

Zoltan L. Hajnal

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

2021- Co-Director, Yankelovich Center for Social Science Research, UCSD
2017- Professor, School of Global Policy and Strategy, UCSD
2011- Professor, Department of Political Science, UCSD
2007-2011 Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, UCSD
2001-2007 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, UCSD
1999-2001 Research Fellow, Public Policy Institute of California
1998-1999 Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, Brandeis University,

EDUCATION

Ph.D. University of Chicago Political Science, 1998
M.A. University of Chicago Political Science, 1993
B.S. Yale University Geophysics/ Political Science (cum laude), 1990

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Race and Inequality in American Politics: An Imperfect Union. 2024. Cambridge University Press.
With Vince Hutchings and Taeku Lee

Dangerously Divided: How Race and Class Shape Winning and Losing in American Politics. 2020.
Cambridge University Press

White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics. 2015 Princeton University Press. With
Marisa Abrajano. (Choice Outstanding Academic Title; Ralph Bunche Award for Best Book on
Ethnic and Cultural Pluralism, APSA; Selected as One of the 12 Best Social Science Publications of
the Decade by VOX; Selected for *The New York Times Book Review's* "The Year in Reading" 2016;
Best New Books in Political Science, New Books Network)

*Why Americans Don't Join the Party: Race, Immigration, and the Failure of Political Parties to
Engage the Public.* 2011. Princeton University Press. With Taeku Lee. (Best Book in Racial and
Ethnic Politics, APSA)

America's Uneven Democracy: Turnout, Race, and Representation in City Politics. 2010.
Cambridge University Press. (Best Book in Urban Politics, APSA)

Changing White Attitudes toward Black Political Leadership. 2007. Cambridge University Press.

Refereed Articles

Zoltan Hajnal, Vladimir Kogan, and Agustin Markarian. Forthcoming. Who Wins When: Election Timing and Descriptive Representation. *American Journal of Political Science*

Zoltan Hajnal, Vladimir Kogan, and Agustin Markarian. 2022. Who Votes: City Election Timing and Voter Composition. *American Political Science Review* 116(1):374-383

John Kuk and Zoltan Hajnal. 2021. Democratic Party Control Reduces Gender Inequality. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 46(1):155-188.

“Immigration and the Origins of White Backlash” 2021. *Daedalus*. 150 (2):23-39

John Kuk, Zoltan Hajnal, and Nazita Lajevardi. 2020. A Disproportionate Burden: Strict Voter Identification Laws and Minority Turnout. *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 10(1)-126-134.

John Griffin, Zoltan Hajnal, Brian Newman, and David Searle, 2019. Political Inequality in America: Who Loses on Spending Policy? When is Policy Less Biased? *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7(2): 367-385

Zoltan Hajnal, John Kuk, and Nazita Lajevardi, 2018. We all Agree: Strict Voter ID Laws Disproportionately Burden Minorities. *Journal of Politics* 80 (3): 1052-1059

Hajnal, Zoltan, Nazita Lajevardi and Lindsay Nielson 2017. “Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes” *The Journal of Politics* 79 (2): 363-379 (Lawrence Longley Award from the Representation and Electoral Systems section of APSA for the best article on representation and electoral systems).

Abrajano, Marisa, Zoltan Hajnal, and Hans Hassell. 2017. “The Case of Immigration Coverage and White Macropartisanship. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. 2(1):5-34.

Hajnal, Zoltan and Marisa Abrajano. 2016. “Trump’s All Too Familiar Strategy and Its Future for the GOP” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*. 14(3):295-309.

Hajnal Zoltan L. and Michael Rivera. 2014. “Immigration, Latinos, and White Partisan Politics: The New Democratic Defection” *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4):77-789.

Hajnal, Zoltan L. and Jeremy Horowitz. 2014. “Racial Winners and Losers in American Party Politics”. *Perspectives on Politics* 12(1):10-18. (Heinz Eulau Award for the best article published in Perspectives)

Hajnal, Zoltan L. and Jessica L. Trounstine 2013. What Underlies Urban Politics? Race, Class, Ideology, Partisanship, and the Urban Vote. *Urban Affairs Review* 49 (4): 63-99.

Hajnal, Zoltan L. and Jessica L. Trounstine. 2013. Identifying and Understanding Perceived Inequities in Local Politics. *Political Research Quarterly* 66 (2).

