

# Nicholas J. G. Winter

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## Academic Appointments

Associate Professor of Politics, University of Virginia, 2011 to present  
Assistant Professor of Politics, University of Virginia, 2006 to 2011  
Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University, 2003 to 2006

## Education

Ph.D. in Political Science, University of Michigan, 2001  
B.A. in Political Science, University of Chicago, 1990

## Working Papers and In-progress

Winter, Nicholas J. G. "You Can't Make Me! Psychological Reactance and American Politics."  
Winter, Nicholas J. G., Tyler Burleigh, Ryan Kennedy, Scott Clifford. 2019. "A Simplified Protocol to Screen Out VPS and International Respondents Using Qualtrics." Available at SSRN: [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3327274](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3327274)  
Winter, Nicholas J. G. and Rachel Smilan-Goldstein. "Media framing of immigration: Fear and anger, intersectional stereotypes, and White American public opinion."  
Winter, Nicholas J. G., Simonas Cepenas, and Leah Malkovich. "Contingent Conjoint Conclusions? How information format shapes cognition."

## Publications—Book

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2008. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas about Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. Studies in Communication, Media, and Public Opinion. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

## Publications—Articles and Chapters

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2023. "Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, and American Elections." *Politics & Gender* 19(2):427–456.  
Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2020. "Gendered (and Racialized) Partisan Polarization." In *Community Wealth Building and the Reconstruction of American Democracy: Can We Make American Democracy Work?*, eds. Melody Barnes, Corey D. B. Walker, and Thad Williamson. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 160–181.  
Kennedy, Ryan, Scott Clifford, Tyler Burleigh, Philip Waggoner, Ryan Jewell, and Nicholas J. G. Winter. 2020. "The Shape of and Solutions to the MTurk Quality Crisis." *Political Science Research & Methods* 8(4):614–629.

- Winter, Nicholas J. G., Adam G. Hughes, and Lynn M. Sanders. 2019. "Online Coders, Open Codebooks: New Opportunities for Content Analysis of Political Communication." *Political Science Research & Methods*.
- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2015. "Gendered politics: political psychology at the intersection of the individual and the environment." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3(1):189-194.
- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2010. "Masculine Republicans and Feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' Explicit and Implicit Images of the Political Parties." *Political Behavior* 32(4):587-618.
- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2006. "Beyond Welfare: Framing and the Racialization of White Opinion on Social Security." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2):400-420.
- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2007. "Framing Gender: Political Rhetoric, Gender Schemas, and Public Opinion on Health Care Reform." *Politics & Gender* 1(3):453-480.
- Kinder, Donald R. and Nicholas Winter. 2001. "Exploring the Racial Divide: Whites, Blacks, and Opinion on National Policy." *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(2):439-56.
- Stewart, Abigail J., Isis Settles, and Nicholas J. G. Winter. 1998. "Women and the Social Movements of the 60s: Activists, Engaged Observers, and Non-participants." *Political Psychology* 19(1):63-94.

## Software and Statistical Analysis

Programming languages: Stata (developer), PHP (conversant), JavaScript (conversant), Python (conversant), Java (beginner), LAMP stack administration (conversant), R (just enough to fake it)

Developed a comprehensive web platform for crowd-sourcing content analysis task for video advertising and Tweets.

### Software

GRAPHVIEWER. Stata platform for the creation of web-based survey data display and analysis.

MTURKCONTROL. Stata module to access Amazon mTurk's API from Stata.

QUALTRICSLOAD. Stata module to download survey results from the Qualtrics API.

MPLOTOFFSET. Command to enhance plotting of results from multiple models in Stata

COMBOMARGINSLOT. Command to facilitate graphical presentation of predicted probabilities and marginal effects from multiple limited dependent variable statistical models in Stata.

SVR. Suite of commands for the analysis of complex survey data using replication methods in Stata.

Includes balanced repeated replication (BRR) and several variants of the survey jackknife.

SURVWGT. Generates weights for complex survey data in Stata. Produces replication weights and performs post-stratification, raking, and non-response adjustment.

MKTAB. Generates publication-ready tables of regression model output in Stata.

OPROBPR. Generates plots of predicted probabilities from limited dependent variable models in Stata.

## Publications—Non-peer Reviewed

Winter, Nicholas J. G., Tyler Burleigh, Ryan Kennedy, Scott Clifford. 2019. "A Simplified Protocol to Screen Out VPS and International Respondents Using Qualtrics." Available at SSRN: [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3327274](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3327274)

- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2009. "Review of *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*, by Larry M. Bartels." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73(1):226-229.
- Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2006. "Fishing Rights and Race Relations. Review of *Prejudice in Politics: Group Position, Public Opinion, and the Wisconsin Treaty Rights Dispute*, by Lawrence D. Bobo and Mia Tuan." *Science* 312(30 June):1877-78.
- Winter, Nicholas. 2005. "Regaining control over axis ranges." *The Stata Journal* 5(3):467-468.
- Winter, Nicholas. 2004. "Review of *A Handbook of Statistical Analysis using Stata*, by Sophia Rabe-Hesketh and Brian Everitt." *The Stata Journal* 4(3):350-353.
- Ryan, Philip and Nicholas Winter. 2004. "Stata tip 10: Fine control of axis title positions." *The Stata Journal* 4(3):354-55.

