

# Bernd Reiter, Ph.D.

Fulbright Distinguished Chair & Specialist  
Professor of Comparative Politics, Theory & Luso Latin American Studies

## EDUCATION

- 2003** Postdoc, New University of Lisbon, Portugal. SOCINOVA Migration Research Institute (13 months): Citizenship and Ethnic Nationalism in Portugal
- 1998-2003** Ph.D., Department of Political Science, Graduate Center, City University of New York. Major Field: Comparative Politics; Minor field: International Politics  
Studied with Ken Erickson, Lenny Markovitz, Marilyn Gittell, Melvin Richter, Frances Fox-Piven, Marshall Berman, Michelle Fine, Claus Offe  
**Dissertation:** *Racism, Democracy, and Civil Society in Brazil. Comparing Nongovernmental Organizations with Neighborhood Associations in the State of Bahia*
- 1990-1995** Bachelor and Master of Arts (*Magister Artium*) in Sociology, Latin-American Studies, and Anthropology, University of Hamburg, Germany  
Studied with Klaus Eichner, Dirk Käsler, Horst Pietschmann, Jens Dangschat, Detlef Nolte, Gerhard Sandner, Beate Ratter  
**Thesis:** *The Sociology of Racial Inequalities in Brazil*
- 1992-1993** Courtesy Student (2 semesters), Federal University of Bahia, Brazil: Anthropology and History of Race in Brazil

**LANGUAGES** Fluent in German, English, Portuguese, Spanish, and French.  
Teaching experience in English, German, Spanish, and Portuguese.

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

### A) Research, Administration, Teaching

- Since 2024** Director, Latin American and Iberian Studies Graduate Minor, Texas Tech University
- Since 2020** Full Professor, Classical and Modern Languages and Literatures, Texas Tech University
- 2022-2023** Graduate Director, Spanish and Portuguese Program, Department of Classical and Modern Languages and Literatures, Texas Tech University
- 2018-2020** Director, Institute for the Study of Latin America and the Caribbean, University of South Florida
- 2014-2018** Graduate Director, School of Interdisciplinary Global Studies (SIGS), University of South Florida
- 2016-2020** Full Professor of Political Science, School of Interdisciplinary Global Studies (SIGS), University of South Florida
- 2011-2016** Associate Professor, Department of Government and International Affairs (GIA) and Institute for the Study of Latin America and the Caribbean (ISLAC)
- 2009-2010** Interim Associate Director, Institute for the Study of Latin America and the Caribbean, University of South Florida
- 2005-2011** Assistant Professor, Department of Government and International Affairs (GIA) and Institute for the Study of Latin America and the Caribbean (ISLAC), University of South Florida
- 2004-2005** Senior Research Associate, Howard Samuels State Management and Policy Center, CUNY Graduate Center, New York
- 2002** Adjunct, LaGuardia Community College. Criminology. CUNY New York
- 1999-2002** Research Associate, Howard Samuels State Management and Policy Center, CUNY Graduate Center, New York
- 1999-2000** Teaching Fellow at Brooklyn College, CUNY (1 year)
- Courses taught** Democracy Beyond Elections (graduate and undergraduate)  
The Politics of Developing Nations (graduate)  
Development and Decolonization (graduate)

Hispanic Culture and Civilization (undergraduate)  
 The Portuguese Empire (graduate and undergraduate)  
 (De)colonial Latin America (graduate and undergraduate)  
 Race in Latin America (undergraduate and graduate)  
 Introduction to Latin American Studies (graduate)  
 Latin American Cultural Studies (undergraduate)  
 Decolonial Theory (graduate)  
 O império Português (graduate)  
 Civilização e Literatura Luso-Brasileira (graduate)  
 Cultures of the Spanish Speaking World (undergraduate)  
 Social Change in the Hispanic World through Film, Literature, Art, and Music (undergrad.)  
 Movilización afrodescendiente y políticas públicas (extension)  
 Education Reform and Race in Brazil (graduate)  
 Seminar in Comparative Politics (graduate, face-to-face and online)  
 Race, Ethnicity, and Nation (graduate, face-to-face and online)  
 The State and Civil Society in Comparative Perspective (graduate)  
 Citizenship and Democracy in Comparative Perspective (graduate)  
 Foundations of Inquiry: Logic and Methodology (graduate)  
 Qualitative Methods, Case Studies, and Field Research (graduate)  
 Democracy and Exclusion in Brazil (graduate, face-to-face and online)  
 Politics of Developing Nations (upper undergraduate, face-to-face)  
 Issues and Perspectives in Latin American Studies (graduate, face-to-face)

## B) Visiting Professorships, Scholarships, and Fellowships

**May 2024** Visiting scholar, department of philosophy, Federal University of Bahia, Brazil:  
 Decolonizing Theory  
**2020-2021** Visiting Research Associate, Afro-Latin American Research Institute (ALARI), Harvard  
 University (2 semesters)  
**2015-2016** Visiting Professor (Lehrauftrag) University of Kassel, Germany. Department of International  
 and Intersocietal Relations  
**2014** Visiting Professor, Universidad del Norte, Barranquilla, Colombia. Department of Political  
 Science and International Relations  
**2013** Coordinator of the “Promotionskolleg” and “Vertretungsprofessur” for Prof. Dr. Hans-  
 Juergen Burchardt, University of Kassel, Germany. Department of International and  
 Intersocietal Relations  
**2013** Visiting Professor, International Center for Development and Decent Work (ICDD) and  
 Global Labor University, Kassel, Germany  
**2013** Erasmus Mundus Visiting Professor, Institut Barcelona de Estudis Internacionals (IBEI),  
 Barcelona, Spain  
**2011** Senior Research Fellow, Freie Universität Berlin, Latin American Institute, Inequalities  
 Network (*Red Desigualdades*)