“Who or What Governs: The Effects of Economics, Politics, Institutions, and Needs on Local Spending.” 2010. *American Politics Research*. 2010 38: 1130-1163

“Who Loses in American Democracy: A count of Votes Demonstrates the Limited Representation of African Americans.” 2009. *American Political Science Review* 103(1):37-57. (Runner-up for Heinz Eulau Award for the best article published in the APSR)

“Black Exceptionalism: Insights from Direct Democracy on the Race vs Class Debate” Research Article. 2007. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 71(4): 560-587.

“Where Turnout Matters: The Consequences of Uneven Turnout in City Politics” 2005 *Journal of Politics*. 67(2): 515-535. With Jessica Trounstine.

“Reviving Local Democracy: Institutional Solutions to Low Voter Turnout” 2003 *Urban Affairs Review*. 38(5):645-668. With Paul Lewis.

“Minorities and Direct Legislation: Evidence from California Ballot Proposition Elections,” 2002 *The Journal of Politics*. 64(1):154-177. With Elisabeth Gerber and Hugh Louch.

“White Residents, Black Incumbents, and a Declining Racial Divide,” 2001 *American Political Science Review*. 95(3):603-617.

“The Local Interest Group System: Who Governs and Why?” 1998 *Social Science Quarterly* 79(1):227-241. With Terry N. Clark.

“The Changing Geographic Structure of Black White Segregation in the United States,” 1995 *Social Science Quarterly*. 76(3):527-541. With Douglas Massey.

“The Nature of Concentrated Urban Poverty in Canada and the United States,” 1995 *Canadian Journal of Sociology*. 20(4):497-528.

Chapters in Edited Volumes/Policy Reports

“How Californians See Immigration.” 2021. In *Immigrant California*. Edited by David Fitzgerald and John Skrentny. Stanford University Press. (With Kristy Patakis and Taeku Lee)

“Anti-Immigrant Backlash: Is There a Path Forward?” 2021. In *The Trump Paradox: Migration, Trade, and Racial Politics in US-Mexico Integration*. Edited by Raul Hinojosa and Ed Telles. University of California Press. 244-254

“Securing Fair Elections: Challenges to Voting in the United States and Georgia” 2019 Scholars Strategy Network

“Injustice in the City: Race and Class Inequalities in Local Politics.” 2016 in *APSA Taskforce on Racial Inequalities in the Americas* (with Jessica Trounstine)

Hajnal, Zoltan L. “Representation and Responsiveness in Local Government” 2016. *Oxford Handbook on Racial and Ethnic Politics in America*. Edited by Taeku Lee, David Leal, and Mark Sawyer. Oxford University Press.

“Fifty Years of the Voting Rights Act: The State of Race in Politics” *Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Report* (with Khalilah Brown-Dean, Christina Rivers, and Ismail White) 2015

Hajnal, Zoltan L. “The Local Policy Making Context: Who or What Governs?” 2015. *Oxford Handbook on State and Local Government*. Edited by Don Haider-Markel. Oxford University Press.

“Uneven Democracy: Turnout, Minority Interests and Local Government Spending” With Jessica Trounstine 2013. In *Representation and Beyond* Edited by Jack Nagel and Rogers Smith. University of Pennsylvania Press

“Transforming Votes into Victories” 2007. Chapter in *Voting Rights Act Reauthorization of 2006: Perspectives on Democracy, Participation, and Power*. Edited by Ana Henderson. Institute for Global Studies, The University of California. (with Jessica Trounstine).

“Out of Line: Immigration and Party Identification among Asian Americans and Latinos” 2005 Chapter in *Transforming Politics, Transforming America: The Political and Civic Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States*. Edited by Taeku Lee, Kathrick Ramakrishnan, and Ricardo Ramirez. University of Virginia Press (with Taeku Lee).

“Tyranny of the Majority? Racial and Ethnic Minorities in Direct Democracy” 2005 Chapter in *Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States*. Edited by Gary M. Segura and Shaun Bowler. University of Virginia Press (with Elisabeth Gerber and Hugh Louch).

“Minority Rights in Direct Democracy” 2003 Chapter in *Principles & Practice of American Politics*. Edited by Samuel Kernell and Steven S. Smith. Congressional Quarterly Press (with Elisabeth Gerber).

“Information and Uncertainty: The Case of White Voters and Black Candidates” 2003 Chapter in *Everything But Death and Taxes: Uncertainty and the Study of American Politics*. Edited by Barry C. Burden. Cambridge University Press.

Other Publications

“Few People are Expected to Vote in this Year’s ‘Off-Cycle’ Elections. That can be Fixed” Washington Post (Monkey Cage). August 30, 2021

Women earn more and are more likely to have jobs when Democrats run the state legislature” Washington Post (Monkey Cage). Oct 13, 2020.

