

56TH ANNUAL
**NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF BLACK POLITICAL
SCIENTISTS 2025**

NEW ORLEANS, LA

MARCH 19-22

NCOBPS.ORG

**AMERICA AT A CROSSROAD: MULTIRACIAL
DEMOCRACY OR AUTHORITARIANISM?**



NCOBPS President: Emmitt Y. Riley, III

NCOBPS Vice-President: Pearl K. Dowe

Executive Director: Kathie Stromile-Golden

Program and Local Arrangements Committee Co-Chairs:

Dr. Albert Samuels

Dr. Brandon Davis

Dr. Melanie Johnson

Dr. Riva Hines

Chenetra Hall

Dr. Eugene Johnson

America at a Crossroad: Multiracial Democracy or Authoritarianism?

The election of Barack Obama to the presidency ignited hopes that the United States had crossed a critical juncture in a journey toward an America where all men, in Martin Luther King's words, "will be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character." Obama's election inspired visions of hope and possibility for some Americans, but it also triggered a white backlash that gave us the Tea Party, birtherism, MAGA, and the January 6th Insurrection. Similarly, the First and Second Reconstructions also triggered counterrevolutionary movements. Currently, unfounded fears of white replacement and a 'browning' American population have become a threat to the very future of American democracy. The democratic backsliding that has occurred in the United States is indicative of the rise of authoritarianism seen around the world. America finds itself yet again at a historical inflection point. On the one hand, the country can finally come to terms with and live up to its founding principles that "all men are created equal and endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" and embrace the multiracialism that makes our nation strong. On the other hand, the nation could give in to xenophobia, racism, antigay bills, and eliminating access to reproductive healthcare as it descends into fascism. Indicative of the juxtaposed positions above, this conference is set in one of the most diverse, multicultural cities in the US which is within a state that was central to prematurely ending the nations' first attempt to reconstruct the American democracy. We invite papers, panels, and roundtables from a variety of methodological approaches that explore these themes. We especially encourage undergraduate and graduate students to submit paper proposals.

2025 SECTION CHAIRS

African & Diaspora Politics

Dorian Brown Crosby – Spelman College dcrosby1@spelman.edu

Afro-Latino Politics

Mzilikazi Kane – College of the Desert mkone@collegeofthedesert.edu

International Relations and Comparative Politics

Ana Carolina de Paula Silva – Tulane University adepaulasilva@tulane.edu

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

Jerome Hunt – Long Beach City College – jhunt@lbcc.edu

Shameka Nicole Cathey – Tennessee State University scathey@tnstate.edu

Political Institutions

George Amedee – Southern University – New Orleans george.amedee@sus.edu

Brian Alexander – Prairie View A&M University balexander@pvamu.edu

Politics, Inequality & Social Justice

Najja Baptist – University of Arkansas nbaptist@uark.edu

Public Policy

Revathi Hines – Southern University and A&M College revathi.hines@sus.edu

Teaching and Professional Development

Elizabeth Walker – College of the Desert ewalker@collegeofthedesert.edu

Undergraduate Research

Melanie Johnson – Southern University and A&M College melanie_johnson@subr.edu

Political Theory

Jared Clemons – Temple University jared.clemons@temple.edu

Public Opinion and Political Participation

Eugene B. Lee-Johnson – Southern University and A&M College eugene.johnson@sus.edu

Higher Education Policy

K. Juree Capers – Georgia State University kcapters@gsu.edu

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 56TH ANNUAL MEETING OF NCOBPS

Message from the 42nd President of NCOBPS



Dear Members of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists:

Welcome to the city of New Orleans, Louisiana! The Executive Council, program chairs, and local arrangements committee have organized a dynamic conference featuring over 130 papers, 22 roundtables, and multiple poster presentations.

It is through inquiry, research, and the creation of knowledge that we continue to sustain and investigate the various ways in which race matters in world politics. At a time when American political institutions are fragile and our democratic system of government is being tested to its core, I encourage all of you to keep your heads held high and remain

true to who you are—as scholars, teachers, and community activists. They may attack and ban DEI, but the work we do in the fight for Black liberation will continue. It will continue because of members like you who engage in this work in so many meaningful ways.

Now more than ever, it is time for us to band together and press forward. I can think of no more appropriate theme than the one presented by our program chairs. Multiracial democracy in America is a relatively new concept, and since the incorporation of Black people into the political system, efforts to roll back these rights have been ongoing.

It has been the honor of my life to serve as your 42nd President and to represent each of you. As I preside over my final conference as President, I want to thank you all for your service, dedication, and commitment to advancing this incredible organization.

May God be with you in peace and love.

I also want to congratulate Dr. Pearl K. Dowe on her installation as President. I have no doubt that she and the Vice President will do an amazing job!

Sincerely,
Emmitt Y. Riley, III
42nd President, NCOBPS

PRESIDENT-ELECT'S WELCOME

Dear Members of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists,



It is an honor to warmly welcome you to our Annual Meeting. I am deeply grateful to our program chairs and local arrangement committee members for the care that guided their diligent preparation 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 "America at a Crossroad: Multiracial Democracy or Authoritarianism?" speaks to the urgency of this moment. We find ourselves at a moment in which our personhood, institutions and higher education are under assault. With so much in jeopardy, the gem of

NCOBPS is even more relevant. During our time together, we will engage in the scholarly and restorative spirit of NCOBPS that will allow us to reflect on the depth of our individual fortitude to stand against withering attacks against our scholarship, communities and institutions.

During the conference we will deeply engage in rich scholarship, renew our resolve, strategize for a better future and connect with old and new friends. The reward of time spent will not only be felt immediately but will stay with us as we carry our commitment to the excellence and mission of NCOBPS in every space we engage.

Again, welcome to the 56th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists.

With Joy and Hope,

Pearl K. Dowe, PhD
President-Elect

PROGRAM CHAIR'S WELCOME



Welcome to New Orleans! We are excited to host you for the 56th Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) in one of the most iconic cities in the United States.

New Orleans offers the perfect location for a scholarly exploration of the conference's theme, **"America at a Crossroad: Multiracial Democracy or Authoritarianism."** It was in New Orleans where, after Confederate forces surrendered in 1862 without firing a shot, that the first genuine experiment in multiracial democracy in the United States would subsequently begin. It was in Louisiana (and particularly in New Orleans) where a class of free African Americans were arguably best positioned to capitalize on the consequences of the end of slavery.

But New Orleans is also the site where this experiment in democracy was assassinated. It was New Orleans where an insurrection in 1873 by the White League has echoes to the January 6 insurrection on the U.S. Capitol. New Orleans and Louisiana played a central role in the disputed 1876 presidential election that culminated in a political compromise that resulted in the federal retreat from any serious efforts to protect the rights of African Americans. New Orleans also provides the setting for the Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* that instituted the system of racial segregation throughout the United States. More recently, the devastation wreaked by Hurricane Katrina in 2005 demonstrated, in unmistakable terms, the resilience of the color line in terms of ensuring that African Americans would suffer the worst consequences of Mother Nature and the failure of government policy to adequately protect its citizens from disaster. Finally, in light of the rapidly unfolding consequences and implications of Trump 2.0 since the new administration has taken office, New Orleans provides the perfect setting for a conversation to discuss the ramifications of the new reality that the nation faces.

An undertaking of this magnitude cannot succeed without the contributions of many dedicated individuals. We would like to express our sincerest appreciation to Dr. Emmitt Riley, President of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists and Dr. Pearl Dowe, NCOBPS Vice President and President-Elect of NCOBPS for your leadership. We also extend our appreciation to our Executive Director, Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden and the entire Executive Council for their support. The organizing team also thanks Dr. James Ammons, Chancellor of Southern University at New Orleans and his team for their support for our Early Bird Reception. Additionally, we acknowledge and express our sincerest appreciation to Tulane University for sponsoring the Women's Luncheon and our Networking Reception. Last, but certainly not least, we are grateful for the support of the Department of Political Science and Geography at Southern University and A&M College and the Jewel Limar Prestage Public Policy, Polling, and Research Center.

The panels that we have organized are designed to provide you with an intellectually stimulating experience. This conference allows old friends and colleagues to reconnect and recharge, as well as the opportunity for new relationships to be forged. While you are here, our hope is that you will immerse yourself in the culture and cuisine of New Orleans that has made this city such an international point of destination.

**WELCOME MESSAGE FROM
THE 2025 LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE PROGRAM CO-CHAIRS**

Dear NCOBPS Family,

Welcome to the 2025 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS)! We are honored to host this year's conference in New Orleans, Louisiana, a city deeply rooted in the history of resistance, resilience, and cultural fusion.

This year's theme, "Multiracial Democracy or Authoritarianism? America at a Crossroad," speaks directly to the challenges and opportunities facing Black communities and democracy itself. In these critical times, our work as scholars, activists, and thought leaders remains as vital as ever.

As the Local Arrangements Committee Co-Chairs, we have worked diligently to ensure an enriching and engaging experience. From thought-provoking panel discussions to networking events and cultural explorations, we invite you to fully immerse yourself in the vibrant intellectual and social exchanges that define NCOBPS.

New Orleans, "NOLA", "The Big Easy" is a city of cultural history, struggle, and celebration that provides a fitting backdrop for the meaningful conversations and presentations we will have this week. We encourage you to explore its streets, savor its flavors, and embrace the spirit of unity that has long defined its people.

We extend our deepest gratitude to our colleagues, volunteers, and community partners who have helped bring this conference to life. Most importantly, we thank you for your unwavering commitment to scholarship and justice.

Let's make this an unforgettable conference and, as we say in New Orleans ...
"Laissez Les Bons Temps Rouler"-Let the good times roll!

Co-Chairs, Local Arrangements Committee
2025 NCOBPS Annual Meeting

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 K. 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-Sellers, 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 K. Dowe, Emory University
Co-Editor, Andra Gillespie, Emory University

2025 Conference Leadership

Program Co-Chairs of the Annual Conference and Local Arrangements Committee Co-Chairs:
Brandon Davis, Tulane University
Albert Samuels, Southern University and A & M College
Melanie Johnson, Southern University and A & M College
Reva Hines, Southern University and A & M College
Eugene Lee-Johnson, Southern University and A & M College
Chenetra Hall, Southern University and A & M College

Awards Committee Chair, Pearl K. Dowe, Emory University

Founders Symposium Chair, Naomi Nubin-Sellers, University of Houston



NCOBPS Statement on the Dear Colleague Letter
2/18/2025

For weeks, I have watched as this far-right administration has issued one decision after another, each designed to roll back the clock on racial progress in this nation. We have seen countless unconstitutional executive orders, propagated by a dangerous combination of both incompetence and racism.

The National Conference of Black Political Scientists expresses its complete and utter displeasure with these policies, and we urge all our members to stand against these attacks. Many of us work on higher education campuses, and we see firsthand the opposition to DEI policies at every level of our respective institutions. We have graduate students and colleagues whose research interests directly focus on racial equity work. In fact, several of our members are Chief Diversity Officers. While these times are uncertain for all of us, I want to encourage each of us to remain vigilant.

Our ancestors were strong, and we come from a long line of survivors who have pressed forward despite the worst of circumstances. In this moment, we must find the courage to be brave. As political scientists, many of us understand what this moment represents and the very threat it poses to republican forms of government. While these attacks are egregious, they are not new. We've been here before, and just as before, we must use our intellect, our activism, and our platform to fight for a better world than the one we've inherited.

