

**MATT A. BARRETO – BARRETOM@UCLA.EDU**

**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, 3345 BUNCHE HALL, LOS ANGELES CA 90095 / 909.489.2955**

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**EMPLOYMENT:**

**Professor**, Political Science, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)  
**Professor**, Chicana/o & Central American Studies, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)  
**Lecturer**, School of Law, University of California Los Angeles (2018 – present)  
**Co-Founder & Faculty Director**, UCLA Voting Rights Project (VRP) (2018 – present)  
**Co-Founder & Faculty Director**, Latino Policy & Politics Institute (LPPI) (2017-2024)

Dept. Political Science, University of Washington

**Professor** (2014 – 2015)

**Associate Professor** (2009 – 2014)

**Assistant Professor** (2005 – 2009)

**Co-Founder & Director**, Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race

**Founding Director**, Center for Democracy and Voting Rights, UW School of Law

**Affiliated Research Centers**

Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC), University of California, Los Angeles

Center for the Study of Los Angeles (CSLA), Loyola Marymount University

**PERSONAL:**

Born: San Juan, Puerto Rico

High School: Washburn Rural HS, Topeka, KS

**EDUCATION:**

**Ph.D., Political Science**

University of California – Irvine

Sub Fields: American Politics / Race, Ethnicity and Politics / Methodology

Thesis: Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation

Thesis Committee: Bernard Grofman (chair), Louis DeSipio, Katherine Tate, Carole Uhlaner

Thesis Awards: *Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities*, 04-05

*University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship*, 04-05

*University of California Institute for Mexico & the U.S. Dissertation Grant*, 04-05

**Master of Science, Social Science**

University of California – Irvine

**Bachelor of Science, Political Science**

Eastern New Mexico University, Portales, NM

Minor: English. Cumulative GPA: 3.9, *Summa Cum Laude*

## PUBLICATION RECORD

Google Scholar citation indices: Cites: 6,432 h-index: 38 i10-index: 71 i100-index: 18 Cites/year: 322

### **BOOK MANUSCRIPTS:**

Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. nd. The Great White Hope: Donald Trump, Race, and the Crisis of American Politics. Under Contract, University of Chicago Press. *expected Fall 2024*

Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2014. Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation. Public Affairs Books. (Sept)

Barreto, Matt and David Leal, editors. 2018. Race, Class, and Precinct Quality in American Cities. Springer Press.

Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto. 2013. Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America. Princeton University Press. *Winner: APSA Best Book Award for Race, Ethnicity, Politics, 2014*

Barreto, Matt. 2010. Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation. University of Michigan Press

### **PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES**

87. Rush, Tye, C. Jones, M. Herndon and MA Barreto. 2025. "Catalysts of Insurrection: How White Racial Antipathy Influenced Beliefs of Voter Fraud and Support for the January 6th Insurrection." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics*.

86. Haro-Ramos, AY, G Sanchez and MA Barreto. 2024. "Immigration Concerns and Social Program Avoidance: The Roles of Legal Status and Family Composition Among Asian and Latino Communities." *Journal of Migration and Health*, 100275

85. Rush, Tye, S. Hall and MA Barreto. 2024. "The Importance of Counting All Immigrants for Apportionment and Redistricting." *University of California Law Journal*, 75 (6)

84. Haro-Ramos, AY, G Sanchez and MA Barreto. 2024. "Health Care Discrimination and Immigration Fears: Unpacking COVID-19 Vaccine Hesitancy in Latino Adults." *American Journal of Public Health*, 114 (S6)

83. Vargas, Edward, Gabriel Sanchez, Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga, and Matt Barreto. 2024. "How Latinos' Perceptions of Environmental Health Threats Impact Policy Preferences." *Social Science Quarterly*. 105(1).

82. Leslie, GJ, T Rush, J Collins, MA Barreto. 2024. "Perceived racial efficacy and voter engagement among African Americans." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. 12(4)

81. Barreto, Matt, Claudia Alegre, Isaiah Bailey, Alexandria Davis, Joshua Ferrer, Joyce Nguy, Christopher Palmisano, and Crystal Robertson. 2023. "Black Lives Matter and the Racialized Support for the January 6 Insurrection" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

80. Decter-Frain, A, P Sachdeva, L Collingwood, H Murayama, J Burke, MA Barreto, S Henderson, S Wood, J Zingher. 2023. "Comparing Methods for Estimating Demographics in Racially Polarized Voting Analyses" *Sociological Methods & Research*.