## C) Outreach, Project Management, Consultancies, and Project Evaluations

**2021, 2022** Organizer and Instructor, Certificate in Afro Latin American Studies: “Afro descendant  
 Mobilization and Public Policies,” Afro Latin American Research Institute, Harvard University  
**Jun 2019** Co-coordinator, with Prof. Barbara Cruz (USF) and educator for the training of Hillsborough  
 County Public Highschool teachers in Latin American History, focused on colonialism and  
 slavery in Latin America  
**Jun 2002** Consultant, Ford Foundation: Creation of an Afro-Brazilian Center of Worship in Brasilia,  
 Brazil  
**1999** Consultant for the leading curator France Morin for the project *The Quiet in the Land*, carried out  
 in Salvador, Brazil  
Coordinator for 20 internationally renowned artists to interact with street kids, attended by the  
 NGO Projeto Axé. Artists included: Kara Walker, Larry Clark, Vik Muniz, Chen Zhen, Willie

- Cole, Tunga, Nari Ward, Janine Antoni, Leonardo Drew, Rivane Neuenschwander, among others
- 1995-1998** Coordinator, *Pracatum, Professional School for Street Musicians*, vocational school and the *Tá Rebocado* participative urbanization project of a poor neighborhood in Salvador, Brazil Project management and coordination of participatory urbanization; planning and fundraising for both projects; supervision and teacher training; curriculum development of the school, etc.
- 1998** Consultant for the *Brazilian Institute for Community Research and Assistance (IBEAC)*, São Paulo Educator for the Brazilian Ministry of Justice/UNDP Program of Teaching Human Rights to indigenous community leaders of the Brazilian Amazon, Cruzeiro do Sul
- 1996-1997** Consultant for *Projeto POMMAR, Prevention for Children in Risk /Partners of the Americas / USAID*, Salvador, Brazil Project monitoring and evaluation of a community group dedicated to educating at-risk youth (*Grupo Cultural Baunilha*) in order to achieve long-term sustainability
- 1997** Environmental Impact Evaluator (Social Impact, EIA-RIMA) for the Bahian State Government (Brazil) Evaluation of the Social Impact caused by the construction of the Mucugê Dam and elaboration of mitigation measures
- 1996** Consultant to the *Center for Studies in Education and Culture*, (CENPEC, São Paulo), UNICEF, and ITAU-Bank, in Salvador, Brazil Coordinator for the national training seminar for Brazilian NGO leaders

## GRANTS AND AWARDS

- Sept 2024** Fulbright Specialist, Federal University of Sao Paulo (UNIFESP)
- 2024** Texas Tech Humanities Institute Research Grant: How Traditional African Markets can build Trust and Community: An Exploratory Case Study of Tangier's Traditional Souk (\$3,000)
- 2024** Texas Tech Scholarship Catalyst Program: How Traditional African Markets can build Trust and Community: An Exploratory Case Study of Tangier's Traditional Souk (\$7,000)
- 2023-2024** Weatherhead Center at Harvard University, Visiting Scholar, declined
- 2021-2022** Fulbright Distinguished Chair of Public Policy, Brazil 2021-2022
- 2019** William R. Jones Outstanding Mentor Award, Florida Education Fund
- 2019** Distinguished Alum Award, CUNY Graduate Center's Political Science Ph.D. Program
- 2016** Florida Education Fund President's Award
- 2015** USF Faculty Global Achievement Award
- 2014** USF Status of Latinos Faculty Award
- 2012** USF World International Conference Grant: Planning Conference for Afro-Latin Community Leaders, November 2012, Panama (\$7,400)
- 2012** USF Global Academic Partners Research Grant: Microfinance: What breeds success and what does not? A Pilot Case Study of Ghana (\$9,800)
- 2010** ISLAC Research Award: "Beyond the Black Atlantic: Democracy, the Law and Racialized Exclusion in the Colombian Pacific" (\$3,000)
- 2008** ISLAC Research Award: "Racialized Exclusion in Panama" (\$3,000)
- 2006** USF New Researcher Award: "Nationalism and Exclusion in France" (\$5,000)
- 2006** USF International Travel Grant Award (\$2,000)
- 2005** Ford Foundation Grant: "Education Reform and Racialized Exclusion in Brazil" (\$5,000)
- 2003** Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) Competitive Research Grant: "Children of Immigrants: Monitoring their Connection to the Knowledge Society." (\$50,000)
- 2003** Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), Portugal Postdoctoral Fellowship: "Nationalism and Exclusion in Portugal" (€18,500)
- 2002** Foundation for International Relations and Foreign Dialogue (FRIDE), Spain, Research Grant: "Nationalism and Citizenship in Portugal" (\$20,000)
- 2001** CUNY University Fellowship; Spencer Foundation Dissertation Scholarship: "Civil Society for Advancing Educational Reform in the Northeast of Brazil" (\$8,000)
- 2000-2002** Ford and Rockefeller Foundation joint research grant *Democracy Project*: project coordinator (2000) and researcher (2001-2002), (\$1,000,000)

## PUBLICATIONS

### Monographs

- 1) *The End of Politics*, Basel: MDPI Books, under contract
- 2) *Status: Honor and White Privilege in Brazil and Beyond*. New York: Routledge, Jan 2026
- 3) *The African Origins of Democracy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, Dec 2025
- 4) *Decolonizing the Social Sciences and Humanities: An Anti-Elitism Manifesto*. New York: Routledge, January 2022
- 5) *Legal Duty and Upper Limits: How to Save our Democracy and our Planet from the Rich*. New York: Anthem Press, November 2020
- 6) *The Crisis of Liberal Democracy and the Path Ahead*. London: Rowman & Littlefield International, Oct 2017 (hard cover) / Feb 2019 (paperback)
- 7) *The Dialectics of Citizenship: Exploring Privilege, Exclusion, and Racialization*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, May 2013
- 8) *Negotiating Democracy in Brazil: The Politics of Exclusion*. Boulder: First Forum Press, October 2008

### Co-Authored

- 9) *The Democratic Challenge. Democratization and De-Democratization in Global Perspective*, with Jorge Nef (co-author). New York: Palgrave MacMillan, May 2009

