:

- Stateville Correctional Center, Crest Hill, IL
- Christina Rivers, DePaul University, crivers@depaul.edu

Roundtable: Social and Legislative Attacks on DEI in Higher Education

Room: 203

Chair: Françoise B. Cromer, Saint Elizabeth University, FCromer@steu.edu

Discussant:

Françoise B. Cromer, Saint Elizabeth University, FCromer@steu.edu

Panelists:

- Wendy Smooth, Ohio State University, Smooth.1@osu.edu
- Pearl Dowe, Emory University, pearl.dowe@emory.edu
- Christopher Whitt, University of Denver, Christopher.Whitt@du.edu
- Khalilah Brown-Dean, Quinnipiac University, Khalilah.Brown-Dean@quinnipiac.edu
- Melanye Price, Endowed Professor of Political Science, Prairie View and Rutgers University, mtprice@pvamu.edu

Panel : Sistah's are doing it for themselves: Black Women and Political Participation

Room: 205

Discussant: Shameka Nicole Cathey, Tennessee State University, scathey@tnstate.edu

Papers:

- Chaniah Brown, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, crbrown5@aggies.ncat.edu, *A Cultural Investigative Study of the Current State of Coalition Amongst Black Women and the Importance of Representation in Politics*
- Samantha Canty, UC Irvine, cantys@uci.edu, *Sister Synergy: Uncovering the Dynamics of Black Women's Political Participation*

Panel : Contours of Political Representation

Room: 210

Discussant: Boris Ricks, CSU Northridge, boris.ricks@csun.edu

Papers:

- Karra McCray Gibson, Brown University, karra_mccray@brown.edu, *Representation that Transcends Race: Ideological Caucus Membership and Legislative Support for Black Communities*
- Andra Gillespie, Emory University, angille@emory.edu, *A Tale of Two Senate Campaigns: A Comparison of the 2022 Senate Races in Georgia and South Carolina*
- Christopher Stout, Oregon State University, christopher.stout@oregonstate.edu, Devin Wright, University of California San Diego, dwright@ucsd.edu and LaGina Gause, University of California San Diego, lgause@ucsd.edu, *The Link Between Descriptive Representation, Substantive Representation, and Educational Socialization*

Panel: Gender, Organizing, and Politics in the African Diaspora

Room: 212

Discussant: Mzilikazi Koné, College of the Desert, mkone@collegeofthedesert.edu

Papers:

- Mahder Serekberhan, Syracuse University, mhserekb@syr.edu, *Women and Radical Change: The Ongoing Sudanese Revolution*
- Vivian Santos, Howard University, vsantossmith@gmail.com, *The Expendability of Black Women: Male Chauvinism in Brazil and US Politics*
- Maya Rockey Moore Cummings, Independent Scholar, maya@globalpolicysolutions.com, *Black Americans, U. S. Hegemony, and the Quest for African Globalism*
- Kendrick Roberson, Pepperdine University, kendrick.roberson@pepperdine.edu, *Racial Resentment and Support for Labor*

<p>Saturday, March 16: Concurrent Session IX: 2:30 to 3:45 PM</p>
--

Roundtable: Flowers for the Founders - Black Political Thought

Room: 201

Chair: Periloux Peay, University of Maryland, College Park, peay@umd.edu

Panelists:

- Jordie Davies, University of California, Irvine, ejdavies@uci.edu
- Onyekachi Ekeogu, Arizona State University, onyekachi.ekeogu@asu.edu
- Stephanie Jones, University of California, Riverside, stephanie.jones@ucr.edu
- Claire Crawford, Wake Forest University, crawfoc@wfu.edu
- Najja Baptist, University of Arkansas, nbaptist@uark.edu

Roundtable: Freedom to Learn: NCOBPS' Potential to Transform College-in-Prison Programs
Co-Sponsored by the Presidential Taskforce for Political Engagement & Criminal Justice Reform
Room: 203

Chair: Christina Rivers, DePaul University, crivers@depaul.edu

Participants:

- Keesha Middlemass, Howard University, keesha.middlemass@howard.edu
- Kathie Stromile Golden, Mississippi Valley State University, kstromile@aol.com

