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 Director, Program on Identity, Democracy, and Justice, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, 2023-Present

Faculty Affiliate, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, 2022-Present

Faculty Affiliate, Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity, 2018-Present

Faculty Research Fellow, Clayman Institute for Gender Research, 2025-2026

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

Jefferson, Hakeem. *Respectability Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. In production.

PEER REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

Davenport, Lauren D., Hakeem Jefferson, and Hunter E. Rendleman. Forthcoming. "The Politics of Black Classification: Sociopolitical Cues and Racial Perception." *Perspectives on Politics*.

Jefferson, Hakeem. 2024. "The Curious Case of Black 'Conservatives': Assessing the Validity of the Liberal-Conservative Scale among Black Americans." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 88(3), 909-932.

Jefferson, Hakeem. 2023. "The Politics of Respectability and Black Americans' Punitive Attitudes." *American Political Science Review*, 117(4), 1448-1464.

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.

MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW (DRAFTS AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST)

"White Racial Identity, Political Attitudes, and Selective Exposure to Information about Racism" (with Koji Takahashi and Allison Earl). Invited to revise and resubmit at the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.

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 Christopher Wlezien (Editors).

MANUSCRIPTS IN PROGRESS

"One of Us: Discrimination, Collective Costs, and Ingroup Policing among Black Americans"

"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)

INVITED TALKS, PANELS, AND RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

Vanderbilt University, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 2026-2027 academic year (date TBD)

University of Wisconsin-Madison, American Politics Workshop, September 2026 (scheduled)

University of Notre Dame, Rooney Democracy Institute, Keeping the Republic Conference, May 2026

University of Chicago, American Politics Workshop, April 2026

Northwestern University, Joint American Politics and Race and Politics Workshop, April 2026

University of Toronto, Department of Political Science Seminar Series, November 2025

Ohlone College, Lytton Center for History and the Public Good, November 2025

University of Michigan, Interdisciplinary Workshop in Race, Ethnicity, and Politics (I-REP), March 2025

Green Apple Books, San Francisco, interlocutor for Wendy Salkin, *Speaking for Others*, September 2024

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Author Meets Critics Panel on Paul Pierson and Eric Schickler, *Partisan Nation: The Dangerous New Logic of American Politics in a Nationalized Era*, September 2024

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Diversity Institute, July 2024

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

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Author Meets Critics Panel on Alexandra Filindra, *Race, Rights, and Rifles: The Origins of the NRA and Contemporary Gun Culture*, 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 Behavioral Sciences, Guest Speaker, September 2022

Stanford Graduate School of Business, Black Executive Leaders Program, September 2022

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Author Meets Critics Panel on Lagina Gause, *The Advantage of Disadvantage*, September 2022

University of California, San Diego, Race and Ethnic Politics Workshop, January 2022

Yale University, American Politics & Public Policy Workshop, January 2022

Harvard Kennedy School Ash Center, American Politics Speaker Series, December 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

University of Virginia, American Politics Speaker Series, 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

Conference on the Politics of Discrimination (CEPDISC), October 2026 (scheduled). "One of Us: Discrimination, Collective Costs, and Ingroup Policing among Black Americans."

American Political Science Association: 2020, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015

Midwest Political Science Association: 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2015, 2014

National Conference of Black Political Scientists: 2019

Symposium on the Politics of Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity: 2015

GRANTS AND AWARDS

Clayman Institute for Gender Research Faculty Research Fellowship, Stanford University, 2025-2026. Supports faculty research on gender and social life.

Russell Sage Foundation (with Josh Pasek and Fabian Neuner) ($146,215), 2022

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences Fellow, Stanford University, 2021-2022. Residential fellowship awarded annually to a cohort of scholars across the behavioral sciences; held as the SAGE Sara Miller McCune Fellow.

APSA Political Psychology Section Best Dissertation Award (co-winner), 2020. Recognizes the best dissertation in political psychology.

Gerald Ford Research Grant, University of Michigan ($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, University of Michigan, 2014. Departmental award for excellence in teaching.

Rackham Merit Fellowship, University of Michigan, 2011-2016

TEACHING

Stanford University

American Politics and Policy: In Defense of Democracy (POLISCI 102/PUBLPOL 101/AMSTUD 123X; Undergraduate Lecture; co-taught with Adam Bonica; offered annually)

American Politics and Policy: In Defense of Democracy (POLISCI 102; 8-week summer offering for a mixed high school and college audience; Summer 2026)

The Science of Politics: Foundational Concepts for Political Science Graduate Students (POLISCI 480; Graduate Proseminar; co-taught with Anna Grzymala-Busse; Fall 2026)

Identity (POLISCI 224/CSRE 225; Advanced Undergraduate Seminar)

Identity Politics (POLISCI 426/SOC 326; Graduate Seminar)

Identity Politics 101 (Freshman Seminar)

Workshop in American Politics (POLISCI 422; Convener)

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 TO THE STANFORD POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT

Honors Program Director, 2023-Present. Administers the undergraduate honors program: reviews and approves applications, holds information sessions for prospective students, convenes the annual honors presentation, and selects departmental prize winners. Rewrote the honors handbook.