### Edited Books

- 10) *The Routledge Handbook of Afro Latin American Studies*, with John Anton Sanchez. New York: Routledge, November 2022, paperback in 2024.
- 11) Spanish translation in 2024: *Manual de estudios afrolatinoamericanos*. Quito (Ecuador): IAEN.
  - Vol 1: <https://editorial.iaen.edu.ec/wp-content/uploads/sites/12/2024/06/Manual-de-estudios-afrolatinoamericanos-Volumen-1.pdf>
  - Vol 2: <https://editorial.iaen.edu.ec/download/manual-de-estudios-afrolatinoamericanos-volumen-2-campos-tematicos-de-estudio/>
- 12) *Colonial Slavery*, by Jacob Gorender, edited by Bernd Reiter, translated by Alejandro Reyes, New York: Routledge, March 2022
- 13) *The Making of Brazil's Black Mecca: Bahia Reconsidered*, with Scott Ickes. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, October 2018  
Contributors include: Lorand Matory, Kim Butler, Christopher Dunn, Sarah Hautzinger, Anadelia Romo, Wlamyra Albuquerque, among others
- 14) *Constructing the Pluriverse: The Geopolitics of Knowledge*. Durham: Duke University Press, September 2018  
Contributors include Walter Mignolo, Sandra Harding, Arturo Escobar, Raewyn Connell, Catherine Walsh, among others
- 15) *Bridging Scholarship and Activism: Reflections from the Frontlines of Collaborative Research*, with Ulrich Oslender (co-editor). East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, January 2015  
Contributors include Gustavo Esteva, Arturo Escobar, Rob Benford, Keisha-Khan Perry, Christen Smith, Elizabeth Hordge-Freeman, among others
- 16) *Afrodescendants, Identity, and the Struggle for Development in the Americas*, with Kimberly Eison Simmons (co-editor), East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, Spring 2012  
Contributors include Faye Harrison, Tianna Paschel, Darien Davis, Lauren Derby, Juliet Hooker, Seth Racusen, among others
- 17) *Brazil's New Racial Politics*, with Gladys Mitchell (co-editor), Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, October 2009  
Contributors include Michael Mitchell, Seth Racusen, Cloves Oliveira, Keisha-Khan Perry, Sales Augusto dos Santos, among others

### Series Editor: Routledge Decolonizing the Classics Special Book Series

- 1) *Region, Race, and Class in the Making of Colombia*, by Alfonso Múnera, translated by Alejandro Reyes, August 2023
- 2) *A Critique of Development and Other Essays*, by Gustavo Esteva, translated by Kathryn Dix, August 2022
- 3) *The Critique of Coloniality: Eight Essays*, by Rita Laura Segato, translated by Ramsey McGlazer, March
- 4) *Colonial Slavery*, by Jacob Gorender, translated by Alejandro Reyes, March 2022

- 5) *Changó: Decolonizing the African Diaspora*, by Manuel Zapata Olivella, translated by Jonathan Tittler, September 2021

#### Articles (peer-reviewed)

- 1) With John Beusterien: "Festival, Culture, and Democracy," (in preparation)
- 2) "Authorship and Democracy: Why Representation Produces Structural Heteronomy," (under review)
- 3) "Divergent American Modernity: The Implications of Jacob Gorender's *Colonial Slavery*" (under review)
- 4) "Empire, Race, and Gender: The Ancient Origins of White Supremacy and Patriarchy," *Genealogy*, 2026, 10(2), 42; <https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy10020042>
- 5) With Leonardo da Hora Pereira. 2026. "Beyond Top-Down Universalism: Constructing the Pluriverse Through Bottom-Up Universalism," *Journal of Global Ethics* (Feb 2026): <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449626.2026.2627326>
- 6) "Aggrieved white men and the Danger they pose to Democracy and Peace." *Social Sciences*, 2025, 14(2): 93. <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/14/2/93>
- 7) "Participatory Democracy in Southern Africa: Explaining Botswana's Exceptionalism" *Social Sciences* 2024 (13): 519. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci13100519>
- 8) "Política Pública Indígena Brasileira," *Revista Ciência & Tropico*, vol. 46, N. 2 (Dec. 2022): 37-55. <https://periodicos.fundaj.gov.br/CIC/article/view/2129/1679>
- 9) With Suzana Maia. "Racial Capital and White Middle Class Territorialization in Salvador, Brazil." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, (April 2021): 243-260. DOI: 10.1080/17442222.2021.1915445: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17442222.2021.1915445>
- 10) "A Theory of Whiteness as Symbolic Racial Capital: Bourdieu 2.0." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Research*. Vol. 6 (5) (2020):111-117: <http://www.socialsciencejournal.in/search?keyword=6-5-32>
- 11) "Fuzzy Epistemology: Decolonizing the Social Sciences." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, 2019 (Dec.):1-14. (<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/jtsb.12229>)
- 12) "Recognition and Reparations Reconsidered: Lessons from Germany." *Kalfou* Vol. 6 No. 2 (Dec. 2019): n/a. (<https://tupjournals.temple.edu/index.php/kalfou/article/view/250>)
- 13) "Theory and Methodology of Exploratory Social Science Research." *International Journal of Science and Research Methodology*. Vol. 5. Issue 4 (February 2017):129-150.
- 14) "Alternatives to Representative Democracy and Capitalist Market Organization: The Wintukua, Guardians of the Earth." *Anarchist Studies*, 25.1. (2017):68-93.
- 15) "Los Wintukua: Guardianes del Mundo." *Revista Memorias*. No. 28 (2016):1-28.
- 16) "La epistemología y metodología de la investigación exploratoria en ciencias sociales: Cruzando Popper con Marcuse." *Revista Chilena de Derecho y Ciencia Política*, Vol.6, N.3, (Septiembre-Diciembre 2015):147-168.
- 17) "Palenque de San Basilio: Citizenship and Republican Traditions of a Maroon Village in Colombia," *Journal of Civil Society*, Vol. 11, Issue 4 (2015): 333-347.
- 18) With James Pehrah: "Assessing African Microfinance: An Exploratory Case Study of Ghana's Central Region." *The Journal of International Development*, 27, (2015):1337- 1342.
- 19) With Brandon Huson and Maria Malabet Gonzalez: "Small and Closed vs. Large and Open: Some Lessons from Comparing Cuban to Colombian Agricultural Development." *Future of Food: Journal for Food, Agriculture and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Jan. 2015): 30- 47.
- 20) With James Pehrah: "Microfinance in Ghana: An Exploratory Case Study." *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioural Science*. Vol. 5, Issue 4, (2015): 433-449.
- 21) With Paula Lezama: "Transferencias Condicionales y Políticas de Acción Afirmativa en Latino America: La Diferencia que Políticas de Inclusion Pueden Hacer." *Investigación & Desarrollo*. vol. 21, n° 2 (2013):453-478.
- 22) With Paula Lezama: "The Importance of Inclusion Policies for the Promotion of Development in Brazil and Colombia." *Journal of Developing Societies* (June 2013). 29:189-212.
- 23) "Multiculturalism and Racialization in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Revista Memorias*. Vol. 10. Number 19 (Jan-April 2013):30-43.
- 24) "Framing Non-Whites and Producing Second-Class Citizens in France and Portugal." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 38, Number 7, (August 2012):1067- 1084.
- 25) "What's New in Brazil's New Social Movements?" *Latin American Perspectives*, 38(1), January 2011: 153-168.
- 26) "A Genealogy of Black Organizing in Brazil," *Revista Nera*, N. 14, Jul-Dec 2009: 48-62.
- 27) "Inequality and School Reform in Bahia, Brazil," *International Review of Education*, 55(4), July 2009: 345-365.
- 28) "Civil Society and Democracy: Weimar Reconsidered," *Journal of Civil Society*, 5 (1), June 2009: 21-34.
- 29) "Fighting Exclusion with Culture and Art. Examples from Brazil," *International Social Work*, 52(2), March

