NICHOLAS A. R. FRASER

Professional Email: nicholasar.fraser@alumni.utoronto.ca
Website: http://nicholasarfraser.com

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Research Associate 2020-present
Global Migration Lab, Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy
University of Toronto

Postdoctoral Scholar 2026-present
Campus Cohesion Project
Monash University

Senior Research Associate 2023-2025
Canada Excellence Research Chair (CERC) in Migration and Integration
Toronto Metropolitan University

Policy Innovations Fellow 2022-2023
Program on U.S.-Japan Relations
Weatherhead Center for International Affairs
Harvard University

John A. Sproul Research Fellow 2021-2022
Canadian Studies Program
University of California, Berkeley

EDUCATION

PhD – University of Toronto, Political Science 2020
(Dissertation) *Shared Heuristics: How Organizational Culture Shapes Asylum Policy*
MA – Waseda University, International Relations 2014
MA – University of British Columbia, Comparative Politics 2009
BA – University of Calgary, History and Political Science 2007

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Substantive: Tracing patterns of inclusion and exclusion produced by institutions and public opinion.
Methodological: Qualitative, quantitative, and experimental methods.

PUBLICATIONS

*(D)= uses research gathered for dissertation; *= equal author contribution;* 🍁 *= features Canada*

ORCID LINK: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8126-0466

BOOKS

Nicholas A. R. Fraser. *The Power of Discretion: How Bureaucratic Politics Shapes Asylum Policy (D)* 🍁

- Under advanced contract at University of Toronto Press
- Key findings featured on primetime Japanese TV news, TBS NEWS DIG (May 17, 2023)

PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

[9] **Nicholas A. R. Fraser** and Colton Fehr. 2025. "Studying Religious Symbols and Bias in Court Proceedings." *Osgoode Hall Law Journal, 61*(3), 773-809. 🍁

[8] Irene Bloemraad, Allison Harell, **Nicholas A. R. Fraser**. 2024. "Categorical Inequalities and Canadian Attitudes toward Positive and Negative Rights." *Canadian Journal of Political Science, 57*(2), 231-253. 🍁

[7] John W. Cheng, Masaru Nishikawa, Ikuma Ogura, and **Nicholas A. R. Fraser**. 2024. "Put Your Money Where Your Mouth Is: Willingness to Pay for Online Conspiracy Theory Content." *Telematics and Informatics Reports,* 14, 100141.

[6] Amir Reda, **Nicholas A. R. Fraser**, and Ahmed Khattab. 2023. "Does Social Mobility Matter? The Kafala System and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment." *Political Studies Review, 21*(4), 801-824.

- ❖ 2024 Winner of Best Article Award, APSA's Citizenship and Migration Section

[5] **Nicholas A. R. Fraser**. 2022. "More than advocates: Lawyers' role in efficient refugee status determination." *Canadian Public Administration*, *65*(4), 647-666. *(D)* 🍁

- ❖ Used to formally brief the Senate of Canada Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology (SOCI) regarding Bill C-12 (February 2026).
- ❖ Cited by Kaldor Centre (Australia), 2024 and Future Governance Forum (UK), 2025.
- ❖ Featured in *The Conversation* (2023).

[4] **Nicholas A. R. Fraser** and John W. Cheng. 2022. "Do natives prefer white immigrants? Evidence from Japan." *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 45*(14), 2678-2704. *(D)*

[3] **Nicholas A. R. Fraser** and Go Murakami. 2022. "The Role of Humanitarianism in Shaping Public Attitudes toward Refugees." *Political Psychology, 43*(2), 255-275.

- ❖ Featured in Idean Salehyun and Burcu Savun. 2024. "Strategic Humanitarianism: Host States and Refugee Policy." *Annual Review of Political Science, 27*, 107-125.
- ❖ 50+ academic citations

[2] *John W. Cheng and **Nicholas A. R. Fraser**. 2022. "Japanese Newspaper Portrayals of Refugees – a Frame Analysis from 1985 to 2017." *Journal of Refugee Studies, 35*(3), 1364-1385.

