

# Bernard L. Fraga

---

## CONTACT INFORMATION

Department of Political Science  
1555 Dickey Drive, 327 Tarbutton Hall  
Emory University  
Atlanta, GA 30322

Website: <http://bernardfraga.com>  
E-Mail: [bernardfraga@emory.edu](mailto:bernardfraga@emory.edu)  
Phone: (404) 727-2442

## ACADEMIC AFFILIATIONS

**Emory University**, Atlanta, GA  
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science (2020 - )  
**Indiana University**, Bloomington, IN  
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science (2019-2020)  
Faculty Affiliate, Center for Research on Race and Ethnicity in Society (2013-2020)  
Faculty Affiliate, Latino Studies Program (2013-2020)  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science (2013-2019)

## 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*

## BOOK

Fraga, Bernard L. (2018) *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.  
Award: APSA Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Book Award (2019)  
Reviews: *Perspectives on Politics*, *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, *National Review of Black Politics*  
Author Meets Critics: Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting (2019)

## JOURNAL ARTICLES

Ansolabehere, Stephen, Bernard L. Fraga, and Brian Schaffner. "The CPS Voting and Registration Supplement Overstates Minority Turnout." Conditionally accepted at the *Journal of Politics*.  
Fraga, Bernard L. and Michael G. Miller. (2021) "Who Does Voter ID Keep from Voting?" Forthcoming at the *Journal of Politics*.  
Stauffer, Katelyn E. and Bernard L. Fraga. (2021) "Contextualizing the Gender Gap in Voter Turnout." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. In Press.  
Fraga, Bernard L., Daniel J. Moskowitz, and Benjamin Schneer. (2021) "Partisan Alignment Increases Turnout: Evidence from Redistricting." *Political Behavior*. In Press.  
Fraga, Bernard L. and Hans J.G. Hassell. (2021) "Are Minority Candidates Penalized by Party Politics? Race, Gender, and Access to Party Support." *Political Research Quarterly*. In Press.  
Fraga, Bernard L., Eric Gonzalez Juenke, and Paru Shah. (2020) "Did Women and Candidates of Color Lead or Ride the Democratic Wave in 2018?" *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 53 (3): 435-439.  
Fraga, Bernard and John Holbein. (2020) "Measuring Youth and College Student Voter Turnout." *Electoral Studies*. 65 (3): 102086.

- 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*. 82 (2): 771-775.
- 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.  
Award: 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
- Fraga, Bernard L., Zachary Peskowitz, James Szewczyk. (2021) “New Georgia runoff data finds that more Black voters than usual came out. Trump voters stayed home.” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*. Jan 29.
- Fraga, Bernard L. (2021) Review of *Dangerously Divided: How Race and Class Shape Winning and Losing in American Politics* by Zoltan L. Hajnal. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. 6 (1): 293-295.
- Fraga, Bernard L. and Jonathan Robinson (2020) “We have data on who voted early in key battleground states and whom they may be voting for.” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*. Nov 1.
- Gonzalez Juenke, Eric, Paru Shah, Bernard L. Fraga, and Erika Vallejo (2020) “State legislatures likely to have more women and people of color next year.” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*. Oct 24.
- Fisk, Colin A. and Bernard L. Fraga (2020) “Til Death Do Us Part(isanship): Voting and Polarization in Opposite-Party Marriages” Democracy Fund Voter Study Group. August 2020.
- Fraga, Bernard L. (2020) “The next Congress will probably be the most diverse ever.” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*. Jun 22.
- 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

“Can Elite Allegations of Electoral Fraud Demobilize Voters?: Trump Supporters and the 2020 Georgia Runoff” with Zachary Peskowitz and James Szewczyk

“Separating Race and Party in Congressional Elections”

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

TEACHING

**Emory University**

Latinx Politics in the United States (Undergraduate)

Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior (Graduate)

**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  
Emory University Public Scholarship Advancement Fund. \$2,250. (2020)

American Political Science Association Centennial Center Research Grant. “Candidate Characteristics Cooperative Virtual Workshop.” (with Eric Gonzalez Juenke and Paru Shah). \$10,000. (2020)

National Science Foundation Grant SES-2037376. “Build and Broaden: The Inaugural Conference of the Atlanta Network for Race, Ethnicity and Politics.” (with Pearl K. Dowe and Andra Gillespie). \$59,142. (2020)

American Political Science Association Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Book on Race, Ethnicity, and Political Behavior Award (2019)