2009: 146-157.

- 30) "The Limits of Popular Participation in Salvador, Brazil," *Journal of Developing Societies*, 24, 3 (2008): 337–354.
- 31) with Gladys Mitchell. "Embracing Hip Hop as their Own: Hip Hop and Black Racial Identity in Brazil," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, Vol. 27, 2008, 151-165.
- 32) "The Perils of Empire: Nationhood and Citizenship in Portugal," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 12, No. 4, August 2008, 397–412.
- 33) "Education Reform, Race, and Politics in Bahia, Brazil," *Revista Ensaio*, No. 58, Vol. 16, Jan / Mar 2008, 125-148.
- 34) "Defendendo Privilégio: Os Limites da Participação Popular em Salvador, Bahia," *Antropolítica*, n. 22, v. 01, 2007, 199-218.
- 35) "The Hermeneutic Foundations of Qualitative Research," *Qualitative Methods*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Fall 2006, 18-24.
- 36) "Portugal: National Pride and Imperial Neurosis," *Race & Class*, Vol. 47, N. 1, July 2005, 79-91.
- 37) "The Shortcomings of Democratic School Management in Bahia," *Gestão em Ação*, V. 8, N. 2, Mai. / Ago. 2005, 207-221.
- 38) with Rita Dias. "Reforma Educacional, Exclusão e Racismo na Bahia," *Gestão em Ação*, V. 8, N. 1, Jan. / Apr. 2005, 97-116.
- 39) "Sociedade Civil, Democratização, e Exclusão Racial no Brasil," *CRH, Cadernos de Recursos Humanos*, No. 40, Jan./ Abr. 2004, 117-128.
- 40) "Pracatum: Escola Profissionalizante de Músicos de Rua," *CRH, Cadernos de Recursos Humanos*, Salvador, No. 26/27, Jan./ Dec. 1997, 431-438.

### Book Chapters (peer reviewed)

- 41) "Introduction," *The Routledge Handbook of Afro Latin American Studies*, with John Anton Sanchez. New York: Routledge, November 2022, pages 1-14.
- 42) "Reparaciones y autonomia política: Lecciones historicas de la lucha anti-racista." In: Campoalegre, Rosa Septien y Anny Ocoro Loango (orgs.). 2019. *Afrodescendencias y Contrabegemonias*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, pg. 305-336. <http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/posgrados/20191018124924/Afrodescendencias.pdf>
- 43) "The Power of Whiteness and the Making of the Other: Bahia of the White Mind?" In: *The Making of Brazil's Black Mecca: Bahia Reconsidered*, with Scott Ickes (co-editor). East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2018, October 2018.
- 44) "First People of the Americas: Lessons on Democracy, Citizenship, and Politics," In: Reiter, Bernd. *Constructing the Pluriverse: The Geopolitics of Knowledge*. Durham: Duke University Press, September 2018, pages 279-297.
- 45) "Recognition, Reparations and Political Autonomy of Black and Native Communities in the Americas," In: *Comparative Racial Politics in Latin America*, edited by Ollie Johnson and Kwame Dixon, September 2018, pgs. 44-63.
- 46) "Political and Economic Alternatives from the South: Learning from Black and Indigenous Communities in Colombia," in Sousa Santos Boaventura de and Teresa Cunha (eds). 2015. *Conference Proceedings International Colloquium Epistemologies of the South: South-South, South-North and North-South Global Learnings. Volume 1: Democratizing Democracy*. Coimbra, Centro de Estudos Sociais: 31-46.
- 47) "Of Academic Embeddedness: Communities of Choice and how to Make Sense of Activism and Research Abroad," in: *Bridging Scholarship and Activism*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, (2015):3-14.
- 48) "Whiteness as Capital: Constructing Inclusion and Defending Privilege," in: Reiter, Bernd and Gladys Mitchell. *Brazil's New Racial Politics* (2009): 19-34.
- 49) "Art, Culture, and Social Justice: New Strategies of the Bahian Poor," in: Morin, France. *The Quiet in the Land and Projeto Axé*, Salvador: Editora do Museu de Arte Moderna da Bahia (2000):190-203.