Panel : Navigating Digital Frontiers: Perspectives on Technology, Identity, and Social Discourse
Room: 205

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

Papers:

- Anaya Wilson, Georgia State University, awilson122@student.gsu.edu, *Unraveling Political Narratives through Social Media: Exploring the Influence of Digital Discourse on Social Movement*
- Gregory Leslie, Ohio State University, gregoryjohnleslie@gmail.com, *The Racial Frontier: Machine Learning, Biracials, and the Future of Racial Group Boundaries*
- Anthony Onwuegbuzia, CSU Dominguez Hills, anwuegbuzia1@csudh.edu, *Digital Disparities: How Artificial Intelligence Facilitates Anti-Black Racism in the United States Healthcare Industry*
- Ananda Collins, Syracuse University, acoll13@syr.edu, *"THAT'S CAP": The Role of Identity in Countering Artificial Intelligence and Digital Misinformation—A Case Study on African American Vernacular English (AAVE) Detection Among Young Black Americans in Digital News Media*

Panel : Capturing Black Women's Political Behavior from Activist Work to the Electoral
Room: 210

Discussant: Jessica Carew, Elon University, jcarew@elon.edu

Papers:

- Crystal Robertson, UCLA, crystalrob@g.ucla.edu, *Marginalized in the Movement: Black Women's Experiences in Activist Organizations*
- Sydney Carr, College of the Holy Cross, scarr@holycross.edu, *Understanding News Coverage of Black Women Political Elites*
- Jatia Wrighten, Virginia Commonwealth University, wrightenjd2@vcu.edu, *God Save the Queens*
- Ana Jones, Syracuse University, aejones@syr.edu, *Censorshifts: An Exploration of Counter Stereotypes in Black Women Political Elites*

Panel: Strategies for Challenging Shelby

Room: 212

Chair: Emmitt Riley, Sewanee, The University of the South, eyriley@sewanee.edu

Participants:

- Teri Platt, Clark Atlanta University, tplatt@cau.edu
- Andra Gillespie, Emory University, angille@emory.edu,
- Dara Gaines, Northwestern University, daragaines2022@u.northwestern.edu

Saturday, March 16: Concurrent Session X: 4:00 to 5:15 PM

Panel: Colonialism, Democracy, and Immigration: Comparative Evaluations of the Politics of Difference

Room: 201

Discussant: Jared Clemons, Temple University, jared.clemons@temple.edu

Papers:

- Bernard Forjwuor, University of Notre Dame, bforjwuo@nd.edu, *Decolonizing the Discourse of Colonialism*
- Erica Dobbs, Pomona College, erica.dobbs@pomona.edu, *Blackness, Borders, and Belonging: Race, Religion, and Immigrant Perceptions of Integration in Northern Ireland*
- Caleb Mills, Vanderbilt University, cmmillsofficial@gmail.com, *The Partisan Roots of Executive Coups*
- A. Hannibal Hamdallahi, Fisk University, aleach@fisk.edu, *African Americans in the South: The Politics of Identifying With the South and as Southerners*

Panel : Love is the New Black: Transcending the Struggle for Political Power for the Struggle for Personal Truth

Room: 210

Discussant: Andrea Slater, UCLA, slater.am@gmail.com

Papers:

- Chasia Elzina Jeffries, UC Irvine, cejeffri@uci.edu, *A Lovely Proposition: The Revolutionary Potential of a Black Feminist Love Politics and a Politics of Care*
- Renia Butts, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, reniabutts1@gmail.com, *Radical Self Love: The Catalyst for Political Action*
- Zahra Ahmed, St. Mary's College of California, zga1@stmarys-ca.edu, *Pedagogy for Social Action: A Practitioner Inquiry*

Roundtable: Building Successful International Study Programs

Room: 212

Chair: Emmitt Riley, Sewanee, The University of the South, eyriley@sewanee.edu

Participants:

- Clarissa Peterson, University of the South, clpetets@sewanee.edu
- Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, North Carolina Central University, gladyslmitchell@yahoo.com
- Sharon D. Wright Austin, University of Florida Gainesville, polssdw@ufl.edu,
- Kathie Stromile Golden, Mississippi Valley State University, kstromile@aol.com