The lesson here is that we can never make our humanity palatable for people who are fundamentally committed to believing that we, as Black and Brown people, do not deserve the same rights, privileges, and immunities that white people enjoy. As I have said before, we have been doing the work of DEI long before the emergence of official titles, and for those of us who are committed to radical uplift, we will continue this work. I have never in my life been afraid of anybody, and this is a fight I welcome because silence in the face of oppression is not my style.

The contents of the Dear Colleague Letter are egregious and represent an overreaching interpretation of the SCOTUS decision in *SFFA v. Harvard*. As the memo rightfully points out, racial discrimination is wrong. It is also wrong to exclude racial groups that have been historically underrepresented in higher education, as this exclusion is a direct consequence of the very discriminatory practices the memo claims to oppose—an undeniable hypocrisy. We can't offer preferential treatment to white South Africans by granting them resettlement in the U.S. while, in the same breath, telling Black and Brown students they can't even have a Black student organization.

We cannot, on the one hand, claim to oppose racial discrimination while, on the other, opposing the very tools and strategies designed to foster an inclusive environment. Secondly, under this memo, students would be barred from even forming race-based organizations. This is only feasible if we decide to erase America's long legacy of racial exclusion.

Let's also be realistic—while the Dear Colleague Letter speaks only in terms of race, it is important to recognize that such a narrowly tailored focus has broader implications for other areas covered under anti-discrimination protections. Today, it's racial groups; tomorrow, it will be freedom of expression, gender-based groups, religious minorities, and individuals with disabilities.

I urge all of us to resist and fight wherever we can. For those of you who might be afraid to speak up, please understand that your silence will not protect you, and your status will not shield you. As I close, I am reminded of my fellow Mississippian, Fannie Lou Hamer, who said "*If I fall, I'll fall five feet four inches forward in the fight for freedom.*"

Emmitt Y. Riley, III,
NCOBPS President



JOIN NCOBPS!!

We invite you to join or renew your membership with the National Conference of Black Political Scientists.

We meet annually in March in rotating U.S. cities.

National Review of Black Politics (NRBP)

As a member, you will have access to our annual journal of research. We invite you to submit completed, substantive articles from all political science subfields.

Types of Membership

We welcome academics, students, professionals, and practitioners to join the NCOBPS Community.

**Become a member and find out more about
NCOBPS.ORG**



SAVE THE DATE

2025 APSA ANNUAL MEETING & EXHIBITION



SEPTEMBER 11-14 | VANCOUVER, BC, CANADA 

REIMAGINING POLITICS, POWER, AND PEOPLEHOOD IN CRISIS TIMES

Join political science experts and scholars for the APSA Annual Meeting & Exhibition, September 11-14, 2025, held in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, to address the latest scholarship in political science. The conference theme is **“Reimagining Politics, Power, and Peoplehood in Crisis Times.”**

Registration Opens March 2025!

 Learn more about APSA at:
www.apsanet.org/annualmeeting

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 56th Annual Meeting.

The Bunche Center also celebrates 56 years of excellence in pioneering academic research and community-centered projects with broad impact for Black communities across California, the United States, and internationally.

For more information please visit:

<https://bunchecenter.ucla.edu/>

Dr. Lorrie Frasure

Director and Ralph J. Bunche Endowed Chair

Professor of Political Science and African American Studies

Office of the Governor
State of Louisiana

Jeff Landry
Governor



P.O. Box 94004
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70804
(225) 342-7015
GOV.LA.GOV

March 19, 2025

Dear Attendees,

Welcome to the 2025 National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) Annual Meeting in the vibrant city of New Orleans! It is my privilege to welcome this distinguished assembly of scholars and leaders whose dedication to advancing meaningful discourse and actionable solutions continues to shape the trajectory of political science and our nation.

Your commitment to scholarship, leadership, and collaboration is critical in addressing the most pressing challenges of our time. By fostering robust discussions and generating policy solutions rooted in shared values and innovative thinking, the work you undertake here has the power to strengthen communities and enhance opportunities across America.

New Orleans provides the perfect backdrop for this important gathering. Known for its resilience, rich heritage, and dynamic culture, the city is a testament to the enduring spirit of innovation and determination. During your stay, I encourage you to explore the unique history and hospitality that make Louisiana so special.

Thank you for your dedication to advancing ideas and initiatives that uphold the principles of liberty, opportunity, and progress. My administration is committed to fostering environments where collaboration thrives, and every citizen has the chance to achieve their full potential. Together, we can ensure a stronger and brighter future for all.

Best wishes for a successful and inspiring conference. May your time here in Louisiana reaffirm the impact of your mission and amplify your efforts to drive meaningful change.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Jeff Landry".

Jeff Landry
Governor



Office of the Chancellor

J.S. Clark Administration Building
Post Office Box 9820
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70813
Office: 225 771-2360

February 18, 2025

Dear Attendees:

On behalf of Southern University and A&M College, welcome to the National Conference of Black Political Scientists 56th Anniversary Meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana. I am thrilled that you have chosen our state as the location for this very important professional meeting.

The theme for this year's conference, "America at a Crossroad: Multiracial Democracy or Authoritarianism" is very timely in light of the current political and legal landscape within the United States. New Orleans is a propitious location for this conversation to take place, New Orleans was the place where in 1862 Confederate forces surrendered to Union forces without a shot being fired that the first experiment in multiracial democracy in the United States. It was also here that this experiment was arrested: New Orleans was "ground zero" for a violent insurrection in 1873, the disputed presidential election of 1876, and the infamous Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* that institutionalized the "separate but equal" doctrine throughout America. Additionally, the timing of this gathering is made more poignant by the impending 20th anniversary of Hurricane Katrina, another event which highlighted the vast disparities between white Americans and people of color. Therefore, this city is interwoven with the long history of the African American struggle for full equality in this country.

We welcome new and returning NCOBPS scholars to New Orleans. Best wishes for an intellectually stimulating conference. While you are here, I hope that you will sample the culture and cuisine of South Louisiana that makes this state a tourist destination like no other.

Best wishes,



John K. Pierre, J.D.
Chancellor

Dear Colleagues:

We are so pleased to welcome you to Newcomb Institute, Tulane, and New Orleans for the National Conference of Black Political Scientists! We are proud to be a part of your continuing tradition of excellence in bringing together experts on the issues and needs of political scientists of African descent and the political issues affecting people of African descent both here and across the world. Certainly, the areas on which you focus could not be more pressing or important right now.

It is a complex time, as we face funding shifts that could impede academic research on social and policy issues affecting our diverse communities, even as we see an increase in political polarization and political violence that would benefit from the work of political scientists and organizations such as yours. There is also substantial contention about whether diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts are beneficial or harmful, but little room for the necessary academic discourse and dialogue to speak to where such efforts remain necessary and where they may be altered. It is organizations such as yours that have long been committed to bringing the voices of political scientists of African descent to the forefront of action. To that end, we are so pleased to provide you with a space for productive meetings to help advance collective thinking and support you in sharing your insights with others.

Newcomb Institute, too, has its origins as an effort founded to improve diversity, equity, and inclusion in higher education, but in our case, it was via a focus on supporting women in higher education at a time when few women attended college, and no women were allowed to vote or be professors. The Institute emerged from Newcomb College in the 21st century to strengthen academic research and training on gender equity for productive and positive societal impact. Our affiliated faculty include a number of political scientists and policy-focused researchers with shared interests and focus areas as your members. We share with you the belief that diverse representation of thoughts and ideas, based on both empirical study and lived experiences, can help ensure that the interests of all people are reflected in politics, policies, and society as a whole.

Wishing you a very successful conference! I look forward to hearing the many new research ideas and findings that come from this meeting, and to seeing the work you do continue to have a positive impact here in Louisiana and beyond. I am optimistic that a more equitable world is still very much possible, and even more so seeing the agenda of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists.

Sincerely

Anita Raj

Anita Raj, PhD
Executive Director, Newcomb Institute
Nancy Reeves Dreux Chair
Professor, Celia Scott Weatherhead School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, Tulane University

Dear Attendees,

Welcome to the 2025 convening of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. On behalf of the Murphy Institute, we are honored to be a sponsor of an organization with the noble goal to study, enhance, and promote the political aspirations of people of African descent in the United States and throughout the world. The ideas which will come out of this gathering will be of great benefit to your members and to the greater community of scholars at the Murphy Institute who study political economy.



Dr. Gary A. Hoover
Executive Director Murphy Institute
Professor of Economics and Affiliate Professor of Law
Tulane University



Conference Wifi Information

Network: hiltonhonor

Password: wifi20



National Conference
of Black Political Scientists



2025 Hanes Walton, Jr. Award for Quantitative Methods Training

The National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) is proud to announce the 2025 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 **2025 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.

The First Session runs June 9 - July 3, 2025, and the Second Session runs July 7-August 1, 2025. Awardees are eligible for a small stipend to use towards travel or books.

NCOBPS encourages applications from social science faculty and graduate students at Historically Black Colleges and Universities, as well as encourages applications from all faculty and graduate students examining other fields of scholarly interest explored by Hanes Walton, Jr. 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 (tkingmeadows@nsu.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, 2025

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.

 NCOBPS 2025



AWARDS BANQUET SPEAKER

Kaitlyn Joshua

*Celebrating Excellence in
Teaching, Service, and
Scholarship*



Friday, March 21, 2025 New Orleans, LA



YOU ARE INVITED



PRESIDENT'S JOINT RECEPTION

Dr. Emmitt Y. Riley, III

*Special Thanks to the following
sponsors : APSA , SPSA and
UCLA Ralph J.Bunche Center for
African American Studies and
Supporters of the Capital Campaign*



**BECAUSE OF
NCOBPS**

A CAMPAIGN TO SOW
SEEDS OF PERMANENCE



Sat. March 22, 2025 New Orleans, LA from 7:00 -8:00 PM

56TH ANNUAL MEETING



PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION

Dr. Pearl Dowe
 Asa Griggs Candler Professor of Political Science and African American Studies and at Emory University


*43rd President,
 National Conference of Black Political Scientists*




Sat. March 22, 2025 New Orleans, LA ↘


NCOBPS 2025

56TH ANNUAL MEETING PRESIDENT'S PLENARY







Dr. Lester Spence




Dr. Christine Slaughter




Dr. Daniella Mascarenha



Dr. Utz McKnight



Dr. Emmitt Y. Riely III



Dr. Brandon Davis

Thursday, March 20: Presidential Plenary: 9:00 - 10:15 AM
 Location: International Ballroom

**Black Political Survival in an Era of Radical Conservatism:
 Resistance, Strategy, and Action.** ↘

 NCOBPS 2025



COMMEMORATING THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF HURRICANE KATRINA AND ITS AFTERMATH

Moderator:

- Dr. Elsie L. Scott,
Howard University & NCBCP Board Member

Reflections:

- Marc Morial,
President, National Urban League, Chair of NCBCP Board, and former Mayor of New Orleans
- Melanie Campbell,
President & CEO, NCBCP, The Protection of Voter Rights After Katrina
- Tanya Lombard,
Global Corporate Executive, AT&T, Role of the Corporate Community in Katrina Aftermath
- General Russel Honore,
Commander of Joint Task Force Katrina, Reflections

Friday, March 21: 12:30 - 1:30 PM

Sponsored by the
National Coalition on Black Civic Participation (NCBCP)