### Other Publications (not peer reviewed)

- 50) "Keine Demokratie ohne Kultur." *Forum Kultur und Aussenpolitik*, April 29, 2025: <https://culturalrelations.ifa.de/fokus/artikel/keine-demokratie-ohne-kultur/>
- 51) "Can theater save democracy? It's not an idle question – it's happened before." *The Salon*, April 13, 2025: <https://www.salon.com/2025/04/13/can-theater-save-democracy-its-not-an-idle-question--its-happened-before/>
- 52) "Aggrieved white men are a threat to democracy – history tells us we can't ignore them." *The Salon*, December 14, 2024 (<https://www.salon.com/2024/12/14/aggrieved-men-are-a-to-democracy--history-tells-us-we-cant-ignore-them/>)

- 53) “In a world where political polarization and disengagement are denting democracy, does Botswana’s ‘kgotla’ system hold the key?” *The Conversation*, Nov. 25, 2024: <https://theconversation.com/in-a-world-where-political-polarization-and-disengagement-are-denting-democracy-does-botswanas-kgotla-system-hold-the-key-242358>
- 54) “Botswana’s Exceptionalism.” *Forum for International Cultural Relations*: <https://culturalrelations.ifa.de/en/focus/article/botswanas-exceptionalism/>, Nov. 2024
- 55) “How to explain Trump? A Personal Message from the Texas Plains.” *Forum for International Cultural Relations*: <https://culturalrelations.ifa.de/en/focus/article/how-to-explain-trump-a-personal-message-from-the-texas-plains/>, October 2024
- 56) 投票は民主主義にとって問題かもしれません (Japanese translation of “Voting could be the Problem with Democracy,” available online, <https://archive4ones.online/123952jp/>, Aug. 2023
- 57) “Les Origines Africaines de la Démocratie,” *Le Monde Libertaire*, July 2023 (French translation of *The African Origins of Democracy*)
- 58) “The African Origins of Democracy.” *Academia Letters*, Article 414 (April 2021). <https://doi.org/10.20935/AL414>.
- 59) “Carta para os não-indígenas” In: Lima Costa, Suzane e Rafael Xucuru-Kariri (orgs). 2020. *Cartas para o Bem Viver*. Salvador, Brazil: Boto Cor de Rosa. <http://www.livrariabotocorderosa.com/index.php/2021/04/13/cartas-para-o-bem-viver/>
- 60) “COVID-19 y raza en los Estados Unidos.” *Ancestralidad, antirracismo y actualidades. Boletín del Grupo de Trabajo Afrodescendencias y propuestas contrahegemonicas*. Abril 2020. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, pg. 45-51.
- 61) “Polarization, Identity and how it all went wrong.” *Culture Report, European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) Yearbook 2019/20*, pgs. 70-78.
- 62) “Voting could be the problem with Democracy,” *The Conversation*, Oct 21, 2019. 14,886 reads (7/23/2020): <https://theconversation.com/voting-could-be-the-problem-with-democracy-123952>
- 63) “If Germany Atones for the Holocaust, the US can pay reparations for Slavery,” *The Conversation*, July 31, 2019. 176,285 reads (7/23/2020): <https://theconversation.com/if-germany-atoned-for-the-holocaust-the-us-can-pay-reparations-for-slavery-119505>
- 64) “Responsibility, not Fantasy.” *Culture Report, European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) Yearbook 2017/18* (Vol. 9):42-47.
- 65) “Democracia, Desigualdade e Poder Simbólico no Brasil.” PROBUS Universidade Estadual da Bahia, Brumado (2016). <http://probusbrasil.org.br/artigos/28-a-crise-democratica-brasileira>
- 66) “An Arena for Nationalist Sentiment.” *Culture Report, European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) Yearbook 2016* (Vol. 8):59-65.
- 67) “Ciudadanía Palenquera: La Epopeya de un Pueblo Libre.” In: Cassiani Herrera, Alfonso. 2014. *Libro de la Historia Negra*. Cartagena: Ataole, pg. 83-109.
- 68) “A Pact with Democratic Society.” *Culture Report, European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) Yearbook 2014/2015* (Vol. 7):66-72.
- 69) “Leading by Example.” *Culture Report, European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) Yearbook 2013/2014* (Vol. 6):153-159.
- 70) “Racial Formations: Brazil.” Mason, Patrick (ed). *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism, 2e*. Detroit: Gale Cengage Learning. Vol. 3 (2013):362-370.
- 71) “A Voice for the Voiceless.” *Culture Report, European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) Yearbook 2012/2013* (Vol. 5):98-106.
- 72) “Learning from Brazil and India: The Difference that Inclusion Policies can Make.” *Foreign Policy Research Centre Journal* (New Delhi). Issue 11, No. 3, (August 2012):113-126.
- 73) with João Batista de Castro Júnior. “Continuidade e Mudança no Brasil: Os Legados do Bacharelismo,” *Revista de Direito Federal, AJUFE*, No. 88, Sept. 2007, 81-101.

## Book Reviews

- 74) Paschel, Tianna. 2016. “Becoming Black Political Subjects in Colombia and Brazil: Movements and Ethno-Racial Rights in Colombia and Brazil,” *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol.15, No. 1 (March 2017): 275-276.
- 75) Fikes, Kesha. 2009. “Managing African Portugal: The Citizen-Migrant Distinction,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 10 (November 2010): 1835-1836.
- 76) Wampler, Brian. 2007. “Participatory Budget in Brazil: Contestation, Cooperation and Accountability,” *Governance*, Vol. 22, Issue 1 (2009): 165-168.