“Why Does No One Vote in Local Elections? Timing is Everything” New York Times. Oct 22, 2018.

“Do voter identification laws suppress minority voting? Yes. We did the research” *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage) Feb 15, 2017. With Nazita Lajevardi and Lindsay Nielson

“Why Voting with Your Wallet Means Voting Democratic” CNN OP ED Oct 7, 2016. With Barbara Walter

“The Results on Voter ID Laws are in – and its bad news for ethnic and racial minorities” *Los Angeles Times*, Sept 9, 2016

“Strict Voter Identification Laws Advantage Whites – and Skew American Democracy to the Right” *Scholars Strategy Network Key Findings*, March 2016 (with Nazita Lajevardi, Lindsay Nielson)

“The Demographic Case for Republicans to Take Up Immigration” *Wall Street Journal*, May 29, 2015

“Where does America’s low voter turnout matter the most? In local elections” *Washington Post*, March 24, 2015

“Opposition to immigration reform is a winning strategy for Republicans” *Washington Post*, February 27, 2015

“To Avert the Next Ferguson, Reschedule Elections to Make Local Politics More Representative” *Scholars Strategy Network Basic Facts*, February 2015

“Ferguson: No Peace Without Representation” *Los Angeles Times* August 2014

“Why the Democratic Party – Not Just the GOP – Has an Immigration Problem” *Scholars Strategy Network Basic Facts*, December 2014

“As long as white America remains skeptical of immigrants, moving to the left on immigration is likely to hurt the Democrats.” *United States Politics and Policy Blog*, London School of Economics Dec 2014

“The Democrats’ Immigration Problem” Op-Ed in the *New York Times*, Nov 20, 2014

“Under Democratic presidents, minorities make economic gains – and so do whites” *United States Politics and Policy Blog*, London School of Economics May 2013 (with Jeremy Horowitz)

“How Democrats and Republicans Can Draw Uncommitted Minorities into Politics” *Scholars Strategy Network Key Findings*, December 2012 (with Taeku Lee)

“Under Democratic Presidents, Minorities Make Economic Gains - And So Do Whites” *Scholars Strategy Network Basic Facts*, November 2012 (with Jeremy D. Horowitz)

“Why the Poor Favor Democrats” 2012 Op-Ed in the *Los Angeles Times* December 3

“The Untold Future of American Politics” 2012 Op-Ed in the New York Times, June 4

“The GOP’s Racial Challenge” 2010 Op-Ed in the Washington Post, November 10

Review of *Twenty-First Century Color Lines* and *Minority Report* in *Perspectives on Politics*. 2010 8:359-361

“Obama’s Extra Hurdle?” 2007 Op-Ed in the Washington Post, July 13

Municipal Elections in California: Turnout, Timing, and Competition. 2002. San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California. (with Paul Lewis and Hugh Louch)

Finding Common Ground: Racial and Ethnic Attitudes in California. 2001. San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California. (with Mark Baldassare)

Are There Winners and Losers? Race, Ethnicity, and California’s Initiative Vote. 2001. San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California. With Hugh Louch

HONORS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND GRANTS

Winner: Lawrence Longley Award from the Representation and Electoral Systems section of APSA for the best article on representation and electoral systems (*Voter Identification Laws*)

Winner: Best New Books in Political Science, New Books Network (*White Backlash*)

Winner: Choice Outstanding Academic Title for 2015 (*White Backlash*)

Winner: Ralph J. Bunche Award for Best Book on Ethnic and Cultural Pluralism in 2015 (*White Backlash*)

Research Grant. Russell Sage Foundation (\$23,000)

Co-Investigator. California Immigration Research Initiative 2015 (\$583,000)

Winner, Heinz Eulau Award for the best article published in *Perspectives on Politics*, 2014 (Racial Winners and Losers)

Research Grant, Academic Senate 2018, 2014, 2010, 2008, 2005, 2001, 2000, 2001

Best Book on Racial and Ethnic Politics, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (*Why American’s Don’t Join the Party*), 2011

Best Book in Urban Politics Award, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (*America’s Uneven Democracy*), 2010

Runner-Up, Heinz Eulau Award for the best article published in the American Political Science Review, 2010 (Who Loses in American Democracy?)