Location: International Ballroom

 NCOBPS 2025



56TH ANNUAL MEETING VICE PRESIDENT'S PLENARY



Dr. Pearl K. Dowe



Dr. Wendy
Smooth



Dr. Sharon W.
Austin



Dr. Elizebeth
Craig-Walker

Friday, March 21 : VP Plenary: 9:30 - 10:45 AM

Navigating Academic Environments in Contentious Times

56th Annual NCOBPS

Women's Luncheon

March 20, 2025 11:30-12:45

Location: Crescent Ballroom

11:30

Opening Remarks
Riley Hendrix

Introduction
Dr. Juree Capers
and Panelists

11:35

11:55

Panel Discussion
Mandie Landry, LA State Rep
Nghana Lewis, District Court
Judge
Kathleen Gasparian, Attorney
Norma DuBois, Assistant District
Attorney

Closing Remarks
Byron C. Heffner, IV

12:40

Proudly sponsored by Tulane University Newcomb Institute

Wednesday, March 19

Graduate Student Writing Workshop

8:00 AM to 5:00 PM

Presenter: Naomi Nubin-Sellers

Executive Council Meeting

12:00 to 4:00 PM

Location: Rosedown B

NCOBPS Registration

2nd Floors Prefunction

Undercounted and Underserved: Addressing the Census Participation Gap

Among Black Men and Families Sponsored by National Coalition on Black Civic Participation & The

Thomas W. Dortch Jr. Institute at Clark Atlanta University

Location Rosedown B

4:00 - 5:00 PM. Rosedown B

Description:

This panel discussion will delve into the findings of a recent report commissioned by National Coalition on Black Civic Participation and Thomas W. Dortch Jr. Institute at Clark Atlanta University and prepared by the W.E.B. Du Bois Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy that focuses on the undercounting of Black men and families in the U.S. Census. The discussion will center on the report's key findings, highlighting the systemic barriers, mistrust, and lack of awareness that contribute to low participation rates. Panelists will explore the consequences of undercounting, including reduced political representation and funding for essential programs in Black communities. The discussion will also focus on actionable recommendations to improve census outreach and engagement efforts, such as partnering with Black-led organizations, leveraging trusted community voices, and ensuring transparency in resource distribution. The panel aims to foster dialogue and collaboration among academics, policymakers, and community leaders to address the persistent undercounting of Black populations and advocate for equitable representation and resource allocation.

Panelists:

Dr. Joseph Jones, Executive Director of the W.E.B. Du Bois Southern Center for the Studies in Public Policy

Ebony M. Baylor, Vice President for Policy and Strategic Alliances for National Coalition on Black Civic Participation

NCOBPS Registration

2nd Floors Pre-Function Area

Welcome Reception

6:00 to 8:00 PM

Location: International Ballroom

Thursday, March 20:

Conference Registration and Exhibit Viewing:

8:00 AM to 5:00 PM

Conference Registration and Exhibit Viewing

Room: 2nd Floor Pre-Function Area

Thursday, March 20: Presidential Plenary: 9:00 - 10:15 AM

Location: International Ballroom

Title: Black Political Survival in an Era of Radical Conservatism: Resistance, Strategy, and Action

The American political system has always been hostile to Black political interests, and the election of Donald Trump represents a significant shift toward what Ronald Walters called a radical form of conservatism. With bans on affirmative action, critical race theory, and a far-reaching interpretation of *Harvard v. Students for Fair Admissions*, what tools and strategies do we have to combat and survive this political moment? How can we resist and move forward, considering that our political environment has always been hostile to Black political interests? What are the implications of a second Trump presidency, and how should we navigate this moment as citizens, scholars, teachers, researchers, and activists? How can we use our scholarship, teaching, and activism to respond to these challenges?

Room: Location: Crescent Ballroom

Moderator: Dr. Brandon Davis, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Tulane University

Panelists:



Dr. Emmitt Y. Riley, III, Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of African American Studies, University of the South. Dr. Emmitt Y. Riley, III is an Associate Professor of Politics and African and African American Studies at The University of the South. He is also the director of the African and African American Studies Program and currently serves as the 42nd President of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. Dr. Riley's extensive work centers around diversifying the field of political science, providing opportunities for graduate students, junior scholars, and mid-career political scientists. Dr. Riley's teaching and research interests span various subjects, including Race Politics, Black Politics, Legislative-Process, American Government, Political Marginalization, Inequality, and Introduction to African and African American Studies. His research endeavors delve into the influence of African American political representation on racial attitudes and political behavior. He also examines the substantive and symbolic advantages of black descriptive representation. Dr. Riley's research has garnered significant attention at regional, national, and international levels, with his works published in esteemed publications such as the *Journal of Black Studies*, *Journal of Race & Policy*, *National Review of Black Politics* and *Social Sciences*. Moreover, he is also the co-authors the book "*Racial Attitudes in America Today: One Nation, Still Divided*."



Dr. Daniella Mascarenha, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Xavier University. Daniella Mascarenhas is a professor of political science at Xavier University of Louisiana. Her research focuses on the intersection of freedom with civic engagement and incarceration. Her work is featured in the *Political Science Reviewer* and the *Journal of Political Science Education*. She examines how values of freedom justify incarceration as a practice and explores the public-private divide. Recently, she completed an ethnographic study of the Angola Prison Rodeo at the Louisiana State Penitentiary. Her work also delves into the intersection of freedom and civic engagement and especially contributes to the scholarship of teaching and learning. As an inaugural fellow for the Center for Artistic Activism's Unstoppable Voters Faculty Fellowship, she worked on how creative approaches to civic engagement can motivate students to become politically involved. In her free time, she is a competitive powerlifter and deadlift record holder. She also enjoys spending time with her husband, Ronald Tolie, and their cats, Lu and Julien.



Dr. Lester Spence, Professor of Political Science and Africana Studies, Johns Hopkins University. Lester K. Spence is a Professor of Political Science and Africana Studies at Johns Hopkins University, known for his critiques of neoliberalism and research on race, urban politics, and police violence. Previously, he taught at Washington University in St. Louis. His work appears in *Jacobin*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Dissent*, NPR, *The New York Times*, and *Baltimore City Paper*, and he has been featured on C-SPAN and *The Marc Steiner Show*. Raised in Inkster, Spence earned a BA and PhD in Political Science from the University of Michigan. A Baltimore resident since 2004, he is a father of five and a member of Omega Psi Phi.



Dr. Christine Slaughter, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Boston University. Dr. Christine Marie Slaughter is the Moorman-Simon Interdisciplinary Career Development Assistant Professor of Political Science at Boston University. She previously held postdoctoral fellowships at the University of California Irvine Princeton University Department of Politics and the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics (CSDP). Originally from Petersburg, Virginia, she is an expert in African American politics, political behavior, and political psychology, with a specific focus on the political engagement of Black women, and the political implications of persistent racial inequality. Her book manuscript, “Resilience to Adversity: How Black Voters Are Mobilized to Counter Suppression”, develops a theory and measurement of “racial resilience,” which characterizes a psychological resource pertinent to withstanding obstacles associated with participation. The Ford Foundation, Russell Sage Foundation (RSF)/ Bill and Melinda Gates Pipeline Award, the

National Science Foundation (NSF), and the American Political Science Association (APSA) has supported her research. She is frequently cited in news outlets, including USA Today, the Washington Post, and Capital B News. Her research has been published or forthcoming in leading peer-reviewed journals, including *Politics Groups, and Identities*, *the Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics*, *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*, *Politics & Gender*, *PS: Politics and Political Science*, *PHILLIS: The Journal for Research on African American Women (PHILLIS)*, and *the Oxford Handbook of Political Participation*. She received her PhD from the University of California Los Angeles in 2021 and is an alumna of Spelman College, a historically Black women's College in Atlanta, Georgia.

***Note: If your name appears as a chair or discussant, please note that these appointments were made based on rank. In the event that a chair or discussant does not show up at a panel, we ask that the most senior colleague take the lead to chair the panel and serve as discussant. Email papers to all chairs and discussants by March 10, 2025.*

Instructions for Chair/Discussants: Please ensure that time is distributed equally among all panelists and participants, and that there is time allocated for questions.

Thursday, March 20: 10:30 - 11:45 AM
Concurrent Session I

Title: Black Elected Officials Roundtable

Room: Madewood A

Chair: Gary Clark, Dillard University

Panelists:

- U.S.S. Rep. Troy Carter, Louisiana Congressional District
- State Sen. Regina Barrow, Louisiana Senate District 15
- State Sen. Joe Bouie, Jr., Louisiana Senate District 3
- State Rep. Matthew Willard, Louisiana House of Representatives District 97

Title: Roundtable on Progressive Political Action in the Age of Conservative Retrenchment (co-organized by the Association for the Study of Black Women in Politics [ASBWP])

Room: Madewood B

Chair: Nikol Alexander-Floyd, Rutgers University ngaf2070@gmail.com

Panelists:

- Francoise Cromer, Saint Elizabeth University; fcromer@steu.edu
- Lester Spence, John Hopkins University; unbowed@gmail.com
- Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, University of California-Irvine; twilloug@uci.edu
- Albert Samuels, Southern University and A&M College, albert.samuels@sus.edu

Title: The Power of Representation – Navigating Ideological and Racial Dynamics

Room: Rosedown A

Chair/Discussant: Hunter Rendleman, University of California, Berkeley; hrendleman@berkeley.edu

Panelists:

- Hunter Rendleman, *Reevaluating Critical Mass*” University of California, Berkeley; hrendleman@berkeley.edu
- Christian Hosam, *Triaging Representation: Black Members Legislating Under Constraint* ; Wellesley College; ch128@welle
- Karra McCray Gibson, *To the Left or in the Middle? Evaluating Ideological Alignment of Bill Sponsorship by CBC Members.*; Brown University; karra_mccray@brown.edu
- Amber Mackey, *Saying Black”: Understanding Legislation Passage and Explicit Mentions of Race* University of Virginia; ubh5aa@virginia.edu

Title: Black Women and Elections

Room: Rosedown B

Chair/Discussant: Elizabeth Walker, College of the Desert

Panelists:

- Kaiyla Dartey, *Sister Support–Curtis Edmonds*, Syracuse University; *I Get So Emotional: Race, Gender and Candidate Evaluations*, Princeton University; kdartey@princeton.edu
- India Leneer, *Mosaic Politics: Black Women’s Political Beliefs and Policy Preferences-* Rutgers University; India.S.Leneer@rutgers.edu

- Elizabeth Walker, *Social Connectivity as a Means to Political Success*, College of The Desert; ewalker@collegeofthedesert.edu
- Michael Strawbridge, *Sisters on the Rise: Women’s Leadership of the Congressional Black Caucus*, Washington University in St. Louis: strawbridge@wustl.edu
- Sydney Carr-Glenn, *Social Media and Candidate Favorability: The Case of Kamala Harris’ Tik Tok Usage During the 2024 Presidential Election*, College Of The Holy Cross; scarr@holycross.edu

Title: Political Theory

Room: Shadows

Chair/Discussant: Guy Shroyer, University of the District of Columbia

Panelists:

- Guy Shroyer, *Remembrance Sites: Hegemonic and Counter-Hegemonic Functions and Resources*, University of The District of Columbia; gshroyer@udc.edu
- Kurt Young, *Pan-Africanism & the Marxian Question: A Critique*, Clark Atlanta University; kyoung@cau.edu
- Kolbe Dumas, “The Application of Kantian and Hegelian Principles to Social Media in the Digital Age,” University of Houston, kdumas@cougarnet.uh.edu

UNDERGRADUATE POSTER PRESENTATIONS

SESSION 1

10:30 - 12:00 Location: Gallery

- Breannah Small, *Social Media and the Black Vote*, University of Arkansas; bnsmall@uark.edu
- Angel Amankwaah, *NCCU Students and Voting*, North Carolina Central University, aamankwaa@eagles.nccu.edu
- Curtis Edmonds, *Her Preference*, Syracuse University, curtis.kedmonds@gmail.com
- Kua Ngilbus, *Intersectional Stereotyping within the Black Public Sphere: The Case of Stacy Abrams*, University of the District of Columbia, kua.ngilbus@udc.edu

Thursday, March 20

Women’s Luncheon 11:30 - 12:45

Sponsored by Tulane University

Room: Crescent Ballroom

Moderator: Dr. Juree Capers, Andrew Young School of Policy Studies at Georgia State University

Panelists:



Dr. Nghana Lewis is a professor of English and Africana Studies at Tulane University, as well as District Court Judge, Division B, 40th Judicial District Court. She received her undergraduate degree in English from Tulane University and a PhD in English from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, before attaining her Juris Doctorate from Loyola University New Orleans in 2007. Throughout her careers in education and law, she has sought to center an ethic of service, and for her excellence in her craft she has been the recipient of numerous awards and honors for her research, teaching, and service to the community.