## MEDIA CONTRIBUTIONS

1. Podcast *The Cameron Journal: The Problem with Democracy...*, March 2026: <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-problem-with-democracy-is-voting-could-indigenous/id1479248344?i=1000756830591>
2. Podcast *The Purple Political Breakdown*, March 2026: <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/is-democracy-broken-wealth-inequality-civic-education/id1626987640?i=1000752880750>
3. “What do we do with People who regret voting for Trump?” *Dazed*, March 5, 2025: <https://www.dazeddigital.com/life-culture/article/66286/1/people-regret-voting-for-donald-trump-republican-democrats>
4. BBC Focus on Africa, November 2024: [www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p0k7kjc2](http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p0k7kjc2)
5. “Les Origines Africaines de la Démocratie” *Radio Anarchiste*, Paris France, Novembre 2023
6. Institute of Foreign Relations (IFA, Berlin): “Die arabische Weltmeisterschaft / The Arab World Cup,” December 2022: <https://culturalrelations.ifa.de/en/bloggung/article/the-arab-world-cup/>  
<https://culturalrelations.ifa.de/fokus/fokussieren-detailseite/die-arabische-weltmeisterschaft/>
7. Podcast, Institute of Foreign Relations (IFA): *Dysfunctional Democracy?* May 2022: <https://www.ifa.de/38-english-edition-wieviel-demokratie-vertraegt-die-welt-mit-bernd-reiter/>
8. Podcast *Say you are Sorry*, Episode 8: “The Call for Reparations.” Podcast, September 8, 2021. Audible Originals: [https://www.audible.com/pd/Episode-8-The-Call-for-Reparations-Podcast/B09C2HRH84?ref=a\\_pd\\_Say-Yo\\_c1\\_lAsin\\_1\\_0](https://www.audible.com/pd/Episode-8-The-Call-for-Reparations-Podcast/B09C2HRH84?ref=a_pd_Say-Yo_c1_lAsin_1_0)
9. USA Today, 7/10/2020: [https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2020/07/10/slavery-reparations-bill-spurs-new-debate-other-nations-model/5396340002/?fbclid=IwAR3JbGQjTiBXhYJOpIICez\\_gOmTWFfkpoyrAZPjIx08uxlw2OZ2EeeAOFFE](https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2020/07/10/slavery-reparations-bill-spurs-new-debate-other-nations-model/5396340002/?fbclid=IwAR3JbGQjTiBXhYJOpIICez_gOmTWFfkpoyrAZPjIx08uxlw2OZ2EeeAOFFE)

## INVITED TALKS, KEYNOTES, AND PUBLIC SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

- Apr 2026** Keynote Speaker: Conference: *What is Research?* University of Oregon, Portland
- Apr 2026** Invited Speaker for the graduate seminar *Epistemologia e Metodologia Interdisciplinar em Ciências Humanas*. Federal University of Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, Brazil
- Oct 2025** Invited Speaker, *Status: Honor and White Privilege in Brazil and Beyond*. Center for African and African American Studies, Rice University
- Oct 2025** Inaugural Keynote Speaker: *Decolonizing the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Federal University of Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, Brazil
- Nov 2023** Invited Speaker, Keele University (UK): *Decolonizing the University Curriculum*
- Oct 2023** Invited Speaker, North Carolina Central University: *The African Origins of Democracy*
- Jul 2023** Invited Speaker, University of Cartagena (Colombia): *Decolonizing the Social Sciences and Humanities*
- Feb 2023** Invited Speaker, Florida Education Fund, Annual McKnight Conference, Tampa, FL
- Nov 2021** Invited Speaker, Florida Education Fund, Annual McKnight Conference, Tampa, FL
- Oct 2020** Invited Speaker, *Global Summit Agenda 2022*, Global Transcendence (online)
- Feb 2020** Invited Speaker, St. Pete World Affairs Conference: *Do Polarization and Populism threaten Latin America?*
- Feb 2020** Invited Speaker, UT Austin, Thurgood Marshall Legal Society: *The Case for Reparations in America*
- Jul 2019** *Decolonizing the Social Sciences and Constructing the Pluriverse*, Albert-Ludwig University, Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany
- Mar 2018** Invited Speaker and book launching of *The Crisis of Liberal Democracy and the Path Ahead* at the World Social Forum, Salvador, Brazil
- Apr 2017** *Bridging Scholarship and Activism*. Multicultural Center, University of California, Santa Barbara
- Mar 2017** TEDx USA: *The Crisis of Liberal Democracy and the Path Ahead*  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ViPwZA-baWg>
- Jul 2016** *Transcending the Status Quo: The End of Liberal Democracy and the Path Ahead*  
Summer School, Seggau, GUSEGG, University of Graz
- May 2016** Aula Magna: *30 Years of Democracy in Brazil*. Faculdade de Guanambi, Brazil

- May 2016** Keynote Address: *Language and Power*. Universidade Estadual da Bahia, Brumado, Brazil
- Aug 2012** Keynote Address, Conference on *Multiculturalism in Latin America and the Caribbean*, UNINORTE, Barranquilla, Colombia
- Oct 2006** Public Lecture, *Multiculturalism in Brazil*, UNINOVE University, São Paulo, Brazil

## SERVICE

**Section editor in chief**, Section International Politics and Relations, *Social Sciences* (MDPI, Switzerland)

**Editor**, Routledge Decolonizing the Classics Special Book Series

**Advisor**, Book Publishing Initiative, College of Arts and Sciences, TTU (2025)

**Editorial Board Membership**, Journal *Ciência e Tropico*, Recife, Brazil; *Editora Elã*, São Luis, Brazil

**Founder**, Afro Latin Working Group (<https://afrogroup4.wordpress.com/>)

**Study Abroad, São Luis, Brazil**, Founder and director, 2006-2009, University of South Florida

### Dissertation and MA thesis advisor and committee member

- Dissertation chair, USF (10): Rebecca Young Greven (2014), Mark Grzegorzewski (2014), Adam Golob (co-chair, 2017), Alexis Mootoo (2017), Hiva Feizi (2018), Maria Gonzalez Malabet (2019), Sajjad Hussain (2021), Seraphine Mendez (co-chair, 2019), Muhammed Erdem (co-chair, 2023), Mario Renato Cavani (co-chair, 2025); TTU (1): Nicholas Spencer (co-chair, 2025)
- Thesis chair of over 30 MA theses in Comparative Politics, Africana Studies, and Latin American Studies at USF
- Committee member for over 50 Ph.D., MA, and honors theses and dissertations at USF, TTU, The University of Miami, and Kassel University (Germany)

### Mentor and coach

Mentor to junior faculty, PhD and MA students at USF and TTU

Coach of Florida Education Fund McKnight PhD fellows since 2007

### Committee Chair and Member

- Chair, CMLL awards committee (since 2025)
- Graduate Director, Spanish and Portuguese Program, TTU CMLL (2022-2023)
- Member, TTU CMLL Graduate Committee (2021-2023)
- Member, job search committee, Mexican American Studies, TTU CMLL 2022
- Chair, USF Search Committee, Assistant Professor in Africana Studies (2017); Assistant Professor in Comparative Politics (2018)
- Chair, USF Graduate Committee, Humanities, College of Arts and Sciences (2017)
- Chair, USF Graduate Committee, School of Interdisciplinary Global Studies (2014-18)
- Member, USF Advisory Committee, Institute for the Study of Latin America and the Caribbean (2005-2020)
- Member, USF Faculty Council, College of Arts and Sciences (2014)

