

# **Zoltan L. Hajnal**

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## **ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

2011-	Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego
2007-2011	Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego
2001-2007	Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego
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**

*White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics.* 2015 Princeton University Press. With Marisa Abrajano. Winner: Choice Outstanding Academic Title

*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. Winner: Best Book in Racial and Ethnic Politics, APSA

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

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

### **Refereed Articles**

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. (Winner: Heinz Eulau Award for the best article published in *Perspectives*)

Hajnal, Zoltan L. and Jessica L. Trounstein 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. Trounstein. 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.

"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 Trounstein.

"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**

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

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

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

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

“Representation and Responsiveness in Local Government” Forthcoming. *Oxford Handbook on Racial and Ethnic Politics in America*. Edited by Taeku Lee, David Leal, and Mark Sawyer. Oxford University 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 Trounstein).

“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**

“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)

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

“*Averting the Next Ferguson: One Simple Solution*” 2014 Op-Ed in the LA Times August 27

“*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

### **Under Review**

“Media Framing and Changing Partisan Identities: The Effect of Immigration Coverage on Macropartisanship” Revise and Resubmit at the *American Journal of Political Science*. With Marisa Abrajano and Hans Hassell

“Political Inequality in America: Who Loses and What Can Be Done About It” Under Review With John Griffin, Brian Newman, and David Searle

“Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes” Under Review With Nazita Lajavardi and Lindsay Nielson

### **HONORS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND GRANTS**

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

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 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**

**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 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, 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.

**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

**Member:** Urban Politics Executive Committee, APSA

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

**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 (chair), Chris Dawes, Justin Phillips, Jessica Trounstein, 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.

### **RECENT INVITED PRESENTATIONS**

“Understanding and Addressing Inequality in American Politics” UC-Berkeley, 2014, Northwestern 2015

“The New Politics of Race: Immigrant Context and the Increasing Conservatism of White America” Presented at the Center for US-Mexican Studies, May 2008, Institute for Governmental Studies, UC-Berkeley November 2008, Princeton University, March 2009, University of California-Davis 2011, Harvard University 2011, UC-Berkeley 2012.

“Race in American Politics”, Mira Costa College, 2012.

“The Politics of Race in the 2008 Election” Presented at the University of Washington, February 2009.

“The Consequences of Uneven Turnout in City Politics” Presented at the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, September 2005, the Workshop on American Politics,

Columbia University, October 2005, and at the Politics Department Seminar Series, New York University, January 2006, the University of Virginia Department of Political Science January 2007, the Workshop on American Politics, Rice University March 2007, and the Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism April 2008.

“The Missing Rainbow: Understanding Inter-minority Cooperation in the Local Political Arena” Presented at the Laboratory in Comparative Ethnic Processes Working Group, Princeton University, March 2006

“Race, Immigration, and the Multiple Pathways to Political Independence” Presented at the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, May 2006