

*That elsewhere is the sharing arrangements that have been the backbone of every single opportunity I have had in higher education and that I have modeled as an ethics of care and an ethics of material survival for my own students.*

By Tiffany Willoughby-Herard (2019)

### Changing the Conditions—Poetic Demands

I was already post-tenure when I wrote a grant titled, “Evicting Our Best: The Political Work of Doing Political Science as a Scholar of Color at UC Irvine,” which enabled me to secure modest funding from my campus diversity office to pay for eight underrepresented students to attend their first national academic conference: the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. For the first time, I was able to bring students to a conference without them going into debt and without maxing out my credit cards.

Where are those students now—just three years later? One defended a dissertation on March 8, 2019; another graduated from George Washington University’s graduate program spring 2019; another graduated from Rutgers University’s graduate program; another graduated from Claremont Seminary of Theology’s doctoral program; one is in the first year of a multi-year Fulbright Fellowship in Latin America; another is in the first year of a tenure-track job; several are working at high-paying jobs in higher education at Research One universities and applying to graduate school; others are doing archival research and working on first dissertation chapters. Representing diversity in age, race, country of origin, religion, and sexual orientation and gender identity, these students read one another’s papers and Power Points, provided key pointers for presentation style, and provided childcare during absences from home—for each other.

Reflecting on the practices associated with helping my students see how deserving they are to attend graduate school is tempered by reflection on many of our colleagues nationally who use their classrooms to discourage first-generation and underrepresented minority students from going forward. My understanding is tempered by my white colleagues, who diminish my leadership in this area with pretend care and concern about how I “have nothing to contribute” while they are busy trying to position themselves as modern-day Friends of the Negro and Friends of the Native. I am convinced that graduate education is the single-most important factor in enabling our future colleagues to see their worth, their value, and their own capacity for working with others to contribute in deeply meaningful ways to society and the world. The neoliberalization of higher education has yielded an impoverished undergraduate experience, where at large historically white R1 institutions far too often students graduate having had only a few transformative classroom experiences in which their lives as thinkers, researchers, and writers were affirmed, challenged, upended, or remapped.

I was told recently by the director of diversity at my campus to “be more playful.” I heard it as a codeword for being more strategic and for shifting from leading from behind to leading in front. I am still deciding what I think about that advice. However, in the meantime, I will keep encouraging my future colleagues to take themselves seriously as thinkers and creating opportunities for them to do that. I will continue to

warn them about people who want to help them for the wrong reasons and to teach them how to check me when I forget to accompany them. To the extent that I can clear space for them to access all of the languages and genres and research methodologies available to them—and those yet unthought—to “charter th[eir own] revolutionary demand[s],” I will continue my work of writing poetry and testifying. I am part of an insurgent political movement in higher education. I am here to testify, to write, and to return what has been stolen from generations yet to come. ■

### NOTES

1. Jessica Millward, University of California, Irvine–Morgan State University, (Black) Digital Humanities Pathways Program, Grant Application, March 15, 2019.
2. See Wilder’s (2014) exhaustive study of the role of enslaved persons in the colonies in the Americas; Mabokela and Magubane’s (2004) anthology, which pivots around Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) and Lord Alfred Milner’s (1854–1925) statements about universities being the institutional renderings of African flesh boiled—both metaphorically and literally; Robinson’s (2007) reflections on the Smithsonian Institution; and the body of civil-rights law regarding the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (Wilder 1990). All seem to indicate the ways in which higher education has and continues to serve a mediating institutional function for raw biopolitical, libidinal, and material violence.

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### JACKSON STATE UNIVERSITY: CHALLENGING MINDS AND CULTIVATING THE POLITICAL SCIENCE PIPELINE

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Numerous studies have shown that the lack of racial diversity within academic spaces impacts the sense of belonging and inclusion by members who are racial minorities. This glaring fact impacts not only how undergraduate students calculate their ability to obtain a doctoral degree in political science but also their perceptions of the feasibility of a future career as a political science professor. Our experiences at Jackson State University (JSU) highlight a model that presents a stark difference to the traditional trajectory. The political science department at JSU provided us with the privilege to engage with many political science faculty members of color who served

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as mentors and trained us to conduct independent research. Working with these faculty members as undergraduates shifted our perspectives on the discipline, our ability to navigate a doctoral program, and our decisions to pursue a career in academia. We contend that the political science department at JSU can serve as a model to assist in building the pipeline to increase racial diversity in the discipline. This article discusses three important elements of JSU's undergraduate political science program that have been key in its efforts to build and sustain the political science pipeline: early exposure to research, mentorship, and resources.