[1] Konrad Kalicki, Go Murakami, and **N. A. R. Fraser**. 2013. "The Difference That Security Threat Makes: Ethnic Minorities and the Post-War Politics of Citizenship Regime Formation in Japan in a Comparative Perspective." *Social Science Japan Journal, 16*(2), 211-234.

REVISE & RESUBMIT

Nicholas A. R. Fraser "Searching for the "Xenophobic Consensus": Examining Japanese Voters' Support for Refugee Policy." [Invited Submission, Edited Volume of *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*]

Steven Denney, **Nicholas A. R. Fraser**, and Christoph Steinhardt. "Cues of Commitment: Integration and Naturalization Support in South Korea and Taiwan." [*British Journal of Political Science*]

IN PREPARATION

Nicholas A. R. Fraser "Institutional Friction: Bureaucratic Culture and the Limits of Political Control in Immigration Policy." *(D)* 🍁

- ❖ Earlier versions presented at the Canadian Political Science Association's Annual Meeting (2018, 2019, 2024), American Political Science Association's Annual Meeting (2018, 2022)

Nicholas A. R. Fraser and Go Murakami. "The Dissident Penalty: Why the Public Penalizes Political Agency in Refugee Admissions."

WORKING PAPERS

Nicholas A. R. Fraser and Colton Fehr. "Rituals of Trust? How Courtroom Oaths Trigger Cognitive Bias and Compromise Legal Decision-Making." 🍁

Go Murakami and **Nicholas A. R. Fraser**. "Accepting Them Hurts Our Bargaining Power: Diplomatic Relations and Attitudes Toward Immigration."

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

***Nicholas A. R. Fraser** and Colton Fehr, "Religious Symbols in the Courtroom." (second book project)

Nicholas A. R. Fraser, Steven Denney, Michael Donnelly, John W. Cheng, and Go Murakami. "The Cultural Origins of Populist Backlash in East Asian Democracies."

- Key findings featured in the Borders & Belonging podcast, "Is Japan turning into a migration state?" (February 12, 2024)

***Nicholas A. R. Fraser** and Boyoon Lee. "Social Media and Public Discourse on Immigration."

***Nicholas A. R. Fraser**, Yujin Woo, George Soroka, and Go Murakami. "Public Support for Refugee Admission in Civic and Ethnic Nations."

Nicholas A. R. Fraser "The Limits of Deterrence: Predicting Efficiency in Canadian RSD Procedures."

POLICY IMPACT

Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology (SOCI) | February 2026
Parliament of Canada, 45th Parliament, 1st Session, Evidence Submission *(D)*:

- **Fraser, Nicholas A. R.** "Briefing Note: Evaluating the Impact of Bill C-12 on Asylum System Efficiency and Integrity." (February 2, 2026). Cited in the Committee's Sixth Report (February 20, 2026)
- **Fraser, Nicholas A. R.**"Technical Annex: Empirical Analysis of RSD Efficiency (Fraser 2022)." A bilingual technical submission summarizing the findings of Fraser (2022) (February 11, 2026).
- **Fraser, Nicholas A. R.** "Technical Audit: Causal Determinants of Historical Asylum Backlogs (2006-2017)." Follow-up empirical research conducted for the Senate review (February 11, 2026).

Related Materials: **Fraser, Nicholas A. R.** "Practitioner Briefing: The "Efficiency Fallacy" of Bill C-12." A bilingual summary of Senate briefing materials submitted to Canadian Association for Refugee Lawyers (February 19, 2026).

COMMENTARY & REPORTS

Nicholas A.R. Fraser. 2026. "Trading rights for efficiency: Why Bill C-12's restrictive asylum measures will likely backfire." *The Conversation*.

- Ranked #45 for engagement by researchers affiliated with University of Toronto (March 2025 – September 2026), over 3500 reads.