## Honors and Awards

- Research funding, University of Virginia Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences Research Support program, 2022 (\$3,000)
- Best Paper, APSA Women and Politics Research Section, 2018 conference
- Research funding, University of Virginia Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences Research Support program, 2019-20 (\$2,950)
- Research funding, University of Virginia Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences Research Support program, 2018-19 (\$3,000)
- Funding for "Power, Violence, and Inequality Collective Speaker Series." Page-Barbour Lecture Series Grant, 2015 (\$13,404)
- Research funding, University of Virginia Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences Research Support program, 2014-15 (\$2,850)
- Summer grant, University of Virginia Provost Summer Grant Program, 2015 (\$5,000)
- Summer grant, University of Virginia Provost Summer Grant Program, 2014 (\$5,000)
- Seed grant, University of Virginia Quantitative Collaborative, 2013-14 (\$5,000)
- Research funding, University of Virginia Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences Research Support program, 2012-13 (\$6,000) (Joint with Lynn Sanders, Paul Freedman, Brian Nosek, and Sophie Trawalter)
- Summer grant, University of Virginia Provost Summer Grant Program, 2012 (\$5,000)
- Research funding, University of Virginia Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences Research Support program, 2011 (\$3,000) (Joint with Lynn Sanders)
- Funding for "The Political Unconscious in the 2012 Election," a one-day conference. Page-Barbour Lecture Series Grant, 2012 (\$7,500)
- Summer grant, University of Virginia Provost Summer Grant Program, 2011 (\$5,000)
- Teaching/Technology funding, University of Virginia Teaching and Technology Initiative, 2008-09 (\$5,000)
- Summer grant, University of Virginia Provost Summer Grant Program, 2008 (\$5,000)
- Research funding, University of Virginia Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences Research Support program, 2008 (\$3,000)
- Excellence in Diversity Fellow, University of Virginia, 2006-07
- Clinton Rossiter Junior Faculty Fellowship, Department of Government, Cornell University, 2003-04

## Selected Presentations

- “Media framing of immigration: Fear and anger, intersectional stereotypes, and white American public opinion.” Presented at APSA in September, 2020 (with Rachel Smilan-Goldstein).
- “Contingent Conjoint Conclusions? How information format shapes cognition” presented at APSA in September, 2019 (with Simonas Cepenas and Leah Malkovich).
- “Ambivalent Sexism and Election 2016” presented at the University of Chicago American Politics Seminar, October, 2018.
- “Ambivalent Sexism and Election 2016” presented at APSA in September, 2018.
- “Evaluating Online Labor Markets for Content Analysis of Political Communication” presented at APSA in September, 2016 (with Adam Hughes and Lynn Sanders)
- “A Comprehensive Analysis of Gender Gaps in Modern American Public Opinion” presented at APSA in September, 2016
- “Using Online Labor Markets for Content Analysis of Campaign Advertising,” (joint with Ph.D. student Adam Hughes) presentation to the Data Gathering Methods Group, April 2016, UVA.
- “Gender Stereotyping and Political Candidates: American’s Impressions of Male and Female Congressional Candidates, 1984-2000.” Paper presented at the MPSA Annual Conference, April 2015, Chicago.
- “Gender Stereotyping and Political Candidates: American’s Impressions of Male and Female Congressional Candidates, 1984-2000.” Paper presented at the APSA Annual Conference, September 2015, San Francisco.
- “Gender, Not Sex: The Role of Gender Subtypes in Shaping Perceptions of Male and Female Political Figures” (with Nicole Pankeiwicz). Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2014.
- “Autonomy, Masculinity, and the American Values of Limited Government and Individualism.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2014.
- “Gender and the 2012 Election.” Talk delivered at the Institute for Research on Women and Gender, University of Michigan, October 2012.
- “A Moving Target: The Changing Role of Gender in American Politics” Talk delivered at the Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, February 2012.
- “Gendered Parties: Masculinity, Femininity, and the Modern American Party System.” Talk delivered at the Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, May 2010.
- “Replication methods for analysis of complex survey data in Stata.” Presentation at the North American Stata User’s Group Annual Meeting, Boston, August 2004.
- “Analysis of Complex Survey Data with Balanced Repeated Replication using Stata.” Software program and presentation to the Stata Corporation statistical group, College Station, Texas, July 2002.
- “What’s Your Temperature? Thermometer Ratings and Political Analysis.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, August 1999. (With Adam Berinsky)