### Journal Reviewer

*The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History; Journal of Latin American Studies; Globalizations; Comparative Politics; Ethnic and Racial Studies; Latin American Politics and Society; Journal of Latin American Popular Culture; International Migration Review; Bulletin of Latin American Research; Perspectives on Politics; Annals of the American Association of Geographers; Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology; Contemporary Political Theory; Social Sciences; Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies; Global Studies Quarterly; Challenges; CINALC; Genealogy; Social Sciences; Oxford Development Studies*

### Manuscript Reviewer

University of Michigan, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Michigan State University Press, University of New Mexico Press, Routledge, Palgrave MacMillan, Bloomsbury Academic, Cambridge University Press

## Tenure, Promotion, and Hiring Evaluator

- David (Kwame) Dixon, promotion to full professor of political science, Howard University (2025)
- Selection committee member, professorship in international and inter-societal relations, University of Kassel, Germany (Gutachter), 2020, 2021
- Ian Reid, promotion to full professor in Latin American Studies, SOKA University of America (2020)
- Merle Bowen, promotion to full professor in African American Studies, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (2019)
- Francois Pierre Louis, promotion to full professor in political science Queens College, CUNY (2018)
- Cristina Espinosa, Brandeis University, tenure and promotion to associate professor, social policy (2011)

## Research Proposal Reviewer

- National Science Foundation
- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)
- Fulbright Awards, Political Science, 2023, 2024, 2025
- TTU internal awards

## Conference Organizer and Panel Chair

- Dec 2019** **Panel Chair and Organizer:** *Internationalization and Inter-American networks to fight racism.* First Intercontinental Meeting of Afro Latin American Studies, Harvard
- Jun 2019** **Panel Chair and Organizer:** *Luchas anti-racistas en las Américas: avances y retrocesos.* CEDET, Los Afrodescendientes en las Américas: 200 años de Vida Republicana, Ciudadanías Incompletas, Lima, Peru
- Feb 2019** **Conference Organizer:** *Decolonization in Theory and Practice: Europe and the Americas Otherwise,* USF
- May 2016** **Panel Chair and Organizer:** *Old Problems and New Solutions: Neo-Extractivism and Political Innovation in Colombia and Beyond.* LASA Annual Meeting, New York
- May 2015** **Panel Chair and Organizer:** *(Neo)extractivism: Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador.* LASA Annual Meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico
- Sept 2014** **Panel Chair:** *Despues de la Ley 70: Avances y Desafíos de la Lucha por la Igualdad Racial en Colombia.* Social Movements Conference, UniNorte, Barranquilla. CLACSO,
- Aug 2014** **Panel Chair and Organizer:** *The Making of the Black Mecca: Bahia Reconsidered.* BRASA Conference, London
- Nov 2012** **Conference Organizer:** *Afrodescendants in the Americas: Strengthening Networks, Capabilities, and Agency.* City of Knowledge, Panama
- May 2012** **Panel Chair and Organizer:** *Bridging Activism and Scholarship?* LASA Annual Meeting, San Francisco
- Apr 2012** **Conference Organizer:** *Interchanging educational experiences of Afro-Latin Community Leaders.* City of Knowledge, Panama
- Apr 2010** **Conference Organizer:** *Re-Examining the Black Atlantic: Afro-Descendants Still at the Bottom?* USF, Tampa
- Apr 2008** **Panel Chair:** *The Politics of Affirmative Action.* BRASA Conference, New Orleans
- Sep 2006** **Conference Organizer:** *Immunity, Universal Jurisdiction, and Human Rights: the Global Implications of the Pinochet Case.* USF, Tampa
- Oct 2000** **Panel Chair:** *Democracy and Inclusion of the Disenfranchised in Local Schools and Politics.* Rockefeller Foundation, Bellagio, Italy

## MEMBERSHIPS AND VOLUNTEERING

- Member, Community Economics Research Network, CERN
- Volunteer, Florida Education Fund / McKnight Fellowships for Black and Hispanic Ph.D. students
- Latin American Council of Social Science (CLACSO): member of the working group on Afro-Descendance and Counterhegemony

- Member, NGO Committee for the Elimination of Racism, Afrophobia, and Colorism (CERAC)
- Inequality Network, Free University Berlin, Germany
- “Peace-Service” (in lieu of military service), Catholic Salesiano Congregation in Colombia (1988-1990)  
Educator of former street kids in Ibagué (Tolima), and of rural youth in Condoto (Chocó)

## PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

- April 2017** Trainee, University of California, Irvine: Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) Methods Workshop (3 days), led by Charles Ragin and Peer Fiss.
- Sept 1996** Trainee, State University of New York, USAID/Partners of the Americas training program for Brazilian NGO leaders. “Management of Non-Governmental Organizations,” Penedo, Brazil (40 hs.)
- Nov 1996** Trainee, State University of New York, USAID/Partners of the Americas training program for Brazilian NGO leaders. “Project Elaboration,” Porto de Galinhas, Brazil (40 hs)
- Dec 1996** Trainee, SUNY, USAID/Partners of the Americas training program for Brazilian NGO leaders. “Project Impact Evaluation and Indicators,” Porto de Galinhas, Brazil (40 hs)