Kathleen Gasparian, JD, is consistently recognized as one of Louisiana's top immigration lawyers. After receiving her JD from Loyola University New Orleans in 2002, she served as a judicial law clerk for the Executive Office for Immigration Review in Oakdale, Louisiana. For more than a decade, she worked with David Ware & Associates and the firm of Ware|Gasparian as a partner before launching her own firm in 2015, now known as Gasparian Spivey Immigration. She formed Pro Bono & Juveniles (PB&J) to recruit, train, and mentor attorneys to represent children in immigration proceedings in cooperation with other nonprofits. For her passion and work in immigration law, she has received many awards, honors, and media profiles.



Mandie Landry is a New Orleans native who has represented Louisiana State House District 91 since 2020. She has served as a practicing attorney in NOLA for over twenty years since receiving her law degree from Georgetown in 2005. In the legislature, she has been a progressive force and a vocal advocate on reproductive rights, LGBTQ+ rights, and other local and Democratic priorities like S&WB flood protection, education, and criminal justice for juveniles. She often works to make progress on these policy priorities by working across the aisle where compromise with the GOP supermajority can be found.



Norma Broussard DuBois received her Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Economy in 1994 from H. Sophie Newcomb College of Tulane University. She continued her studies at Loyola University School of Law where she received her Juris Doctorate in 1997. Ms. DuBois has a distinguished career with extensive experience in both the legal and legislative arenas, specializing in impaired driving, criminal law, and public safety. Her background encompasses a wide range of legal matters, including personal injury cases such as slip and falls, as well as complex bond validation proceedings. Serving as the Chief Executive Counsel and a prosecutor for the City of Kenner, she has demonstrated exceptional skills in navigating the intricacies of municipal law. Ms. DuBois is the recipient of the 2011 National Traffic Safety Prosecutor of the Year Award by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and the National Association of Prosecutor Coordinators (July 2012). In August 2012, she was honored by the Governors Highway Safety Association (GHSA) with the Kathryn J.R. Swanson Public Service Award for her leadership in implementing policies and practices to reduce impaired driving through legislation, education and public awareness.

Thursday, Mar 20: Concurrent Session II: 1:30 - 2:45

Title: Partisanship and Ideology

Room: Shadows

Chair/Discussant: Kevin Sparrow, Georgia State University; ksparrow1@gsu.edu

Panelists:

- God's Will Osa, *Beyond Identity: The Role of Group Consciousness in Shaping Partisan Affect*, University of Texas at Austin; godswilloso@utexas.edu
- Kevin Sparrow, *Reimagining Black Ideology: Understanding Ideological Subgroup Variation in the Black Community*, Georgia State University; ksparrow1@gsu.edu
- Kyshan Nichols-Smith, *Grievance or The Game? Police Killings, Racial Disparities, and Political Efficacy*, Morehouse College; kyshan.nicholssmith@morehouse.edu
- Tiffany Williams, "The Future Risk of Authoritarian Government in the United States: The Case Study of Georgia," Clark Atlanta University; tiffany.williams5@students.cau.edu

Title: Democracy Under Scrutiny – Elections, Identity, and Institutional Trust

Room: Rosedown A

Chair/Discussant: Andra Gillespie, Emory University, andra.gillespie@emory.edu

Panelists:

- Naomi Nubin-Sellers, *Denied for Relief: Sanctions, Race, and Pandemic Relief in the U.S. Welfare State*; University of Houston; nnnubin@cougarnet.uh.edu
- Madia Harris, *White Rural Consciousness Revisited: Place-Based Prejudice, Social Identity, and Racial Resentment*, Northwestern University; madiaharris2029@u.northwestern.edu
- Andra Gillespie, *Candidate Quality and Vote Choice in the 2024 NC Gubernatorial Election*, Emory University; angille@emory.edu
- Shayla Nunnally, *Can We Trust the Process? Examining Pre- and Post-Election Confidence in Democracy and Democratic Institutions*, University of Tennessee, Knoxville; snunnall@utk.edu

Title: Social Movements, Organizing and Activism

Room: Rosedown B

Chair/Discussant: Jordie Davies, University of California Irvine, ejdavies@uci.edu

Panelists:

- Jordie Davies, *Building a Black Queer Feminist Movement-*, University of California Irvine, ejdavies@uci.edu
- Nia McInnis, *The Block Party is Over: Gentrification's Impact on Black Community Networks in New York City-*, North Carolina A&T University, njmcinnis@aggies.ncat.edu
- Ashley Daniels, *Academics in Action and Activism: Examining Black Girls Vote Chapters at Louisiana State University and Howard University During the 2024 Election*, Black Girls Vote; professorajdaniels@gmail.com
- Uchenna Ezejiolor, *Interrogating Black [Radical] Feminisms in the Context of the US Elections: Lessons from 2024*, Syracuse University; uchengoezeji@gmail.com

Roundtable: Race, Gender, and the 2024 Kamala Harris Presidential Campaign (co-organized by the ASBWP)

Room: Madewood A

Chair: Nikol Alexander-Floyd- Rutgers University-New Brunswick nga2070@gmail.com

Panelists:

- Nikol Alexander-Floyd, Rutgers University, ngaf2070@gmail.com
- Albert Samuels; Southern University and A&M College, albert.samuels@sus.edu
- Eugene Lee-Johnson, Southern University and A&M College, eugene.johnson@sus.edu

Title: Afro-Latino Identity, African Politics, Color, Language, Political Participation and Solidarity

Room: Madewood B

Chair/Discussant: Mzilikaze Kone, College of the Desert, mkone@collegeofthedesert.edu

Panelists:

- Tolulope Babalola, *Diversity of Black Ethnic Political Participation*, Loyola Marymount University, tolulope.babalola@lmu.edu
- Maya Fitch, *Linked Fate within the Black LGBT Community-*, University of Houston; mfitc@cougarnet.uh.edu
- Eden Melles,, *How Religion Reinforces Racial Identity for Black Christians and Muslims in the United States-* Northwestern University; edenmelles2026@u.northwestern.edu
- A. Hannibal Hamdallahi, *A Comparative Analysis of the Political Leadership of America's Imam W.D. Muhammad and West Africa's Muhammad Bello.* aleach@fisk.edu

UNDERGRADUATE POSTER PRESENTATIONS

SESSION 2

1:30 - 3:00 PM: Location Gallery

- Nia McInnis, *The Block Party is Over: Gentrification's Impact on Black Community Networks in New York City*, North Carolina A&T University, njmcinnis@aggies.ncat.edu
- Christina Stafford, *Criminal Justice Reform and the Media*, Elon University, cstafford4@elon.edu
- Shara Mintz, *Legitimate for Whom? Perceptions of Police and Practices in Two Southern Cities*, Norfolk State University, s.a.mintz@spartans.nsu.edu

Thursday, March 20: Concurrent Session III: 3:00 – 4:15 PM

Title: The Politics of Perception: Unpacking Public Opinion, Influence, and Policy Transformation

Room: Shadow

Chair/Discussant: Clinton McNair, Rutgers University– Camden; clinton.mcnaair2@gmail.com

Panelists:

- Jeremiah Muhammad; *Is The Window Closed? Public Perception of Time and Policy Implementation in Disaster Management*, The University of Tennessee; jmuhamma@vols.utk.edu
- Clinton McNair, *Public Perceptions of Nonprofit Influence on Local Policy and Government.* Rutgers University– Camden; clinton.mcnaair2@gmail.com

- Kevin Russell, *From Protest to Pocketbooks: Black Donors to Electoral Campaigns*, Emory University; kevin.russell@emory.edu

Title: Political Theory

Room: Rosedown A

Chair/Discussant: Tamelyn Tucker Worgs, Hood College; tuckerworgs@hood.edu

Panelists:

- Tamelyn Tucker Worgs, *This is God's Fight!: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Philosophy of American Politics and Policy*, Hood College; tuckerworgs@hood.edu
- T. Smith, *Weapons of Mass Construction: Liberation Prescience as a Praxis of Freedom*, Johns Hopkins University; ismith286@jhu.edu
- Mayannah Beauvoir, and Maleyah Peterson *A (W)Ratchet Studies Declaration: A Radical Black Feminist Conversation with The Wretched of the Earth*, Pace University; mayannahbeauvoir@gmail.com ; (W)Ratchet Studies, maleyahpeterson@gmail.com

Roundtable: Observations from the Kamala Harris Project About The Implications of Her 2024 Campaign

Room: Madewood A

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

Panelists:

- Emmitt Riley, Sewanee, The University of the South, eyriley@sewanee.edu
- Sherri L. Wallace, University of Louisville, slwall08@louisville.edu
- Clarissa Peterson, Sewanee, The University of the South, cpeterson@sewanee.edu
- Wendy Smooth, The Ohio State University, smooth1@osu.edu

Title: Voting and Participation

Room: Madewood B

Chair/Discussant: B. D'Andra Orey, Jackson State University; byron.d.orey@jsums.edu

Panelists:

- Kevin Sparrow, *Strategy and Sincerity: A 2-Stage Cognitive Voting Model*, Georgia State University; ksparrow1@gsu.edu
- Dianne Pinderhughes, *Issues of Democratic Participation: The 2024 USA Presidential Elections-* University Of Notre Dame; dpinderh@nd.edu
- B. D'Andra Orey, *Emotions, Mental Health and Black Political Participation-* Jackson State University; byron.d.orey@jsums.edu

Title: Political Institutions Roundtable Discussions

Room: Rosedown B

Chair/Discussant: Elizabeth Walker, College Of The Desert; ewalker@collegeofthedesert.edu

Panelists:

- Kaia Kirk, *The Intersection Between the Civil Rights Movement and the Federal Bureaucracy*, Syracuse University; kjkirk@syr.edu
- Maya Nunez, *Preempted: How States Take Away Local Authority and How the People Fight Back*, Brown University, maya_nunez@brown.edu
- Misha Cornelius, *Building Black Power in an Era of Backlash: Electoral Politics and Grassroots Movements*, Howard University, misha.cornelius@bison.howard.edu;
- Kaneesha Johnson and Tyler Whittenberg, *Policing the Black Student; AntiBlack Racism and the Development of School Policing*; University of North Carolina- Chapel Hill, kanrjohnson@gmail and Advancement Project, twhittenberg@advancementproject.org