79. MA Barreto, M Cohen, L Collingwood, CW Dunn, S Waknin. 2022. "A Novel Method for Showing Racially Polarized Voting: Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding" *New York University Review of Law & Social Change*.

78. MA Barreto, GR Sanchez, HL Walker. 2022. "Battling the Hydra: the disparate impact of voter ID requirements in North Dakota." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, 1-22

77. M Roman, H Walker, M Barreto. 2022. "How Social Ties with Undocumented Immigrants Motivate Latinx Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly*, 10659129211019473

76. Gomez-Aguinaga, Barbara, Ana Oaxaca, Matt Barreto, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2021. "Spanish-Language News Consumption and Latino Reactions to COVID-19" *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*.
75. B Gomez-Aguinaga, GR Sanchez, MA Barreto. 2021. "Importance of State and Local Variation in Black–Brown Attitudes: How Latinos View Blacks and How Blacks Affect Their Views" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 6 (1), 214-252
74. H Walker, M Roman, MA Barreto. 2020. "The Ripple Effect: The Political Consequences of Proximal Contact with Immigration Enforcement" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 5 (3), 537-572.
73. CW Dunn, MA Barreto, M Acevedo, M Cohen, S Waknin. Legal Theories to Compel Vote-by-Mail in Federal Court" *Calif. L. Rev.* 11, 166
72. Reny, Tyler and Matt A. Barreto. 2020. "Xenophobia in the time of pandemic: othering, anti-Asian attitudes, and COVID-19 " *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. 8(2).
71. Flores, Lucy and Matt A. Barreto. 2020. "Latina Voters: The key electoral force" *Journal of Cultural Marketing Strategy*. 4(2).
70. Frasure-Yokley, Lorrie, Janelle Wong, Edward Vargas and Matt A. Barreto 2020. "THE COLLABORATIVE MULTIRACIAL POST-ELECTION SURVEY (CMPS): BUILDING THE ACADEMIC PIPELINE THROUGH DATA ACCESS, PUBLICATION, AND NETWORKING OPPORTUNITIES" *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 53(1)
69. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Sergio Garcia-Rios and Kassra Oskooii. 2019. "Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing Iterative EI and EI-RxC Methods" *Sociological Methods and Research*. 48(4).
68. Gonzalez-O'Brien, Benjamin, Matt Barreto and Gabriel Sanchez. 2019. "They're All Out to Get Me! Assessing Inter-Group Competition Among Multiple Populations." *Politics, Groups and Identities*. 7(4).
67. Oskooii, Kassra, Karam Dana and Matt Barreto. 2019. "Beyond generalized ethnocentrism: Islam-specific beliefs and prejudice toward Muslim Americans." *Politics, Groups and Identities* 7(3)
66. Walker, Hannah, Marcel Roman and Matt Barreto. 2019. "The Direct and Indirect Effects of Immigration Enforcement on Latino Political Engagement." *UCLA Law Review*. 67.
65. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo, Matt Barreto, and Gary Segura. 2019. "Somos Más : How Racial Threat and Anger Mobilized Latino Voters in the Trump Era" *Political Research Quarterly*. 72(4)
64. Chouhoud, Youssef, Karam Dana, and Matt Barreto. 2019. "American Muslim Political Participation: Between Diversity and Cohesion." *Politics and Religion*. 12(S3).
63. Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño, Gabriel Sanchez, and Hannah Walker. 2019. "Race, Class and Barriers to Voting in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Unequal Impact of Voter ID Laws." *American Politics Research*
62. Barreto, Matt. 2018. "The cycle of under-mobilization of minority voters: A comment on 'Selective recruitment of voter neglect?'" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*. 3(1).
61. Ocampo, Angela, Karam Dana and Matt Barreto. 2018. "The American Muslim Voter: Community Belonging and Political Participation." *Social Science Research*. 69(4).
60. Barreto, Matt, Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, Edward Vargas, Janelle Wong. 2018. "Best practices in collecting online data with Asian, Black, Latino, and White respondents: evidence from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey." *Politics, Groups & Identities*. 6(1).
59. Barreto, Matt, Tyler Reny and Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta. 2017. "A debate about survey research methodology and the Latina/o vote: why a bilingual, bicultural, Latino-centered approach matters to accurate data." *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies*. 42(2).

58. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2017. "Understanding Latino Voting Strength in 2016 and Beyond: Why Culturally Competent Research Matters." *Journal of Cultural Marketing Strategy*. 2:2
57. Dana, Karam, Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta and Matt Barreto. 2017. "The Political Incorporation of Muslims in America: The Mobilizing Role of Religiosity in Islam." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity & Politics*.
56. Collingwood, Loren, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Matt Barreto. 2016. "eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI: RxC." *The R Journal*. 8:2 (Dec).
55. Garcia-Rios, Sergio I. and Matt A. Barreto. 2016. "Politicized Immigrant Identity, Spanish-Language Media, and Political Mobilization in 2012" *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 2(3): 78-96.
54. Barreto, Matt, Collingwood, Loren, Christopher Parker, and Francisco Pedraza. 2015. "Racial Attitudes and Race of Interviewer Item Non-Response." *Survey Practice*. 8:3.
53. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura 2015. "Obama y la seducción del voto Latino." *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*. 15:2 (Jul).
52. Barreto, Matt and Loren Collingwood 2015. "Group-based appeals and the Latino vote in 2012: How immigration became a mobilizing issue." *Electoral Studies*. 37 (Mar).
51. Collingwood, Loren, Matt Barreto and Sergio Garcia-Rios. 2014. "Revisiting Latino Voting: Cross-Racial Mobilization in the 2012 Election" *Political Research Quarterly*. 67:4 (Sep).
50. Bergman, Elizabeth, Gary Segura and Matt Barreto. 2014. "Immigration Politics and Electoral Consequences: Anticipating the Dynamics of Latino Vote in the 2014 Election" *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. (Feb)
49. Barreto, Matt and Sergio Garcia-Rios. 2012. "El poder del voto latino en Estados Unidos en 2012" *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*. 12:4 (Nov).
48. Collingwood, Loren, Matt Barreto and Todd Donovan. 2012. "Early Primaries, Viability and Changing Preferences for Presidential Candidates." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 42:1(Mar).
47. Barreto, Matt, Betsy Cooper, Ben Gonzalez, Chris Towler, and Christopher Parker. 2012. "The Tea Party in the Age of Obama: Mainstream Conservatism or Out-Group Anxiety?." *Political Power and Social Theory*. 22:1(Jan).
46. Dana, Karam, Matt Barreto and Kassra Oskooii. 2011. "Mosques as American Institutions: Mosque Attendance, Religiosity and Integration into the American Political System." *Religions*. 2:2 (Sept).
45. Barreto, Matt, Christian Grose and Ana Henderson. 2011. "Redistricting: Coalition Districts and the Voting Rights Act." *Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy*. (May)
44. Barreto, Matt and Stephen Nuño. 2011. "The Effectiveness of Co-Ethnic Contact on Latino Political Recruitment." *Political Research Quarterly*. 64 (June). 448-459.
43. Garcia-Castañon, Marcela, Allison Rank and Matt Barreto. 2011 "Plugged in or tuned out? Youth, Race, and Internet Usage in the 2008 Election." *Journal of Political Marketing*. 10:2 115-138.
42. Barreto, Matt, Victoria DeFrancesco, and Jennifer Merolla. 2011 "Multiple Dimensions of Mobilization: The Impact of Direct Contact and Political Ads on Latino Turnout in the 2000 Presidential Election." *Journal of Political Marketing*. 10:1
41. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, and Sylvia Manzano. 2010. "Measuring Latino Political Influence in National Elections" *Political Research Quarterly*. 63:4 (Dec)
40. Barreto, Matt, and Francisco Pedraza. 2009. "The Renewal and Persistence of Group Identification in American Politics." *Electoral Studies*. 28 (Dec) 595-605
39. Barreto, Matt and Dino Bozonelos. 2009. "Democrat, Republican, or None of the Above? Religiosity and the Partisan Identification of Muslim Americans" *Politics & Religion* 2 (Aug). 1-31