Graduate Admissions Committee, 2024

American Politics Field Convener, 2019-2020

SERVICE TO STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Faculty Director, Program on Identity, Democracy, and Justice, CDDRL, 2023-Present

Postdoctoral Fellow Mentor, Center for International Security and Cooperation (Kevin Bustamante; co-mentor with Scott Sagan), 2025-2027

Postdoctoral Fellow Mentor, CDDRL (Jasmine English), 2024-2025

Interlocutor, CCSRE Faculty Seminar, 2026

Faculty Speaker, Admit Weekend Black Community Welcome, April 2025

Panelist, "America Votes 2024" Series, Diversity and Democracy Panel, CDDRL, October 2024

Panelist, "What's at Stake in the 2024 U.S. Presidential Election," Freeman Spogli Institute, August 2024

CCSRE Graduate Dissertation Fellowship and Graduate Teaching Fellowship, Selection Committee, 2023-2024

In conversation with Wesley Morris, Public Humanities Initiative, "What is a Public Intellectual Today?" Speaker Series, May 2023

Speaker, Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program, CDDRL, August 2022

Panelist, January 6 Riot Conversation, CDDRL, January 2022

Panelist, "Is Democracy in Danger?," Stanford Democracy Day, November 2021

Panelist, "How We Got Here: Whiteness, Higher Ed & the Insurgence," CCSRE, February 2021

Panelist, "The Historic 2020 Elections," Freeman Spogli Institute, November 2020

Co-Moderator, public event with Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies (with Alaina Morgan), May 2019

SERVICE TO THE DISCIPLINE

Political Behavior Editorial Board, 2023-Present

Journal of Politics Editorial Board, 2021-2024

American Journal of Political Science Editorial Board, 2021-2023

American Council of Learned Societies, Mellon/ACLS Dissertation Innovation Fellowships, Selection Committee, 2026

American Political Science Assoc. Race and Ethnic Politics Section Best Dissertation Award Committee, 2025

International Society of Political Psychology, Governing Council, 2023-2025

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 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, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, Oxford University Press, Routledge, Russell Sage Foundation

CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS CONVENED

Black Politics and American Democracy (May 2026). Convened a public conversation with Katherine Tate and Corey Fields on Black politics and political representation, as part of the Program on Identity, Democracy, and Justice at CDDRL.

Persisting in Hard Times (June 2025). Convened a public panel on sustaining the work of justice under adverse conditions, with Pamela Karlan, DeCarol Davis, Alison Kamhi, and Antonio López, as part of the Program on Identity, Democracy, and Justice at CDDRL (co-organized with Gillian Slee; co-moderated with Karina Kloos).

Multiracial Democracy and Its Future in the United States (January 2024). Convened the launch events for the Program on Identity, Democracy, and Justice at CDDRL, hosting Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt for a seminar with graduate students and postdoctoral associates, a roundtable with undergraduates, and a public lecture and moderated conversation (co-moderated with Jacob Grumbach).

Race and the American Criminal Justice System: Where Do We Go From Here? (June 2020). Following the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota, convened roundtable of scholars working on race and the 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. April 2025. "What DEI Threatens Isn't Merit. It's Monopoly." *The Stanford Daily*.

Jefferson, Hakeem. July 2023. "Is America's Rigid Racial Hierarchy Compatible with Democracy?" San Francisco Chronicle.

Jefferson, Hakeem. Jan. 2022. "What Would MLK Say About this Moment in American History? We Don't Have to Guess." San Francisco Chronicle.

Jefferson, Hakeem. Jan. 2022. "Holding the Jan. 6 Insurrectionists Accountable Isn't Enough to Save American Democracy." San Francisco Chronicle.

Jefferson, Hakeem and Victor Ray. Jan. 2022. "White Backlash is a Type of Racial Reckoning, Too." FiveThirtyEight.

Jefferson, Hakeem and Michael Tesler. Nov. 2021. "Why White Voters with Racist Views Often Still Support Black Republicans." FiveThirtyEight.

Chudy, Jennifer and Hakeem Jefferson. May 2021. "Support for Black Lives Matter Surged Last Year. Did it Last?" The New York Times.

Jefferson, Hakeem and Koji Takahashi. May 2021. "How the Politics of White Liberals and White Conservatives are Shaped by Whiteness." FiveThirtyEight.

Jefferson, Hakeem. Jan. 2021. "Storming the U.S. Capitol Was About Maintaining White Power in America." FiveThirtyEight.

Jefferson, Hakeem and Alan Yan. Oct. 2020. "How the Two-Party System Obscures the Complexity of Black Americans' Politics." FiveThirtyEight.

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, The Washington Post.

Hill, Charlotte, Jacob Grumbach, Adam Bonica, and Hakeem Jefferson. May 2020. "We Should Never Have to Vote in Person Again." The New York Times.

