

**HAKEEM JEFFERSON**  
Department of Political Science  
Stanford University  
hakeem@stanford.edu

www.hakeemjefferson.com

Social scientist interested in questions related to race and politics, Black politics, identity, stigma, political behavior, political psychology, political communication, and public opinion

## **ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

**Stanford University**, Stanford, CA

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, May 2019-Present  
Faculty Affiliate, Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law  
Faculty Affiliate, Center for the Comparative Study of Race and Ethnicity

Assistant Professor (Subject to Ph.D.), Department of Political Science, July 2018-May 2019

## **EDUCATION**

**University of Michigan**, Ann Arbor, MI

Ph.D., Political Science, 2019

Major Field: American Politics; Minor Field: Political Methodology

Dissertation: *Policing Norms: Punishment and the Politics of Respectability among Black Americans*

Co-Winner of American Political Science Association Political Psychology Section Best Dissertation Award

Dissertation Committee: Vincent Hutchings (Chair), Ted Brader, Allison Earl (Psychology), Donald Kinder, Rob Mickey

**University of South Carolina**, Columbia, SC

BA, Political Science and African American Studies, *Magna Cum Laude*, 2011

## **BOOK PROJECT**

Respectability: Identity, Stigma, and the Politics of Punishment among Black Americans (In Progress)

## **PEER REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS**

Jefferson, Hakeem. "The Curious Case of Black Conservatives: Assessing the Validity of the Liberal-Conservative Scale among Black Americans." *Forthcoming at Public Opinion Quarterly*

Jefferson, Hakeem. 2023. "The Politics of Respectability and Black Americans' Punitive Attitudes." *American Political Science Review*, 1-17.

Bonica, Adam, Grumbach, Jacob M., Hill, Charlotte, and Jefferson, Hakeem. 2021. "All-mail Voting in Colorado Increases Turnout and Reduces Turnout Inequality." *Electoral Studies*, 72, 102363.

Jefferson, Hakeem, Neuner, Fabian G., and Pasek, Josh. 2021. "Seeing Blue in Black and White: Race and Perceptions of Officer-Involved Shootings." *Perspectives on Politics*, 19(4), 1165-1183.

Craemer, Thomas, Shaw, Todd C., Edwards, Courtney, and Jefferson, Hakeem. 2013. "'Race Still Matters, However...': Implicit Identification with Blacks, Pro-Black Policy Support and the Obama Candidacy." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(6), 1047-1069.

## **OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

Jefferson, Hakeem, Gandara, José Luis, Cohen, Cathy J., González, Yanilda M., Thorpe, Rebecca U., and Weaver, Vesla M. 2023. "Beyond the Ballot Box: A Conversation About Democracy and Policing in the United States." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 26. (Editor commissioned)

Hutchings, Vincent and Hakeem Jefferson. 2017. "The Sociological Approach and the Social-Psychological Approach." In *The Routledge Handbook of Elections, Voting Behavior and Public Opinion*, Justin Fisher, Edward Fieldhouse, Mark N. Franklin, Rachel Gibson, Marta Cantijoch and Wlezien (Editors).

## **MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW** (Drafts available upon request)

"Deconstructing Race" (with Lauren Davenport and Hunter Rendleman)

"White racial identity, political attitudes, and selective exposure to information about racism (with Koji Takahashi and Allison Earl)

## **MANUSCRIPTS IN PROGRESS** (Drafts available upon request)

"A Shanda: In-group Policing and Perceptions of Collective Costs in Unequal Societies" (with Taiwo Mustafa)

"Can Black People Be Middle Class? Examining Americans' Implicit and Explicit Associations between Race and Class" (with Nico Studen and Alan Yan)

"When the Powerful Feel Voiceless: Racial Voicelessness and Feelings of Power among White Americans" (with Koji Takahashi)

## **DORMANT WORKING PAPERS**

"The Color of Our Skin and the Content of Our Politics: Exploring the Effects of Skin Tone on Policy Preferences Among African Americans" (with Nicole Yadon, Neil Lewis, and Vincent Hutchings)

## **INVITED TALKS, PANELS, AND RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS**

University of California, San Diego Rady School of Management, Seminar Series, April 2024

University of Pittsburgh, Center for the Study of American Politics and Society, April 2024

London School of Economics, Social Categories and the Politics of Status, February 2024

Stanford Graduate School of Business, Black Executive Leaders Program, September 2023

Brookings Institution, September 2023

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Diversity Institute, June 2023

UNC Chapel Hill, Center for Information, Technology, and Public Life, Speaker Series, March 2023