Saturday, March 16: Concurrent Session X: 4:00 to 5:30 PM

Roundtable: The Role of Elites, Organizations, and Movements in Politics - NCCU Undergraduates

Room: 203

Chair: Dr. Jarvis Hall, North Carolina Central University, jhall@nccu.edu, and Dr. Artemesia Stanberry, North Carolina Central University, astanberry@nccu.edu

Discussants:

- Dr. Najja Baptist, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, nbaptist@uark.edu
- Dr. Periloux Peay, University of Maryland, College Park, peay@umd.edu

Panelists:

- Angel Amankwaah
- Evan Bailey
- Olivia Bailey
- Rasha Barnes
- Sterling Elliot
- Kofi Greene
- Jeremiah “Jay” Hankins
- Kai King
- Ahmed Mangum
- Sara Rutaga-Artola
- Sha’Lexus Sanders
- Alexis Staten
- Elizabeth Whitworth
- Kahriya Whittington
- Brianna Woodward

Saturday, March 16: Concurrent Session IX: 5:30 to 6:45 PM

Roundtable: Flowers for the Founders - Black Representation and Policymaking

Room: 201

Chair: Periloux Peay, University of Maryland, College Park, peay@umd.edu

Panelists:

- Tyson King-Meadows
- Christian Hosam
- Guillermo Caballero
- Christopher Stout, Oregon State University, christopher.stout@oregonstate.edu & Karra McCray Gibson, Brown University, karra_mccray@brown.edu

Panel : Shifting Landscapes: Race, Representation, and Power in American Politics

Room: 205

Discussant: Jessica Stewart, Emory University, jessica.lynn.stewart@emory.edu

- Chaniah Brown, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, crbrown5@aggies.ncat.edu, *Congressional Term Limits*

Papers:

- Andra Gillespie, Emory University, angille@emory.edu, *Messaging or Melanin? Disentangling Demands for Descriptive Representation and Ideological Congruence in Two Congressional Districts*
- Kaia Kirk, Syracuse University, kjkirk@syr.edu, *Contesting Boundaries*

Panel : Intersectional Black Politics and Racial Reconciliation: A Comparative Perspective

Room: 210

Discussant: Athena M. King, Old Dominion University, alking@odu.edu

Papers:

- Matthew Simmons, Cheyney University, msimmons@cheyney.edu, *Let Our Voices Be Heard: Black Middle Class Abstention and Political Maroonage in Philadelphia*
- Amber Colquhoun, University of Maryland, acolquho@umd.edu, *Not in My Backyard: The Saliency of Economic Self-Interest for Affluent Black Policy Preferences*
- Ja'Von Fields, Grand Valley State University, fieldjav@mail.gvsu.edu, *Echoes of Justice: The Enduring Significance of the Voting Rights Act of 1965*
- Khadijah Edwards, Pew Research Center, kedwards@pewresearch.org, *Fighting for the American Dream: How Intra-racial Income Inequality Impacts Dreams and Realities of Black Adults in the United States*

Panel: The Post-Shelby Landscape in Border States

Room: 212

Chair: Emmitt Riley, Sewanee, The University of the South, eyriley@sewanee.edu

Participants:

- Don Worgs, Towson University, dworgs@towson.edu
- Tamelyn Tucker-Worgs, Hood College, tuckerworgs@hood.edu
- Artemesia Standberry, North Carolina Central University, astanberry@ncsu.edu
- Jarvis Hall, North Carolina University, jhall@ncsu.edu
- Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, Purdue University, vsc@purdue.edu

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Comparative Politics

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Identity Politics; Gender, Class, Ethnicity, LGBTQ+, Sexuality, Religion and Queer Politics