38. Barreto, Matt, Sylvia Manzano, Ricardo Ramírez and Kathy Rim. 2009. "Immigrant Social Movement Participation: Understanding Involvement in the 2006 Immigration Protest Rallies." *Urban Affairs Review*. 44: (5) 736-764
37. Grofman, Bernard and Matt Barreto. 2009. "A Reply to Zax's (2002) Critique of Grofman and Migalski (1988): Double Equation Approaches to Ecological Inferences." *Sociological Methods and Research*. 37 (May)
36. Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez. 2009. "The Disproportionate Impact of Voter-ID Requirements on the Electorate – New Evidence from Indiana." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 42 (Jan)
35. Barreto, Matt, Luis Fraga, Sylvia Manzano, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary Segura. 2008. "Should they dance with the one who brung 'em? Latinos and the 2008 Presidential election" *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 41 (Oct).
34. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2008. "Are All Precincts Created Equal? The Prevalence of Low- Quality Precincts in Low-Income and Minority Communities." *Political Research Quarterly*. 62
33. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "¿Sí Se Puede! Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters." *American Political Science Review*. 101 (August): 425-441.
32. Barreto, Matt and David Leal. 2007. "Latinos, Military Service, and Support for Bush and Kerry in 2004." *American Politics Research*. 35 (March): 224-251.
31. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2007. "Homeownership: Southern California's New Political Fault Line?" *Urban Affairs Review*. 42 (January). 315-341.
30. Barreto, Matt, Matt Streb, Fernando Guerra, and Mara Marks. 2006. "Do Absentee Voters Differ From Polling Place Voters? New Evidence From California." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 70 (Summer): 224-34.
29. Barreto, Matt, Fernando Guerra, Mara Marks, Stephen Nuño, and Nathan Woods. 2006. "Controversies in Exit Polling: Implementing a racially stratified homogenous precinct approach." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 39 (July) 477-83.
28. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, and Nathan Woods. 2005. "Are Naturalized Voters Driving the California Latino Electorate? Measuring the Impact of IRCA Citizens on Latino Voting." *Social Science Quarterly*. 86 (December): 792-811.
27. Barreto, Matt. 2005. "Latino Immigrants at the Polls: Foreign-born Voter Turnout in the 2002 Election." *Political Research Quarterly*. 58 (March): 79-86.
26. Barreto, Matt, Mario Villarreal and Nathan Woods. 2005. "Metropolitan Latino Political Behavior: Turnout and Candidate Preference in Los Angeles." *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 27(February): 71-91.
25. Leal, David, Matt Barreto, Jongho Lee and Rodolfo de la Garza. 2005. "The Latino Vote in the 2004 Election." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 38 (January): 41-49.
24. Marks, Mara, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2004. "Harmony and Bliss in LA? Race and Racial Attitudes a Decade After the 1992 Riots." *Urban Affairs Review*. 40 (September): 3-18.
23. Barreto, Matt, Gary Segura and Nathan Woods. 2004. "The Effects of Overlapping Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review*. 98 (February): 65-75.
22. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2004. "Minority Participation and the California Recall: Latino, Black, and Asian Voting Trends 1990 – 2003." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 37 (January): 11-14.
21. Barreto, Matt and José Muñoz. 2003. "Reexamining the 'politics of in-between': political participation among Mexican immigrants in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*. 25 (November): 427-447.
20. Barreto, Matt. 2003. "National Origin (Mis)Identification Among Latinos in the 2000 Census: The Growth of the "Other Hispanic or Latino" Category." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy*. 15 (June): 39-63.