University of Chicago, American Politics Workshop, March 2023

New York University, American Politics Workshop, November 2022

Johns Hopkins University, Department of Political Science Speaker Series, November 2022

University of California, San Diego, Political Economy Workshop, October 2022  
 Center for Advanced Study in the Behavior Sciences, Guest Speaker, September 2022  
 Stanford Graduate School of Business, Black Executive Leaders Program, September 2022  
 Stanford Center for Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Draeper Hills Fellows, August 2022  
 University of California, San Diego, Race and Ethnic Politics Workshop, January 2022  
 Yale University, American Politics & Public Policy Workshop, January 2022  
 Stanford Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, January 6 Riot Conversation, January 2022  
 Harvard Kennedy School Ash Center, American Politics Speaker Series, December 2021  
 Stanford Democracy Day Panel, "Is Democracy in Danger?," November 2021  
 UCLA Race, Ethnicity, Politics, & Society Lab (REPS), March 2021  
 Race, Ethnicity, and Democratic Erosion in Comparative Perspective, March 2021  
 Harvard University, Social Psychology "Lunch" Series, March 2021  
 APSA Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior and Political Psychology Virtual Seminar, March 2021  
 Essex University, Government Dept. Speaker Series, March 2021  
 Stanford CCSRE, "How We Got Here: Whiteness, Higher Ed & the Insurgence," February 2021  
 University of Virginia, American Politics Speaker Series, November 2020  
 Stanford Freeman Spogli Institute, "The Historic 2020 Elections" Panel, November 2020  
 Berkeley Haas, Behavioral Sciences Colloquium Series, October 2020  
 Columbia University, American Politics Speaker Series, October 2020  
 Arizona State University, Political Psych. Perspectives on Norms and Racial Politics, November 2019  
 Princeton University, Princeton Policing Conference, November 2019  
 Indiana University, Center on American Politics, October 2019  
 MIT, American Politics Conference, September 2019  
 University of Michigan, ICPSR Blalock Lecture, August 2018

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

American Political Science Association: 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020  
 Midwest Political Science Association: 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019  
 National Conference of Black Political Scientists: 2019  
 Symposium on the Politics of Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity 2015

## GRANTS AND AWARDS

Russell Sage Foundation (with Josh Pasek and Fabian Neuner) (\$146,215), 2022  
 Center for Advanced Study in the Behavior Sciences Fellow, 2021-2022  
 APSA Political Psychology Section Best Dissertation Award, 2020  
 Gerald Ford Fellowship, 2017-2018  
 Gerald Ford Research Grant (\$2,950), 2017-2018  
 Garth Taylor Fellowship in Public Opinion (\$10,000), 2017  
 Vivian Sangunett Summer Fellowship (\$5,000), 2017  
 Rackham Candidate Research Grant (\$3,000), 2017  
 Political Science Department Research Grant (\$2,000), 2016  
 UofM Office of Research Small Projects Grant (with Fabian Neuner and Josh Pasek) (\$6,250), 2016  
 John Kingdon Teaching Award, 2014  
 Rackham Merit Fellowship, 2011-2016

## TEACHING

*Stanford University*  
 Identity Politics 101 (Freshman Seminar)

Identity Politics (Graduate Seminar)  
Introduction to American Politics and Policy (Undergraduate Lecture)

*University of Michigan*

Blacks in the American Political System (Instructor of Record)  
Contemporary Issues in American Politics (Greg Markus, Professor)  
Media and Public Opinion (Ted Brader, Professor)  
Introduction to American Politics (Ken Kollman, Professor)  
Quantitative Methods Research Design Module in Residential College

## **SERVICE**

Midwest Political Science Association's Committee for the Status of Racial and Ethnic Minorities, 2023-Present  
International Society of Political Psychology, Governing Counsel, 2023-Present  
American Journal of Political Science Editorial Board, 2021-Present  
Journal of Politics Editorial Board, 2021-Present  
American Political Science Assoc. Political Psychology Section Best Dissertation Award Committee Chair, 2021  
International Society of Political Psychology Section Chair, 2021  
Western Political Science Best Dissertation Award Committee Chair, 2020  
American Politics Field Convener, 2019-2020  
American Political Science Assoc. Race and Ethnic Politics Section Best Paper Award Committee, 2019-2020

Referee: American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, The Journal of Politics, Political Behavior, Du Bois Review, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Journal of Race and Ethnic Politics, American Politics Research, Perspectives on Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Communication Research, Public Opinion Quarterly, National Review of Black Politics, TESS, Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Politics, Groups, and Identities, Routledge, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, Russell Sage Foundation

Professional Memberships: American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Western Political Science Association, Society for Personality and Social Psychology, International Society of Political Science