Thursday, March 20: Concurrent Session V: 4:30 – 5:45 PM

Roundtable: APSA and NCOBPS Professional Development Roundtable: Navigating the Profession

Room: Rosedown A

Moderator: Ben Fiore-Walker, APSA Senior Director, Diversity, Equity and Inclusion and Professional Ethics

Panelists:

- Emmitt Riley, NCOBPS President
- Taeku Lee, APSA President
- Kathie Stromile Golden, NCOBPS Executive Director
- Kimberly Mealy, APSA Executive Director
- Jessica Carew, APSA Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, Chair
- India Simmons, APSA Program Manager, Diversity, Equity and Inclusion

Thursday, March 20: Networking Reception 5:00- 7:00 PM
Sponsored by Tulane University

Location: International Ballroom

Thursday, March 20: Business Meeting 6:00 – 7:00 PM

Location: Crescent Ballroom

Friday, March 21:
Conference Registration and Exhibit Viewing: 8:00 – 5:00 pm

Location : 2nd Floor Pre-Function Area

Friday, March 21: Concurrent Session VI: 8:00 AM - 9:15 AM

Title: Social Media and Politics

Room: Shadows

Chair/Discussant: Amber Colquhoun, University Maryland; acolquho@umd.edu

Panelists:

- Kaiyla Dartey, *Likes, Shares, and Skepticism: The Influence of Partisan Social Media on Black Americans' Trust in Government*, Princeton University; kdartey@princeton.edu

- Maya Jenkins, *Everyday Postin': Gossip and Black Political Discourse on TikTok*, Johns Hopkins University; mjenki52@jh.edu
- Amber Colquhoun, *Believe It or Not?: Assessing the Believability of AI-Generated Social Media Appeals* University Of Maryland; acolquho@umd.edu
- Breannah Small, *Social Media and the Black Vote*, University Of Arkansas, bnsmaill@uark.edu
- Ananda Collins, *Talking From the Soul: The Influence of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) Use in Digital News on Black Youth Political Behavior*, Syracuse University, acolli13@syr.edu

Title: APSA Oral History Project: Dr. K. C. Morrison

Film Screening: APSA Oral History Project: Dr. K.C. Morrison

Room: Madewood A

Chair/Discussant: India Simmons, American Political Science Association; Isabel Thompson, American Political Science Association

Panelist: K. C. Morrison

Title: Movements Make the World Go ‘Round

Room: Rosedown B

Moderator: Nyron Crawford, Temple University, nyron.crawford@temple.edu

Panelists:

- Kendrick Roberson, *Union Density and Perceived Common Threat*, Pepperdine University; kendrick.roberson@pepperdine.edu
- Donn Worgs, *Exit, Voice or ‘Productive Community Engagement’*: Collaborative Efforts to Solve Collective Problems When Government Lacks the Will or Capacity, , Towson University; dworgs@towson.edu
- Sekou Franklin, *The Black Freedom Movement and the Networks of Nonviolent Resistance in the 1960s*, Middle Tennessee State University; Sekou.Franklin@mtsu.edu

<p>Friday, March 21 : VP Plenary: 9:30 – 10:45 AM</p>
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Title: Navigating Academic Environments in Contentious Times

In today’s polarized climate, academic spaces reflect societal tensions, creating challenges for collaboration and inclusivity. These pressures are particularly acute for historically marginalized communities, who navigate contentious dynamics while fulfilling academic roles. This panel brings together Black women scholars to share strategies for resilience and productivity in such environments. Topics include mentorship networks, conflict resolution, and fostering spaces that empower diverse voices. Panelists will also explore how external tensions influence workplace, classroom, and scholarly interactions. Attendees will gain practical tools to transform contentious academic environments into inclusive and supportive spaces for collaboration and growth.

Room: Crescent Ballroom

Moderator: Dr. Pearl K. Dowe, Asa Griggs Candler Professor, Emory University



Dr. Elizabeth A. Craigg - Walker is a Full Professor of Political Science and Global Studies at College of the Desert. With a history of working within politics and government, she has a specialty in intersectionality of American political behavior, African American studies, and the history of education. She has published a number of articles based on women in higher education, the history of education, and political behavior. She is currently working on a few book projects: *Politics in Higher Education: A Case Study of Pepperdine University 1968-1974*.



Dr. Wendy Smooth is a noted scholar of intersectionality and American politics. One of the foremost voices writing on the experiences of women of color as law makers in political institutions and women of color issues in public policy. Smooth's research and writing also reflect significant expertise in legislative studies, institutions, state and local politics and public policy. Her current research focuses on girls of color and their interests in political leadership. She regularly commentates and consults on issues impacting black women in electoral politics as voters and candidates. She translates her knowledge of political institutions to higher education developing more hospitable and inclusive work climates so that all may bring the fullness of their talents to the higher education environment.

Friday, March 21: Concurrent Session VII: 11:00 – 12: 15 PM

Title: Black Politics and the Culture War

Room: Shadows

Chair/Discussant: Donovan Watts, Auburn University, dzw0086@auburn.edu

Panelists:

- Reginald Pulley, *Examining policy preferences of Black and Non-Black college students*; University of Maryland; dpulley1@umd.edu
- Donovan Watts, *Let the Church Say Amen: Redefining the Black Church in Black Millennials Political Engagement Process*, Auburn University; dzw0086@auburn.edu
- Diamond Wilson, *What Makes You Angry?": Public Opinion on Black Lives Matters*, Howard University; Diamond.wilson@bison.howard.edu

Roundtable: Disrupting Political Science Black Women Reimagining the Discipline

Room: Madewood A

Chair/Discussant: Angela K. Lewis-Maddox, University of Alabama-Birmingham, dralewis@uab.edu

Panelists:

- Sharon Wright Austin- University of Florida, polssdw@ufl.edu
- Clarissa Peterson, Sewanee, The University of the South, clpeters@sewanee.edu
- Angela K. Lewis-Maddox University of Alabama at Birmingham, dralewis@usab.edu
- Sherice Nelson, Alabama A & M University, sherice.nelson@aamu.edu,

- Valeria Sinclair Chapman, University of Purdue, vcs@purdue.edu

Title: The Black Vote, Elections and Women in Politics and Policy

Room: Madewood B

Chair/Discussant: Chenetra Hall, Southern University and A&M College; Chenetra.hall@sus.edu

Panelists:

- Amaya Rosser, *The Role of Women in Politics in Shaping Health Care Policies*, Southern University and A&M College; amaya.rosser@gmail.com
- Saylah Rogers, *Understanding the Impact of Systemic Racism on Immigrants of Color*, North Carolina A&T; ; saylahrogers12@gmail.com
- Brittany Gray, *Towards Social Equality and Black Maternal Health in Mississippi*, blg81@msstate.edu

Roundtable: The Roles of Elites, Organizations and Movements in Politics- NSF Grant work

Room: Rosedown A

Chair: Artemesia Stanberry - North Carolina Central University; astanberry@nccu.edu, Jarvis Hall, North Carolina Central University

Panelists:

Angel Amankwaah	*Sha'lexus Sanders
Evan Bailey	*Sterling Elliott
Olivia Bailey	*Kahriya Whittington
Amaya Bauldwin	
Ronni Butts	
Chantel Chestnutt	
Kai King	
Sara Rugama-Artola	
Savion Jarvis	
Alexis Staten	

* Students researchers

Title: Politicizing the Lived Experiences of Blacks in the Diaspora

Room: Rosedown B

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

Panelists:

- Tari Ajadi, *Systemic Racism and the Second Face of Democratic Accountability*, McGill University, tari.ajadi@mcgill.ca
- Jermaine Young, *The greatest loss of life...in independent Jamaica' – 2010 Tivoli Incursion: Exploring the Violence of Emergency and Extradition*; Howard University; jermaine.young@howard.edu
- Isabella Munoz Huaman, *How Was Amb. Terence Todman Portrayed by the Latin American Media and Community During His Posts in Spanish-Speaking Countries?*, The University of the District of Columbia; isabeau3007@gmail.com
- Danielle Clealand, *Measuring Race and Racial inequality in the Dominican Republic*, University of Texas at Austin, danielle.clealand@austin.utexas.edu
- Tanya Hernandez, *(Under) Counting Blackness Across the Globe: The Civil Rights Crisis of Census Racial Erasure*, Forham University, thernandez@law.fordham.edu,

UNDERGRADUATE POSTER PRESENTATIONS
SESSION 3
10:30 - 12:00 PM:

- Eleora Ephrem, *The Politics of Ethnicity in Ethiopia: How Governmental Transitions Can Lead to Ethnic Disharmony*, Sewanee, The University of the South, epphree0@sewanee.edu
- Kyshan Nichols-Smith, *Grievance or The Game? Police Killings, Racial Disparities, and Political Efficacy*, Morehouse College, kyshan.nicholssmith@morehouse.edu
- Emmanuel Agboje, *Socialization of People of Color in Predominantly White Neighborhoods*, Western Washington University, agboje10@gmail.com
- Kennedy Shorter, *Exploring Visions for Programmable Plants*, North Carolina A&T University, klshorter@aggies.ncat.edu
- Kamilah Bradley, *Policy Implications for Relocating Socially Vulnerable People Out of Public Housing*, Norfolk State University, kamilahwilson73@gmail.com
- Trinity Reddick, *In a Monochrome World; The Influence of Colorblind Attitudes in White Policy Preferences Toward Affirmative Action*, Sewanee: The University of the South; redditk0@sewanee.edu

Friday, March 21: 12:30 - 1:30 PM

Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Hurricane Katrina and Its Aftermath
Sponsored by the National Coalition on Black Civic Participation (NCBCP)
Location: International Ballroom

Moderator: Elsie L. Scott, Howard University & NCBCP Board Member

Reflections:

- Marc Morial, President, National Urban League, Chair of NCBCP Board, and former Mayor of New Orleans
- Melanie Campbell, President & CEO, NCBCP, The Protection of Voter Rights After Katrina
- Tanya Lombard, Global Corporate Executive, AT&T, Role of the Corporate Community in Katrina Aftermath
- General Russel Honore, Commander of Joint Task Force Katrina, Reflections

Friday, March 21: Concurrent Session VII: 1:15 PM – 2:30 PM

Title: Intersections of Social and Economic Inequality

Room: Rosedown A

Chair/Discussant: Dara Gaines, University of Arkansas; ddgaines@uark.edu

Panelists:

- Stephen Caliendo, *Look Here!" Examining Attention During Viewing of Race-Based Appeals to Anger*, North Central College; smcaliendo@noctrl.edu
- Zoe Walker, *Have's and the Have Nots: Income Inequality and Black Racial Attitudes*; University of Michigan; zwalker@umich.edu
- Dara Gaines, *Group Consciousness, Group Consequences? Understanding the Effects of Race and Place Consciousnesses on Rural Identity*, University of Arkansas; ddgaines@uark.edu

- Diarra Robertson, *White Nationalism Dissected: A Secular or Nonsecular Intersection with the Republican Party and American Conservatism*, Bowie State University; dorobertson@bowiestate.edu
- Michael Strawbridge, *Examining the Intersection Between Racial Resentment and Gender Attitudes Amongst Black Americans*, Washington University in St. Louis; strawbridge@wustl.edu

Title: APSA Oral History Project: Dr. Sheila Harmon Martin

Film Screening: APSA Oral History Project: Dr. Shiela Harmon Martin

Room: Madewood A

Chair/Discussant: India Simmons, American Political Science Association; Isabel Thompson, American Political Science Association

Panelist: Shiela Harmon Martin

Roundtable: Cross-University Research Collaborations: Roundtable on the 2024 NCOBPS CES Module

Room: Madewood B

Moderator: Shayla Nunnally - University of Tennessee; snunnall@utk.edu

Panelists:

- Tyson King-Meadows-Norfolk State University; tkingmeadows@nsu.edu
- Jeremiah Muhammad - The University Of Tennessee; jmuhamma@vols.utk.edu
- Shara Mintz, Norfolk State University
- Sotheara Soeun, Mississippi Valley State University, Sotheara.Soeun@mvsu.edu

Roundtable: Black Lives Matter in Latin America

Room: Shadows

Chair/Discussant: KC Morrison

Panelists:

- Cloves Oliveira, Federal University of Bahia
- Gladys Mitchell-Walthour North Carolina Central University, gmitch19@ncsu.edu
- Bernd Reiter, Texas Tech University, berreiter@ttu.edu
- Marcelle Decothé, Pipa Initiative, decothemarcelle@gmail.com
- KC Morrison, University of Delaware, kcmorrison2@gmail.com.