*Edited Volume Book Chapters*

19. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2020. "Latino Reaction and Resistance to Trump: Lessons learned from Pete Wilson and 1994." In Raul Hinojosa and Edward Telles (eds.) Equitable Globalization: Expanding Bridges, Overcoming Walls. Oakland: University of California Press.
18. Barreto, Matt, Albert Morales and Gary Segura. 2019. "The Brown Tide and the Blue Wave in 2018" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) The Blue Wave. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
17. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo and Matt Barreto. 2018. "Obama's Latino Legacy: From Unknown to Never Forgotten" In Andrew Rudalevige and Bert Rockman (eds.) The Obama Legacy. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.
16. Barreto, Matt, Thomas Schaller and Gary Segura. 2017. "Latinos and the 2016 Election: How Trump Lost Latinos on Day 1" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) Trumped: The 2016 Election that Broke All the Rules. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
15. Walker, Hannah, Gabriel Sanchez, Stephen Nuño, Matt Barreto 2017. "Race and the Right to Vote: The Modern Barrier of Voter ID Laws" In Todd Donovan (ed.) Election Rules and Reforms. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
14. Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. 2015. "Public Opinion and Reactionary Movements: From the Klan to the Tea Party" In Adam Berinsky (ed.) New Directions in Public Opinion. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: Routledge Press.
13. Barreto, Matt and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "A 'Southern Exception' in Black-Latino Attitudes?." In Anthony Affigne, Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Marion Orr (eds.) Latino Politics en Ciencia Política. New York: New York University Press.
12. Barreto, Matt, Ben Gonzalez, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "Rainbow Coalition in the Golden State? Exposing Myths, Uncovering New Realities in Latino Attitudes Towards Blacks." In Josh Kun and Laura Pulido (eds.) Black and Brown in Los Angeles: Beyond Conflict and Coalition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
11. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Ben Gonzalez, and Christopher Parker. 2011. "Tea Party Politics in a Blue State: Dino Rossi and the 2010 Washington Senate Election" In William Miller and Jeremy Walling (eds.) Stuck in the Middle to Lose: Tea Party Effects on 2010 U.S. Senate Elections. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.
10. Jason Morin, Gabriel Sanchez and Matt Barreto. 2011. "Perceptions of Competition Between Latinos and Blacks: The Development of a Relative Measure of Inter-Group Competition." In Edward Telles, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado and Mark Sawyer (eds.) Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the US. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
9. Grofman, Bernard, Frank Wayman and Matt Barreto. 2009. "Rethinking partisanship: Some thoughts on a unified theory." In John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci (eds.) Political Parties and Partisanship: Social identity and individual attitudes. New York: Routledge Press.
8. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, Luis Fraga and Fernando Guerra. 2009. "Why California Matters: How California Latinos Influence the Presidential Election." In Rodolfo de la Garza, Louis DeSipio and David Leal (eds.) Beyond the Barrio: Latinos in the 2004 Elections. South Bend, ID: University of Notre Dame Press.
7. Francisco Pedraza and Matt Barreto. 2008. "Exit Polls and Ethnic Diversity: How to Improve Estimates and Reduce Bias Among Minority Voters." In Wendy Alvey and Fritz Scheuren (eds.) Elections and Exit Polling. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons.
6. Adrian Pantoja, Matt Barreto and Richard Anderson. 2008. "Politics y la Iglesia: Attitudes Toward the Role of Religion in Politics Among Latino Catholics" In Michael Genovese, Kristin Hayer and Mark J. Rozell (eds.) Catholics and Politics. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press..
5. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "The Role of Latino Candidates in Mobilizing Latino Voters: Revisiting Latino Vote Choice." In Rodolfo Espino, David Leal and Kenneth Meier (eds.) Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

4. Abosch, Yishaiya, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2007. "An Assessment of Racially Polarized Voting For and Against Latinos Candidates in California." In Ana Henderson (ed.) Voting Rights Act Reauthorization of 2006: Perspectives on Democracy, Participation, and Power. Berkeley, CA: UC Berkeley Public Policy Press.
3. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramirez. 2005. "The Race Card and California Politics: Minority Voters and Racial Cues in the 2003 Recall Election." In Shaun Bowler and Bruce Cain (eds.) Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall. Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
2. Barreto, Matt and Nathan Woods. 2005. "The Anti-Latino Political Context and its Impact on GOP Detachment and Increasing Latino Voter Turnout in Los Angeles County." In Gary Segura and Shawn Bowler (eds.) Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
1. Pachon, Harry, Matt Barreto and Frances Marquez. 2004. "Latino Politics Comes of Age in the Golden State." In Rodolfo de la Garza and Louis DeSipio (eds.) Muted Voices: Latino Politics in the 2000 Election. New York: Rowman & Littlefield

**RESEARCH AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS**

Apr 2025	Haas Jr. Foundation UCLA Voting Rights Project	\$325,000 – 24 months
Apr 2025	Levi Strauss Foundation UCLA Voting Rights Project [With Sonni Waknin]	\$150,000 – 24 months
Jan 2024	Four Freedoms Foundation UCLA Voting Rights Project [With Sonni Waknin]	\$105,000 – 12 months
Jan 2023	Open Societies Foundation UCLA Voting Rights Project [With Arturo Vargas Bustamante]	\$2,500,000 – 36 months
Jan 2022	California Secretary of State UCLA Voting Rights Project [With Michael Rios]	\$550,000 – 12 months
June 2020	WK Kellogg Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$2,500,000 – 24 months
June 2020	Casey Family Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$900,000 – 18 months
Aug 2018	Provost Initiative for Voting Rights Research UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Chad Dunn]	\$90,000 – 24 months
April 2018	Democracy Fund & Wellspring Philanthropic UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$200,000 – 18 months
March 2018	AltaMed California UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$250,000 – 12 months
Dec 2017	California Community Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	\$100,000 – 12 months
July 2013	Ford Foundation UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights	\$200,000 – 12 months
April 2012	American Values Institute [With Ben Gonzalez] Racial Narratives and Public Response to Racialized Moments	\$40,000 – 3 months
Jan 2012	American Civil Liberties Union Foundation [With Gabriel Sanchez] Voter Identification Laws in Wisconsin	\$60,000 – 6 months
June 2011	State of California Citizens Redistricting Commission An Analysis of Racial Bloc Voting in California Elections	\$60,000 – 3 months
Apr 2011	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? A national conference on the political and social incorporation of American Muslims	\$50,000 – 18 months
Jan 2011	impreMedia [With Gary Segura] Latino public opinion tracking poll of voter attitudes in 2011	\$30,000 – 6 months
Oct 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] Measuring Latino Influence in the 2010 Elections	\$128,000 – 6 months



**RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS CONTINUED...**

Oct 2010	We Are America Alliance (WAAA) [With Gary Segura] Latino and Asian American Immigrant Community Voter Study	\$79,000 – 3 months
May 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] A Study of Latino Views Towards Arizona SB1070	\$25,000 – 3 months
Apr 2010	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? The influence of religiosity in Muslim political incorporation	\$50,000 – 18 months
Oct 2009	American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) [With Gary Segura] Health care reform and Latino public opinion	\$25,000 – 3 months
Nov 2008	impreMedia & National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] 2008 National Latino Post-Election Survey, Presidential Election	\$46,000 – 3 months
July 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] Latino voter outreach survey – an evaluation of Obama and McCain	\$72,000 – 3 months
June 2008	The Pew Charitable Trusts, Make Voting Work Project [with Karin MacDonald and Bonnie Glaser] Evaluating Online Voter Registration (OVR) Systems in Arizona and Washington	\$220,000 – 10 months
April 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) & National Council of La Raza (NCLR), 2008 Latino voter messaging survey	\$95,000 – 6 months
Dec. 2007	Research Royalty Fund, University of Washington 2008 Latino national post-election survey	\$39,000 – 12 months
Oct. 2007	Brenan Center for Justice, New York University [with Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez] Indiana Voter Identification Study	\$40,000 – 6 months
June 2007	National Science Foundation, Political Science Division [with Gary Segura] American National Election Study – Spanish translation and Latino oversample	\$750,000 – 24 months
Oct. 2006	University of Washington, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education Absentee voter study during the November 2006 election in King County, WA	\$12,000 – 6 months
Mar. 2006	Latino Policy Coalition Public Opinion Research Grant [with Gary Segura] Awarded to the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race	\$40,000 – 18 months
2005 – 2006	University of Washington, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Research Grant	\$8,000 – 12 months
Mar. 2005	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Conduct Exit Poll during Los Angeles Mayoral Election, Mar. 8 & May 17, 2005 Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	\$30,000 – 6 months
2004 – 2005	Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities	\$21,000 – 12 months
2004 – 2005	University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship	\$14,700 – 9 months
2004 – 2005	University of California Mexico-US (UC MEXUS) Dissertation Grant	\$12,000 – 9 months
Apr – 2004	UC Regents pre-dissertation fellowship, University of California, Irvine,	\$4,700 – 3 months
2003 – 2004	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	\$20,000 – 12 months

2002 – 2003	Ford Foundation Grant on Institutional Inequality [with Harry Pachon] Conducted longitudinal study of Prop 209 on Latino and Black college admittance Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	<i>\$150,000 – 12 months</i>
2002 – 2003	Haynes Foundation Grant on Economic Development [with Louis Tornatzky] Knowledge Economy in the Inland Empire region of Southern California Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	<i>\$150,000 – 18 months</i>
2001 – 2002	William F Podlich Graduate Fellowship, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine	<i>\$24,000 – 9 months</i>