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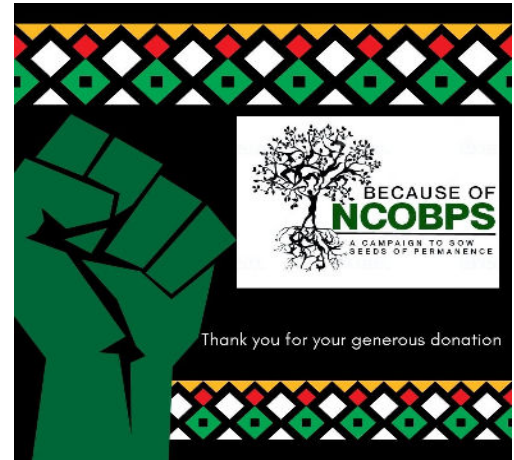
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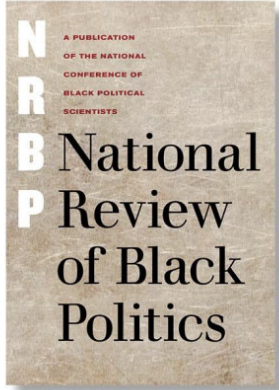
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National Review of Black Politics is a refereed, international, and interdisciplinary quarterly journal of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, continuing the scholarly legacy of *National Political Science Review*, which had been published continually from 1989-2019. *NRBP* publishes exceptional quality scholarship related to the experiences of African-Americans in the American political community, the African diaspora in the Western Hemisphere, and on questions of black politics and the politics of race-making globally.

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Published quarterly in January, April, July and October
ISSN: 2688-0105
eISSN: 2688-0113

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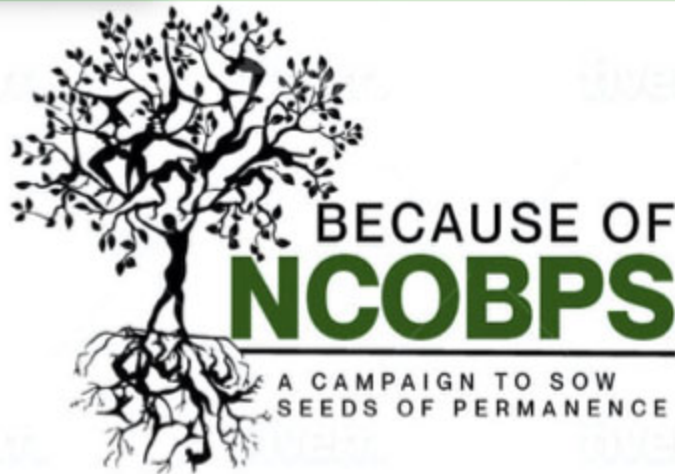


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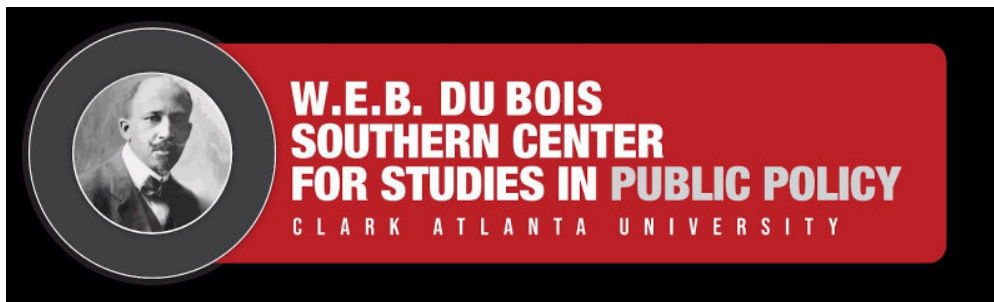
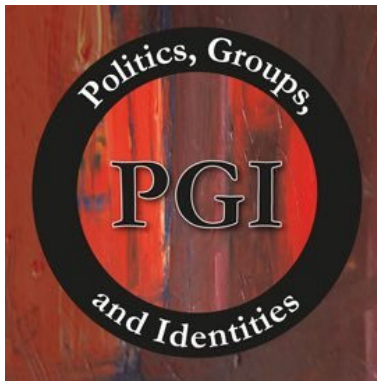


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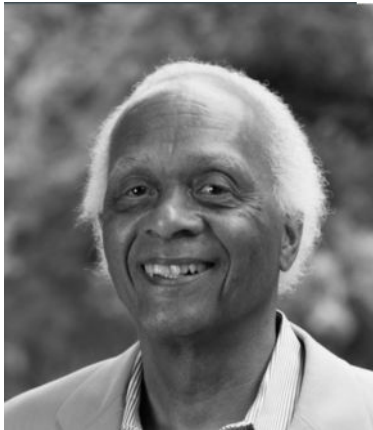


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In Memoriam



David Covin

October 3, 1940 - June 3, 2023

Sacramento, California - On June 3, 2023, David died at home surrounded by his wife and surviving daughter. He had a life well

lived and well loved.