Title: Political Behavior

Room: Madewood B

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

Panelists:

- Ayana Best, *The Politics of Protection: The Effect of Parenthood on Black Mothers' Political Behavior*, Howard University; ayana.best@howard.edu
- Mason Holland, *Weary Souls: Exploring the Effect of Disillusionment on Black Political Behavior*, University of Michigan; masondh@umich.edu
- Amber Colquhoun, *Race Over Riches: How Racial Solidarity Trumps Economic Self-Interest for Middle and Upper Class African Americans*, University of Maryland; acolquho@umd.edu

Roundtable: We Take Care Of Each Other - The Struggles of Earning Tenure

Room: Rosedown B

Chair: Elizabeth Walker, College of the Desert; ewalker@collegeofthedesert.edu

Panelists:

- Clarissa Peterson; Sewanee, The University of the South, clpetets@sewanee.edu
- Mzilikazi Kone, College of the Desert, mkone@collegeofthedesert.edu

UNDERGRADUATE POSTER PRESENTATIONS

SESSION 4

1:15 - 2:45 PM Location: Gallery

- Leilani Mack, *Speak No Evil: The Dangerous Dance of White Supremacist Rhetoric and Free Speech*, University of Arkansas, lmack@uark.edu
- Renia Butts, *From the Harlem Renaissance to Black Lives Matter: The Introduction of Black Queer Thought in Black Political Movements*, North Carolina A&T University, reniabutts1@gmail.com
- Kennedy Doris, *Christian Nationalism's Role in Shaping American Populism*, North Carolina A&T University, kennedydoris03@gmail.com
- Montica Talmage, *An Examination of How Judeo-Christian and Evangelical Religious Preferences Affect African American Politics*, North Carolina A&T University, matalmadge@aggies.ncat.edu

Friday, March 21: Concurrent Session VIII 2:45 – 4:00 PM

Title: Mark O. Sawyer Summer Institute Research Panel

Room: Madewood A

Chair/Discussant: Alexander Davis

Panelists:

- Samira El-Amin, *The Role of Fear in Shaping Attitudes Towards Black History Education*, Howard University
- Laila Hinton, *More Money, More Problems: Income on Respectability Politics*, Howard University, laila.hinton@bison.howard.edu
- Tyh'Iana Tomlin, *Covers: Prison Reentry and The Search for Black Political Voices*, Howard University, ty.tomlin11@gmail.com
- Diamond Wilson, *The Double Standard: Racial Bias in the Public Opinion on Black Lives Matter and January 6th Protests*, Howard University, diamond.wilson@bison.howard.edu

Title: Less Money, More Problems and Systemic Racism in Healthcare.

Room: Rosedown A

Chair/Discussant: Emmitt Y. Riley, III, eyriley@sewanee.edu

Panelists:

- Robert Brown, *Revisiting Eisinger's Insight about the Racial and Economic Conditions of Protest in American Cities*, Spelman College, rbrown61@spelman.edu
- Emmitt Y. Riley III, *Race and Payday Lending: Investigating Determinants of Payday Lending in the Mississippi Delta*, University of the South, eyriley@sewanee.edu
- Shakari Byerly, *In Pursuit of Health- The Building Blocks of An Asset-Based Approach to Eliminating Racism in Health Care*, shakari@evitarus.com

Title: Black Votes Matter

Room: Rosedown B

Chair/Discussant: Alexander Goodman, Southwestern University, goodwina@southwestern.edu

Panelists:

- Gabrielle Gray, *A Roadmap for Democratic Engagement: Addressing Key Policy Priorities for African American Communities in Maryland*, Howard University, gabrielle.gray.gg@gmail.com
- Artemesia Stanberry, *Provisional Ballots and Voter Confidence: Do All Votes Matter?*, North Carolina Central University, astanberry@ncu.edu

- Byron Jackson, *Beyond GOTV: Using Political Social Work to Transform Voter Engagement for Rural Black Youth in South Carolina*, University of Southern California, byronjac@usc.edu
- Donna Taylor, *The Ongoing Atrocities of a Trump Administration: The Effects of Racism and Sexism on the 2024 Election*, University of Birmingham-UK, donna.taylor@gmail.com

Title: Contested Knowledge & Political Agency: Race, Voting, and Power in a Shifting Landscape

Room: Shadows

Chair/Discussant: Christine Slaughter, Boston University, clsa@bu.edu

Panelists:

- Nadine Wedderburn, *Manufacturing Ignorance: Book Bans, Politics, and the Preservation of Epistemic Power Structures*, Empire State University (SUNY), nadine.wedderburn@sunyempire.edu
- Christine Slaughter, *Abandoned by Everyone Else*, Boston University, cslaughter93@gmail.com
- Tony Carey and Alexander Goodwin, *The Dimensionality of Respectability Politics*, University of Pittsburgh, Southwestern University; tony.carey@pitt.edu, goodwina@southwestern.edu
- Arica Schuett, *Black Voter Subgroups & Declining Democratic Support*, Emory University, arica.schuett@emory.edu

Panel: The Contributions of the Department of Political Science, Atlanta University/Clark Atlanta University to the National Conference of Black Political Scientists

Room: Madewood B

Chair: Dr. Shiela Harmon Martin, Chair, University of the District of Columbia, smartin@udc.edu

Panelists:

- Dr. Larry Moss, Law & Government Magnet Program, Terrell High School, Atlanta, docmoss1000@yahoo.com
- Dr. Elsie Scott, Howard University, elsie.scott@howard.edu
- Dr. Joseph Silver, Silver & Associates, jsilver6@comcast.net
- Dr. William Boone, Clark Atlanta University, boone.williams@gmail.com

Friday, March 21: Founders Symposium 4:45 – 5:45 PM

Location: Crescent Ballroom

Title: Founders Symposium in honor of Huey Perry, Charles Hamilton, and Boris Ricks.

Room: Crescent Ballroom

Panelists:



Naomi Nubin-Sellers is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Houston and the current NCOBPS Graduate student representative. Her research interests include state politics, REP, and public policy, and her focus is on how state institutions respond to race through policymaking.



Christopher Saint Jean, who is a doctoral candidate at Rutgers University - New Brunswick, delves into the interplay between social class identity, political behavior, and public opinion within the domain of Black politics.



Kaia Kirk is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. Her research interests in race and ethnicity politics, political development, and social movements are situated within the studies of American politics and public policy.



Jala Grant is a PhD student in the department of global and international studies at UC Irvine. She is interested in the politics of Anti-Blackness, Afro-Caribbean Migration, Socialist and Anti-Capitalist movements, Conflict Transformation, Afro-Caribbeans in Britain, and the social mobilization and organizing of the Black diaspora.

Friday, March 21: President's Reception
Co-Sponsored by NCOBPS, APSA , SPSA and
UCLA Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies
7:00 –8:00 PM
Location: International Ballroom

Friday, March 21: Awards Banquet 8:30 – 10:00 PM

Location: International Ballroom

Order of Program

Welcome	Pearl K. Dowe
Invocation	Reverend Nikol Alexander-Floyd
Welcome from the City New Orleans	Local Arrangements Committee
Dinner	
Speaker Introduction	Pearl K. Dowe
Keynote Address	Kaitlyn Joshua
Awards	Pearl K. Dowe
Closing Remarks	Emmitt Riley

Awards Banquet Speaker



Kaitlyn Joshua is a native of Baton Rouge, LA, a graduate of Southern University and A&M College with an undergraduate degree in Biological Sciences/ Pre Medicine. She is married to Landon Joshua and is mother to Lauryn, 6 and Liam, 1. She has worked in the environmental justice and voting rights space, with a focus in restoring the rights of formerly incarcerated individuals in Louisiana. In the fall of 2022, Kaitlyn and her husband found themselves trying to navigate a health care crisis in a post Roe Louisiana when she was denied care at two hospitals in her area, while experiencing a miscarriage at 11 weeks pregnant. Using her experience in organizing

and advocacy, Kaitlyn knew how to advocate for herself. When approached for an interview by NPR, then CBS 60 minutes, Kaitlyn soon became travelling for the Biden then Harris campaign on the Reproductive Rights tour last year. She was named Glamour Magazine's "Woman of the Year" in 2024, Young, Gifted and Green's Black Maternal Health Advocate of Year, Louisiana Lefty's Organizer of the Month, Louisiana Democratic Party's Blue Future Award 2024 Recipient, and Bless The Vote's Civic Excellence Award recipient, and Krewe Of Oshun's organizer award, and The Asani Heartbeat Foundation award. In the fall of 2024, Kaitlyn along with reproductive rights Pioneer Cecile Richards, Co-Created Abortion in America, a nonprofit project designed to amplify stories of women being denied life saving care in a Post-Roe America.

ASBWP BREAKFAST 7:00 AM - 8:00 AM

Saturday, March 22: Conference Registration and Exhibit Viewing: 8:00 – 5:00 PM

**Saturday, March 22 Concurrent Session IX:
8:00 AM - 9:15 AM**

Title: Race, Representation, and Power: Examining Inequality, Identity, and Leadership

Room: Rosedown A

Chair/Discussant:

Panelists:

- Jane Angar, *From Fragmentation to Recognition: Uniting Marginalized Voices for State Intervention*, University Of California Berkeley, amgarjane1@berkeley.edu
- Darryl Nettles, *Perspectives on Women Heads of State*, Augusta University, dnettles3@gmail.com
- Kealeboga J. Maphunye, *Personality Politics: Trump and Zuma Compared*, Lincoln University, kmaphunye@lincoln.edu

Title: Speak the Word!