**EXPERT REPORTS:**

- Orange County, NY, 2024, Newburgh town council, under NYVRA
- Florida 2024, State Senate districts, *Nord Hodges v. Passidomo and Byrd*
- North Carolina 2024, *North Carolina NAACP v. Hirsch*, SB 824 Voter ID law
- North Carolina 2023, State Senate redistricting, *Democracy Project II. Pierce v. NC State Board of Elections*
- Dodge City, Kansas 2022-23, city redistricting, *Coca et al. vs. Dodge City, KS.*
- Florida 2022-23, Statewide redistricting, *Common Cause et al. vs. Byrd*
- Galveston County, Texas 2022-23, county redistricting, *Petteway et al. v. Galveston County, TX.*
- Benton, Chelan, Yakima counties signature rejection, 2022-23, *Reyes et al. v. Chilton et al.*
- San Juan County, New Mexico 2022-23, county redistricting, *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, NM*
- Texas Statewide redistricting, 2022, *LULAC v. Abbott* (on behalf of Mexican American Legislative Caucus)
- Franklin County, WA, 2021-22, county redistricting, rebuttal expert for Plaintiffs, *Portugal et al. vs. Franklin County*
- Texas Statewide redistricting, 2021-22, *Brooks v. Abbott* Senate District 10 (Tarrant County)
- Baltimore County Council, 2021-22, *NAACP v. Baltimore County*, (on behalf of NAACP and ACLU-MD)
- Maryland Office of Attorney General, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- Pennsylvania House Democrats, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- Washington State Senate Democrats, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting
- City of San Jose, 2021, racially polarized voting analysis as part of city redistricting
- Santa Clara County, 2021, racially polarized voting analysis as part of county redistricting
- Pennsylvania, 2020, *Boockvar v. Trump*, Expert for Intervenors, (Perkins Coie) related to voter intimidation
- Missouri, 2020, *Missouri NAACP vs. State of Missouri*, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail
- Georgia, 2020, *Black Voters Matter vs. Raffesnsperger*, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail
- New York, 2019, Expert for NYAG New York v. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 1:19-cv-08876
- North Carolina, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Carolina voter ID lawsuit, *NAACP v. Cooper*
- East Ramapo CSD, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, assessed polarized voting
- New York, 2018, Expert for Plaintiffs in Census Citizenship Lawsuit, *New York v. U.S. Dept of Commerce* (also an expert related cases: *California v. Ross* and *Kravitz v. Dept of Commerce*)
- Dallas County, TX, 2017, Expert for Defense in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, *Harding v. Dallas County*
- Kansas, 2016, Expert for Plaintiffs in Kansas voter registration lawsuit, *Fish v. Kobach* 2:16-cv-02105-JAR
- North Dakota, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Dakota voter ID lawsuit, *Brakebill v. Jaeger* 1:16-cv-00008-CSM
- Alabama, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in Alabama voter ID lawsuit, *Birmingham Ministries v. State of Alabama* 2:15-cv-02193-LSC
- Texas, 2014, Testifying Expert for Plaintiffs in Texas voter ID lawsuit, *Veasey v. Perry* 2:13-cv-00193
- Galveston County, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, vote dilution analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit Galveston County JP/Constable districting

- Pasadena, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Pasadena School District
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Testifying Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Harris County
- Pennsylvania, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Pennsylvania in voter ID lawsuit, *Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* No. 330 MD 2012
- Milwaukee County, WI, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Wisconsin in voter ID lawsuit, *Frank v. Walker* 2:11-cv-01128(LA)
- Orange County, FL, 2012, Consulting Expert for Latino Justice/PRLDEF, Racially polarized voting analysis in Orange County, Florida
- Anaheim, CA, 2012, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for CVRA redistricting case Anaheim, CA
- Los Angeles County, CA, 2011, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for three redistricting cases in L.A.: Cerritos Community College Board; ABC Unified Schools; City of West Covina
- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, for Section 5 objection within Harris County
- Monterey County, CA Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for City of Salinas, Demographic analysis, creation of alternative maps, and racially polarized Voting analysis within Monterey County
- Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert for Supervisor Gloria Molina, Racially Polarized voting analysis within L.A. County
- State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert, Racially Polarized Voting analysis throughout state of California
- Asian Pacific American Legal Center, 2011, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Asian American candidates in Los Angeles for APALC redistricting brief
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Arnold & Porter, LLP, 2010-12, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County, concerning San Mateo County Board of Supervisors
- ACLU of Washington, 2010-11, preliminary analysis of Latino population patterns in Yakima, Washington, to assess ability to draw majority Latino council districts
- State of Washington, 2010-11, provided expert analysis and research for *State of Washington v. MacLean* in case regarding election misconduct and voting patterns
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2008-10, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (6 reports issued 08-10)
- Brennan Center for Justice and Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP, 2009-10 Amicus Brief submitted to Indiana Supreme Court, *League of Women Voters v. Rokita*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower resource citizens
- State of New Mexico, consulting expert for state in *AAPD v. New Mexico*, 2008,
- District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), statistical consultant for survey methodology of opinion survey of parents in DCPS district (for pending suit), 2008,
- Brennan Center for Justice, 2007-08, Amicus Brief submitted to U.S. Supreme Court, and cited in Supreme Court decision, *Crawford v. Marion County*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower-resource citizens
- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2002-07, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (12 + reports issued during 5 years)
- Monterrey County School Board, 2007, demographic and population analysis for VRA case