## SEMINARS AND CONFERENCES (excerpt)

- Jul 2025** Presenter: “Back to the Basics: Homo Honorabilis vs. Homo Economicus,” 15th Biennial Conference of the Asian Consumer and Family Economics Association (ACFEA), Hanoi, Vietnam
- Mar 2025** Presenter: “Status: Honor and White Privilege in Brazil and Beyond.” Nacional Conference of Black Political Scientists, Annual Meeting, New Orleans
- Jun 2023** Presenter, “Explaining the Racial Wealth Gap,” IAREP-SABE, Nice, France
- Dec 2022** Book launch of the *Routledge Handbook of Afro Latin American Studies* at the Second Intercontinental Conference, Afro Latin American Research Institute, Harvard
- Nov 2022** Book launch of the *Routledge Handbook of Afro Latin American Studies* (by invitation) Texas Tech Black Cultural Center
- Feb 2022** Presenter, Reparations Workshop, Community Economics Research Network (CERN): “Recognition and Reparations Reconsidered: Lessons from Germany.”
- Mar 2021** Discussant, *National Conference of Black Political Scientists*. Panel on my book chapter “Recognition, Reparations and Political Autonomy of Black and Native Communities in the Americas.”
- Feb 2021** Presenter, Conference in Memory of John Burdick, Syracuse University: *Race in Latin America*
- May 2020** Presenter, Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Annual Meeting, Guadalajara (virtual). “*Jus Ritualis*: Decolonizing Nationhood and Citizenship, or what we can learn from Brazilian Candomblé’s Generous Nationalism.”
- Oct 2019** Participant, CLACSO: *III Escuela Internacional de Posgrado*. La Habana, Cuba.
- Sep 2018** Participant, *Democratic Constitutional Design: The Future of Public Engagement*, University of Iceland and Office of the Prime Minister of Iceland
- May 2018** Presenter, Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Annual Meeting, Barcelona. “First People of the Americas: Lessons on Democracy, Citizenship, and Politics”
- May 2016** Presenter and panel chair, Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Annual Meeting, New York. “Autonomia y Bienestar: El Caso de los Pueblos Indigenas de America Latina”
- Sep 2014** Participant (by invitation), International Workshop: *Research Techniques*, University of Pasto, Colombia, Sept. 24-28: “The Epistemology and Methodology of Exploratory Social Science Research”
- Jul 2014** Participant, International Colloquium: *Epistemologies of the South*, University of Coimbra, Portugal, July 10-12: “Learning from Black and Indigenous Communities in Colombia”
- Jul 2014** Participant, International Seminar: *Reflections on MDG 1: Where do we Stand?* International Center for Decent Work, Kassel, Germany, July 3-4: “Small and Closed vs. Large and Open: Some Lessons from Comparing Cuban to Colombian Agricultural Development”
- Jul 2014** Participant (by invitation), *Latin America Week*, University of Kassel, Germany. July 2-8, 2014

- Jun 2013** Participant (by invitation), *U.S. – Colombia Action Plan on Racial and Ethnic Equality Plenary Meeting*, June 12-13, U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs
- Oct 2011** Presenter (by invitation) International Conference: *India-Brazil Dialogue*, Goa, India. “Overcoming Coloniality: The Potential of South-South Dialogue about Citizenship, Participatory Democracy, and Development between Brazil and India”
- Mar 2011** Presenter (by invitation), SEPHIS Conference, Cartagena, Colombia. *Equity, Justice, Development: People of African Descent in Latin America in Comparative Perspective*. “Beyond the Black Atlantic: Democracy, the Law, and Racialized Exclusion in the Colombian Pacific”
- Oct 2010** Presenter, Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Annual Meeting, Toronto. “Second-Class Citizenship in Brazil”
- Jan 2010** Presenter (by invitation), Leiden University Conference: *The language of difference: mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of migrants 1945-2005*. “Framing Non-Whites and Producing Second-Class Citizens in France and Portugal”
- Jun 2009** Presenter, Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Annual Meeting, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. “Whiteness as Capital. Defending Inclusion and Privilege in Brazil”
- Mar 2008** Presenter, Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA), Annual Meeting, New Orleans. “Education and The Transference of Privilege in Brazil”
- Oct 2007** Presenter, Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada. “Defending Privilege. Whiteness and Inclusion in Brazil”
- Oct 2006** Presenter, Brazilian Association for Research and Postgraduate Studies (ANPOCS), Biannual Meeting, Caxambu, Brazil. “The Limits of Popular Participation: Cases from Bahia.”
- Oct 2006** Presenter, ISLAC Lecture Series, University of South Florida, “Defending Privilege: The Limits of Public Participation in Brazil”
- Sep 2006** Presenter, Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA), Annual Meeting, Nashville, “The Long Legacies of Patronage in Brazil: Cases from Bahia”
- Aug 2006** Presenter, American Political Science Association (APSA), Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, “When to Stop Interviewing: Applying Insights from Gadamer’s Hermeneutic Circle”
- Dec 2002** Presenter, Rockefeller Foundation Seminar, “Extending the Boundaries of Democracy,” Bellagio, Italy, “Education Reform and Local Participation: The Impact of Local Associations in Bahia, Brazil”

## RESOURCES

[www.berndreiterphd.com](http://www.berndreiterphd.com)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ViPwZA-baWg>  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VjhtuRhYNd4>  
[https://www.routledge.com/Decolonizing-the-Classics/book-series/DC?srsId=AfmBOopoY951Wfvn8td\\_PvMyKspE2j7pHXzWbLP9YLqfzPchoU3YZKvI](https://www.routledge.com/Decolonizing-the-Classics/book-series/DC?srsId=AfmBOopoY951Wfvn8td_PvMyKspE2j7pHXzWbLP9YLqfzPchoU3YZKvI)  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernd\\_Reiter](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernd_Reiter) <https://ttu.academia.edu/BerndReiter>  
<https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=pGUCXiUAAAAJ&hl=en>  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2764-4036>

## REFERENCES

- Darien Davis, professor and chair, Africana Studies, Rutgers University: [dd1199@newark.rutgers.edu](mailto:dd1199@newark.rutgers.edu)
- Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, Endowed Chair of Political Science, North Carolina Central University: [gmitch19@NCCU.EDU](mailto:gmitch19@NCCU.EDU)
- Elizabeth Hordge-Freeman, associate professor of sociology, Rice University: [eh101@rice.edu](mailto:eh101@rice.edu)
- Lawrence Morehouse, president and CEO, Florida Education Fund, [fefprez@gte.net](mailto:fefprez@gte.net)
- Alexis Mootoo, Assistant Vice President, Resource Management & Development – Student Success and Adjunct Instructor, University of South Florida, [amootoo@usf.edu](mailto:amootoo@usf.edu)