David was raised in Evanston, IL by his parents Lela and Odell. He had a childhood filled with family, including his grandmother Ruby. He attended Evanston Township High School before earning his Bachelor's degree at University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

David continued his education at the University of Colorado, Boulder where he earned his Masters degree. It was there that he met and fell in love with Judy, his life long partner, who he married in 1965. He received his PhD from Washington State University in 1970 and then moved with Judy and their two daughters to Sacramento where he began a career as a professor of Government at Sac State and later also served as a professor in Pan African studies.

During his tenure at Sac State, David became a renowned teacher, scholar and community leader. He also became a distinguished novelist, scholar, publisher and activist at the local, state, national and international levels. He was a founding member of the Cooper Woodson College Enhancement Program, Ethnic Studies and Pan African Studies at the University. He served as president and was an active member of the Conference of Black Political Scientists, founding co-principal investigator of the Race and Democracy in the Americas project and founding publisher of Blue Nile Press.

As author of over 50 scholarly articles, David was widely respected in his field. He contributed extensively to the legacy of community service and personal achievements of African Americans. He was the recipient of numerous awards for his scholarly and community service work, including the Cooper-Woodson College Medal of Honor, the John Livingston Annual Distinguished Faculty Lecturer Award, the College of Social Sciences and Interdisciplinary Award, the Sacramento Observer Medallion for Achievement in the Field of Education, and many more.

David was an elected member of the Pi Sigma Alpha, Phi Alpha Theta and Phi Beta Delta honor societies, at Washington State University, where he founded the Black Studies Program. His activism during the Civil Rights Movement was a source of pride for his family. He was co-chair of CORE in

Boulder, participated in the March on Montgomery and helped form the Sacramento Area Black Caucus.

David is survived by his wife Judy of 58 years and daughter Holly (Steve); grandchildren Nicola, Will and Claire; sister Jacquie (Mark) and niece Artemisia. He is predeceased by his daughter Wendy. He is also predeceased by his beloved dogs over the decades who gave him joy beyond measure - Sable, Midori, Kabuki, Sake, Kyoto, Nookta and Thor.

A memorial service will be held in Fall 2023. If you are interested in information, please indicate your interest at (a live hyperlink is available on [Legacy.com](https://www.legacy.com)):

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSchGw8UOZ5r63puknUGe_-lKmwzN9KodJIt03KpDCHiDd0qhg/viewform?vc=0&c=0&w=1&flr=0

After completing the form, you will receive details once they become finalized.

If you are interested in making a monetary contribution in David's honor, the family recommends donating to one of three programs and Sac State that were important to David: The Cooper Woodson Scholarship Program, Alumni Association Scholarship Fund, or University Library Fund. You make select one of these programs at www.csus.edu/makeagift . To make a gift by check, please make it payable to "The University Foundation at Sacramento State" and indicate in the memo line which fund you wish to support (or that the gift is in memory of David Covin) and mail to: Development Office, Sacramento State, 6000 J Street MS 6030, Sacramento, CA 95819.

Citation:

David Covin, *The Sacramento Bee*,

<https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/sacbee/name/david-covin-obituary?id=52193051>.

In Memoriam



Robert C. Smith

February 12, 1947 - April 13, 2023

The National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) honors Dr. Robert C. Smith, a renowned, nationally-recognized scholar in the fields of Black politics, the presidency, and Congress in the United

States. Born in Benton, Louisiana, Dr. Smith left the Jim Crow, segregated south to move to Los Angeles, CA, where he earned his B.A. degree from University of California–Los Angeles, M.A. from the University of California–Berkeley, and his Ph.D. in Political Science from Howard University. He chronicles his own life journey in *From the Bayou to the Bay: the Autobiography of a Black Liberation Scholar*, described as a “refreshingly candid intellectual autobiography [that] traces the evolution of [Smith’s] consciousness and identity from his early days in rural Louisiana to his emergence as one of the nation’s leading scholars of African American politics” (SUNY Press).