### Early Exposure

Early exposure to research and political scientists of color is crucial for engaging students of color in political science research because of undergraduates' information scarcity about it and the possibility of pursuing doctoral degrees. For many political science undergraduates, attending law school and becoming a lawyer is the primary reason for pursuing a degree in political science. Given how glamorized the occupation is, our motivation upon entering our university was no different. Before starting college, many undergraduates are unaware of what social science research is or what a profession as a political scientist entails. Common skills and interests that many political science undergraduates share—regardless of career choice—are the ability to ask questions, seek answers, and offer opinions about societal issues. Thus, one successful strategy to increase undergraduates' interest in pursuing a political science career is first to help them understand how these skills and interests can be applied to political science research and a career as a professor of political science. Under the guidance and advisement of JSU political science professors, we gained an early understanding of how our motivation for pursuing a law degree could also be achieved and even enhanced by learning to conduct social science research and pursuing a career in political science.

*For example, JSU undergraduates routinely attend the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS), where they present their research and cultivate community with other political science professors and students.*

To build and sustain students' interests in political science during their undergraduate years, it is essential that they be exposed to political science research as early and as often as possible. For example, each of us conducted research with and was mentored by JSU professor of political science, Byron D'Andrea Orey. We enrolled in Professor Orey's American politics introduction course as freshmen, unaware that the course would introduce us to new academic possibilities. Professor Orey and other JSU faculty expose students in their courses to research from the discipline's cannon. However, they also incorporate research in class discussions that is provocative and relevant to current political events, with much of the research authored by black political scientists. In class discussions and assignments, Professor Orey allows students to engage in dialogues about research, but he also trains them during these discussions by emphasizing the need to have scientific evidence to support

their opinions. The students who find the exercises to be enjoyable also are motivated to voluntarily join Orey's research lab. As undergraduates, we were a part of his research lab and worked on multiple projects with him. For example, one project experimentally investigated how media exposure to racially traumatic stressful events (i.e., police shootings of unarmed black men) impacts black voters' political participation, racial attitudes, and public and private regard. We found conducting research to be particularly interesting because Orey made us aware that we could contribute new knowledge to society and engage existing political claims. We also found value in the possibility that we could use research as a tool to elucidate and mitigate issues facing communities of color.

### Mentorship

Mentorship is also critical for sustaining students' engagement and interest in research and for obtaining a political science doctoral degree. Many students of color may have competing family, financial, and personal obligations, which could impact their ability to continue to build their research experiences and apply to graduate school. Faculty at JSU ensure that they are available to meet regularly with students to stay updated on their academic progress and offer advice on how to navigate any personal challenges that they may encounter. They also provide undergraduate students with information about research conferences and connect them with political science faculty to establish their mentorship relationships, build professional networks, and acclimate to the profession. For example, JSU undergraduates routinely attend the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS), where they present their research and cultivate community with other political science professors and students. Attending NCOBPS contributed to our sense of belonging in the discipline and further motivated our decisions to pursue a doctoral degree in political science instead of other social science and humanities disciplines.

### Resources

While attempting to recruit undergraduate students of color, political science graduate programs must also compete with other more familiar and easily accessible career fields (e.g., nonprofit organizations and governmental agencies). These career choices usually offer better short-term financial benefits compared to the often-meager graduate student stipends offered by most doctoral programs. Thus, students should be made aware of the long-term financial, career, and personal benefits available by pursuing a career in political science. In regard to short-term resources, students should learn about paid research assistantships at their home institutions and summer research programs at other universities. At JSU, students are paid stipends to work as research assistants. These opportunities are made possible through grants received from organizations including the National Science Foundation (NSF). In addition to JSU assistantships, students have