## **CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS CONVENED**

*Race and the American Criminal Justice System: Where Do We Go From Here?* (June 2020)

Following death of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota, convened roundtable of scholars working on race and criminal justice system. To date, event viewed by more than 5,000 people. <https://vimeo.com/426121822>

*University of Michigan Symposium* (January 2018)

Organized and hosted university-wide symposium, *The Other America: Still Separate. Still Unequal.*, in January 2018 focused on racial inequality in the U.S. (w/ Steven Moore). See video playlist from event at <https://goo.gl/FfwWyS>

## **PUBLIC WRITING**

Jefferson, Hakeem. July 2023. "Is America's Rigid Racial Hierarchy Compatible with Democracy?" <https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/multiracial-democracy-frederick-douglass-18183170.php>

Jefferson, Hakeem. Jan. 2022. “What Would MLK Say About this Moment in American History? We Don’t Have to Guess.” <https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/What-would-MLK-say-about-this-moment-in-American-16777631.php>

Jefferson, Hakeem. Jan. 2022. “Holding the Jan. 6 Insurrections Accountable Isn’t Enough to Save American Democracy.” <https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/Holding-the-Jan-6-insurrectionists-accountable-16752464.php>

Jefferson, Hakeem and Victor Ray. Jan. 2022. “White Backlash is a Type of Racial Reckoning, Too.” <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/white-backlash-is-a-type-of-racial-reckoning-too/>

Jefferson, Hakeem and Michael Tesler. Nov. 2021. “Why White Voters with Racist Views Often Still Support Black Republicans.” <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-racist-white-voters-often-favor-black-republicans/>

Chudy, Jennifer and Hakeem Jefferson. May 2021. “Support for Black Lives Matter Surged Last Year. Did it Last?” <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/22/opinion/blm-movement-protests-support.html>

Jefferson, Hakeem and Koji Takahashi. May 2021. “How the Politics of White Liberals and White Conservatives are Shaped by Whiteness.” <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/how-the-politics-of-white-liberals-and-white-conservatives-are-shaped-by-whiteness/>

Jefferson, Hakeem. Jan. 2021. “Storming the U.S. Capitol Was About Maintaining White Power in America.” FiveThirtyEight. <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/storming-the-u-s-capitol-was-about-maintaining-white-power-in-america/>

Jefferson, Hakeem and Alan Yan. Oct. 2020. “How the Two-Party System Obscures the Complexity of Black Americans’ Politics.” FiveThirtyEight. <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/how-the-two-party-system-obscures-the-complexity-of-black-americans-politics/>

Jefferson, Hakeem, Fabian G. Neuner, and Josh Pasek. June 2020. “Black Americans Support the Floyd Protests. Whites are Divided. Here’s Why.” The Monkey Cage. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/10/black-americans-support-floyd-protests-whites-are-divided-heres-why/>

Hill, Charlotte, Jacob Grumbach, Adam Bonica, and Hakeem Jefferson. May 4, 2020. “We Should Never Have to Vote in Person Again.” The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/04/opinion/coronavirus-vote-by-mail.html>

Jefferson, Hakeem and Neil Lewis. April 2018. “Starbucks Won’t Have any Idea Whether its Diversity Training Works.” The Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/posteverything/wp/2018/04/23/starbucks-wont-have-any-idea-whether-its-diversity-training-works/>

Pasek, Josh, Hakeem Jefferson, Fabian Neuner, and Katie Brown. “Race Defines Americans’ Views on Ferguson Shooting.” Detroit Free Press. <https://www.freep.com/story/opinion/contributors/2014/11/17/ferguson-shooting-grand-jury-police-cop-michael-brown/19179241/>

## **COMMENTARY FEATURED IN PUBLIC OUTLETS**

The Washington Post. Feb. 15, 2023. “What Nikki Haley and Tim Scott are Offering Republicans.” <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/02/15/haley-scott-republicans-race/>

Democracy Now. Dec. 23, 2022. “This is a Racial Backlash.” Stanford Prof. Hakeem Jefferson on Role of White Supremacy in Capitol Attack.” [https://www.democracynow.org/2022/12/23/january\\_6\\_final\\_report\\_racism\\_white](https://www.democracynow.org/2022/12/23/january_6_final_report_racism_white)

NPR. Aug. 23, 2022. “At the Jan. 6 Hearings, Race Isn’t Discussed Much. Still, It’s a Central Issue.” <https://www.npr.org/2022/08/23/1117993012/january-6th-hearings-race>

NPR’s All Things Considered. Aug. 16, 2022. “The Unspoken Role of Race in the Jan. 6 Riot.” <https://www.npr.org/2022/08/16/1117762232/the-unspoken-role-of-race-in-the-jan-6-riot>