- Sweetwater Union School District, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis, and demographic and population analysis for VRA case
- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis for Latino candidates, for City of Whittier city council races, for VRA case
- ACLU of Washington, 2008, preliminary analysis of voting patterns in Eastern Washington, related to electability of Latino candidates
- Nielsen Media Research, 2005-08, with Willie C. Velasquez Institute, assessed the methodology of Latino household recruitment in Nielsen sample

**TEACHING  
EXPERIENCE:**

UCLA & UW

2005 – Present

- Minority Political Behavior (Grad Seminar)
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S. (Grad Seminar)
- Introduction to Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Advanced Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Qualitative Research Methods (Grad Seminar)
- Political Participation & Elections (Grad Seminar)
- The Voting Rights Act (Law School seminar)
- Research methodology II (Law School Ph.D. program seminar)
- U.S. Latino Politics
- Racial and Ethnic Politics in the U.S.
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S.
- Introduction to American Government
- Public Opinion Research
- Campaigns and Elections in the U.S.
- Presidential Primary Elections

**Teaching Assistant**

University of California, Irvine

2002 – 2005

- Intro to American Politics (K. Tate)
- Intro to Minority Politics (L. DeSipio)
- **Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2002**
- Statistics and Research Methods (B. Grofman)
- **Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2003**

**BOARD &  
RESEARCH  
APPOINTMENTS**

**Founder and President**

Barreto Segura Partners (BSP) Research, LLC

2021 - Present

**Founding Partner**

Latino Decisions

2007 – 2020

**Board of Advisors**

American National Election Study, University of Michigan

2010 – 2017

**Advisory Board**

States of Change: Demographics & Democracy Project  
*CAP, AEI, Brookings Collaborative Project*

2014 – 2021

**Research Advisor**

American Values Institute / Perception Institute

2009 – 2014

**Expert Consultant**

State of California, Citizens Redistricting Committee

2011 – 2012

**Senior Scholar & Advisory Council**

Latino Policy Coalition, San Francisco, CA

2006 – 2008

**Board of Directors**

CASA Latina, Seattle, WA

2006 – 2009

**Faculty Research Scholar**

Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, University of Southern California

1999 – 2009

**PHD STUDENTS**

**Committee Chair or Co-Chair**

- Francisco I. Pedraza – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2009)
- Loren Collingwood – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Betsy Cooper – Public Religion Research Institute, Washington DC (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Sergio I. Garcia-Rios – Cornell University (UW Ph.D. 2015)
- Hannah Walker – Rutgers University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Kassra Oskooii – University of Delaware (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Angela Ocampo – Arizona State University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Ayobami Lanionu – University of Toronto (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta – Facebook Analytics (UCLA 2019)
- Tyler Reny – Claremont Graduate University (UCLA 2020)
- Adria Tinin – Environmental Policy Analyst (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)
- Angie Gutierrez – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Vivien Leung – Bucknell University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Marcel Roman – Harvard University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Ana Oaxaca – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2022)
- Estefania Castañeda-Perez – University of Pennsylvania (UCLA Ph.D. 2022)
- Tye Rush - University of California, Davis (UCLA Ph.D. 2023)
- Shakari Byerly-Nelson – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Jessica Cobian – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Michael Herndon – *in progress* (UCLA)

**Committee Member**

- Alexandra Davis – *in progress* (UCLA, 2025)
- Erik Hanson – University of Southern California (UCLA Ph.D. 2022)
- Joy Wilke – Director of Polling, Blue Labs (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Christine Slaughter – Boston University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga – University of Nebraska (UNM Ph.D. 2020)
- Bang Quan Zheng – Florida International University (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)
- Jessica Stewart – Emory University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Jonathan Collins – Brown University (UCLA Ph.D., 2017)
- Lisa Sanchez – University of Arizona (UNM Ph.D., 2016)
- Nazita Lajevardi – Michigan State University (UC San Diego Ph.D., 2016)
- Kiku Huckle – Pace University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Patrick Rock (Social Psychology) – (UCLA Ph.D. 2016)
- Raynee Gutting – Loyola Marymount University (Stony Brook Ph.D. 2015)
- Christopher Towler – Sacramento State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Benjamin F. Gonzalez – San Diego State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Marcela Garcia-Castañon – San Francisco State University (UW Ph.D. 2013)
- Justin Reedy (Communications) – University of Oklahoma (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Dino Bozonelos – Cal State San Marcos (UC Riverside Ph.D. 2012)
- Brandon Bosch – University of Nebraska (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Karam Dana (Middle East Studies) – UW Bothell (UW Ph.D. 2010)
- Lauren Goldstein (Social Psychology) – *in progress* (UCLA)