

# Bernard L. Fraga

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*Academic Affiliations* **Indiana University**, Bloomington, IN  
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science (2019 - )  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science (2013-2019)  
Faculty Affiliate, Center for Research on Race and Ethnicity in Society (2013 - )  
Faculty Affiliate, Latino Studies Program (2013 - )

*Education* **Harvard University**, Cambridge, MA  
Ph.D., Government and Social Policy (2013)  
A.M., Political Science (2011)  
**Stanford University**, Stanford, CA  
B.A., Political Science and Linguistics (2008)  
Degree Conferred with Distinction and Departmental Honors

*Research Interests* Electoral Politics, Institutions, and Policy - Race, Ethnicity, and Politics - Political Participation - Representation, Parties, and Partisanship - Campaigns - Political Geography

*Book* Fraga, Bernard L. (2018) *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.  
Winner: APSA Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Book Award (2019)

*Journal Publications* Fraga, Bernard L., Eric Gonzalez Juenke, and Paru Shah. (2020) "One Run Leads to Another: Minority Incumbents and the Emergence of Lower Ticket Minority Candidates." *Journal of Politics*. Forthcoming.  
Fraga, Bernard L. and Eitan D. Hersh. (2018) "Are Americans Stuck in Uncompetitive Enclaves? An Appraisal of U.S. Electoral Competition." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 13 (3): 291-311.  
Fraga, Bernard L. (2016) "Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role of Race in Voter Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science*. 60 (1): 97-122.  
Fraga, Bernard L. (2016) "Redistricting and the Causal Impact of Race on Voter Turnout." *Journal of Politics* 78 (1): 19-34.  
Winner: MPSA Lucius Barker Award (2015)

Ansolabehere, Stephen and Bernard L. Fraga. (2016) “Do Americans Prefer Co-Ethnic Representation? The Impact of Race on House Incumbent Evaluations.” *Stanford Law Review* 68 (6): 1553-1594.

Fraga, Bernard L. and Julie Lee Merseth. (2016) “Examining the Causal Impact of the Voting Rights Act Language Minority Provisions.” *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 1 (1): 31-59.

Fraga, Bernard L. and Eitan D. Hersh. (2011) “Voting Costs and Voter Turnout in Competitive Elections.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5 (4): 339-356.

*Other  
Publications*

McElwee, Sean, Brian F. Schaffner, Jesse H. Rhodes, and Bernard L. Fraga. (2019) “Trump Is Driving Out Precious Republican Voters.” *New York Times*. Feb 16.

Fraga, Bernard L. and Brian Schaffner. (2018) “The early vote suggests minority turnout will be high in 2018, but so will turnout among whites.” *Vox, Mischiefs of Faction Blog*. Nov 1.

Fraga, Bernard L. (2018) “The turnout gap between whites and racial minorities is larger than you think, and hard to change.” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*. Sep 25.

McElwee, Sean, Jesse H. Rhodes, Brian F. Schaffner, and Bernard L. Fraga. (2018) “The Missing Obama Millions.” *New York Times*. Mar 10.

Fraga, Bernard L., Sean McElwee, Jesse Rhodes, and Brian Schaffner. (2017) “Why did Trump win? More whites—and fewer blacks—actually voted.” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*. May 8.

Fraga, Bernard L. and Brian Schaffner. (2016) “Who’s voting early? Latino turnout is surging, but white turnout is, too.” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*. Nov 4.

Fraga, Bernard L. (2016) Review of *American Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism* by Jack Citrin and David O. Sears. *Perspectives on Politics* 14 (2): 562-564.

Fraga, Bernard L. (2015) “The Voting Rights Act turns 50 today. Here are three trends in minority voting you should know about.” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*. Aug 6.

Fraga, Bernard L. (2013) “The SCOTUS Majority Is Missing Exactly What the VRA Sought to Remedy.” *Monkey Cage Blog*. Jun 27.

*Selected  
Working  
Papers*

“Measuring Youth and College Student Voter Turnout” with John B. Holbein, revise and resubmit

“Separating Race and Party in Congressional Elections”

“Are Minority Candidates Penalized by Party Politics? Race, Gender, and Access to Party Support” with Hans J.G. Hassell

“Who Does Voter ID Keep from Voting?” with Michael G. Miller

“Partisan Alignment Increases Turnout: Evidence from Redistricting” with Daniel Moskowitz and Benjamin Schneer

“Contextualizing the Gender Gap in Voter Turnout” with Katelyn Stauffer

“Partisan Change Masked by Generational Turnover: Latino Party Identification from 1989-2018” with Colin Fisk