San Francisco Chronicle. July 27, 2022 “What Does S.F.’s Unprecedented Black Leadership Mean for Disappearing Black Residents?” <https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/justinphillips/article/S-F-has-unprecedented-Black-leadership-What-17332599.php>

PBS News Weekend. June 11, 2022. “How Race Played a Role in the Capitol Insurrection.” <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/how-race-played-a-role-in-the-capitol-insurrection>

Inside Higher Ed. Jan. 6, 2022. “Scholars Describe How Jan. 6 Affected Their Work.” <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2022/01/06/scholars-describe-how-jan-6-affected-their-work>

CNN. Jan. 6, 2022. “What January 6 Revealed About the Attack on Multiracial Democracy.” <https://www.cnn.com/2022/01/06/politics/january-6-race-deconstructed-newsletter/index.html>

Vox. Jan. 3, 2022. “How Does This End? Where the Crisis in American Democracy Might Be Headed.” <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/22814025/democracy-trump-january-6-capitol-riot-election-violence>

The New York Times. Sept. 30, 2021. “How the Media Repeated ‘Missing White Woman Syndrome’ in Petito Case.” <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/22/business/media/gabby-petito-missing-white-woman-syndrome.html>

The New York Times. June 26, 2021. “Progressives’ Urgent Question How to Win Over Voters of Color.” <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/us/politics/progressives-black-latino-voters.html>

NPR’s Code Switch. June 9, 2021. “The Racial Reckoning that Wasn’t” <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/1004467239>

The New York Times. January 23, 2021. “How Alvin the Beagle Helped Usher in a Democratic Senate.” <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/23/us/politics/raphael-warnock-puppy.html>

The New York Times. January 18, 2021. “This M.L.K. Day, America Has a ‘Long Road Ahead’” <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/18/us/politics/mlk-day-capitol-riot-trump.html>

FiveThirtyEight Politics Podcast. January 11, 2021. “Why Trump’s Second Impeachment Will Be a Political Test for Both Republicans and Democrats.” <https://fivethirtyeight.com/videos/why-trumps-second-impeachment-will-be-a-political-test-for-both-parties/>

NBC News. October 27, 2020. “‘A stronghold of the Democratic Party’: How Older Black Voters Could Propel Biden to Victory.” <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/why-black-voters-over-65-are-core-potential-joe-biden-n1244871>

The New York Times. August 25, 2020. “The R.N.C.’s Not-So-Subtle Undertones.” <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/25/us/politics/the-rncs-not-so-subtle-undertones.html>

FiveThirtyEight. August 3, 2020. “Many Americans are Convinced Crime is Rising in the U.S. They’re Wrong.” <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/many-americans-are-convinced-crime-is-rising-in-the-u-s-theyre-wrong/>

The New York Times Magazine. June 30, 2020. “What is Owed.” <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/06/24/magazine/reparations-slavery.html>

The New York Times. June 17, 2020. “One Big Difference About George Floyd Protests: Many White Faces.” <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/us/george-floyd-white-protesters.html>

The New York Times. April 29, 2020. “Trump Hasn’t Given Up on Divide and Conquer.” <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/29/opinion/trump-hasnt-given-up-on-divide-and-conquer.html>

FiveThirtyEight. April 7, 2020. “Did Sanders Blow it for the Democratic Left? Or Was the Nomination Always Out of Reach?” <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/did-sanders-blow-it-for-the-democratic-left-or-was-the-nomination-always-out-of-reach/>

FiveThirtyEight. October 2, 2019. “Why Black Voters Prefer Establishment Candidates Over Liberal Alternatives.” <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-do-black-democrats-usually-prefer-establishment-candidates/>

NPR’s Code Switch. March 13, 2019. “Respect Yourself” <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/692206390>

## **DISSERTATION ADVISING**

Member: Alejandra Aldridge, political science, Stanford (completed)  
Member: Ellen Chapin, political science, Stanford Ph.D. candidate  
Member: Katie Clayton, political science, Stanford Ph.D. candidate  
Member: Carl Gustafson, political science, Stanford Ph.D. candidate  
Member: Nathan Lee, political science, Stanford (completed)  
Member: Rachel Lienesch, political science, Stanford Ph.D. candidate  
Member: Koji Takahashi, social psychology, Michigan (completed)  
Member: Donovan Watts, political science, Indiana University Ph.D. candidate

## **UNDERGRADUATE THESIS ADVISING**

Sophia Helfand  
Lenny DeFoe  
Eljjiah Buenarte  
Teiana Gonsalves  
José Gandara