Dr. Smith was a distinguished Professor Emeritus of Political Science at San Francisco State University (SFSU) and was widely known for his groundbreaking research on African American politics. He authored or co-authored numerous articles and multiple books, including: *Race, Class, and Culture: A Study in Afro-American Mass Opinion*; *Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era: Now You See It, Now You Don't*; *We Have No Leaders: African Americans in the Post-Civil Rights Era*; *African American Leadership*; *Conservatism and Racism and Why in America They Are the Same*; *John F. Kennedy, Barack Obama, and the Politics of Ethnic Incorporation and Avoidance*; *Power, Philosophy and Egalitarianism: Women, the Family and African Americans*, and *Questions of Character: The Presidency of Donald J. Trump*, among others. He made immense and nuanced contributions to the understanding of the African American experience in American politics and society.

Dr. Smith’s indelible impact extended beyond his scholarly works to his mentoring, supporting and promoting new scholars. As a former associate editor of the *National Political Science Review*, guest co-editor on the inaugural *National Review of Black Politics*, and the general editor of the State University of New York (SUNY) Press African American Studies series (for many years, edited with John R. Howard), he keenly and deftly moved works of junior scholars to publication. He is co-author on the leading textbook in the field of African American Politics, *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom*, and author of the *Encyclopedia of African American Politics*. In

addition, he wrote a biography of his mentor, longtime Howard University professor, Ronald Walters, whom he considered the most consequential African American political scientist of the last half-century entitled, *Ronald W. Walters and the Fight for Black Power, 1969-2010*. He wrote another biography of Hanes Walton, the prolific political scientist and academic extraordinaire, called *Hanes Walton, Jr.: The Architect of Black Science of Politics*.

Dr. Smith's dedication to research and teaching spanning over three decades was widely respected and recognized given his frequent appearances on local, national and global media, and the receipt of numerous awards, including Howard University's Distinguished Ph.D. Alumni Award in 1998 and the first Life and Legacy Achievement Award from the National Conference of Black Political Scientists in 2021 for his outstanding contributions to the field of Political Science and African American studies.

His co-author, Dr. Sherri L. Wallace expressed, "Robert will be remembered in academia as a quintessential scholar-teacher. He was inquisitive and a prolific writer until the end. Yet, after a visit to his home, spending time with him and with his family, I realized what he valued most in life was his unwavering devotion and love shared with his wife, Scottie—the love of his life—and their children and grandchildren, Blanch, Jessica, Scottus-Charles, Karysa and Grayson. This is his most cherished legacy." The National Conference of Black Political Scientists expresses its deepest condolences to his family, friends, and the entire NCOBPS community during this difficult time. Dr. Robert C. Smith will be dearly missed, and his memory will live on through his work and the lives he touched as an immeasurable and lasting legacy that will continue to inspire and inform generations to come.

Citation:

In Loving Memory - Dr. Robert C. Smith, *National Conference of Black Political Scientists*, <https://www.ncobps.org/in-loving-memory-dr-robert-c-smith>.

In Memoriam



Willard R. Johnson

November 22, 1935 - October 29, 2023

Dr. Johnson is a professor emeritus in the MIT Department of Political Science who focused his scholarly research on the political development of Africa, died in late October at age 87. Johnson served as a member of the MIT faculty for nearly 60 years, while also founding and participating in numerous civic initiatives aimed at making political and social advances in Africa and the U.S., and building engagement between the two regions.

Johnson joined the political science faculty in 1964 as an assistant professor. He was the first Black faculty member at MIT to rise through the ranks and achieve tenure from within, and he created a broad portfolio of accomplishments. Johnson conducted extensive fieldwork in Africa, published important contributions to the study of African political institutions and independence movements, advocated for the inclusion of more Black scholars in the MIT community, and served as a leading voice at MIT and in the Boston area against South Africa's apartheid.

Johnson also held visiting positions at Harvard Business School, Boston University, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts, in addition to his time as a faculty member and emeritus professor at MIT.