Nicholas A.R. Fraser. 2025. "Politically aggressive users are creating most of the anti-immigrant content." *The Conversation*.

- Ranked #3 for engagement by researchers affiliated with Toronto Metropolitan University (August 2025 – February 2026), over 35,500 reads.
- Featured Expert, CBC News (February 2026). "Is TikTok's Time Almost Up?" Provided national commentary syndicated across 20 CBC Radio One morning programs, reaching every major Canadian market. Published to CBC's digital platform on February 11, 2026.

Nicholas A.R. Fraser. 2022. "How Competent Lawyers Help Make Asylum Procedures More Efficient." BIMI-HIFIS Policy Brief Series. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Interdisciplinary Migration Initiative. *(D)*

Nicholas A. R. Fraser. 2022. "How Non-Judgmental Engagement Could Reduce Prejudice." BIMI-HIFIS Policy Brief Series. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Interdisciplinary Migration Initiative.

Nicholas A. R. Fraser. 2022. "Rights or Needs: Fundraising for Stigmatized Groups." BIMI-Othering & Belonging Institute Policy Brief Series. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Interdisciplinary Migration Initiative.

Midori Kaga, Delphine Nakache, Melissa Anderson, François Crépeau, Anthony Delisle, **Nicholas A. R. Fraser**, Edit Frenyó, Anna Purkey, Dagmar Soennecken, and Ritika Tanotra. 2021. Vulnerability in the Canadian Protection Regime: Research Report on the Policy Framework. 2021. VULNER Research Report 1.

Nicholas A. R. Fraser. 2020. "Re-Assessing Canada's Refugee Policy in the Era of COVID-19." Policy Options

AWARDS & FELLOWSHIPS

Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada Excellence Research Chair in Migration and Integration, Senior Research Associate	2023
Harvard University, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations Policy Innovations Fellow	2022
University of California, Berkeley, Canadian Studies Program John A. Sproul Research Fellow	2021
APSA Travel Grant	2018
Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Doctoral Studies Award	2017-2019
University of Toronto, Dr. David Chu Scholarship in East Asian Studies	2017
Japan Foundation Japanese Studies Doctoral Fellowship	2017
Ontario Government Scholarship (OGS)	2016
Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, PhD Dissertation Travel Research Award	2016
University of Toronto, School of Graduate Studies Travel Grant	2016
University of Toronto, Dr. David Chu Scholarship in East Asian Studies	2015
University of Toronto, Doctoral Funding Package	2014-2015
Monbukagakusho (MEXT) Research Scholarship, Japanese Ministry of Education	2010-2014

RESEARCH GRANTS

"Who Belongs to the Nation? National Identity and Migrant Integration in South Korea." Academy of Korean Studies (AKS) Research Grant, AKS-2023-R018 ($13, 500 USD)	2023-2024
"Studying Religious Symbols and Bias in Court Proceedings." Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Insight Development Grant ($59, 262 CDN)	2024-2027

SELECT INVITED TALKS (LAST FOUR YEARS)

(O) = *organizer;* (P) = *presenter*

(P) "Rituals of Trust? How Secularism and Courtroom Oaths Trigger Juror Bias." Canadian Political Science Association's Annual Meeting in Ottawa	06 /2026
(P) "Rituals of Trust? How Secularism and Courtroom Oaths Trigger Juror Bias." Courts & Politics Workshop, University of Guelph	05 / 2026
(P) "Deservingness Criteria and Public Support for Refugee Admission." American Political Science Association's Annual Meeting in Vancouver	09 / 2025
(P) "Immigration Narratives During a Housing Crisis." Canadian Political Science Association's Annual Meeting in Toronto	06 / 2025
(P) "Deservingness Criteria and Public Support for Refugee Admission." Inaugural Japan Conference, Centre for the Study of Global Japan, University of Toronto	05 / 2025
(P) "Immigration Narratives During a Housing Crisis." Bridging Divides Spring Retreat with the Social Media Lab, Toronto Metropolitan University	04 / 2025
(P) "Accepting Them Hurts Our Bargaining Power: Diplomatic Relations and Attitudes Toward Immigration." (with Go Murakami) Canadian Political Science Association's Annual Meeting in Montreal	06 / 2024
(P) "Do Religious Oaths Induce Bias within Judicial Proceedings?" Courts & Politics Workshop, University of Guelph	05 / 2024