Social Science Research Council Identity, Community, and Participation Research Grant. “An Inventory and Analysis of GOTV Efforts Targeting Communities of Color.” \$7,375. (2019)

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)

Massachusetts Institute of Technology Election Data and Science Lab New Initiatives Grant.  
“Who Does Voter ID Legislation Keep from Voting? Evidence from Texas.” \$10,235. (2017)

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)

American Political Science Association Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Best Dissertation Award Honorable Mention (2014)

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 Wisconsin, American Politics Workshop. April 10, 2021. “Can Elite Allegations of Electoral Fraud Demobilize Voters?: A Quantitative Case Study of the 2021 Georgia Runoff”

Case Western Reserve University, Office for Inclusion, Diversity, and Equal Opportunity. October 21, 2020. “The Power of the Latinx Vote”

University of Michigan, Interdisciplinary Workshop on American Politics. Spring 2020 (Rescheduled). “Separating Race and Party in Congressional Elections”

University of Notre Dame, Rooney Center for the Study of American Democracy. February 28, 2020. “Separating Race and Party in Congressional Elections”

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

Program Co-Chair: 2021 (Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics)  
Paper/Book Presentation: 2010, 2011, 2014 (2), 2017 (2), 2018, 2021  
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)

Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting

Paper Presentation: 2016, 2020  
Panel Chair/Discussant: 2016, 2021

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, 2020

Institution Host: 2014

Paper Presentation: 2012

CAMPUS  
PRESENTATIONS

Emory University

Emory Faculty on Race: 2021

Latinx Alumni Association: 2020

Latinx Pre-Law Society: 2020

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, Emory University

Devon Thurman

Kevin Sparrow

Ph.D. Dissertation Committee Member, Indiana University

Eric Schmidt

Vivian Ferrillo

Xuan Li (Central Eurasian Studies)

Rita Nassar (Co-Chair, defended May 2021)

Colin Fisk (Chair, defended April 2021)

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, Scholarly-Inquiry and Research Experience Program, Emory University (2020-)

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, 2018-2020)

Faculty Mentor, Cox Research Scholars Program, Indiana University (2013-2020)

Co-coordinator, Department of Political Science Political Analytics Program, Indiana University (2018-2020)

Coordinator, Department of Political Science American Politics Subfield, Indiana University (2018-2019)

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

Vice President, Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) (2021-2024)

Editorial Board Member: *Journal of Politics* (2021 -); *American Journal of Political Science* (2019 -); *Political Behavior* (2019 -)

Reviewer: *American Journal of Political Science*; *American Political Science Review*; *American Politics Research*; *British Journal of Political Science*; Cambridge University Press; *Election Law Journal*; *Electoral Studies*; *Journal of Politics*; *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*; *Legislative Studies Quarterly*; *National Review of Black Politics*; Oxford University Press; *Perspectives on Politics*; *PLOS One*; *Political Analysis*; *Political Behavior*; *Political Research Quarterly*; *Politics, Groups, and Identities*; *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*; *PS: Political Science and Politics*; *Public Opinion Quarterly*; *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*; W.W. Norton & Co.; *Weather, Climate, and Society*

Member, MIT Election Data and Science Lab Advisory Board (2020 -)

Member, American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) Task Force on Pre-Election Polling (2020-2021)

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

Member, American Political Science Association (APSA) Presidential Task Force on Congressional Reform (2019)

Member, Western Political Science Association (WPSA) Committee on the Status of Latinos/as in the Profession (2017-2020, Chair 2018-2019)

Member, Section on Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, APSA: Executive Committee (2019-2021), Nominations Committee (2017-2019)

Member, Section on Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior, APSA: Executive Committee (2020-2022)

Chair, Lucius Barker Award Committee, MPSA (2017-2018)

Member: APSA; MPSA; WPSA; SPSA; AAPOR

EXPERT  
TESTIMONY

Expert, *Rose, et al. v. Raffensperger*, Voting rights in Georgia elections. (2021)

Expert, *Issa, et al. v. Newsom, et al. & RNC, et al. v. Newsom, et al.*, Evaluation of voter fraud claims. (2020)

Expert, *S.P.S., ex rel. Natalie Short, et al. v. Brad Raffensperger, et al.*, Competition in Georgia elections. (2019-2020)

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

Panelist, *Voting Rights in Indiana* meeting of the Indiana Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Voter Turnout. (2018)

Expert, *Common Cause Indiana, et al. v. Marion County Election Board, et al.*, Impact of closure of early voting sites on minority voters. (2018)

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