Johnson was born in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1935 and moved to Pasadena, California, where he graduated from Muir High School. He earned his AA from Pasadena City College in 1955, and a BA in international relations from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), in 1957. At UCLA, he served as student body president, and also helped to found the campus' chapter of the NAACP. Notably, he was also responsible for bringing W.E.B. Dubois to campus as a speaker. Johnson later received his MA degree in African studies with distinction from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, in 1961, and his PhD in political science from Harvard University, in 1965.

Johnson's Harvard dissertation, "Cameroon Reunification: The Political Union of Several Africas," formed the basis of his first book, published as "The Cameroon Federation" by Princeton University Press in 1970. In a review of the book in the *Journal of Modern African Studies*, W. Norman Haupt wrote, "This carefully prepared book is based upon a sound, objective understanding of local facts and preferences," while noting that it "is filled with those minute details of history which make for exciting reading."

Johnson himself would say that his most important accomplishment while at UCLA was meeting his wife, Vivian Johnson. They not only formed a lasting bond in marriage, but also became scholarly collaborators and jointly published "West African Governments and Volunteer Development Organizations: Priorities for Partnership" (University Press of America, 1990). Political scientist Pearl T. Robinson of Tufts University called it "required reading for anyone seeking insights into the struggles that are being waged to promote increased political pluralism and alternative development strategies in contemporary Africa."

Johnson remained impressively active in politics and public service throughout his life. From 1968 to 1970, he took a leave from MIT to serve as executive director of Circle, a Roxbury, Massachusetts-based community development organization. In 1972, he directed the Africa Policy Task Force for the George McGovern for President committee, and served on the Democratic Party Advisory Council's Foreign Affairs Study Group. He also served on the U.S. National Committee for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Johnson later became a leading voice at MIT, and nationally, in the anti-apartheid movement. He led the Boston chapter of TransAfrica's Free South Africa Movement. As Johnson noted, in an interview for the Department of Political Science's 50th anniversary celebration, he was arrested, along with Nobel laureate George Wald of Harvard and other local luminaries, at an anti-apartheid rally in Boston. Johnson was proud to be actively involved in Nelson Mandela's visit to Boston in 1990, part of the anti-apartheid leader's momentous trip to the U.S.

In 1991, a few years before stepping down from his faculty position, Johnson founded the Kansas Institute for African American and Native American Family History, which promotes the preservation and documentation of family identity, traditions, and accomplishments of members of the African American and Native American communities of the Midwest.

Johnson's 2001 paper published in the *Black History Bulletin*, "Tracing Trails of Blood on Ice: Commemorating 'The Great Escape' of 1861-62 of Indians and Blacks into Kansas," chronicled a significant episode in this underexplored regional history. He remained active with the Kansas Institute for African American and Native American Family History until his passing. Johnson also founded the Boston Pan-African Forum, a group promoting mutually beneficial relations between the United States and the people of Africa, and remained an active part of it throughout his later years.

Throughout his time at MIT, Johnson was an active voice in support of diversifying the Institute faculty and student community, and pushing for greater opportunities for Black faculty and students alike. Johnson was proud of the accomplishments of Institute students such as Georgia Persons PhD '78, a political scientist who is now a professor in the School of Public Policy at Georgia Tech; and Marsha

Coleman-Adebayo PhD '82, a leading advocate against workplace discrimination whose experiences helped generate passage of the Notification and Federal Employee Anti-discrimination and Retaliation Act, signed into federal law in 2002.

In seeking to build stronger ties between scholarly communities, Johnson also initiated a joint seminar in political science between MIT and Howard University, in the mid-1970s, an effort concluding with a combined class session for all the participating students from both institutions.

Johnson remained a visible presence in the political science department following his transition to professor emeritus in 1996. Colleagues fortunate enough to cross paths with him were greeted with a tremendously warm smile. Those who knew him during his time on the faculty have fond memories of him stopping by their offices to check in, inquire about family members, and give the distinctive encouragement and kind understanding which, through his extraordinary experience and character, only he could offer.

Citation:

Professor Emeritus Willard R. Johnson, Political Scientist who specialized in African studies, dies at 87, *MIT News on Campus and Around the World*,
<https://news.mit.edu/2023/willard-johnson-political-scientist-dies-1115>.