(P) “Bureaucratic Culture and Japan’s Strict Refugee Policy.” Department of Political Studies, Queen’s University — 02 / 2024

(P) “Bureaucratic Culture and Japan’s Strict Refugee Policy.” Department of East Asian Studies, University of Vienna — 12 / 2023

(P) “Deservingness Criteria and Public Support for Refugee Admission.” Canada Excellence Research Chair (CERC) in Migration and Integration, Toronto Metropolitan University — 09 / 2023

(P) “Immigration Salience and Thermostatic Backlash: Evidence from Japan.” American Political Science Association’s Annual Meeting in Los Angeles — 09 / 2023

(P) “Size or Speed? Public Attitudes toward Rising Immigration Levels in Historically Homogeneous Nations.” (with Steven Denney) American Political Science Association’s Annual Meeting in Los Angeles — 08 / 2023

(P) “Do Religious Oaths Induce Bias within Judicial Proceedings?” Midwest Political Science Association (online) — 04 / 2023

(P) “Deservingness Criteria and Public Support for Refugee Admission.” Midwest Political Science Association (online) — 04 / 2023

(P) “Deservingness Criteria and Public Support for Refugee Admission.” Ritsumeikan University — 03 / 2023

(P) “Deservingness Criteria and Public Support for Refugee Admission.” Prosperity and Human Security: Japan and Asia’s 21st Century Governance Challenges. Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, Harvard University — 02 / 2023

(P) “Crafting Procedural Hurdles: How Bureaucratic Norms Can Shape Immigration Policy Legacies.” Building an Inclusive Society in Japan: Academic Manuscript Workshop, 21st Century Japan Politics and Society Initiative (21JPSI), Hamilton School of International and Global Studies, Indiana University (online) — 02 / 2023

(P) “Japanese Attitudes toward Economic and Humanitarian Migrants.” Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, Harvard University — 10 / 2022

(O & P) Implementing Migration Policy: Excavating the Administrative and Bureaucratic Processes Behind Migrant Admissions and Deportation, organized and hosted by the Canadian Studies Program, University of California, Berkeley — 05 / 2022

(P) “Crafting Procedural Hurdles: How Bureaucratic Norms Can Shape Immigration Policy Legacies.” Canadian Studies Program, University of California, Berkeley — 05 / 2022

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor — Fall 2022
Harvard University
Courses: Japan and Globalization (GOV 94)

Instructor — Summer 2019
University of Toronto
Courses: Courts and Politics (POL 378, with Faisal Kamal)

Teaching Assistant — 2014-2020
University of Toronto

Courses: Introduction to Political Science (POL 101: Democracy, War and Peace, 2x); Introduction to American Politics (POL 203: U.S. Government and Politics, 2x); Introduction to Canadian Politics (POL 111: Canada in Comparative Perspective); Japanese Politics (POL 380); Comparative Public Policy (POL 317); Ethnic Mobilization and Conflict (POL 339)

SKILLS

- English (native), French (intermediate), Japanese (advanced)
- R, LaTeX, Claude Code

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS & AFFILIATIONS

American Political Science Association
Canadian Political Science Association
International Public Policy Association
Midwest Political Science Association

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Peer Reviewer
World Politics; *Comparative Political Studies*; *Journal of Politic*s; *Journal of Experimental Political Science*; *International Migration Review*; *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*; *Ethnic and Racial Studies*; *Canadian Journal of Political Science*; *Japanese Journal of Political Science*; *Socius*

Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)

REFERENCES

Available on request.