Room: Rosedown B

Chair/Discussant: Ashley Daniels, Black Girls Vote, professoracjdaniels@gmail.com

Panelists:

- Alexander Goodwin, *Dropping Bars: Examining Respectability Politics and Black Public Opinion on Using Rap Lyrics at Trial*, Southwestern University, goodwina@southwestern.edu
- Leilani Mack, *Speak No Evil: The Dangerous Dance of White Supremacist Rhetoric and Free Speech*, University of Arkansas, Immack@uark.edu
- Angelyn Flowers, *Moving towards white christian nationalism: Welcome to the new U.S. of A.*, University of the District of Columbia, aflowers@udc.edu

Author Meets Critic: Black, Not Historically Black: Towards the Pan Black College and University

Room: Madewood A

Chair/Discussant: Joseph Jones, Clark Atlanta University, jjones2@cau.edu

Panelists:

- Elsie Scott, Howard University, elsie.scott@howard.edu
- Kathie Stromile Golden, Mississippi Valley State University, kstromile@aol.com
- Sheila Harmon Martin, University of The District of Columbia, smartin@udc.edu
- D'Andre Orey, Jackson State University, byron.d.orey@jsums.edu

Title: What's the 411? Black News and Media

Room: Madewood B

Chair/Discussant: Jared Clemons, Temple University,

Panelists:

- Ananda Collins, *Shade, Tea & Politics: The Influence of Black Entertainment News on Black Political Mobilization*, Syracuse University, acolli13@syr.edu
- Norris Davis, *Strange Roommates: Discursive Integration in Black Media*, University of California, Berkeley, nldavis1@berkeley.edu
- Isabella Munoz Huaman, *How was Amb. Terence Todman Portrayed by the Latin American Media and Community During His Posts in Spanish-Speaking Countries?*, The University of the District of Columbia, isabeau3007@gmail.com

Roundtable: Global African Politics and Contemporary Struggles

Room: Shadows

Chair/Discussant: Wayne Edge, Lincoln University, wayne.edge@yahoo.com

Panelists:

- Eleonora Ephrem, *The Politics of Ethnicity in Ethiopia: How Governmental Transitions Can Lead to Ethnic Disharmony*, Sewanee: University of the South; ephrees0@sewanee.edu
- Wayne Edge, *The Beautiful Ones Are Born as Children of Development: The Emergence of the Development States of Southern Africa Represents the Rise of an Alternative Civilization*, Lincoln University; wayne.edge@yahoo.com
- Sarah Daniel, *Where We Draw the Line: Exploring Subjective Neighborhood Boundaries in Urban Kenya*, University of California Berkeley; sidaniel@berkeley.edu
- Jane Angar, *From Fragmentation to Recognition: Uniting Marginalized Voices for State Intervention*, University of California, Berkeley; angarjanel@berkeley.edu

**Saturday, March 22: Concurrent Session X:
9:30 AM – 10:45 AM**

Roundtable: Remembering the Life of Dr. Boris E. Ricks

Room: Rosedown A

Welcome & Opening Remarks
Acknowledgment of attendees
Brief reflection on Boris E. Ricks' contributions, Emmitt Y. Riley III
Prayer or Moment of Silence
Reflections from Colleagues & Friends
Academic Legacy: Dr. Lourrie Frasure, University of California, Los Angeles
Personal Impact & Mentorship: Dr. D'Andra Orey, Jackson State University
Community Engagement & Activism: Dr. Christopher Saint Jean, Rutgers University
Open Floor for Brief Remarks
Attendees share brief memories
Closing Reflections
Expression of gratitude to attendees

Title: APSA Oral History Project

Film Screening: APSA Oral History Project: Drs. Errol Henderson and Ollie Johnson

Room: Rosedown B

Chair/Discussant: India Simmons, American Political Science Association; Isabel Thompson, American Political Science Association

Roundtable: Global African Politics and Contemporary Struggles

Room: Madewood B

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

Panelists:

- Uchenna Ezejiofor, *Radical Feminisms in the Context of the US Elections: Lessons from 2024*, Syracuse University; uezejiof@syr.edu
- Horace Campbell, *The Rift in the US Military Deepens: The Stakes are Higher*, Syracuse University; hgcampbe@syr.edu
- Mahder Serekberhan, *Pan-Africanism of the People Confronts Global Militarism and Food Insecurity*, Syracuse University; mhserekb@syr.edu

Roundtable: Building Black Power in an Era of Backlash: Electoral Politics and Grassroots Movements

Room: Madewood A

Chair/Discussant: Misha Cornelius, Howard University, misha.cornelius@bison.howard.edu

Panelists:

- Shannon Thompson, Howard University, shannon.thompson1@bison.howard.edu

- Caleb Brantley, *The Criminalization of Homelessness*, Howard University; caleb.brantley@bison.howard.edu
- Oorebomi (Bomi) Akarakiri, *Eyes and Ears Closed, The Role of Misinformation and Polarization in the 2024 Election*, Howard University; ooreboni.akarakiri@bison.howard.edu

Roundtable: Global African Politics and Contemporary Struggles

Room: Madewood B

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

Panelists:

- Uchenna Ezejiolor, *Radical Feminisms in the Context of the U.S. Elections: Lessons from 2024* Syracuse University; uezejiol@syr.edu
- Horacee Campbell, *The Rift in the U.S. Military Deepens: The Stakes are Higher*, Syracuse University; hgcampbc@syr.edu
- Madher Serekberhan, *Pan-Africanism of the People Confronts Global Militarism and Food Insecurity*, Syracuse University; mhserekb@syr.edu

<p>Saturday, March 22: Concurrent Session XI: 11:00 – 12:15 AM</p>

Roundtable: Documentary Screening: Do you know that you have Black Friends? A Re-Education on Race for White Americans by Black Americans

Room: Madewood A

Chair/Discussant: Timothy E. Lewis, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

Title: American Political Development

Room: Madewood B

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

Panelists:

- India Leneer, *History v. Herstory: Understanding the Media's Coverage of Historic Firsts*, Rutgers University; India.S.Leneer@rutgers.edu
- Elizabeth Walker, *Politics: The Fracturing of a University* College of The Desert; ewalker@collegeofthedesert.edu
- Artemesia Stanberry and Jarvis Hall, *Harris Campaign in North Carolina: A County by County Analysis*; North Carolina Central University

Title: Race, Place, and Space

Room: Shadows

Chair/Discussant: Pearl K. Dowe

Panelists:

- Laila Waddell, *Urban Sprawl Ain't Equal Y'all: The Social and Environmental Interplays of North Carolina's Growth*, North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University, lmwaddell@aggies.ncat.edu
- Tyson King-Meadows, *Structural Inequality and the Soul Crafting of Young Americans: How Race Relations, Families, and Schools Shape Our Democratic Imagination*, Norfolk State University, tkingmeadows@nsu.edu
- Isabelle Soifer, *Unpacking the Affordable Housing Crisis Myth in New York City*, UC Irvine; Rever, isoifer@uci.edu
- Reversing Reform: Policing and Criminal Justice Under Trump's New Administration" (Joshua Miller-No Institutional Affiliation)

Roundtable: Voting Rights Lab- Reducing Barriers to Voting (NCCU & Duke Case Study)

Room: Rosedown B

Chair: Artemesia Stanberry, Associate Professor of Political Science, NCCU and Gunther Peck, Professor of History and Public Policy, Duke University

Panelists:

Angel Amankwaah- NCCU

Annika Aristimuno- Duke University

Olivia Bailey- NCCU

Sachi Gaonkar- Duke University

Cecilia Gyamfi- Duke University

Diamond Morehead- NCCU

Alexis Staten- NCCU

Caprice Seeman- Duke University

Paul Robinson- NCCU

Rae Rackley- Duke University

Bunmi Omisore- Duke University

Title: Fascism Redux: Convergences and Counterpoints

Room Rosedown A

Chair/Discussant: Alan Eladio Gómez, Arizona State University. aeg@asu.edu

Panelists:

- Tiffany Willoughby Herard, *Fascism that Never Left is Ascendant*, University of California, Irvine. twilloug@uci.edu,
- H. L. T. Quan, *Old Wine in Older Bottles*, Arizona State University. h.q@asu.edu,
- Darryl C. Thomas, *Hegemonic Transition, Multipolarity & the Demise of International Liberal Order* Pennsylvania State University dct10@psu.edu

Saturday, March 22: Presidential Inauguration

12:30- 2:30 PM

Location: International Ballroom

Emmitt Y. Riley, III Presiding

Welcome and Call to Order

Blessing of the Food

Greetings from Former NCOBPS Presidents

Dr. Elsie Scott, 1980-81; Dr. Kathie Stromile Golden 1996-97;
Dr. Wendy Smooth, 2013-2015; Dr. Todd C. Shaw, 2015-2017;
Dr. Shayla Nunnally, 2017-2019; Dr. Sekou Franklin, 2019-2021

Introduction of the 43rd President

Passing of the Gavel

Presidential Address

Adjournment

The 43rd President of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists



Dr. Pearl K. Dowe is the 43rd President of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. Dr. Pearl Dowe is the Asa Griggs Candler Professor of Political Science and African American Studies with a joint appointment between Oxford College and Emory College of Arts and Sciences. She is also currently the Vice Provost for Faculty Affairs at Emory University.

Dr. Dowe's most recent research focuses on African American women's political ambition and public leadership. Her 2023 book *The Radical Imagination of Black Women: Ambition, Politics, and Power*, received the Best Book Award by the Race and Ethnicity in Politics Section of the American Political Science Association. Dr. Dowe's 2020 article 'Resisting Marginalization: Black Women's Ambition and Agency,' published in 2020, received the Anna Julia Cooper Best Paper Award from the Association for the Study of Black Women in Politics.

In addition to this work, Dowe's published writing includes co-authorship of [*Remaking the Democratic Party: Lyndon B. Johnson as Native-Son Presidential Candidate*](#) (University of Michigan Press: 2016) and editorship of [*African Americans in Georgia: A Reflection of Politics and Policy Reflection in the New South*](#) (Mercer University Press, 2010). She has also published numerous articles and book chapters throughout her career.

Dr. Dowe is also a leader and mentor in the field of political science. She has held leadership roles in national and regional professional associations and is the National Review of Black Politics co-editor. A Georgia native, Dowe obtained her B.S. from Savannah State University, her M.A. from Georgia Southern University, and her Ph.D. in Political Science from Howard University.

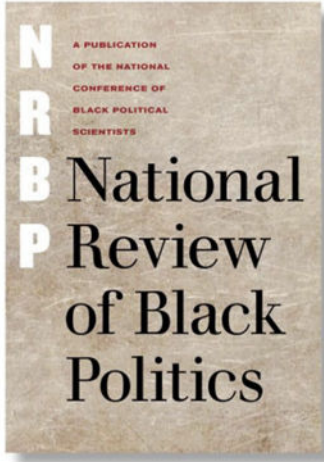
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1972-73	Michael Combs	2003-05
Robert "Bob" Holmes	1987-88	Melissa Nobles
1973-74	Dianne Pinderhughes	2005-07
Tandy Tollerson	1988-89	Desiree Selma
1974-75	Paula L. McClain	Pedescleaux
Leslie B. McLemore	1989-90	2007-09
1975-76	Joseph "Pete" Silver	James Taylor
Jewel Limar Prestage	1990-92	2009-11
1976-77	Franklin D. Jones	Tyson King-Meadows
C. Vernon Gray	1992-93	2011-2013
1977-78	Mamie E. Locke	Wendy Smooth
Larry Moss	1993-94	2013-2015
1978-79	William H. Boone	Todd C. Shaw
William E. Nelson	1994-95	2015-2017
1979-80	Minion K.C. Morrison	Shayla Nunnally
Elsie Scott	1998-99	2017-2019
1980-81	Lenneal J. Henderson	Sekou Franklin
Shelby F. Smith Lewis	1995-96	2019-2021
1981-82	Kathie Stromile Golden	Tiffany Willoughby-
Lorenzo Morris	1996-97	Herard
1982-83	Sheila Ards	2021-2023
Lucius Barker	1997-98	Emmitt Y. Riley, III
1983-84	Joseph P. McCormick	2023-2025
Huey L. Perry	1999-00	

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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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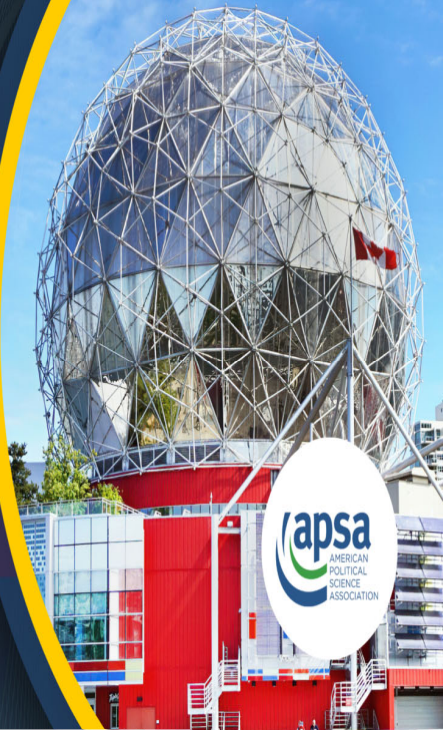
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Boris E. Ricks

February 12, 1947 - April 13, 2023

The National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) honors Dr. Boris E. Ricks, a renowned, nationally-recognized scholar in the fields of Black politics, Racial and Ethnic politics, and Urban politics in the United States. Dr. Ricks was an Associate Professor of Political Science at California State University,

Northridge. He earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Southern California in 2003, specializing in American and Urban Politics. He also held advanced degrees in Political Science (M.A., University of Southern California) and Public Administration (M.P.A., University of Mississippi), along with a B.S. in Criminal Justice from Mississippi Valley State University.