Jefferson, Hakeem and Neil Lewis. April 2018. "Starbucks Won't Have any Idea Whether its Diversity Training Works." The Washington Post.

Pasek, Josh, Hakeem Jefferson, Fabian Neuner, and Katie Brown. Nov. 2014. "Race Defines Americans' Views on Ferguson Shooting." Detroit Free Press.

COMMENTARY FEATURED IN PUBLIC OUTLETS

The New Republic's Right Now With Perry Bacon. May 8, 2026. "Trump and the Supreme Court Are Crushing Black Power." (with Jacob Grumbach)

Reuters. Oct. 24, 2025. "Violence, Racism, and Nazi Praise: The Dark Side of US Political Group Chats."

The Washington Post. May 24, 2025. "Much of the 'Racial Reckoning' Efforts After Floyd's Murder Never Emerged."

The New York Times. Feb. 8, 2025. "As Ground Shifts, 'Flailing' Democrats Struggle to Find Footing in Diversity Fight."

Associated Press. May 2, 2024. "Trump Compares Student Protests to Jan. 6 in Effort to Downplay Capitol Attack."

The Stanford Daily. June 30, 2023. "Stanford to Expand Outreach Efforts as Supreme Court Strikes Affirmative Action."

The Washington Post. Feb. 15, 2023. "What Nikki Haley and Tim Scott are Offering Republicans."

Democracy Now. Dec. 23, 2022. "'This is a Racial Backlash.' Stanford Prof. Hakeem Jefferson on Role of White Supremacy in Capitol Attack."

NPR. Aug. 23, 2022. "At the Jan. 6 Hearings, Race Isn't Discussed Much. Still, It's a Central Issue."

NPR's All Things Considered. Aug. 16, 2022. "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?"

PBS News Weekend. June 11, 2022. "How Race Played a Role in the Capitol Insurrection."

Inside Higher Ed. Jan. 6, 2022. "Scholars Describe How Jan. 6 Affected Their Work."

CNN. Jan. 6, 2022. "What January 6 Revealed About the Attack on Multiracial Democracy."

Vox. Jan. 3, 2022. "How Does This End? Where the Crisis in American Democracy Might Be Headed."

The New York Times. Sept. 30, 2021. "How the Media Repeated 'Missing White Woman Syndrome' in Petito Case."

The New York Times. June 26, 2021. "Progressives' Urgent Question: How to Win Over Voters of Color."

NPR's Code Switch. June 9, 2021. "The Racial Reckoning that Wasn't."

Stanford Report. April 20, 2021. "Chauvin Guilty Verdict is Important, but More Work Needs to Be Done to Advance Racial Justice, Stanford Scholars Say."

The New York Times. January 23, 2021. "How Alvin the Beagle Helped Usher in a Democratic Senate."

The New York Times. January 18, 2021. "'This M.L.K. Day, America Has a 'Long Road Ahead.'"

FiveThirtyEight Politics Podcast. January 11, 2021. "Why Trump's Second Impeachment Will Be a Political Test for Both Republicans and Democrats."

NBC News. October 27, 2020. "'A stronghold of the Democratic Party': How Older Black Voters Could Propel Biden to Victory."

The New York Times. August 25, 2020. "The R.N.C.'s Not-So-Subtle Undertones."

FiveThirtyEight. August 3, 2020. "Many Americans are Convinced Crime is Rising in the U.S. They're Wrong."

The New York Times Magazine. June 30, 2020. "What is Owed."

The New York Times. June 17, 2020. "One Big Difference About George Floyd Protests: Many White Faces."

The New York Times. April 29, 2020. "Trump Hasn't Given Up on Divide and Conquer."

FiveThirtyEight. April 7, 2020. "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."

NPR's Code Switch. March 13, 2019. "Respect Yourself."

DISSERTATION ADVISING

Member: Alejandra Aldridge, political science, Stanford (completed)

Member: Ellen Chapin, political science, Stanford (completed)

Member: Katie Clayton, political science, Stanford (completed)

Member: Chris Flores, political science, Stanford Ph.D. candidate

Member: Carl Gustafson, political science, Stanford (completed)

Member: Paige Hill, political science, Stanford Ph.D. candidate

Member: Nathan Lee, political science, Stanford (completed)

Member: Rachel Lienesch, political science, Stanford (completed)

Member: Elijah Scott, political science, Stanford Ph.D. candidate

Member: Miryea Sturdivant, political science, Stanford Ph.D. candidate

Member: Koji Takahashi, social psychology, Michigan (completed)

Member: Kesley Townsend, political science, Stanford Ph.D. candidate

Member: Donovan Watts, political science, Indiana University (completed)

Member: Brian Wu, political science, Stanford Ph.D. candidate

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS ADVISING

Ben Kinder, 2025-2026

Michelle Lopez, 2025-2026

Elijah Buenarte, 2023-2024

José Gandara, 2023-2024

Teiana Gonsalves, 2023-2024

Lenny DeFoe, 2020-2021

Sophia Helfand, 2019-2020