## Teaching Interests

American politics: public opinion, political psychology, race and politics, gender and politics

Methodology: Research design, quantitative analysis (undergraduate), introductory and advanced econometrics (graduate), experimental research methods, survey research methods

## Courses Taught

University of Virginia, Department of Politics

PLAP 327	"Public Opinion and Political Behavior"
PLAP 4140	"Gender and American Political Behavior"
PLAP 4150	"Political Psychology"
PLAP 4500.5	"Emotion and American Politics"
PLAP 4500.3	"Political Psychology of White Supremacy"
PLAD 7100	"Political Research with Quantitative Methods" (Graduate introductory statistics)
PLAP 7110	"American Political Behavior"
PLAP 7500	"Political Psychology" (graduate)

Cornell University, Department of Government

GOVT 100	"An American Dilemma: Race, the Media, and Public Opinion in America" (First-year writing seminar)
GOVT 111	"Introduction to American National Government" (co-taught with Michael Jones-Correa)
GOVT 301	"Public Opinion & American Democracy"
GOVT 602	"Methods of Political Analysis II"
GOVT 646	"Public Opinion"

## Departmental and Professional Service

Associate Department Chair, Department of Politics, 2020-present

Member, American Politics Search Committee, 2020-21, 2021-22, and 2022-23

Co-chair, American Politics group, Politics Department, 2022

Co-founder and Co-director, Power, Violence, and Inequality Collective, University of Virginia, 2015-20

Member, Search Committee (Department of Women, Gender, and Sexuality), 2019

Chair, ad hoc P&T Committee (Politics Department), 2018

Member, Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Politics, 2016-17 & 2017-18

Co-chair, Political Methods group, Politics Department, 2015-2018

Member, Data Sciences Institute Advisory Board, University of Virginia, 2016-2017

Outside Member, ad hoc P&T Committee (Batten School), 2014

Member, ad hoc P&T Committee (Politics Department), 2013

Member, Search Committee in Race and Ethnicity (joint search among Woodson, Politics, Sociology, History, and Economics), 2013-14

Chair's Advisory Committee, Department of Politics, 2013-2015

Faculty Senator, University of Virginia, 2012-2015

Chair, Political Methodology Search Committee, 2012

Member, Graduate Admissions Committee, Politics Department, 2012

Member, University of Virginia Parking and Transportation Committee, 2012-2014

Chair, Political Methodology Search Committee, 2011

Co-founder, Working Group on Political Psychology, University of Virginia.

<http://faculty.virginia.edu/polpsych>, 2009-present

Co-chair, American Politics Group, Department of Politics, University of Virginia, 2010-2011

Associate Editor, *The Stata Journal*, 2004-present

Member and Co-Chair (2008-present), Politics Department Computer Committee, 2007-present

Discussant and Panel Chair, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2010

Panel Chair, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2008

Discussant and Panel Chair, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2007

Member, ad hoc search committee in American Politics, Department of Politics, University of Virginia, 2007

Member, Undergraduate Honors Thesis award committee, Department of Politics, University of Virginia, 2007

Member and Co-chair, Departmental Computer Committee, Department of Politics, University of Virginia, 2007-present

Discussant, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2006

Discussant and Panel Chair, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2006

Member, Comparative Politics Search Committee, Department of Government, Cornell University, 2004-05

Reader, Undergraduate Admissions, Cornell University, 2004

Discussant, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2004

Anonymous Manuscript Reviewer for *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Quarterly*, *American Politics Research*, *Journal of Politics*, *Party Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Psychology*, *Politics & Gender*, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, and *Social Sciences Quarterly*, 2000-present

Book Manuscript Reviewer for the Russell Sage Foundation, 2008

Member, Institutional Review Board, Policy Studies Associates, 2001-2003

## Non-Academic Work Experience

*Research Associate*, Policy Studies Associates, Washington, DC, 2001–2003

Contributed to design, analysis, and administration of studies in education and youth development for government, public sector, and corporate clients. Wrote successful proposal for and co-managing administration of a large-scale study of civic engagement among alumni of City Year, a national service organization. Developed research designs and data collection instruments, conducted quantitative analysis of survey and administrative data, conducted in-depth interviews and site visits, and facilitated focus groups. Consulted internally on research design, sampling, data analysis, and reporting. Programmed routines for analysis of complex survey data and graphic presentation of results in Stata.

*Senior Associate*, The Campaign Design Group, Washington, DC, 1990–1994

Served as a general consultant to Democratic campaigns. Analyzed public opinion polls, election return data and qualitative data on the candidates, voters and district to develop campaign strategy and tactics. Co-wrote campaign plan for Barbara Boxer's 1992 U.S. Senate campaign. Managed the development of a computerized campaign simulation based on national voter survey data. Participated in presentations of this and other campaign training programs. Managed and served as lead writer for *Campaign Groundwork: Strategy, Planning, and Management*, a campaign planning textbook.