In Memoriam



Alex P. Willingham

1940 - 2023

We pause to honor the life of Dr. Alex P. Willingham, Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Williams College. A revered scholar, educator, and activist, his contributions have deeply impacted the discipline of political science and the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. Willingham was born in southwest Arkansas and grew up in northwest Louisiana. He received his Bachelor of Arts from Southern University in 1963, a Master's degree from the University of Iowa in 1965, and a PhD from the University of North Carolina in 1974. Dr. Willingham joined the faculty of Williams College in 1989, where he held various roles, including Chair of the African American Studies Program, Director of the Multicultural Center, and faculty advisor for the Williams College Law Society. He also held the title of Schumann Professor for Democratic Studies.

With a foundational upbringing during the Jim Crow Era, Prof. Willingham devoted his academic and activist efforts to dismantling racial segregation and championing voting rights. He emerged as a national authority and expert on U.S. voting laws and the electoral opportunities for minorities, delivering enlightening courses on civil rights, Southern politics, and voting rights. His academic writings have illuminated the intricate intersections of race and politics. His works, such as "Beyond the Color Line? Race, Representation and Community in the New Century", and his insightful analysis of the U.S. Supreme Court's stance on the Indiana Voter Identification Law, have been seminal in shaping discussions in the field. Beyond academia, Dr. Willingham's activism resonated powerfully. He fervently supported voting rights litigations with renowned civil rights organizations, continually working towards a more equitable society.

As many are aware, in recognition of his profound contributions, NCOBPS honored Dr. Willingham by naming our Best Political Theory Paper Award after him. This accolade is a testament to his enduring legacy and serves as a beacon for the next generation of thinkers. We will keep our community informed about the details of the memorial service. At this sorrowful moment, we extend our heartfelt condolences to Dr. Willingham's family, friends, students, and colleagues. May we remember and celebrate the legacy of a true luminary in our field.



2024 Hanes Walton, Jr. Award for Quantitative Methods Training

The National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) is proud to announce the 2024 Hanes Walton, Jr. Award for Quantitative Methods Training, which provides scholarships to support participation in the ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods. The scholarship is named after Hanes Walton, Jr., an attendee and supporter of the ICPSR Summer Program, a luminary in the study of American electoral politics and African American Politics, and a co-founder of NCOBPS.

AWARD

The Hanes Walton, Jr. Award is a waiver of registration (tuition) fees for the **2024 ICPSR Summer Program's general sessions**, which include courses on a variety of topics, including introductory statistics and data analysis; regression analysis; Bayesian modeling; maximum likelihood estimation; game theory; network analysis; and quantitative issues in the study of race and ethnicity. General Session Courses are offered in a dual-mode format: In-person (on the University of Michigan campus in Ann Arbor), livestream synchronous via Zoom, and asynchronous videos. All participants have extended online access to lecture recordings and course materials through December 31, 2024. **The First Session runs Monday, June 10-Friday, July 5, 2024, and the Second Session runs Monday, July 8-Friday, August 2, 2024.** Awardees are eligible for a small stipend to use towards travel or books.

NCOBPS encourages faculty and graduate students from Historically Black Colleges and Universities, as well as women and minority graduate students and faculty at other institutions, to apply for the Hanes Walton, Jr. Award. There are no citizenship requirements, and awardees will be selected regardless of race, national origin, religion, gender, age, disability, or sexual orientation.

APPLICATION MATERIALS

Applicants must sign up for the Summer Program courses they'd like to take and send the following materials to Professor Tyson King-Meadows (tkingmea@umich.edu):

1. Cover letter indicating why you want to attend the ICPSR Summer Program and how the training will advance your career or completion of your PhD;
2. Curriculum Vitae;
3. Letter of support from your faculty advisor (certifying applicant ABD status) or department chair (attesting to applicant tenure-track or non-tenured status), submitted directly by the letter writer to the above email address; and
4. A writing sample featuring your use of quantitative reasoning and statistical methods.

APPLICATION DEADLINE: MARCH 31, 2024

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

For more information about the ICPSR Summer Program, visit icpsr.umich.edu/sumprog or contact sumprog@icpsr.umich.edu.

For more information about NCOBPS, visit www.ncobps.org.

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