“Testing the ‘Two Sides of Racialization’” with Christopher DeSante and Matthew Hayes

*Teaching*

Indiana University

Voting, Elections, and Public Opinion (Undergraduate)

Racial and Ethnic Politics in the U.S. (Undergraduate)

Election Law and Voting Rights (Undergraduate)

Analyzing Politics (Undergraduate)

Electoral Politics and Political Participation (Graduate)

The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Identity (Graduate)

American Politics Workshop (Graduate)

Harvard University

Teaching Fellow/Tutor, Sophomore Tutorial on Democracy (*Undergraduate*)

Teaching Fellow, American Government (*Undergraduate*)

*Grants, Awards,  
& Fellowships*

Best Book on Race, Ethnicity, and Political Behavior Award (2019)

American Political Science Association Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics

Identity, Community, and Participation Research Grant (2019)

Social Science Research Council Anxieties of Democracy Program

Midwest Political Science Association Latino Caucus Early Career Award (2018)

Visiting Scholar (non-residential) (2017-2020)

Institute for Democracy & Higher Education, Tufts University

Indiana University Summer Instructional Development Fellowship (2017)

New Initiatives Grant (2017)

Massachusetts Institute of Technology Election Data and Science Lab

Indiana University Latino Faculty and Staff Council Emerging Scholar Award (2017)

Indiana University Trustees Teaching Award (2015)

Midwest Political Science Association Lucius Barker Award (2015)

Best Dissertation Award Honorable Mention (2014)

American Political Science Association Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics

Harvard Graduate Prize Dissertation Completion Fellowship (2012-2013)

Harvard University Center for American Politics Travel Grant (2012)

Harvard University Certificate of Distinction in Teaching (2011, 2012)

SSRC Graduate Studies Enhancement Grant (2010, 2011, 2012)

NSF-IGERT Doctoral Fellow (2009-2011)

Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality & Social Policy, Harvard University

American Political Science Association Minority Fellow (2008-2010)

Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship (2006-2008)

*Invited  
Talks*

University of Pittsburgh, Seminar in Representation and Identity Politics. February 22, 2019. “Separating Race and Party in Congressional Elections”

Fordham University, American Forum Speaker Series, February 6, 2019. “The Turnout Gap: How Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Voter Turnout Skew Election Outcomes”

Tufts University, Tisch College of Civic Life Civic Life Lunch, February 4, 2019. “The Turnout Gap: Race and Voter Turnout”

Princeton University, Conference on Identity and Inequality, October 19, 2018. “The Turnout Gap: Causes and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Voter Turnout”

University of California San Diego, Spring Conference on American Politics, Center for American Politics, May 24, 2018. “Who Does Voter ID Keep from Voting?”

Northwestern University, Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Workshop, February 23, 2018. “The Turnout Gap: Causes and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Voter Turnout.”

The Ohio State University, Symposium Rapporteur for *The New American Electorate Beyond the Voting Booth: Building an Inclusive Democracy*, December 1, 2017.

Columbia University, American Politics Workshop, April 25, 2017. “The Turnout Gap: Exploring the Causes and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Differences in Voter Turnout.”

Vanderbilt University, Research on Individuals, Politics, and Society Speaker Series, February 27, 2017. “The Turnout Gap: Exploring the Causes and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Differences in Voter Turnout.”

Rice University, Speaker Series, January 27, 2017. “The Turnout Gap: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Racial/Ethnic Differences in Voter Turnout.”

ICPSR Summer Institute, Blalock Lecture, August 4, 2016. “Using Big Data to Measure, Map, and Explain Racial Differences in Voter Turnout.”

University of Chicago, American Politics Workshop, Nov 9, 2015. “Changing Districts, Changing Turnout: Redistricting and Minority Political Participation.”

Harvard Kennedy School, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation Workshop Participant and Panelist, March 26, 2015. “How Data is Helping Us Understand Voting Rights After *Shelby County v. Holder*.”