Research Grant, UCSD Latino Studies Research Initiative, 2009

Fellow, Center for US-Mexican Studies 2007-2008

Fellowship, Chris and Warren Hellman Foundation, 2006

Fellow, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, 2005-2006

Fellow, Russell Sage Foundation 2005-2006 (Declined)

Fellow, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD 2005-2006 (Declined)

Research Grant, Russell Sage Foundation 2005-2006

Research Grant, The Civil Rights Project (Harvard/Berkeley) 2005

Fellow, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, UCSD, 2003-2004

Chris and Warren Hellman Fellowship, Summer 2003

Faculty Career Development Award, University of California, 2003

Best Paper in Urban Politics Award, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Why a Skewed Electorate Does Matter: Nonparticipation in Local Elections), 2002

Chancellor's Summer Faculty Fellowship, UCSD 2002

Public Policy Institute of California Research Fellowship, 2001-2002

Nominated for Pi Sigma Alpha Award (Best Paper at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association), 2000

Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship, Brandeis University, 1998-1999

The Frederick Douglas Institute for African and African-American Studies Postdoctoral Fellowship, 1998-1999 (declined)

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Dissertation Fellowship, 1995-1997

National Science Foundation Urban Poverty Fellowship, 1993-1996

Mellon Foundation Pre-Dissertation Research Fellowship, 1994

Patricia Lynn Baker Prize for best Master's Thesis in Urban Politics, University of Chicago, 1993

University of Chicago Political Science Fellowship, 1991-1993

SERVICE/PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Director: Yankelovich Center for Social Science Research, UCSD

Briefings: Presentations to two House Judiciary Committees on Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes

Faculty Head: Master's in Public Policy Program, GPS, UCSD

Associate Dean for Faculty: GPS, UCSD

Expert Witness: Redondo Beach vs State of California on concurrent local elections

Expert Witness: Greater Birmingham Ministries, et al. vs. John H. Merrill (Strict Voter Identification in Alabama)

Expert Consultant: Voting Rights Case in Georgia for the Department of Justice

Co-author: Amicus brief to the Supreme Court of the United States in support of BAMN's challenge to Prop 2, the ban on affirmative action in Michigan

Co-Author: Amicus brief to the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit in support of BAMN's challenge to Prop 2, the ban on affirmative action in Michigan

Expert Witness: State of Arizona in support of ARS 16-204 on concurrent local elections

Editorial Boards: American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics

Media: Al Jazeera (Consider This, Inside Story), PBS (The Hidden Brain, The News Hour, Full Focus, These Days), UCSD-TV, Fox News (Alan Colmes), Public Radio International (To the Point), New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times, The Economist, The Atlantic, The New Republic, International Herald Tribune, San Francisco Chronicle, San Diego Union Tribune, National Journal, Vox, Boston Review, The Guardian, Die Welt, Der Spiegel, Slate, Political Violence at a Glance, Politico, Monkey Cage.

Contributor: Latino in Society Program, The Aspen Institute

Contributor: Scholars Strategy Network

Editor: Political Behavior Section of Political Science Network

Board Member: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies

Board Member: Yankelovich Center for Social Science Research

Member: Urban Politics Executive Committee, APSA

Member: APSA Best Dissertation Committee, APSA Race and Ethnicity Best Book Award, APSA Urban Politics Best Book Award

Co-chair: The Identity, Community, and Participation working group, Social Science Research Council

Section Head: Midwest Political Science Association, American Political Science Association

Conference Organizer: Politics of Race, Immigration and Ethnicity Consortium

Director of Graduate Studies: Department of Political Science, UCSD

Coordinator: American Political Institutions Project, UCSD

Coordinator: Senior Honors Seminar Program, UCSD

Member: Graduate Admissions Committee, UCSD

Member: Working Group on the Creation of UCSD Cultural Diversity Requirement

Member: Graduate Program Diversity Committee, UCSD

Chair: Target of Opportunity Hiring Committee, UCSD

Diversity Coordinator: Department of Political Science, UCSD

Founder and Coordinator: Race and Identity Working Group, UCSD

Mentor: Thurgood Marshall Mentor Program, McNair Program, Academic Internship Program

Dissertation Committee Member: David Searle, Andrew Janusz (co-chair), Nazita Lajevardi (chair), Michael Rivera (chair), Neil Visalvanich (chair), Lindsay Nielson (chair), Chris Dawes, Justin Phillips, Jessica Trounstine, Mike Binder, Michael Tesler, Craig Burnett, Rebecca Franklin, Ben Backes

Reviewer: National Science Foundation, American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Political Behavior, American Politics Review, Political Research Quarterly, Social Science Quarterly, Public Opinion Quarterly, Urban Affairs Review, DuBois Review

Courses: Political Behavior, Race and Politics in the United States, Introduction to Policy Analysis, Research on the Urban Underclass, Urban Politics, Inter-racial Relations, American Politics Workshop, Senior Honors Seminar.