Dr. Ricks was a dedicated teacher and researcher whose work spanned a wide range of subjects. Just as he was committed to uplifting his friends and family, his teaching and research were deeply rooted in his local community. His academic interests centered on the study of government, politics, and political actors, exploring their origins, foundations, and interactions with groups and individuals. Within this broad framework, he focused on issues of power, conflict, popular culture, law, public policy, social justice, equality, voting rights, relative deprivation, and representation. Dr. Ricks used these concepts to analyze the socio-political impact of various issues such as race, ethnicity, gender, poverty, crime, education, environmental justice, health disparities, immigration, and political incorporation, particularly within urban contexts.

His published works included several articles, chapters, and book reviewers featured in *National Political Science Review*, *The Journal of Race and Policy*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *American Review of Politics*, *Journal of American Ethnic Studies*, and *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*. Throughout his distinguished career, Dr. Ricks held numerous academic positions at institutions such as California State University, Fullerton; University of Missouri, Kansas City; Pomona College; and Indiana University, Bloomington. He was widely respected as a scholar, educator, and mentor, making significant contributions to the study of race, politics, and diversity in America. Dr. Ricks was a servant leader who was highly engaged in his community and a proud member of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc.

Dr. Ricks also served the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) with dedication, including as program co-chair in 2010 and co-chair of local arrangements for the 55th annual conference. As we mourn his loss, we honor his legacy as a community-engaged scholar, colleague, and friend, whose work and spirit will continue to influence and inspire generations of scholars and activists. In 2019, Dr. Ricks was honored by the National Conference of Black Political Scientists with the Fannie Lou Hamer Outstanding Community Service Award. The award is given to a member of NCOBPS, who has made exemplary contributions to the growth and development of the African American community in the United States.

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. Boris E. Ricks 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.

NCOBPS will hold a memorial service to commemorate the legacy of our beloved colleagues at the 56th Annual Meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana.

With sympathy,

National Conference of Black Political Scientists

In Memoriam



Huey L. Perry

April 27, 1948 - August 3, 2024

Dr. Huey L. Perry passed away on August 3, 2024. He was born and raised in Moreauville, LA, in Avoyelles Parish, in a loving home with his six siblings by his Christian parents, Adolph and Effie Perry. Dr. Perry graduated from Bethune High School in Marksville and went on to graduate Magna Cum Laude from Grambling College with a B.A. in Political Science, ranking at the top of his class. As a student at Grambling, he became a member of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. He earned both his master's degree and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago. Upon completing his undergraduate studies, he was awarded a fully funded Graduate Fellowship from the William H. Danforth Foundation to pursue his graduate degrees.

Throughout his academic career, Dr. Perry taught at Chicago State University, Loyola University Chicago, Texas A&M University in Bryan/College Station, TX, and Southern University in Baton Rouge. Before serving as Dean of the School of Public Policy at Southern University from 1991 to 1996, he chaired the Political Science Department. After 31 years at the university, he retired in 2014 as a Professor of Political Science, Chancellor's Fellow, and Executive Director of the Institute for Research, Training, and Public Service. In 2023, the SU Board of Supervisors honored him with the title of Professor Emeritus.

Dr. Perry served as President of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists from 1984 to 1985. He received two post-doctoral research awards: a Rockefeller Foundation Research Fellowship for Minority-Group Scholars and a Ford Foundation Fellowship for Minorities. He conducted research for the Rockefeller Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship at Southern University-Baton Rouge and the Ford Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Dr. Perry had an extensive publication record, including two books: **Blacks and the American Political System** (co-edited with Dr. Wayne Parent, Professor of Political Science at LSU in Baton Rouge) and **Race, Politics, and Governance in the United States**—both published by the University Press of Florida. Dr. Perry also published over 40 other works, including book chapters, articles, and symposia. He received numerous academic awards, including the Chancellor's Faculty Excellence Award, the President's Faculty Excellence Award, and the Elton C. Harrison Scholar of the Year Award. He also received two

major grants from the National Science Foundation (NSF), which was a rare achievement for a Social Science Professor, as NSF grants are predominantly awarded to professors in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) fields.

Dr. Perry leaves behind his beloved wife of 52 years, Emma Bradford Perry, retired Professor and Dean of Libraries at Southern University; his son, David Perry; his grandson, Tamion Perry; and his great-granddaughter, Kynsley Perry. He is also survived by two brothers, Earl Perry (Margie) of Los Angeles, CA, and Chris Perry of Union City, CA. Additionally, he is survived by four sisters-in-law: Gracie Bradford of Pearland, TX; Dorothy Dorsey; Lizzie Ferguson; and Cora Thompson of Ruston, LA. He was preceded in death by his son, Jeff Perry; his parents, Adolph and Effie Perry; his brothers, Robert, Gene, and Ray Perry; his sister, Dorothy Drummer; and his brother-in-law, Willie Bradford.

The National Conference of Black Political Scientists extends our sincere sympathy to Dr. Perry's family and the Southern University community.

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With sympathy,
Emmitt Y. Riley, III, NCOBPS President

In Memoriam



Charles V. Hamilton

October 19, 1929 - November 18, 2023

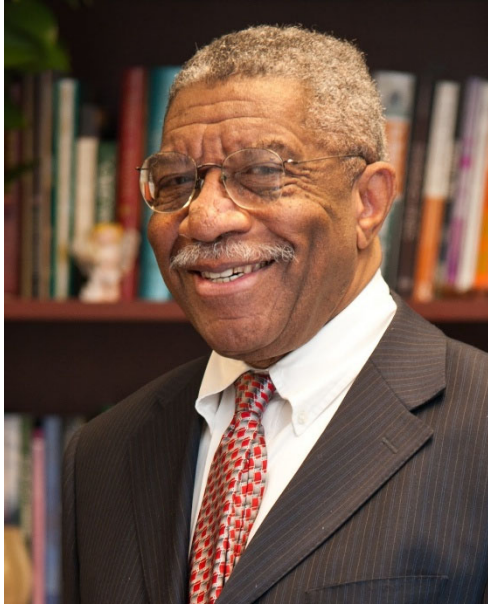
Dr. Hamilton's journey began in Muskogee, Oklahoma, before his family relocated to the southside of Chicago in 1935. A graduate of Roosevelt University and the University of Chicago, he embarked on a remarkable academic career that spanned several institutions. He joined the Tuskegee Institute faculty in 1958 and he returned to the University of Chicago, where he earned a Ph.D. in 1964. He held faculty positions at Rutgers University, Lincoln University (Pennsylvania), and Roosevelt University before joining the Columbia University faculty in 1969. Hamilton retired from the Columbia faculty in 1998 and later moved back to Chicago.

Dr. Hamilton's contributions to political science are immeasurable. His seminal work, "Black Power: The Politics of Liberation," co-authored with Stokely Carmichael, profoundly influenced Black liberation movements worldwide. His scholarly impact extended across a wide array of topics, including his works such as "The Black Preacher in America," "Bench and the Ballot: Southern Federal Judges and Black Voters," "American Government," "Adam Clayton Powell Jr.: The Political Biography of an American Dilemma," and "The Dual Agenda."

In addition to his scholarly achievements, Dr. Hamilton was known for his mentorship and guidance to many in the field. At the National Conference of Black Political Scientists Annual Meeting in Chicago, IL, in 2017, Dr. Valerie Johnson, who served as one of our program chairs, played a pivotal role in organizing a meeting with Dr. Hamilton. During this event, Dr. Hamilton shared insights with NCOBPS members into his writing process for "Black Power" and his experiences in the Black liberation movement, leaving a lasting impact on all who attended.

As we mourn the loss of our esteemed colleague, friend, and mentor, we take solace in the knowledge that Dr. Hamilton's legacy and influence will endure through his works and the lives he touched. On behalf of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, we extend our deepest sympathies to his family, friends, and colleagues during this difficult time.

In Memoriam



Dr. Matthew Holden Jr., renowned political scientist, distinguished educator, and cherished mentor, passed away on January 26, 2025, at the age of 93. A man of profound intellect, unwavering dedication, and boundless curiosity, Dr. Holden's contributions to the field of political science and his commitment to justice and equity have left an indelible mark on academia and beyond.

Dr. Holden held numerous on academic appointments and leadership positions at the American Political Science Association (APSA), serving as the APSA President (98-99), Vice President (76-77), and numerous APSA committees—including the Ethics Committee and the APSR Editorial Board (89-92), the Ralph J. Bunche Award Committee (1983), and the Centennial Campaign Presidents Council (98-03). He specialized in the US

Presidency, the Executive Branch, public administration, and urban politics. He also completed an APSA Oral History Interview in 1993, where he shares his experiences in the discipline of political science. He was also President of the Policy Studies Organization and a Board Member of the Social Science Council. Science and public policy administration at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and remained on the faculty roster until 1981.

In 1976, Dr. Holden accepted an appointment to the Wisconsin Public Service Commission and was appointed to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission by President Jimmy Carter in 1977. In 1998, Dr. Holden was the third Black American to serve as president of the American Political Science Association. He succeeded African Americans Ralph Bunche and Lucius Barker as president.

He served as an endowed chair at the University of Virginia. Dr. Holden's long tenure at the University of Virginia as the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs was marked by his contributions to political theory, public administration, and race and politics. He was not only a scholar of exceptional insight and incisiveness, but also a teacher whose classroom was a space of vibrant debate and transformative learning. His students admired his ability to challenge conventional thought, inspiring generations to think critically and act purposefully.

Beyond his academic endeavors, Dr. Holden authored several influential works, including *The Politics of the Black "Nation"* and *Continuity and Disruption: Essays in Public Administration*.

These works remain seminal contributions, reflecting his commitment to exploring complex social dynamics and advocating for systemic change.

Holden also received an honorary L.L.D. degree from Tuskegee University in 1985, and the Otto Wirth Award from the Roosevelt University Alumni Association in 1998. Two years later, he was awarded an honorary L.H.D. degree from the Virginia Theological Seminary. In 2012, Holden's biography was entered into the U.S. Congressional Record.”