*Conference  
Participation*

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting

Paper/Book Presentation: 2010, 2011, 2014 (2), 2017 (2), 2018, 2019  
Roundtable/Workshop Panelist: 2018  
Panel Chair/Discussant: 2015, 2017

Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting

Paper/Book Presentation: 2010, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016 (2), 2017, 2018, 2019  
Roundtable/Workshop Panelist: 2019  
Workshop Organizer: 2019  
Panel Chair/Discussant: 2014, 2015, 2017, 2019 (2)

Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting

Paper Presentation: 2015  
Workshop Organizer: 2019  
Panel Chair/Discussant: 2015, 2018

Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration Summer Conference

Program Co-Chair: 2017  
Paper Presentation: 2017  
Panel Chair/Discussant: 2017, 2018

Politics of Race, Immigration, and Ethnicity Consortium (PRIEC)

Presentation: 2013, 2018  
Discussant: 2017

Symposium on the Politics of Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity (SPIRE)

Co-Organizer: 2017, 2018  
Institution Host: 2014  
Paper Presentation: 2012

*Campus  
Presentations*

Indiana University

American Politics Workshop: 2015, 2017, 2018  
Workshop on Race, Ethnicity, and Migration: 2016  
Neal-Marshall Black Culture Center: 2014  
Social Science Research Commons, Workshop in Methods: 2013

Harvard University

American Politics Research Workshop: 2011 (2), 2012  
Political Psychology and Behavior Workshop: 2010, 2011

*Advising &  
Service*

Ph.D. Dissertation Committee Member, Indiana University

Colin Fisk (Chair)  
Rita Nassar (Co-Chair)  
Eric Schmidt  
Vivian Ferrillo  
Xuan Li (Central Eurasian Studies)  
Katelyn Stauffer (defended July 2018)  
Laura Bucci (defended July 2017)  
Matthew Fowler (defended July 2017)  
Ian Anson (defended June 2015)

Master's Thesis Examiner in Political Science, Yannick Vogel, Freie Universität Berlin (2017-2018)

Faculty Mentor, Advanced Empirical Research on Politics for Undergraduates Program (Sierra Wiese), Society for Political Methodology (2019)

Faculty Mentor, Center for Research on Race and Ethnicity in Society Postdoctoral Scholar (Vanessa Cruz Nichols), Indiana University (2017-2019)

Faculty Mentor, Center for Research on Race and Ethnicity in Society Undergraduate Research Program, Indiana University (2017-2018)

Honors Thesis Mentor, Department of Political Science, Indiana University (2014-2016, 2018 -)

Faculty Mentor, Cox Research Scholars Program, Indiana University (2013 -)

Coordinator, Department of Political Science American Politics Subfield, Indiana University (2018 -)

Co-coordinator, Department of Political Science Political Analytics Program, Indiana University (2018 -)

Board Member, All In Campus Democracy Project and Big 10 Voting Challenge, Indiana University (2016, 2018)

Member, Diversity and Affirmative Action Committee, Bloomington Faculty Council, Indiana University (2016-2017)

Member, Center for Research on Race and Ethnicity in Society Postdoctoral Fellowship Selection Committee, Indiana University (2014)

Department of Political Science Committee Member, Indiana University

Development Committee (2018-2019)  
Personnel Committee (2017-2018)  
Graduate Program and Admissions Committee (2013-2017)  
Undergraduate Program Committee (2015-2016)  
Graduate Awards Committee (2014-2015)

*Professional  
Activities &  
Affiliations*

Editorial Board Member: *American Journal of Political Science* (2019 -), *Political Behavior* (2019 -)

Reviewer: *American Political Science Review*; *American Journal of Political Science*; *Journal of Politics*; *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*; *Cambridge University Press*; *Oxford University Press*; *W.W. Norton & Co.*; *British Journal of Political Science*; *Political Analysis*; *Political Research Quarterly*; *Political Psychology*; *Public Opinion Quarterly*; *Legislative Studies Quarterly*; *Political Behavior*; *Electoral Studies*; *American Politics Research*; *Politics, Groups, and Identities*

Member, Western Political Science Association Committee on the Status of Latinos/as in the Profession (2017-2019, Chair 2018-2019)

Member, Executive Committee, Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, American Political Science Association (2019-2021)

Member, Nominations Committee, Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, American Political Science Association (2017-2019)

Research Affiliate, Democracy Fund Voter Study Group (2018 -)

Chair, Lucius Barker Award Selection Committee, Midwest Political Science Association (2017-2018)

Member: American Political Science Association; Midwest Political Science Association; Western Political Science Association

*Consulting*

Expert, *State of California, et al. v. Wilbur Ross, et al. & City of San José, et al. v. Wilbur Ross, et al.*, Effects of undercount on Census due to addition of a citizenship question. (2018-2019)

Expert, Report for Fillenwarth Dennerline Groth & Towe, LLP, Assessment of partisan gerrymandering. (2018)

Expert, *Common Cause Indiana, et al. v. Marion County Election Board, et al.*, Impact of closure of early voting sites on minority voters. (2017)

Expert, *Shannon Perez, et al. v. State of Texas, et al.*, Assessment of partisan gerrymandering. (2017)