been successful in obtaining fully funded research opportunities at other institutions during their summer breaks. In fact, in the past five years, more than 12 JSU political science undergraduates have secured research fellowships with programs and institutions including Howard University, Princeton University, Purdue University, Harvard University, University of California, Irvine, University of California, Berkeley, Michigan State University, Ralph Bunche Institute, Leadership Alliance, and McNair Scholars Program. Upon completion of these programs, students are given the opportunity to apply their research by presenting at various conferences, such as JSU's Center for Undergraduate Research conference and the Pi Sigma Alpha annual undergraduate conference. These opportunities are important for continuing to cultivate students' research interests and training, which prepares them for graduate school. Securing these competitive fellowships also demonstrates to students that they have the potential to pursue a doctoral degree and an academic career conducting independent research on topics that interest them. These summer programs also provide students with information regarding the graduate school application process, the elements and requirements of doctoral programs, and insight on tenure-track academic careers. More importantly, many of these programs provide students with graduate school application-fee waivers to offset the financial burden that impacts how many and to which doctoral programs students are likely to apply. Given the important resources and information that students typically acquire during participation in summer fellowships, JSU students become better prepared to apply to doctoral programs, receive admission, and successfully complete the program.

### Conclusion

Our experiences, along with those of many other JSU political science alumni who have obtained political science doctoral degrees or are currently enrolled in a political science doctoral program, highlight the transformative work that is done by Professor Orey and other JSU faculty to build the political science pipeline. The placement of JSU undergraduates in political science programs speaks to the effectiveness of JSU's initiative to build the pipeline to serve as a practical model that other undergraduate programs could follow.

For instance, during Professor Orey's 10 years as a faculty member at JSU, nine of his former undergraduate students and four graduate students are currently enrolled in political science doctoral programs. Three have already obtained their doctoral degree in political science, and one currently serves as an assistant professor. Given the fact that African Americans comprise only 4% of APSA's membership, the diversity-pipeline initiatives occurring at JSU illustrate the need to allocate resources to building the pipeline at historically black universities and other minority-serving institutions. Other programs can examine JSU's political science undergraduate program for strategies that will encourage undergraduate students of color to pursue doctoral degrees and diversify the discipline. Increasing diversity within political science not only increases the sense of belonging of current faculty and graduate students of color; it also fundamentally shapes the research questions that we ask as a discipline and helps us to offer better knowledge and solutions to mitigating sociopolitical issues that we currently face in society. ■

### THE COLLABORATIVE MULTIRACIAL POST-ELECTION SURVEY (CMPS): BUILDING THE ACADEMIC PIPELINE THROUGH DATA ACCESS, PUBLICATION, AND NETWORKING OPPORTUNITIES

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The Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey (CMPS) is changing the way high-quality survey data are collected among racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Through collaboration and inclusiveness, the CMPS also broadens the scope of who has access to high-quality survey data in academia and beyond. In spring 2016, scholars around the country were invited to join a cooperative to self-fund the survey through the purchase of question content by contributors. Led by co-Principal Investigators Matt Barreto (UCLA), Lorrie Frasure-Yokley (UCLA), Edward Vargas (Arizona State University), and Janelle Wong (University of Maryland–College Park), the 2016 CMPS represents the first cooperative, multi-racial, multiethnic, multilingual, post-election online survey in race, ethnicity, and politics (REP) in the United States. All questions were generated through funding contributions from a national team of more than 85 researchers from 55 colleges and universities across 17 academic disciplines.

More than producing a unique national-survey dataset, the CMPS builds a diverse academic pipeline of scholars in political science and the social sciences more broadly. In the two years after the launch of the 2016 CMPS, we brought together through research collaborations, workshops, and writing retreats a diverse and multidisciplinary group of more than 150 researchers at varying stages of their academic career. What sets the CMPS project apart from other cooperative surveys? First, we focus on obtaining a diverse sample representing a range of racial and ethnic groups, using an in-language survey format (including several Asian languages). Second, and most important, the project is dedicated to recruiting and supporting collaborators from non-R1 universities, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSI).

For the 2016 CMPS, we queried 10,145 people in five languages: English, Spanish, Chinese (simplified and traditional), Korean, and Vietnamese. The 2016 CMPS included large and generalizable samples of blacks ( $n=3,102$ ), Latinos ( $n=3,003$ ), Asian and Pacific Islanders ( $n=3,006$ ), and whites ( $n=1,034$ ), which allowed for an individual racial group analysis or comparative analysis across groups. The result of the project was a unique survey that included a broad range of survey questions emanating from a diversity of disciplines, including political science, sociology, psychology, public health, American studies, Latino studies, African American studies, and Asian American studies. Our article, "Best Practices in Collecting Online Data with Asian, Black, Latino, and White Respondents: Evidence from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey," describes our sampling methods, including a stratified listed/density quota-sampling approach to multilingual